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THE
H I S T O R Y

WILLIAM & MARY DARLINGTON
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OF THE
WAR IN AMERICA,
BETWEEN
GREAT BRITAIN
AND
HER COLONIES,
FROM

Its Commencement to the end of the Year 1778.

In which its ORIGIN, PROGRESS, and OPERATIONS are faithfully related, together with Anecdotes and Characters of the different Commanders, and Accounts of such Personages in Congress as have distinguished themselves during the Contest.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A Collection of Interesting and Authentic PAPERS
tending to elucidate the History.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

DUBLIN:

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1508
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1501

1779

THE EDITOR'S

P R E F A C E.

IN the present enlightened age, to enumerate the advantages attending historical researches, were almost unnecessary. When *Knowledge, Impartiality*, and a regard to *Truth*, guide the historian's pen, he claims both our esteem and attention. Should the subject he undertakes to illustrate be connected with the welfare of our country; should it tend to keep alive a truly national spirit, and to promote public felicity, it becomes highly interesting.

By history, we become acquainted with the origin, and state of different kingdoms and commonwealths; their respective manners and governments; the genius and improvements of the inhabitants; their religion and policy. We may, likewise, see what has occasioned the rise and fall of empires; what hath rendered them free and happy, or laid their honours, and their strength in the dust.

Through the agreeable road of history, we may travel with ease, profit, and at a small expence, almost every part of the habitable world. A laudable curiosity is thus gratified; by this, knowledge and pleasure are happily united. Nay, it has been said, that History has triumphed over time itself, which nothing but eternity hath done!

An application to any study, that tends neither to make us wiser and better, is at best, as Tillotson says, but an ingenious sort of idleness. The knowledge obtained by it, is but a creditable kind of ignorance.

By reading the lives of eminent statesmen, legislators, philosophers, warriors, and those illustrious characters who, at the expence of life and property, have maintained the religious and civil rights of their country, our hearts are warmed by the noblest sentiments; we, in a manner, renew their glorious struggles, and re-fight their battles in the cause of Freedom. Hence, the virtue of one generation, may, by the magic of example, be transfused into several, and a spirit of heroism properly cultivated.

The histories of Greece and Rome, of Europe, and particularly of these nations, to which we are said to belong, should at least be, in some measure, known to all whose time and circumstances permit. But the discovery of the *New World*, has opened a large and noble field for historical disquisitions. There, the scene is august, and extended: the transactions that have passed on so grand a theatre of action, are great and interesting. As British subjects are intimately connected with them, a summary recital of such as are recent and important, cannot but prove agreeable to most readers.

Tho' the chief design of the Editor, was to give, in one connected view, an History of the principal Proceedings in the Colonies since the Contest with America commenced; with all the material Papers, Declarations, Letters, Speeches, Petitions, &c. that have passed between Great-Britain, and the United Provinces,

to the End of the Year 1778; yet, in order to render the Work as comprehensive as possible, a brief Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the present War is added; also, a short Account of America from the earliest Discoveries. This will tend to illustrate the subject, and to give a further view of the arguments that have been urged on both sides.

A faithful detail of facts, of civil and military operations during so busy and interesting a period, while it entertains, must (where proper reflections are made) be also useful to many persons, whose time, or circumstances will not, with convenience, permit them to read larger and more expensive productions.

Our documents and materials have been taken from the best authors, and most authenticated accounts. The judicious will see, that many of the remarks and arguments are most masterly, though the writers from whom they are borrowed be not named: Nor are striking incidents and anecdotes wanting to embellish this performance.

But tho' obligation, and assistance be here acknowledged, a great deal of original matter has been furnished by men of letters and moderation. The arising observations, being founded on truth, the mind may be led to form just notions of legislation and government, and to detest venality and despotism.

Hence, our Work will, it is hoped, prove friendly to Constitutional Liberty, to Virtue, and our Country's welfare. This is the sincere wish of the

EDITOR.



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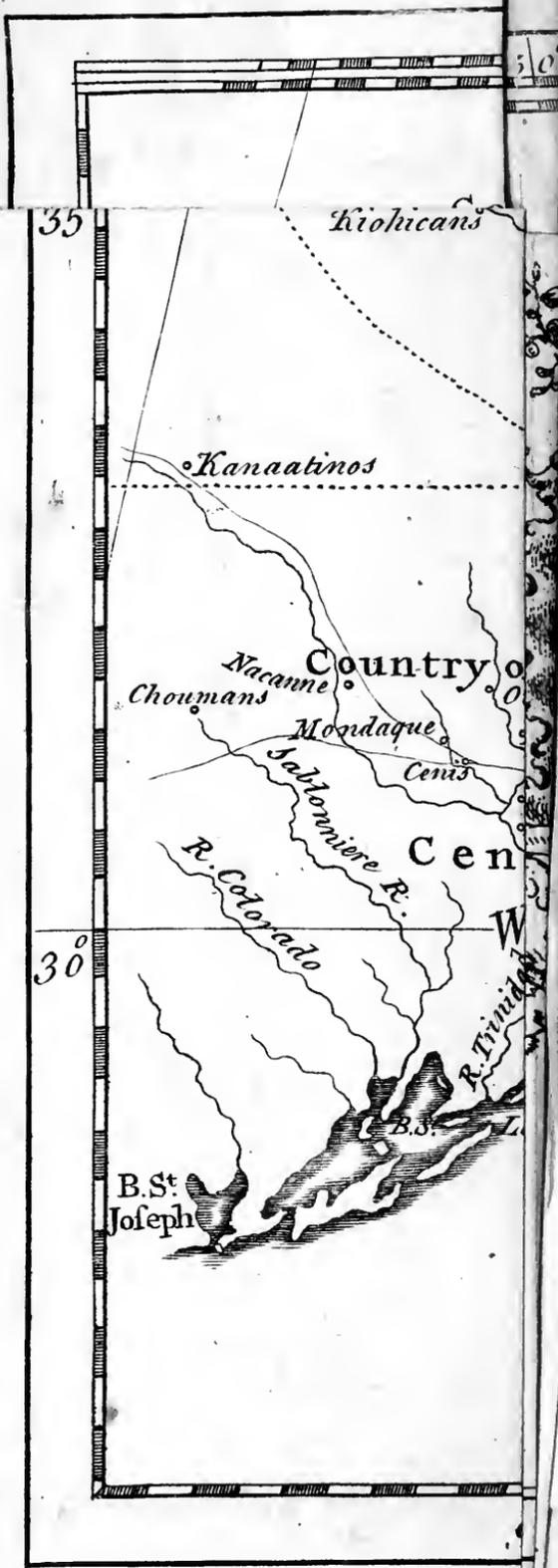
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A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
AMERICA,

FROM ITS FIRST DISCOVERY,

TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PRESENT CIVIL WAR.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

America first discovered in 1492 by Columbus. His proposal rejected by several courts, but adopted by Isabella of Spain. Discovers Hispaniola. Mexico conquered by Cortez. Brief account of that great empire. Peru reduced under the dominion of Spain. Extent and boundaries of America. General description thereof. Account of the antient Indians.

THIS vast continent of America was entirely unknown to the European, and all other nations in the world, till the year 1492, when it was discovered by CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, a native of Genoa. This man, having some how or other obtained a more just notion of the figure of the earth than most of his cotemporaries, projected a scheme of sailing to the East Indies by directing his course Westward. The reason he had for so strange a project was indeed the errors in the maps which were made of those Eastern countries at that time; for by them the East Indies were placed so very far to the Eastward, that it appeared to Columbus, the navigation must go a great deal more than half round the globe before they could come at any part of them. In consequence of this supposition, the thought was very rational, that it would to be a much shorter, and less dangerous voyage to sail Westward, as they believed they would fall in with the Eastern parts of Asia before they had sail'd round half the circumference of the globe; as no part of the world can be distant from another more than half this circumference, provided the shortest way to it is taken. But how Columbus, at that time, when it was reckoned a mortal

1492.

Columbus, a native of Genoa, first adopts the scheme of directing his course

for the East-Indies, westwardly.



A
NEW MAP
of NORTH
AMERICA.

GULF OF MEXICO

English Miles 0 to a Degree
 0 20 40
 French Leagues 0 to a Degree
 0 12 24 36 48

Longitude from London

Cape Horn

A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF
A M E R I C A,
FROM ITS FIRST DISCOVERY,
TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE PRESENT CIVIL WAR.

P A R T I.

C H A P T E R I.

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tal heresy to say that the earth was round, came to have notions so different from the common, and not only to imagine that the earth was spherical, but that its circumference did not extend to a certain space, we are not certainly informed. Be this, however, as it will, Columbus was willing that his own country should reap the benefits of his superior knowledge in this respect: and therefore he communicated his new scheme to the court of Genoa, who rejected it as an absurdity. He then applied successively to the courts of France, Britain, and Portugal; from all of which he met with a reception of the same kind; and had the mortification to find, that his own superiority of knowledge to the rest of mankind only served to make him their laughing stock. At last he applied to Spain, where, after eight years attendance, perhaps the curiosity natural to her sex, induced Queen Isabella to raise money on her jewels, in order to defray the expence of his expedition.

His scheme is rejected at several European courts, but is taken up by Isabella of Spain.

Sets sail, and finds land 33 days after his departure.

In 1492, then Columbus set sail from Spain, with three ships, in search of countries hitherto undiscovered, and which almost every one believed to exist only in imagination. His sailors were with great difficulty kept in subjection; but being kept in hopes of land, sometimes by great flights of birds, and at others, by observing quantities of weeds floating in the sea, they were kept from breaking out into open mutiny, till the discovery of land, after a voyage of 33 days, put an end to their fears. In this voyage the variation of the compass was first discovered, which occasioned such an alarm among Columbus's sailors, that they were with difficulty prevented from throwing him overboard.

The island of Hispaniola discovered.

Columbus first landed on one of the Bahama islands; but finding nothing there of consequence, he steered Southward, where he discovered the island of Hispaniola, which promising considerable quantities of gold, he therefore proposed to make the centre of his discoveries; and having left some of his companions, as the basis of a new colony, he returned to Spain.

Returns to Spain, equips a new fleet and makes a 2d and 3d voyage.

On his return, he found no difficulty in procuring necessaries for a second voyage. A fleet of 17 sail was immediately fitted out, and 1500 persons, some of them of high rank, prepared to accompany Columbus, now when they hoped to share his good fortune. In this second voyage he discovered most of the West-India islands; and in a third, he discovered the continent of South America, sailing up the river Oronoko. After having thus discovered the continent, and made settlements in the islands of America, the malice of his enemies prevailed so far against him, that he was sent to

Europe

Europe in irons. His innocence, however, got the better of their calumnies, and this great man died in peace at Valladolid in 1506.

The succeeding governors of Cuba and Hispaniola rendered themselves as infamous by their cruelties, as Columbus had been famous for his virtues. These islands contained mines of gold; the Indians only knew where they were plac'd, and the extreme avarice of the Spaniards, hurried them to acts of the most shocking violence and cruelty against those unhappy men, who, they believed, concealed from them part of their treasure. In a few days they depopulated Hispaniola, which contained three millions of inhabitants; and Cuba, that had about 600,000. Bartholomew de la Casas, a witness of those barbarous depopulations, says, that the Spaniards went out with their dogs to hunt after men. The unhappy savages, almost naked and unarmed, were pursued like deer into the thickest of the forests, devoured by dogs, killed with gun-shot, or surprized and burnt in their habitations.

The Spaniards had hitherto only visited the continent : but conjecturing that this part of the new world would afford a still more valuable conquest, Fernando Cortez was dispatched from Cuba with 600 men, 18 horses, and a small number of field pieces. With this inconsiderable force, he proposed and actually did subdue the most powerful state on the continent of America : this was the empire of Mexico ; rich, powerful, and inhabited by millions of Indians, passionately fond of war, and then headed by Montezuma, whose fame in arms struck terror into the neighbouring nations, and extended over one half the globe. This empire had subsisted for ages ; its inhabitants were a polished and intelligent people. They knew, like the Egyptians of old, whose wisdom is still admired in this particular, that the year consisted nearly of 365 days. Their superiority in military affairs was the object of admiration and terror over all the continent ; and their government, founded on the sure basis of laws combined with religion, seemed to bid defiance to time itself. Mexico, the capital of the empire, situated in the middle of a spacious lake, was the noblest monument of American industry : it communicated with the continent by immense causeways, which were carried through the lake. The city was admired for its buildings, all of stone, its squares and market-places, the shops which glittered with gold and silver, and the sumptuous palaces of Montezuma, some erected on columns of jasper, and containing whatever

The effects of avarice.

The empire of Mexico subdued by the Spaniards

A description of that empire.

was most rare, curious, or useful. Cortez, in his march met with feeble opposition from the nations along the coast of Mexico, who were terrified at their first appearance. Wherever the Spaniards marched, they spared no age or sex, nothing sacred or profane. At last, the inhabitants of Tlascala, and some other states on the coast, despairing of being able to oppose them, entered into their alliance. Cortez, thus re-inforced, marched onward to Mexico: and in his progress discovered a volcano of sulphur and salt-petre, whence he could supply himself with powder. Montezuma heard of his progress, without daring to oppose it, though he commanded 30 vassals, of whom each could appear at the head of 100,000 combatants, armed with bows and arrows.

By sending a rich present of gold which only whetted the Spanish avarice, Montezuma hastened the approach of the enemy. No opposition was made to their entry into his capital. Cortez had good reason, however, to distrust the affected politeness of this emperor, under which he suspected some plot for his destruction to be concealed; but he had no pretence for violence; Montezuma loaded him with kindness, and with gold in greater quantities than he demanded, and his palace was surrounded with artillery, the most frightful of all engines to the Americans. At last a circumstance fell out which afforded Cortez a pretext for beginning hostilities. In order to secure a communication by sea to receive the necessary reinforcements, he had erected a fort, and left a small garrison behind him at Vera Cruz, which has since become an emporium of commerce between Europe and America. He understood that the Americans in the neighbourhood had attacked this garrison in his absence, and that a Spaniard was killed in the action, that Montezuma himself was privy to this violence, and had issued orders that the head of the slain Spaniard should be carried through his provinces, to destroy a belief, which then prevailed among them, that the Europeans were immortal. Upon receiving this intelligence, Cortez went in person to the emperor, attended by a few of his most experienced officers. Montezuma pleaded innocence, in which Cortez seemed extremely ready to believe him, though at the same time he alledged that the Spaniards in general would never be persuaded of it unless he returned along with them to their residence, which would remove all jealousy between the two nations. Thus Montezuma, in the middle of his own palace, and surrounded by his guards, gave himself up a prisoner, to be disposed of according to the inclination of his enemies. Cortez had now
got

got into his hand an engine by which every thing might be accomplished. The Americans had the highest respect, or rather a superstitious veneration for their emperor. Cortez, therefore, by keeping him in his power, allowing him to enjoy every mark of royalty but his freedom, maintained an easy sovereignty over Mexico, by governing its prince. Did the Mexicans, grown familiar with the Spaniards, begin to abate of their respect? Montezuma was the first to teach them more politeness. Was there a tumult, excited through the cruelty or avarice of the Spaniards? Montezuma ascended the battlements of his prison, and harangued the Mexicans into order and submission. This farce continued a long while; but on one of these occasions, a stone from an unknown hand, struck the emperor on the temple, which in a few days occasioned his death. The Mexicans, now elected a new prince, the famous Gatimozin, who from the beginning discovered an implacable animosity against the Spanish name. Under his conduct the unhappy Mexicans rushed against those very men, whom a little before they had offered to worship. The Spaniards, however, by the dextrous management of Cortez, were too firmly established to be expelled from Mexico. The immense tribute which the grandees of this country had agreed to pay to the crown of Spain, amounted to 600,000 marks of pure gold, besides an amazing quantity of precious stones, a fifth part of which was distributed among the soldiers, stimulated their avarice and their courage, and made them willing to perish rather than part with so precious a booty. The Mexicans, however, made no small efforts for independence; but all their valour, and despair itself, gave way before what they called the Spanish thunder. Gatimozin and the empress were taken prisoners. This was the prince who, when he lay stretched on burning coals, by order of one of the receivers of the King of Spain's exchequer, who inflicted the torture to make him discover into what part of the lake he had thrown his riches, said to his high priest, condemned to the same punishment, and making hideous cries, "Do you take me to lie on a bed of roses?" The high priest remained silent, and died in an act of obedience to his sovereign. Cortez, by getting a second emperor into his hands, made a complete conquest of Mexico; with which the Castille D'Or, Darien, and other provinces, fell into the hands of the Spaniards.

While Cortez, and his soldiers, were employed in reducing Mexico, they got intelligence of the empire of Peru, which extended in length near 30 degrees, and was the only o-

The Peruvian Empire, submits to the Spanish yoke. The Peruvian country in America, which deserved the name of a civilized kingdom. This extensive country, more important than Mexico itself, was reduced by the endeavours, and at the expence, of three private persons. The names of these were, Francis Pizarro, Almagro, and Lucques, a priest, and a man of considerable fortune. The two former were natives of Panama, men of low education. Pizarro, could neither read nor write. They sailed over into Spain, and without difficulty, obtained a grant of what they should conquer. Pizarro then set out for the conquest of Peru, with 250 foot, 60 horse, and 12 small pieces of cannon, drawn by slaves from the conquered countries.

Some account of that country. Mango Capac, the founder of the Peruvian empire, having observed that the people of Peru were naturally superstitious, and had a particular veneration for the sun, pretended to be descended from that luminary, whose worship he was sent to establish, and whose authority he was entitled to bear. By this story, he easily deceived a credulous people, and brought a large extent of territory under his jurisdiction. A larger still he subdued by his arms; but both the force, and the deceit, he employed for the most laudable purposes, and there was no part of America, where agriculture and the arts were so assiduously cultivated, and where the people were of so mild and ingenuous manners. A race of princes succeeded Mango, distinguished by the title of Yncas, and revered by the people as descendants of their great God the Sun. The twelfth of these was now on the throne, and named Atabalipa. His father Guaiana Capac, had conquered the province of Quito, which now makes a part of Spanish Peru. To secure himself in the possession, he had married the daughter of the natural prince of that country, and of this marriage was sprung Atabalipa. His elder brother, named Huescar, of a different mother, had claimed the succession to the whole of his father's dominions, not excepting Quito, which devolved on the younger by a double connection. A civil war had been kindled on this account, which ended in favour of Atabalipa, who detained Huescar, as a prisoner, in the tower of Cusco, the capital of the Peruvian empire. Atabalipa, instead of opposing the Spaniards, set himself to procure their favour. Pizarro, however, whose temper partook of the meanness of his education, had no conception of dealing gently with those he called Barbarians. While he was engaged in conference therefore with Atabalipa, his men, as they had been previously instructed, furiously attacked the guards of that prince, and having butchered

chered 5000 of them, as they were pressing forward, without regard to their particular safety to defend the sacred person of their monarch, seized the emperor himself, whom they carried off to the Spanish quarters. Atabalipa was not long in their hands before he began to treat of his ransom. On this occasion, the ancient ornaments, amassed by a long line of magnificent kings, the hallowed treasures of the most magnificent temples, were brought out to save him, who was the support of the kingdom, and of the religion. While Pizarro was engaged in this negociation, by which he proposed, without releasing the emperor to get into his possession an immense quantity of his beloved gold, the arrival of Almagro caused some embarrassment in his affairs. The friendship, or rather the external shew of friendship between these men, was solely founded on the principle of avarice. When their interests therefore happened to interfere, it was not to be thought that any measures could be kept between them. Pizarro expected to enjoy the most considerable share of the treasure arising from the emperor's ransom, because he had the chief hand in acquiring it. Almagro insisted on being upon an equal footing; and at length, lest the common cause might suffer by any rupture between them, this disposition was agreed to. The ransom was paid in without delay, a sum exceeding their conception, but not capable to gratify their avarice. It exceeded 1,500,000 l. sterling, and considering the value of money at that time, was prodigious: and the dividend, after deducting a fifth for the king of Spain, and the shares of the chief commanders and officers, to each private soldier was above 2000 l. English money.

The immense ransom was only a farther reason for detaining Atabalipa in confinement, until they discovered whether he had another treasure to gratify their avarice. But whether they believed he had no more to give, and were unwilling to employ their troops in guarding a prince, from whom they expected no farther advantage, or that Pizarro had conceived an aversion against the Peruvian emperor, it is certain, that by his command Atabalipa was put to death. Upon the death of the Ynca, the principal nobility set up the full brother of Huescar; Pizarro set up a son of Atabalipa; and two generals of the Peruvians endeavoured to establish themselves by the assistance of the army. These distractions, which in another empire would have been extremely hurtful, and even here at another time, were at present rather advantageous to the Peruvian affairs. The candi-

dates fought against one another, their battles accustomed the harmless people to blood; and such is the preference of a spirit of any kind raised in a nation to total lethargy, that in the course of those quarrels among themselves, the inhabitants of Peru assumed some courage against the Spaniards, whom they regarded as the ultimate cause of all their calamities. The losses which the Spaniards met with in these quarrels, though inconsiderable in themselves, were rendered dangerous, by lessening the opinion of their invincibility, which they were careful to preserve among the inhabitants of the new world. This consideration engaged Pizarro to conclude a truce; and this interval he employed in laying the foundations of the famous city Lima, and in settling the Spaniards in the country. But as soon as a favourable opportunity offered, he renewed the war against the Indians, and after many difficulties, made himself master of Cusco, the capital of the empire. While he was engaged in these conquests, new grants and supplies arrived from Spain. Pizarro obtained 200 leagues along the sea-coast, to the Southward of what had been before granted, and Almagro 200 leagues to the Southward of Pizarro's government. This division occasioned a warm dispute between them, each reckoning Cusco within his own district. But the dexterity of Pizarro brought about a reconciliation. He persuaded his rival, that the country which really belonged to him, lay to the Southward of Cusco, and that it was no way inferior in riches, and might be as easily conquered as Peru. He offered him his assistance in the expedition, the success of which he did not even call in question.

Almagro, that he might have the honour of subduing a kingdom for himself, listened to his advice; and penetrated with great danger and difficulty, into Chili; losing many of his men as he passed over mountains of an immense height, and always covered with snow. He reduced, however, a very considerable part of this country. But the Peruvians now made an effort for regaining their capital, in which, Pizarro being indisposed, and Almagro removed at a great distance, they were well nigh successful. The latter, however, no sooner got notice of the siege of Cusco, than, relinquishing all views of distant conquests, he returned, to secure the grand object of their former labours. He raised the siege with great slaughter of the assailants: but having obtained possession of the city, he was unwilling to give it up to Pizarro, who now approached with an army, and knew of no other enemy but the Peruvians. This dispute occasioned a long and bloody struggle between them, in which the

turns

turns of fortune were various, and the resentment fierce on both sides, because the fate of the vanquished was certain death. This was the lot of Almagro, who, in an advanced age, fell a victim to the security of a rival, in whose dangers and triumphs he had long shared, and with whom, from the beginning of the enterprize, he had been intimately connected. During the course of this civil war, many Peruvians served in the Spanish armies, and learned, from the practice of Christians, to butcher one another. That blinded nation, however, at length opened their eyes, and took a very remarkable resolution. They saw the ferocity of the Europeans, their unextinguishable resentment and avarice, and they conjectured that these passions would never permit their contests to subside. Let us retire, said they, from among them, let us fly to our mountains; they will speedily destroy one another, and then we may return in peace to our former habitations. This resolution was instantly put in practice; the Peruvians dispersed, and left the Spaniards in their capital. Had the force on each side been exactly equal, this singular policy of the natives of Peru, might have been attended with success. But the victory of Pizarro put an end to Almagro's life, and the hopes of the Peruvians, who have never since ventured to make head against the Spaniards.

Pizarro, now sole master of the field, and of the richest empire in the world, was still urged on by his ambition, to undertake new enterprizes. The Southern countries of America, into which he had some time before dispatched Almagro, offered the richest conquest. Towards this quarter, the mountain of Potosi, composed of entire silver, had been discovered, the shell of which only remains at present. He therefore followed the tract of Almagro into Chili, and reduced another part of that country. Orellana, one of his commanders, passed the Andes, and sailed down to the mouth of the river of Amazons: an immense navigation, which discovered a rich and delightful country, but as it is mostly flat, and therefore not abounding in minerals, the Spaniards then, and ever since, neglected it.

The success of Columbus soon inspired the other Euro- OtherEu-
 pean nations with a desire of making new discoveries. About ropean
 the time of his third voyage, the Portugueze discovered powers,
 Brazil, Sebastian-Cabot, a native of Bristol discovered are led to
 the North-East coasts, which now form the British Empire in adopt
 America, and Americus Vesputius, a merchant of Florence, Colum-
 sailed to the Southern continent, and being a man of address, bus' sys-
 had the honour of giving his name to this quarter of the globe. tem.

This

Extent
and
bound-
ries of
America.

This great Western continent, (now denominated the New World,) extends from the 80 degree North, to the 56 degree South latitude; and where its breadth is known, from the 35 to the 136 degree of West longitude, from London, stretching between 8 and 9000 miles in length, and in its greatest breadth 3690. It has two summers and a double winter, and enjoys all the variety of climates which the earth affords. It is washed by the two great oceans. To the eastward it has the Atlantic, which divides it from Europe and Africa. To the west it has the Pacific, or great South-sea, by which it is separated from Asia. By these seas it carries on a direct commerce with the other three parts of the world. It is composed of two great continents, one on the North, the other upon the South, which are joined by the kingdom of Mexico, which forms a sort of isthmus 1500 miles long, and in one part at Darien, so extremely narrow, as to make the communication between the two oceans by no means difficult, being only 60 miles over. In the great gulph, which is formed between the isthmus, and the Northern and Southern continents, lye an infinite multitude of islands, many of them large, most of them fertile, and denominated the West-Indies, in contradistinction to the countries and islands of Asia, beyond the cape of Good-Hope, which are called the East-Indies.

Moun-
tains.

Though America in general be not a mountainous country, it contains the greatest mountains in the world. In South America the Andes, or Cordilleras, run from North to South along the coast of the Pacific ocean. They exceed in length any chain of mountains in the other parts of the globe; extending from the isthmus of Darien, to the streights of Magellan, they divide the whole Southern parts of America, and run a length of 4300 miles. Their height is as remarkable as their length, for though in part within the torrid zone, they are constantly covered with snow. In North America, which is chiefly composed of gentle ascents or level plains, we know of no considerable mountains, except those towards the pole, and that long ridge which lies on the back of our settlements, separating our colonies from Canada and Louisiana, which we call the Apalachian, or Alegeney mountains; if that may be considered as a mountain, which upon one side is extremely lofty, but upon the other is nearly on a level with the rest of the country.

Rivers.

America is, without question, that part of the globe which is best watered; and that not only for the support of life, and all the purposes of fertility, but for the convenience of trade, and

and the intercourse of each part with the others. In North America, those vast tracts of country, situated beyond the Apalachian mountains, at an immense and unknown distance from the ocean, are watered by inland seas, called the Lakes of Canada, which not only communicate with each other, but give rise to several great rivers, particularly the Mississippi, running from North to South till it falls into the gulph of Mexico, after a course, including its turnings, of 4500 miles, and receiving in its progress the vast tribute of the Illinois, the Misfaures, the Ohio, and other great rivers, scarcely inferior to the Rhine, or the Danube; and on the North, the river St Laurence, running a contrary course from the Mississippi, till it empties itself into the ocean near Newfoundland, all of them being almost navigable to their heads, lay open the inmost recesses of this great continent, and afford such an inlet for commerce, as are capable of producing the greatest advantages. The Eastern side of North America, which makes a part of the British empire, besides the noble rivers Hudson, Delaware, Susquehana and Potowmack, supplies several others of great depth, length, and commodious navigation.

South America supplies much the two largest rivers (excepting the Mississippi) in the world, the river of Amazones, and the Rio de la Plata, or Plate River. The first rising in Peru, not far from the South-Sea, passes from West to East, and falls into the ocean between Brazil and Guiana, after a course of more than 3000 miles, in which it receives a prodigious number of great and navigable rivers. The Rio de la Plata, rises in the heart of the country, and having its strength gradually augmented, by an accession of many powerful streams, discharges itself with such vehemence into the sea, as to make it taste fresh for many leagues from land. Besides these there are other rivers in South America, of which the Oronoko is the most considerable.

This country produces most of the metals, minerals, plants, drugs, fruits, trees, and wood, to be met with in the other parts of the world, and many of them in greater quantities and higher perfection. The gold and silver of America has supplied Europe with such immense quantities of those valuable metals, that they are become vastly more common; and the gold and silver of Europe now bears little proportion to the high price set upon them before the discovery of America.

Diamonds, pearls, emeralds, amethysts, and other valuable stones, are likewise produced here, which by being brought into

into Europe, have contributed likewise to lower their value ; and which, before the discovery of America, we were forced to buy at an extravagant rate from Asia and Africa, through the hands of the Venetians and Genoese, who then engrossed the trade of the Eastern world.

Before we enter upon the history of the British settlements in America, however, it will be proper to give some account of the original inhabitants of those provinces which are now inhabited by our own countrymen ; as the customs of those Indians are so very unlike those of any other nation, that an account of them cannot fail to be entertaining.

Ancient
Indians,
their
dress and
behavi-
our.

The bodies of the Indians in general, where the rays of the sun are not too violent, are uncommonly straight and well proportioned. Their muscles are firm and strong ; their bodies and heads flattish, which is the effect of art ; their features are regular, but their countenances fierce, their hair long, black, lank, and as strong as that of a horse. The colour of their skin is a reddish brown, admired among them, and heightened by the constant use of bears fat and paint. Their behaviour to those about them is regular, modest, and respectful. Ignorant of the arts of amusement, of which that of saying trifles agreeably is one of the most considerable, they never speak but when they have something important to observe ; and all their actions, words, and even looks, are attended with some meaning. As they have no particular object to attach them to one place rather than another, they fly wherever they expect to find the necessaries of life in greatest abundance. Cities they have none. The different tribes or nations are extremely small, when compared with civilized societies, in which industry, arts, agriculture, and commerce, have united a vast number of individuals, whom a complicated luxury renders useful to one another. These small tribes live at an immense distance ; they are separated by a desert frontier, and hid in the bosom of impenetrable and almost boundless forests.

Their
form of
govern-
ment

There is established in each society a certain species of government, which over the whole continent of America prevails with very little variation ; because over the whole of this continent the manners and way of life are nearly similar and uniform. In every society there is to be considered the power of the chief and of the elders : and as the government inclines more to the one than to the other, it may be regarded as monarchical, or as a species of aristocracy. Among those tribes which are most engaged in war, the power of the chief

is

1795

is naturally predominant, because the idea of having a military leader, was the first source of his superiority, and the continual exigencies of the state requiring such a leader, will continue to support and even to enhance it. His power, however, is rather persuasive than co-ercive: he is revered as a father, rather than feared as a monarch. He has no guards, no prisons, no officers of justice, and one act of ill-judged violence would pull him from the throne. The elders, in the other form of government, which may be considered as an aristocracy, have no more power. In some tribes indeed there are a kind of hereditary nobility, whose influence being constantly augmented by time, is more considerable. But this source of power, is too confined to be very common among the natives of America. In most countries therefore, age alone is sufficient for acquiring respect, influence, and authority. Among those persons business is conducted with the utmost simplicity. The heads of families meet together in a house or cabin, appointed for the purpose. Here the business is discussed, and here those of the nation, distinguished for their eloquence or wisdom, have an opportunity of displaying those talents. Their orators express themselves in a bold figurative stile, stronger than refined, or rather softened nations, can well bear, and with gestures equally violent, but often extremely natural and expressive. When the business is over, and they happen to be well provided in food, they appoint a feast upon the occasion, of which almost the whole nation partakes. The feast is accompanied with a song, in which the real, or fabulous exploits of their forefathers are celebrated. They have dances too, though chiefly of the military kind, and their music and dancing accompanies every feast.

It often happens, that those different tribes or nations, scattered as they are at an immense distance from one another, meet in their excursions after prey. If there subsists no animosity between them, which seldom is the case, they behave in the most friendly and courteous manner. But if they happen to be in a state of war, or if there has been no previous intercourse between them, all who are not friends, are deemed enemies, and fight with the most savage fury.

War, if we except hunting, is the only employment of the men; as to every other concern, and even the little agriculture they enjoy, it is left to the women. Their most common motive for entering into war, when it does not arise from an accidental rencounter, is either to revenge themselves for the death of some lost friend, or to acquire prisoners, who may as-

Their
manner
of mak-
ing war.

list

sist them in their hunting, and whom they adopt into their society. These wars are either undertaken by some private adventurers, or at the instance of the whole community. In the latter case, all the young men, who are disposed to go out to battle, give a bit of wood to the chief, as a token of their design to accompany him. The chief, who is to conduct them, fasts several days, during which he converses with no one, and is particularly careful to observe his dreams, which are generally as favourable as he could desire. A variety of other superstitions and ceremonies are observed. One of the most hideous is setting the war-kettle on the fire, as an emblem that they are going out to devour their enemies, which amongst some nations must formerly have been the case, since they still continue to express it in clear terms, and use an emblem significant of the ancient usage. Then they dispatch a porcelain, or large shell to their allies, inviting them to come along, and drink the blood of their enemies.

Having finished all the ceremonies previous to the war, they issue forth with their faces blackened with charcoal, intermixed with streaks of vermilion, which give them a most horrid appearance. Then they exchange their cloaths with their friends, and dispose of all their finery to the women, who accompany them to a considerable distance to receive those last tokens of friendship.

The great qualities in an Indian war are vigilance and attention, to give and to avoid a surprize; and indeed in these they are superior to all nations in the world. Accustomed to continual wandering in the forests, having their perceptions sharpened by keen necessity, and living in every respect according to nature, their external senses have a degree of acuteness which at first view appears incredible. They can trace out their enemies, at an immense distance, by the smoke of their fires, which they smell, and by the tracks of their feet on the ground, imperceptible to an European eye, but which they can count and distinguish with the utmost facility. They even distinguish the different nations with whom they are acquainted, and can determine the precise time when they passed, where an European could not distinguish footsteps at all. These circumstances, however, are of small importance, because their enemies are no less acquainted with them. When they get out, therefore, they take care to avoid making use of any thing by which they might run the danger of discovery. They light no fire to warm themselves, or to prepare their victuals; they lye close to the ground all day, and travel only in the night; and marching along in
files,

files, he that closes the rear, diligently covers with leaves the tracks of his own feet, and also of theirs who preceded him. When they halt to refresh themselves, scouts are sent to reconnoitre the country, and beat up every place where they suspect an enemy may lye concealed. In this manner they enter unawares the villages of their foes, and while the flower of the nation are engaged in hunting, massacre all the children, women, and helpless old men, or make prisoners of as many as they can manage, or have strength enough to be useful to their nation. But when the enemy is apprized of their design, and coming on in arms against them, they throw themselves flat on the ground among the withered herbs and leaves, which their faces are painted to resemble. Then they allow a part to pass unmolested, when all at once, with a tremendous shout, rising up from their ambush, they pour a storm of musquet-bullets on their foes. The party attacked returns the same cry. Every one shelters himself with a tree, and returns the fire of the adverse party, as soon as they raise themselves from the ground to give a second fire. Thus does the battle continue until one party is so much weakened, as to be incapable of further resistance: But if the force on each side continues nearly equal, the fierce spirits of the savages, inflamed by the loss of their friends, can no longer be restrained. They rush upon one another with clubs and hatchets in their hands, magnifying their own courage, and insulting their enemies with the bitterest reproaches. They trample and insult over the dead bodies, tearing the scalp from the head, wallowing in their blood like wild beasts, and sometimes devouring their flesh. The flame rages on till it meets with no resistance, then the prisoners are secured, those unhappy men, whose fate is a thousand times more dreadful than theirs who have died in the field. The conquerors set up a hideous howling to lament the friends they have lost. They approach in a melancholy and severe gloom to their own village, a messenger is sent to announce their arrival, and the women with frightful shrieks come out to mourn their dead brothers, or their husbands. When they are arrived, the chief relates in a low voice to the elders a circumstantial account of every particular of the expedition. The orator proclaims aloud this account to the people, and as he mentions the names of those who have fallen, the shrieks of the women are redoubled. The men too join in these cries, according as each is most connected with the deceased, by blood or friendship. The last ceremony is the proclamation of victory; each individual then forgets his private misfortunes,

tunes, and joins in the triumph of his nation ; all tears are wiped from their eyes, and by an unaccountable transition, they pass in a moment from the bitterness of sorrow, to an extravagance of joy. But the treatment of the prisoners, whose fate all this time remains undecided, is what chiefly characterises the savages.

Their
treat-
ment of
prisoners.

The person who has taken the captive, attends him to the cottage, where according to the distribution made by the elders, he is delivered to supply the loss of a citizen. If those who receive him have their family weakened by war or other accidents, they adopt the captive into the family, of which he becomes a member. But if they have no occasion for him, or the resentment for the loss of their friends be too high to endure the sight of any connected with those who were concerned in it, they sentence him to death. All those who have met with the same severe sentence being collected, the whole nation is assembled at the execution, as for some great solemnity. A scaffold is erected, and the prisoners are tied to the stake, where they commence their death song, and prepare for the ensuing scene of cruelty with the most undaunted courage. Their enemies, on the other side, are determined to put it to the proof, by the most refined and exquisite tortures. They begin at the extremity of his body, and gradually approach the more vital parts. One plucks out his nails by the roots, one by one ; another takes a finger into his mouth, and tears off the flesh with his teeth ; a third thrusts the finger, mangled as it is, into the bowl of a pipe made red hot, which he smokes like tobacco ; then they pound his fingers and toes to pieces between two stones ; they pull off the flesh from the teeth, and cut circles about his joints, and gashes in the fleshy parts of his limbs, which they sear immediately with red hot irons, cutting, burning, and pinching them alternately ; they pull off his flesh mangled and roasted, bit by bit, devouring it with greediness, and smearing their faces with the blood in an enthusiasm of horror and fury. When they have thus torn off the flesh, they twist the bare nerves and tendons about an iron, tearing and snapping them, whilst others are employed in pulling and extending the limbs in every way that can increase the torment. This continues often five or six hours, and sometimes such is the strength of the savages, days together. Then they frequently unbind him, to give a breathing to their fury, to think what new torments they shall inflict, and to refresh the strength of the sufferer, who, wearied out with such a variety of unheard-of torments, often falls into so profound a sleep,

sleep, that they are obliged to apply the fire to awake him and renew his sufferings. He is again fastened to the stake, and again they renew their cruelty; they stick him all over with small matches of wood, that easily take fire, but burn slowly; they continually run sharp reeds into every part of his body; they drag out his teeth with pincers, and thrust out his eyes; and lastly, after having burned his flesh from the bones with slow fires; after having so mangled the body that it is all but one wound; after having mutilated his face in such a manner as to carry nothing human in it; after having peeled the skin from his head, and poured a heap of red hot coals, or boiling water, on the naked skull, they once more unbind the wretch, who, blind, and staggering with pain and weakness, assaulted and pelted on every side with clubs and stones, now up, now down, falling into their fires at every step, runs hither and thither, until one of the chiefs, whether out of compassion or weary of cruelty, puts an end to his life with a club or a dagger. The body is then put into a kettle, and this barbarous employment is succeeded by a feast as barbarous.

The women, forgetting the human as well as the female nature, and transformed into something worse than furies, act their parts, and even outdo the men in this scene of horror, while the principal persons of the country sit round the stake smoking and looking on without the least emotion. What is most extraordinary, the sufferer, himself, in the little intervals of his torments, smokes too, appears unconcerned, and converses with his torturers about indifferent matters. Indeed during the whole time of his execution, there seems a contest between him and them which shall exceed, they in inflicting the most horrid pains, or he in enduring them, with a firmness and constancy almost above human: not a groan, not a sigh, not a distortion of countenance escapes him; he possesses his mind entirely in the midst of his torments; he recounts his own exploits; he informs them what cruelties he has inflicted upon their countrymen, and threatens them with the revenge that will attend his death; and though his reproaches exasperate them to a perfect madness and fury, he continues his insults even of their ignorance of the art of tormenting, pointing out himself more exquisite methods, and more sensible parts of the body to be afflicted. The women have this part of courage as well as the men; and it is as rare for an Indian to behave otherwise, as it would be for any European to suffer as an Indian.

When any one of the society dies, he is lamented by the whole ; and on this occasion a thousand ceremonies are practised, denoting the most lively sorrow. Of these, the most remarkable, as it discovers both the height and continuance of their grief, is what they call the feast of the dead, or the feast of souls. The day of this ceremony is appointed by public order, and nothing is omitted that it may be celebrated with the utmost pomp and magnificence. The neighbouring tribes are invited to be present, and to join in the solemnity. At this time all those who have died since the last solemn occasion, (which is renewed every ten years among some tribes, and every eight among others) are taken out of their graves ; those who have been interred at the greatest distance from the villages are diligently sought for and brought to this great rendezvous of carcases.

They bring the bodies into their cottages, where they prepare a feast in honour of the dead, during which their great actions are celebrated, and all the tender intercourses which took place between them and their friends are piously called to mind. The strangers, who have come sometimes many hundred miles to be present on the occasion, join in the tender condolance ; and the women, by frightful shrieks, demonstrate that they are pierced with the sharpest sorrow. Then they are carried from the cabbins for the general reinterment. A great pit is dug in the ground, and thither, at a certain time, each person attended by his family and friends, marches in solemn silence, bearing the dead body of a son, a father, or a brother. When they are all convened, the dead bodies, or the dust of those which were quite corrupted, are deposited in the pit : then their grief breaks out anew. Whatever they possess most valuable is interred with the dead. The strangers are not wanting in their generosity, and confer those presents which they have brought along with them for the purpose. Then all present go down into the pit, and every one takes a little of the earth, which they afterwards preserve with the most religious care. The bodies, ranged in order, are covered with new furze, and over these with bark, on which they throw stones, wood, and earth. Then taking their last farewell, they return each to his own cabin.

Areskoui, or the god of battle is revered as the great god of the Indians. Him they invoke before they go into the field, and according as his disposition is more or less favourable to them, they conclude they will be more or less successful. Some nations worship the sun and moon ; among others

others there are a number of traditions, relative to the creation of the world, and the history of the gods: traditions which resemble the Grecian fables, but which are still more absurd and inconsistent. But except when they have some immediate occasion for the assistance of their gods, they pay them no sort of worship. Like all rude nations, however, they are strongly addicted to superstition. They believe in the existence of a number of good and bad genii or spirits, who interfere in the affairs of mortals, and produce all our happiness or misery. It is from the evil genii in particular, that our diseases proceed; and it is to the good genii we are indebted for a cure. The ministers of the genii are the jugglers, who are also the only physicians among the savages. These jugglers are supposed to be inspired by the good genii, most commonly in their dreams, with the knowledge of future events; they are called into the assistance of the sick, and are supposed to be informed by the genii whether they will get over the disease, and in what way they must be treated. But these spirits are extremely simple in their system of physic, and, in almost every disease, direct the juggler to the same remedy. The patient is enclosed in a narrow cabin, in the midst of which is a stone red hot; on this they throw water, until he is well soaked with the warm vapour and his own sweat. Then they hurry him from the bagnio, and plunge him suddenly into the next river. This coarse method, which costs many their lives, often performs very extraordinary cures. The jugglers have likewise the use of some specifics of wonderful efficacy; and all the savages are dextrous in curing wounds by the application of herbs. But the power of these remedies is always attributed to the magical ceremonies with which they are administered.

H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
B R I T I S H S E T T L E M E N T S
I N
A M E R I C A.

C H A P. II.

A concise view of North America and the West-India Islands, from their first discovery, 'till the seeds of the present contest were sown, notifying the commercial strength and shipping of each of the colonies, as they stood in the year 1763.

THE first discovery made by any of our countrymen, was that already mentioned, by Sebastian Cabot, a native of Bristol; who in 1498 discovered that part of North America now known by the name of Hudson's Bay, and the straits of Davis, from Capt. Hudson and Davis, who sailed afterwards to these places.

Between the years 1607 and 1611, Mr. Hudson made four voyages to this part of the world; in the last of which, his men forced him and eight more of their officers into a boat, and left them to starve in the bottom of the bay.

Sir Thomas Button pursued the discovery in 1612, and capt. James, in 1631, in hopes of finding a North-West passage to China. Capt. Gilham sailed to the bottom of the bay in 1667, and, at his return, his owners procured a patent for planting this country, anno 1670. The English Governor that went thither was Charles Batley, Esq; who built a fort on Rupert river, calling it Charles-Fort, and soon after settled another factory at Nelson. In the year 1684, the chief English factory was at Albany, and a fort erected for its defence.

The French invaded our settlements, and took Fort Rupert and Albany in July 1686, though we were then at peace with France. In King William's war, anno 1693, the English recovered their settlements again.

During

During the war in Queen Anne's reign, the French reduced all our settlements except Albany, but were obliged to restore them at the peace of Utrecht, anno 1713; and the company have remained in possession of them ever since; and by the treaty they were to restore to Great Britain, the Bay and Streights of Hudson, with all the lands, seas, sea-coasts, rivers, and places, situated on the same bay and streights, (which comprehend all New Britain and British Canada) and it was agreed, that commissioners, on the part of Great Britain and France, should terminate, within the space of a year, the limits between the dominions of Great Britain and France on that side; which limits the subjects of Great Britain and France were not to pass over to each other by sea or land.

It is not with certainty known what Europeans first visited the country of Canada, the discovery being claimed by both Spaniards and French. However, no permanent settlement was made here till about the beginning of the 17th century; when the French having built some forts, and being frequently supplied with emigrants, they became able to support themselves and extend their views. As their settlements were the first to the Northward of what was then called New England, they gradually spread themselves round the bay of St Lawrence, and along both sides of the river, usurped the country called Nova Scotia, built a town, called Port Royal, in the bay of Fundy, and from thence, about the year 1680, supported the Indians of New England, in their wars with the English; for which they were, in 1690, stripped of their possessions in the bay of Fundy by the people of New England, under the command of Sir William Phipps, their governor; who also twice attempted the reduction of Quebec, but failed by being too late in the season. However, during the wars of King William, the French and Indians gained many advantages over the English, having recovered Port Royal and the other countries they had formerly usurped. In the wars of Queen Anne, Port Royal was again retaken, and called Annapolis; and an expedition was set on foot against Quebec. The fleet from Old England was under admiral Walker, with a body of troops under general Hill, who were to approach the place by the river of St Lawrence, while general Nicholson, with the New England forces, were to attack Montreal, and so divide the French force. This expedition also failed; and the peace of Utrecht following soon after, the French relinquished Nova Scotia, the bay of Fundy, and other places.

Then .

Then they applied themselves to extend their settlements about the lakes, and meet those making about the Mississippi; and also built and fortified the town of Louisburg on the island of Cape Breton, which gave them the command of the gulph of St Lawrence, and greatly disturbed the New England trade. This town was taken, in 1745, by the New England men, and restored to the French in 1748. It was finally taken in 1758; and, in the following year, the English army, under general Wolfe, having beat the French under Montcalm, in the neighbourhood of Quebec, where both generals fell, that town, and all its dependencies, fell to the English; and, by the treaty of 1763, was confirmed to them, and the French government thereby annihilated in North America.

Since the above period, we may rank the English possessions in North America, under the heads of the following colonies, *viz.* Hudson's Bay, Labrador, Newfoundland, Canada, Nova-Scotia, New-England, (including Massachusetts Bay, Rhode-island, Connecticut, and New-Hampshire, originally one colony, and though now under separate jurisdictions, are still considered as such;) New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida: To these colonies may be added all those islands, which goes under the general name of the West-Indies, *viz.* Jamaica, Anguilla, Barbuda, St Christopher's, Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat, Dominica, St Vincent, Barbadoes, Tobago, and Granada, and the Grenadines, or Grenadillos; also the Bermudas, or Summer islands; the Bahama, or Lucayan islands, in the Atlantic ocean. Of these, Dominica, St Vincent, Tobago, and Granada, were ceded by France to Great-Britain, by the definitive treaty of 1763.

The chief commodities exported from G. B. to those colonies and West-Indian islands, are wrought iron, steel, copper, pewter, lead, and brass, cordage, hemp, sail-cloth, ship-chandlery, painters colours, millinery, hosiery, haberdashery, gloves, hats, broad-cloths, stuffs, flannels, Cochester bays, long eil silks, gold and silver lace, Manchester goods, British, foreign, and Irish linens, earthen-wares, grind-stones, Birmingham and Sheffield wares, toys, sadlery, cabinet wares, seeds, cheefe, strong beer, smoaking pipes, snuffs, wines, spirits, and drugs, East-India goods, books, paper, leather, besides many other articles, according to the different wants and exigencies of the different colonies, impossible to be enumerated here. In return we receive tobacco, rice, flour, biscuit, wheat, beans, peas, oats, Indian-corn, and other grain;

grain; honey, apples, cyder, and onions; salt-beef, pork, hams, bacon, venison, tongues, figs and raisins, prodigious quantities of cod, mackarel, and other fish, and fish-oil; furs and skins of wild beasts, such as bear, beaver, otter, furr, deer, and racoon, horses, and live stock; timber planks, masts, boards, staves, shingles, pitch, tar, and turpentine; ships built for sale; flax, flax-seed, and cotton; indigo, potash, bees-wax, tallow, copper-ore, and iron in bars and in pigs; besides many other commodities peculiar to the climes and soil of the different provinces and isles. As to those, which have been acquired by the last general peace, they are certainly very improveable, nor can we form any judgment of them, in their present infantine unsettled state. As we propose making the war now subsisting between the colonies and us, the subject of the second part of this work, it is considered at present sufficient to exhibit a state of the trade of America, as it existed when the differences first took place, marking at the same time the commercial strength and shipping of the colonies.

<i>Colonies.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Seamen.</i>	<i>Exports from G. Britain.</i>	<i>Exp. from the Colonies.</i>
Hudson's Bay	4	130	L. 16,000	L. 29,340
Labrador, American vessels 120 }				49,050
Newfoundland (3000 boats) }	380	20,560	273,400	345,000
Canada	34	400	105,000	105,500
Nova-Scotia	6	72	26,500	38,000
New-England	46	552	395,000	370,500
Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire. }	3	36	12,000	114,500
New-York	30	330	531,000	526,000
Pensylvania	35	390	611,000	705,500
Virginia and Maryland }	330	3,960	865,000	1,040,000
North Carolina	34	408	18,000	68,350
South Carolina	140	1,680	365,000	395,666
Georgia	24	240	49,000	74,200
East Florida	2	24	7,000	
West ditto	10	120	97,000	63,000
<hr/>				
	1,078	28,910	3,730,900	3,924,606

REVOLUTIONS
AND
MEMORABLE EVENTS.

CHAP. III.

A short narrative of the memorable events and revolutions of the British colonies in North America, from the days of Queen Elizabeth to the present time, enumerating their different charters and grants, and shewing when executed, to whom, and for what purpose.

WHEN the Europeans first visited New-England, they found it inhabited by twenty different nations or tribes independent of each other, and commanded by their respective chiefs. Of these nations, the most powerful was the Massachusets, situated on or near Boston harbour.— The North-East part of the continent of America was first discovered by Sebastian Cabot, a native of Bristol. In the year 1497, he discovered all the coast, from Cape Florida, in 25 degrees of North latitude, to 67 and an half; from whence England claimed a right to Virginia, prior to the Spaniard, or any other European power.

Grants to
Sir Walter
Raleigh and
others.

Queen Elizabeth having equipped several squadrons, under the command of those celebrated commanders Drake, Hawkins, and Raleigh, to cruize upon the Spanish coasts and islands in America, they brought home such favourable accounts of the riches and fertility of Florida, that a great many enterprizing gentlemen appeared very zealous of making settlements in that part of the world, and chose Mr. Raleigh, afterwards Sir Walter, to conduct the enterprize, who obtained a patent or grant from Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1584, of all such lands as he should discover in North-America, between 33 and 40 degrees of North latitude

tude, and to dispose of them in fee-simple, or otherwise, to any of the subjects of England, reserving to the crown a fifth part of all the gold and silver ore that should be acquired in such countries, paying the said fifth part to the crown in lieu of all services.

Whereupon Mr. Raleigh formed a society among his friends, who contributed large sums, and provided two ships to go upon the discovery, the command having been given to capt. Philip Amidas and capt. Arthur Barlow, who set sail from England on the 20th of April 1584, and arrived at the island of Wokoken, on the coast of Carolina, in 34 degrees odd minutes, North latitude. They visited another island a little to the Northward, called Roanoak; and some of the officers went over to the neighbouring continent, where they were hospitably entertained by Wingina, the king of that part of the country; however, they returned to the island of Wokoken before night, where they bartered some utensils of brass and pewter, axes, hatchets, and knives, with the natives, for skins and furs; and, having disposed of all their goods, and loaded their ships with skins, saffras, and cedar, and procured some pearls and tobacco, they parted with the natives in a very friendly manner, returning to England with two Indians, who desired to come along with them. The tobacco brought home by these adventurers, being the first that was ever seen in England, was then extolled as a most valuable plant, and a remedy for almost every disease.

These 2 ships having made a profitable voyage, and it being reported that the country was immensely rich, Mr. Raleigh and his friends fitted out a fleet of seven ships more, giving the command of it to Sir Rich. Grenville, who set sail from Plymouth the 9th of April 1585; and arrived at the island of Wokoken the 26th of June following, where the admiral's ship was cast away going into the harbour; but he and all the crew were saved. The Admiral afterwards conducted the adventurers to the island of Roanoak, from whence he went over to the continent, and took a view of the country: but one of the natives stealing a silver cup, he took a severe revenge, burnt and plundered an Indian town, with all the corn growing in the fields, and leaving 108 men on the island of Roanoak, under the command of Mr. Ralph Lane, directed him to make further discoveries, and then set sail for England, promising to return with such reinforcements as should enable him to subdue the neighbouring continent: but Mr. Lane marching to the West, found the country destroyed

stroyed before him as he advanced ; and it was with great difficulty that he made his retreat to Roanoak again. And here the colony was in great danger of starving, if Admiral Drake had not taken them up as he was returning from a cruize, and brought them to England.

Sir Walter sent over several other little embarkations ; but, neglecting to support them, all of them perished.

James I.
1606.

No farther attempts were made to fix the colonies either in Carolina or Virginia, until the beginning of the reign of James I. who, by his letters patent, dated the 10th of April 1606, authorized Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers, Richard Hackluit, Clerk, Prebendary of Westminster, and and other adventurers, to plant the coast of Virginia, between 34 and 45 degrees of North latitude ; who thereupon fitted out three small ships, giving the command of them to captain Christopher Newport, who set sail from the Downs on the 5th of January, 1606-7, and, on the 26th of April, 1607, arrived in the bay of Chesapeake ; and sailing up the river Powhatan, now James river, they landed on a peninsula about fifty miles up the river, where they built a fort, and afterwards a town, which they called James-town, in honour of King James I. from whom they received their patent. This was the first town built by the English on the continent of America.

There happened some skirmishes between the English and the natives at their landing ; but the Indians, apprehending they should not be able to maintain their ground against a people furnished with fire-arms, pretended to be reconciled, waiting however for an opportunity of falling upon these strangers, when they should meet with an advantage. The fort being finished, Capt. Newport, on the 22d of June, 1607, returned to England, leaving 104 men in the new settlement.

The garrison, soon finding themselves in want of provisions, and the natives refusing to furnish them with any, though they offered to give the full value for them, the English found themselves under a necessity of plundering the country ; upon which an open war commenced between them and the natives ; however, fresh supplies and reinforcements coming over, commanded by Lord Delawar, the Indians were glad to enter into a treaty of peace, during which the English, finding a great demand for tobacco in Europe, began to encourage the planting of it, in which they succeeded beyond their expectations ; and at the same time Sir G. Yardley, the governor, established a government resembling

resembling that of England, and the first general assembly or parliament met at James-town, in May, 1620; and negroes were first imported into Virginia the same year.

About the year 1619, some dissenters of the independent persuasion, who were uneasy at their being required to conform to the church of England, having purchased the Plymouth patent, and obtained another from King James to send colonies to North Virginia, now New-England, embarked 150 men on board a ship, which sailed from Plymouth the 6th of September 1620, and arrived at Cape-Cod in New-England on the 9th of November following; where they built a town, and called it by the name of New Plymouth; and Mr. John Carver was elected their governor.

The Plymouth patent purchased by Dissenters; a colony erected, 1621.

The Indians were, at this time, too much engaged in wars among themselves, to give these strangers any disturbance; and Massassoit, prince of the Massachusset nation, learning from one Quanto, an Indian who had been carried to England, what a powerful people the English were, made governor Carver a visit the following spring, and entered into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the English, by whose assistance he hoped to make a conquest of the Narraganset nation, with which he was then at war. This prince also consented to acknowledge the king of England his sovereign, and made a cession of part of his country to the new planters. Several other Sachems, or Princes, also followed the example of Massassoit, and desired the protection of the English against their enemies, professing themselves subjects of king James.

This company enters into an alliance with several Indian nations.

Ships arriving every day almost with planters and provisions, the colony soon became well established; when differences arose among the planters, upon account of religion. The independents, who were the most numerous, not allowing a toleration to any other sect or persuasion, several of the adventurers removed to other parts of the country, and others returned home, whereby the colony was so weakened, that, if the Indians had not been engaged in a civil war, the English would infallibly have been driven out of the country.

Difference on religion, weakens and divides this colony.

In the mean time, another set of adventurers, anno 1627, purchased a grant of the Plymouth company, of all that part of New England, which lies between the river Merimac and Charles river; and to strengthen their title to this country, procured a grant of it from King Charles, anno 1628, and nominated Mr. Craddock their first governor.

The Quakers plant other colonies.

Another set of adventurers planted New Hampshire, and others Providence and Rhode-Island, the last being chiefly quakers, driven out of Massachusset colony by the independents,

dents,

dents, who had long persecuted them, and actually hanged some of the quakers for not conforming to their sect.

Thus all the New-England provinces were planted and well-peopled within the space of twenty years, reckoning from the arrival of the first colony at New Plymouth, during which time they were very little interrupted by the Indians; but the English colony of Connecticut beginning to erect fortresses, and extend their settlements to the Westward, without the leave of the natives, the Indians were alarmed, apprehending they should in time be dispossessed of their country, and be enslaved by these foreigners.

The Indians are alarmed at the encroachments of their new allies.

The Sachem Metacoment therefore (to whom the English gave the name of Philip) the son of Massasoit, who first entered into an alliance with the English, observing the danger his country was in, and that the English now no longer acted as allies, but tyrannized over his people, and had in a manner deprived him of his authority, dispatched messengers privately through all the tribes of the Indians, inviting them to take up arms in defence of their country, which they did, and succeeded in several engagements at first, but their prince Philip being killed by a musket-shot, the English at length prevailed. Great numbers of the Indians were massacred, and others were driven out of their country, and joined the French in Canada, who promised them aid and protection. Force now proving ineffectual, and looking upon themselves as a conquered people, the Indians entered into a conspiracy to massacre all the English, on the 22d of March, 1622, about noon, when the English were abroad at work on their plantations, without arms; and they actually murdered 347 of the English, most of them being killed by their own working-tools: but an Indian, who had been well used by his master, disclosing the design to him a little before this execution, he gave notice to the rest of the planters, who stood upon their defence, and not only saved their own lives, but cut off great numbers of the Indians.

The planters, not long after, falling out among themselves, the Indians took an advantage of their divisions, and made another attempt to recover their country, killing great numbers of the English by surprise.

The company of Virginia dissolved.

These misfortunes being ascribed to the mal-administration of the company, King Charles I. dissolved them in the year 1626, and reduced the government of Virginia under his own immediate direction, appointing the government and council himself, ordering all patents and processes to issue in the king's name, reserving a quit-rent of two shillings for every

every hundred acres of land. The planters, however, falling into factions and parties again, the Indians made a third effort to recover their lost liberties, and cut off near 500 more of the English; but they were at length repulsed, and their king Oppaconcanough taken prisoner, and killed by a private soldier, very much against the will of Sir William Berkley, the then governor, who designed to have brought him over into England, being a man of extraordinary stature, and uncommon parts.

Sir William afterwards made peace with the Indians, which continued a considerable time; but, the civil war commencing in England, he was removed from his government during the usurpation, when an ordinance of parliament was made, prohibiting the plantations to receive or export any goods but in English ships; which gave birth to the act of navigation in the reign of King Charles II, who reinstated Sir William Berkley in his government at the restoration.

The act
of navi-
gation.

Sir William promoted the manufactures of silk and linen in this plantation, and was esteemed an excellent governor; but the act of navigation restraining the planters from sending their merchandize to foreign countries, and from receiving cloathing, furniture, or supplies from any nation but England, creating a deal of discontent, Mr. Bacon, a popular factious gentleman, took the advantage of their disaffection, and, setting up for himself, drew the people into rebellion, deposed the governor, and compelled him to fly to the Eastern shore of the bay of Chesepeak; and, had not Bacon died in good time, he had probably made himself Sovereign of Virginia; but, upon his death, Sir William returned to his government, and the people to their duty.

The province of New-York, which was sold to the Dutch, about the year 1608, by a private contract with captain Hudson, its discoverer, was by the Dutch, called Nova Belgia. They cleared some parts, built some towns about the mouths of the rivers, and formed some settlements within land; and, about the year 1637, had spread themselves to the Northward of what is now called Jersey, and encroached on the lands which had been settled for some years by a colony of Swedes, who had built the towns of Christiana, Elsingburg, and Gottenburg. But as this coast had been been first discovered by Cabot, for king Henry VII. it was reclaimed by king Charles II; who in the year 1664, sent a force which took possession of it for the duke of York, to whom it had been granted by the king, his brother; and therefore

New-
York be-
comes a
royal go-
vernment

therefore the country was called New York. The part possessed by the Swedes was granted by the duke of York to Lord Berkley and Sir George Carteret, whose families being of the isle of Jersey, they called it New Jersey; one having the East part, and the other the West part. Such of the Swedes and Dutch as chose to stay, and become subjects to England, and tenants to the proprietors, were permitted to enjoy the fruits of their labour; and the Dutch who departed had the liberty of retiring to Surinam, which country the English had ceded to the Dutch by way of exchange. On the duke of York's accession to the throne, New York fell to the crown, and became a royal government. And in 1702 the proprietors of the Jerseys surrendering the country to the queen, it became also a royal government.

The duke of York afterwards parcelled out these countries to under-proprietors, among whom William Penn, son of Sir William Penn, admiral in the Dutch wars, was one.

All the rest of the under-proprietors, some time after, surrendered their charters to the crown, whereby New York and the Jerseys became royal governments; but Penn retained that part of the country which had been granted to him, and king Charles II. made him another grant, in 1680, of the rest of that country, which now constitutes the rest of Pennsylvania, in consideration of a debt due to his father, the admiral, from the government. Penn, the son, afterwards united the countries he possessed by both grants, into one, giving them the name of Pennsylvania, and began to plant them in the year 1681. The Dutch and Swedish inhabitants chusing still to reside in this country, as they did in New-York and the Jerseys, they and their descendants enjoy the same privileges as the rest of his majesty's subjects in these plantations do, and are now in a manner the same people with the English, speaking their language, and governed by their laws and customs.

Mr. Penn, however, notwithstanding the grants made him by the crown and the duke of York, did not esteem himself the real proprietor of the lands granted him, until he had given the Indians valuable considerations (or what they esteemed such) for their country: he therefore assembled their Sachems or Princes, and purchased countries of a very large extent of them, for a very moderate price, as they made scarce any other use of their country than hunt in it. He paid them for it in clothes, tools, and utensils, to the entire satisfaction of the natives, who still retained more lands than they could possibly use, being very few in number.

Maryland

Maryland was discovered in the year 1606, when Virginia was first planted, and, for some time, was esteemed a part of Virginia, until Charles I. in the year 1632, granted all that part of Virginia, which lay North of Patowmac river, and was not then planted, to the right honourable Cecilius Calvert, Lord Baltimore of the kingdom of Ireland, and to his heirs; which was afterwards named Maryland, in honour of the then consort Henrietta Maria, youngest daughter of the French king Henry IV. The Lord Baltimore sent over his brother, the hon. Leonard Calvert, Esq; with several Roman Catholic gentlemen, and other adventurers, to the number of 200, who arrived in the bay of Chesapeake in the year 1633, and planted the first colony near the mouth of Patowmac river, and advancing to the Indian town of Yoamaco, they were permitted to reside in one part of the town, in consideration of some presents they made to the Weroance, or prince of the country, who left them in possession of the whole town as soon as this people had got in their harvest; whereupon Mr. Calvert gave the town the name of St. Mary's: but what principally induced the Weroance to be so exceedingly civil to the English was his being at war with the Susquehannah Indians, and expecting to be protected by the English against that potent enemy, who had very near driven him out of his country. And such was the good understanding between the Yoamaco Indians and this colony, that, while the English were planting the country, the Indians hunted for them in the woods, and brought them in great quantities of venison and wild fowl; and many Roman Catholic families coming over from England to avoid the penal laws, this soon became a flourishing colony, of which the Calverts remained governors until the civil wars in England, when the family were deprived of the government of this province, but recovered it again on the restoration of King Charles II. And the hon. Charles Calvert, son of the Lord Baltimore, remained governor of that Colony near 20 years, who promoted the planting of tobacco here, till the colony became almost as considerable for that branch of business as Virginia; and the family still remain proprietors of this plantation, being one of the most considerable estates enjoyed by any subject of Great Britain abroad.

Grants made to L. Baltimore, and several Roman Catholics of Ireland

Carolina was the last country in America planted by the English, after Sir Walter Raleigh's unfortunate attempts to fix colonies in Carolina, in the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. This country seems to have been entirely overlooked

overlooked till the restoration of King Charles II. The then ministry, being informed that Carolina would produce wine, oil, and silk, and almost every thing that Britain wanted, procured a patent or grant from King Charles to themselves, dated the 24th of March 1663, of great part of this coast; the grantees being Edward Earl of Clarendon, Lord Chancellor; George Duke of Albemarle, the general; William Lord Craven, John Lord Berkely, the Lord Anthony Ashley Cooper, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Colleton, and their heirs. These proprietors, however, did little towards planting it, until the year 1670, when Lord Ashley struck out a whimsical kind of government for the colony, creating a Palatine or Sovereign, with a council to be a check upon him; which involved them in perpetual quarrels, and almost destroyed the plantation as soon as it was settled; to prevent which, they were at length obliged to sell their shares to the crown; and it is now a royal government, only Earl Granville thought fit to retain his seventh share, which his family still remains in possession of.

The Carolinas being frequently invaded and harrassed by the French and Spanish Indians, the English found it necessary to extend their plantations farther South, and added that province denominated Georgia, contiguous to the Carolinas; and trustees were appointed to fortify that frontier against the incursions of the Indians, who accordingly built towns, and erected fronts on or near the banks of the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha, in order to cover these provinces against any hostile attempts on that side, for here only they were liable to be attacked. As to the rest, the Apalachian mountains cover the two Carolinas from any invasion from the West.

General Oglethorpe commanded the first embarkation for Georgia, to whom the Creek nation voluntarily relinquished their right to all the country South of the river Savannah, the Northern limits of this new province of Georgia; and articles of commerce were settled between the English and Creeks. There were some attempts made the last war to add the Spanish port of St. Augustine to the province of Georgia; and had not General Oglethorpe been betrayed, he had probably reduced that fortress; but not being able to confide in his people, he found it necessary to retire from thence; and the Spaniards not long after returned the visit, and invaded Georgia, which was so well defended by Mr. Oglethorpe, that the Spaniards were beaten off; however, till the last treaty of peace, they always insisted that the province

province of Georgia, or part of it, belonged to the crown of Spain.

The Spaniards possessed themselves of Florida immediately after their conquest of Mexico, under which name they comprehended all those countries which lye North of the gulph of Mexico, of which Carolina and the rest of the British plantations are part; but, the Spaniards abandoning part of this country for richer settlements in Mexico and Peru, the English planted most of the Eastern coast, now stiled British America, the Spaniards retaining only St. Augustin, and two or three other small places East of the river Mississippi, and what lyes West of that river; and thus the country situated between the English plantations on the East, and the Spanish territories in the West, remained under the dominion of the Florida Indians, until the year 1718, when the French took possession of the river Mississippi, and erected some forts, by virtue whereof they laid claim to the greatest part of Florida, incroaching on the Spanish territories on the West, and the English dominions on the East. They did, indeed, once before erect some forts on the Spanish side of the river Mississippi; but the Spaniards demolished them, and drove the French out of the country; but since France and Spain have been so closely united, the Spaniards seem to wink at their incroachments; but the English who have ever looked upon this country, as far Westward as the river Mississippi, to belong to the colonies of the Carolinas and Georgia, or at least to their Indian allies the Creeks or Cherokees, thought they had very good reason to dispute this part of Florida with the French, these Indians having ceded to the English all this country which they do not chuse themselves; and it must be admitted that the natives only can give the Europeans a just title to it. On this claim, Great Britain, in 1754, disputed her right with France, from which contest proceeded the late French war.

THE
H I S T O R Y
Of the CIVIL WAR in
A M E R I C A.

PART II.

CHAP I.

A short View of the Question in dispute, relative to the Colonies ; with the origin of the present, unhappy civil contest.

American taxation, the Cause of debate.

THE Great Question which originally caused the fatal difference betwixt *Britain* and *America*, was, whether the English House of Commons possessed a right of taxing the Colonies, or not: I say the House of Commons, because it is to that branch of the legislature the disposal of property particularly belongs.

To form a just idea of this dispute, (which hath unhappily terminated in a Civil War) it must be premised, government very early contended, that the Americans were as fully represented, as a great part of the people in England, therefore had no reason to complain at being made as totally subject to the British legislature, as Non-Electors in Britain.

G. Britains' plea for taxing the Colonists.

It was also said, that admitting the Americans were not directly represented, or even virtually so in the English house; yet, as they voluntarily forfeited that privilege at their emigration, they still could not complain of any grievance in being excluded a share in the government, having not a claim thereto; which being the case, the provincial assemblies could possess no real power but what is derived from, and remain under the absolute command of Great Britain.

The constitutional government of America, therefore, is, in one of the greatest points, viz. That of Taxation, a new case in Politicks. But, upon the above pretences, the British

tish legislature, since 1763, hath laid various internal taxes on the Colonies, against the opinion of the principal assemblies, who had hitherto taken a part in the disposal of their own money. Their remonstrances against English proceedings, were termed seditious, and an army was sent over to compel them to obedience.

1754.

But if the British parliament had succeeded in the attempt of exercising an unlimited power of taxation in the Colonies, the root of American freedom would have been destroyed; the main pillar of the English constitution, as far as it relates to the Colonists, would have been thrown down: And was there not, a most glaring absurdity in attempting to exclude three millions of free subjects from the least share in the disposal of their own property.

Having briefly thrown out these particulars, let us next consider the form of government early established in the older Colonies; which being agreeable to Charter rights, had the assent of both parties.

This form consisted of an upper and lower house of Representatives, with a governor appointed by the crown, (his salary was paid by the people) somewhat resembling a Lord Lieutenant and parliament in Ireland.) Each house of representatives, had the power of making laws relative to the police and management of its own province, but which could only become valid by receiving the royal assent, through the governor.

Form of Government in America.

Respecting their trade and commerce, the Colonists always considered themselves, or under the protection of, and subject to British legislation. Yet more fully to trace the cause of the present contest, it may be observed, that the unascertained limits of the English and French territories in North America, induced the latter, in 1754, to encroach on the British settlements, near the mouth of the Mississippi, the French pretending to have been the first discoverers of the river Ohio, and the adjoining country.

French encroachments, the cause of great troubles.

In consequence of this, they drove off the new settlers, and built a fort on the forks of the river Mononghela, called Duquesne; a situation which commanded the entrance into the countries on the Ohio, and Mississippi rivers.

These encroachments made it necessary for the British colonists to assemble, and adopt measures for the general safety. To this purpose, commissioners from many of the Colonies, met at Albany, where it was proposed, that a Grand Council should be formed of members, to be chosen by the assemblies, and sent from all the different Colonies; which council, together,

Colonists assemble, and form a plan of defence.

gether,

1763. urther, with a general governor to be adopted by the Crown, should be appointed to make laws, in order to promote the common welfare, and to raise money in the different provinces for the defence of the whole.

Sent to G. B. for approbation.—
 Rejected, and another adopted.
 This plan was sent to Great Britain for approbation, but was, by the then Ministry rejected, and the following proposed in its stead; viz.—“ That governors of different Colonies, attended by one or two of their respective councils, should assemble and concert measures for the general defence; erect forts where they should judge proper, raise what troops should be thought necessary, with power to draw on the treasury of England for what sums might be wanting, but the treasury to be reimbursed, by a tax on the Colonies, to be laid by an English act of parliament.”

But this plan was resolutely objected to by the Colonists; who, at the same time, gave their reasons respecting the impropriety of raising money off the provinces, by any act of the British legislature, without their being represented in the English parliament.

The commencement of a war with France, about this period, (on account of encroachments, before-named) prevented Ministry from pursuing their taxation plan, and suffer'd affairs to remain as formerly: But in 1763, when peace was established, the dispute again took place, and the weapons of argument, were succeeded by those of war: yet, in support of the claim that had been made, the English parliament passed (that source of all our sorrows) the Stamp Act; whereby it was declared unlawful to draw any bills, or bonds, except on stamped paper; and all writings of that sort, which should be otherwise drawn, were declared by this impolitic act, to be null and void.

Stamp
 Act,
 1763.

Let it be observed, it was not the revenue which might arise from this new law, that raised the ferment in the Colonies; but the supposed illegality of the claim, or establishing a precedent, that might lay them open to discretionary taxations, by which their properties would be at the disposal of others.

On this basis, their contest at first was founded; and, here, I would just remark, That the right to a constitutional resistance, supposes no government absolute, or ultimate; but resolves all up to the people. But leaving for the present, observations of this sort, let us return to the Stamp Act, which so alarmed every inhabitant of America, and so effectually stopped that commercial connection which had hitherto subsisted between them and us, that in the
 very

very year following (1766), it was thought necessary to be repealed; in consequence of which, all their former sources of trade between Great Britain and her Colonies, were again opened, and flowed in abundance as usual. Notwithstanding this, in the succeeding year to that of the repeal, duties to be paid in America (to the East India company, as a compensation for certain encroachments on that body) were imposed on *tea, glass, paper, &c.* which threw the whole continent of America again into convulsions. This act (called the *Tea-act*) so effectually kindled their resentment, that our parliament, in the year 1770, thought proper to repeal three-fourths of this duty, with all the other charges enumerated in the bill, leaving only the small moiety of three-pence per pound behind.

1765.

Tea Act.
1767.

This insignificant duty of three-pence per pound on tea was now doomed to be the *fatal bone of contention* between the mother country and her colonies. We have seen that it was then too truly foretold, by those who struggled hard for the repeal of the whole, and who had always declared against every idea of an *internal taxation* of America, that the leaving of one duty, and the discharge of the others, could answer no other purpose, than the lessening of that scanty revenue, which was scarcely sufficient, in its full amount, to answer the expence of its collection; that by this means, instead of profit or benefit, a new charge, to supply the deficiency, would be thrown upon the state at home: while all the other evils, which were then acknowledged as the motives for a partial repeal, would be continued in their utmost extent. These were the strictures passed at home upon the whole system of American government.

The consequent discontent and disorders continued to prevail, in a greater or lesser degree, through all the old colonies, on the continent. The same spirit pervaded the whole. Even those colonies which depended most upon the mother country for the consumption of their productions, entered into similar associations with the others; and nothing was to be heard of, but resolutions for the encouragement of their own manufactures, the consumption of home products, the discouragement of foreign articles, and the retrenchment of all superfluities. But still these were only symptoms of discontent, which had little effect on the trade to the colonies. That trade, which had somewhat stagnated on the late *non-importation agreement* revived again, and even flourished. The article indeed of tea, was by the resolutions of several colonies strictly prohibited; but it still

Resolutions entered into for encouraging their own manufactures.

In 1770.

1772.

continued to be introduced both from England and other countries, and the duties were paid, though with some small appearance of exterior guard and caution.

Discon-
tents in
the colo-
nies.

In the mean time, the governors of most of the colonies, and the people were in a continual state of warfare. Assemblies were repeatedly called, and suddenly dissolved. Their time was employed, while sitting, in reiterating grievances and framing remonstrances. Other matters sprang up, besides the tea duty and the custom-houses, to increase the general discontent. The late adopted measure, of the governors and judges being paid their salaries by the crown, and thereby, as they were removeable at pleasure, rendered intirely dependent on that, and totally independent of the people, and provincial assemblies, however right or necessary in the present state of affairs, afforded an inexhaustible source of ill-humour and complaint.

Burning
of the
Gaspee
Schooner
June 10,
1773.

The greatest outrage, which was committed in this state of disorder, happened at PROVIDENCE in Rhode Island, where his Majesty's armed schooner, the *Gaspee*, having been stationed to prevent the smuggling, for which that place was notorious, the vigilance of the officer, who commanded the vessel, so enraged the people, that they boarded her at midnight, to the number of two hundred armed men, and after wounding him, and forcing him and his people to go on shore, concluded this daring exploit by burning the schooner. Though a reward of 500*l.* together with a pardon, if claimed by an accomplice, was offered by proclamation for the discovering and apprehending any of the persons concerned in this atrocious act, no effectual discovery could be made.

Great
heats at
Boston,
occasion-
ed by the
discovery
of certain
Letters.

An odd incident happened, which served to revive, with double force, all the ill temper and animosity that had long subsisted between the executive part of government and the people, in the province of Massachusetts Bay. This was the accidental discovery, and publication of a number of confidential letters, which had been written during the course of the unhappy disputes with the mother country, by the then governor and deputy-governor of that colony, to persons in power and office in England. The letters contained a very unfavourable representation of the state of affairs, the temper and disposition of the people, and the views of their leaders, in that province; and tended to shew, not only the necessity of the most coercive measures; but that even a very considerable change of the constitution, and system of government, was necessary, to secure the obedience of the colony.

These

These letters indeed were in part confidential and private ; but the people of the colony insisted, that they were evidently intended to influence the conduct of government, and must therefore be shewn to such persons as had an interest in preserving their privileges. Upon the death of a gentleman in whose possession these letters then happened, they by some means which were not known, fell into the hands of the agent for the colony of Massachusetts's Bay, who immediately transmitted them to the assembly of that province, which was then sitting at Boston. The indignation and animosity which these letters excited on the one side, and the confusion on the other, neither need nor admit of description.

After several violent resolutions in the house of representatives, the letters were presented to the council, under the strictest injunction from the representatives, that the persons, who were to shew them should not by any means suffer them, even for a moment, out of their own immediate hands. This affront to the governor was adopted by the council ; and, upon his requiring to examine the letters that were attributed to him, thereby to be enabled, either to acknowledge them if genuine, or to reprobate them if spurious, that board, under the pretence of this restriction, refused to deliver them into his hands ; but sent a committee to open them before him, that he might examine the hand-writing. To this indignity he was obliged to submit, as well as to the mortification of acknowledging the signature.

Such a new source of discord was not wanting in that colony. The house of assembly passed a petition and remonstrance to his Majesty, in which they charged their governor and lieutenant-governor with being betrayers of their trusts, and of the people they governed ; of giving private, partial, and false information ; declared them enemies to the colony, and prayed for justice against them, and for their speedy removal from their places. So wide was the discontent, and so weak the powers of government in that assembly, that these charges with many others, were carried through by a majority of 82 to 12.

June 23.
Petition for the removal of the governor & lieutenant-govr.

As we have just observed, the article of tea to be continued notwithstanding the strong resolutions of the colonists, to be still imported into America ; yet by the advantages which foreigners had in the sale of the low priced teas, as well as the general odium attending the British teas, which, as bearing a parliamentary duty, were considered as instruments of slavery, the East India company was thought to suffer much by the dispute with the colonies.

Thus

1773.
 Scheme for the exportation of tea by the E. I. co. to the colonies.

Thus circumstanced, the minister in the last session, as some apparent consolation to that company for the strong measures which were then pursued against it by government, brought in a bill, by which they were enabled to export their teas, duty free, to all places whatsoever. In consequence of this measure, the company departed in some degree from its established mode, of disposing of its teas by publick sales to the merchants and dealers, and adopted the new system, of becoming its own exporter and factor. Several ships were accordingly freighted with teas for the different colonies by the company, where it also appointed agents for the disposal of that commodity.

The success of this scheme, and any utility to be derived from it, if it did succeed, were at the time much questioned: some active members in that company, and one gentleman of great consideration amongst them, remonstrated against it, as rather calculated for the establishment of the revenue law in America, than as a favour of service to the company. It is true, that they had then about seventeen millions of pounds of tea in their ware-houses; but though this appeared an immense quantity to those who were not versed in the state of the trade, it was said, in reality to be only equal to about two years usual consumption, and it was always intended to have a year's stock in hand.

It appears that the company was not itself quite satisfied as to the utility of this measure, and accordingly consulted some of the most eminent persons in the tea trade upon the subject. By some of the most intelligent of these it was represented, as the wildest scheme that could be imagined, and the most remote from affording the relief which they wanted. That even supposing it attended with all the success of which it was possibly capable, the returns would be too slow and too precarious, to supply in any degree the company's present exigencies in point of cash; that on the other hand it would certainly be offering the greatest injury to the merchants, who were their established and never-failing customers; who purchased their teas at all risks, and paid vast sums of money at stated times independent of them. Certain measures were also proposed, relative to the holding of two public sales within given distances of time, by which the company would not only dispose of all its teas, but would receive, as they supposed, by the first payment, at the end only of five months, no less than 1,200,000*l.* in cash: a sum so considerable, and to be paid in so short a time, that it would probably enable them to refrain from the fatal loan, which they were negotiating

ciating with the public. The first measure, being a favourite with government, was adopted, notwithstanding these reasons and proposals. 1773.

If such were the opinions formed upon this scheme at home, it was universally considered in the colonies, as calculated merely to circumvent them into a compliance with the revenue law, and thereby open the door to an unlimited taxation. For it was easily seen, that if the tea was once landed and in the custody of the consignees, no associations, nor other measures, would be sufficient to prevent its sale and consumption; and nobody could pretend to imagine, that when taxation was established in one instance, it would restrain itself in others. Besides that all the dealers both legal and clandestine, who as tea is an article of such general consumption in America, were extremely powerful, saw their trade taken at once out of their hands. They supposed it would all fall into the hands of the company's consignees, to whom they must become in a great measure dependent, if they could hope to trade at all. The East India company by the late regulations was brought intirely under the direction of government. The consignees were of course such as favoured administration, and for that reason the most unpopular people in America. Particularly at Boston, they were of the family and nearest connections of those gentlemen, whose letters as we have observed, had at that time kindled such prodigious heats and animosities among the people. It was at an unlucky time that they thought they saw a monopoly formed in favour of the most obnoxious persons, and that too for the purpose of confirming an odious tax. The same spirit seemed to run like wildfire throughout the colonies, and without any apparent previous concert, it was every where determined, to prevent the landing of the teas at all events.

At the same time, the East India company became so exceedingly odious to the people, that a mere opposition to her interests, abstracted from all other causes, would have embarrassed any measure that was undertaken in her favour. The colonists said, that she was quitting her usual line of conduct, and wantonly becoming the instrument of giving efficacy to a law which they detested: thereby involving them, as they affirmed, in the present dangerous dilemma, either of submission to the establishment of a precedent which they deemed fatal to their liberties, or of bringing matters to a crisis which they dreaded, by adopting the only means that seemed left to prevent its execution.

particular causes which operated in rendering that measure more generally obnoxious.

1773. As the time approached when the arrival of the tea ships for the execution of the new plan was expected, the people assembled at different places in great bodies, and began to take such measures as seemed most effectual to prevent the landing of their cargoes. The tea consignees, who had been appointed by the E. I. company, were obliged in most places (and in some, at the peril of Life as well as property) to relinquish their appointments, and to enter into public engagements not to act in that capacity. Committees were appointed by the people in different towns and provinces, whom they armed with such powers as they supposed themselves enabled to bestow. They were authorized to inspect merchants books, to propose tests, to punish those whom they considered as contumacious, by the dangerous prosecution of declaring them enemies to their country, and of assembling the people when they thought necessary. In a word, their powers were as indefinite, as the authority under which they acted.

Tumultuous assemblies of the people in different colonies. In the tumultuous assemblies which were frequently held upon this occasion, numberless resolutions were passed, extremely derogatory with respect to the authority of the supreme legislature. Inflammatory hand-bills, and other seditious papers were continually published; nor were the conductors of news-papers, nor the writers of various pamphlets, much more guarded in their conduct, or temperate in their manner. Even at Philadelphia, which had been so long celebrated, for the excellency of its police and government, and temperate manners of its inhabitants, printed papers were dispersed, warning the pilots on the river Delaware, not to conduct any of these tea ships into their harbour, which were only sent for the purpose of enslaving and poisoning all the Americans; at the same time, giving them plainly to understand it was expected, that they would apply their knowledge of the river, under the colour of their profession, in such a manner, as would effectually secure their country from so imminent a danger. At New-York, in a similar publication, those ships are said to be laden with the fetters which had been forged for them in Great-Britain, and every vengeance is denounced against all persons, who dare in any manner contribute to the introduction of those chains. All the colonies seemed to have instantly united in this point.

Three ships laden with tea arrive at Boston. The town of Boston, which had been so long obnoxious to government, was the scene of the first outrage. Three ships laden with tea, having arrived in that port, the captains were terrified into a concession, that if they were permitted by the consignees, the board of customs, and the Fort of Castle

William,

William, they would return with their cargoes to England. These promises could not be fulfilled; the consignees refused to discharge the captains from the obligations under which they were chartered for the delivery of their cargoes; the custom-house refused them clearance for their return:— and the governor to grant them a passport for clearing the fort.

In this state, it was easily seen by the people of the town, that the ships lying so near, the teas would be landed by degrees, notwithstanding any guard they could keep, or measures take to prevent it; and it was as well known, that if they were landed, nothing could prevent their being disposed of, and thereby the purpose of establishing the monopoly, and raising a revenue fulfilled. To prevent this dreadful consequence, a number of armed men, under the disguise of Mohawk Indians, boarded the ships, and in a few hours discharged the whole cargoes of tea into the sea, without doing any other damage, or offering any injury to the captains or crews. It was remarkable, that the government, civil power, garrison of Fort William, and armed ships in the harbour, were totally inactive upon this occasion.

Some smaller quantities of tea, met afterwards with a similar fate, at Boston, and a few other places; but in general, the commissioners for the sale of that commodity, having been obliged to relinquish their employment, and no other persons daring to receive the cargoes which were consigned to them, the masters of the tea vessels, from these circumstances, as well as from a knowledge of danger, and the determined resolution of the people, readily complied with the terms which were prescribed, of returning directly to England, without entangling themselves by any entry at the custom-houses. At New-York it was indeed landed under the cannon of a man of war. But the government there were obliged to consent to its being locked up from use. In South Carolina some was thrown into the river as at Boston.

Such was the issue of this unfortunate scheme. Some disposition to these disturbances was known pretty early; but as their utmost extent was still unknown, the meeting of parliament was deferred until after the holidays, the transactions of which, with respect to American affairs, will more probably come under the head of our second chapter.

1773.

Dec. 18.

Their cargoes thrown into the sea.

Similar outrages in some other places; most of the tea ships obliged to return home with their cargoes, and the entire scheme rendered every-where abortive.

C H A P. II.

A summary account of all the American acts, passed in the British parliament, from January 13, 1774, to the 22d of June following.

Jan. 13.
1774.

Parliament
meets.

Message
relative
to the
transac-
tions in A-
merica.

Ameri-
can pa-
pers laid
before
the
House.

THE speech from the throne at the opening of this parliament, January 13th 1774, contained nothing very striking. Business of common occurrences engrossed the attention of the house, until the American dispatches arrived, March 7, which brought advice of the outrages committed on board the tea ships at Boston. This intelligence occasioned a message from the throne to both houses, in which they were informed, that in consequence of the unwarrantable practices carried on in North America, and particularly of the violent and outrageous proceedings at the town and port of Boston, with a view of obstructing the commerce of this kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences immediately subversive of its constitution, it was thought fit to lay the whole matter before parliament.

This message was attended with a great number of papers relating to the late transactions in the colonies, containing copies and extracts of letters from the several governors; from the commander of the forces; from the admiral in Boston harbour; from the consignees of the tea at Boston, to one of the ringleaders of the faction in that town, with votes and resolves of the town of Boston, previous to the landing of the tea, and narratives of the transactions which succeeded that event, &c. &c.—They also contained details from the different governors, of all transactions relative to the teas, which took place in their respective governments, from the first intelligence of their being shipped in England, to the dates of these letters, which were in number 109.

As the same spirit pervaded the whole continent, so the same language, sentiment, and manner, prevailed in all these written or printed pieces, whether circulated in the province of Massachusetts, or in the other colonies.

The presentment of the papers was accompanied with a comment upon them, and particularly those that related to the transactions at Boston, in which the conduct of the governor was described and applauded, and that of the prevailing

vailing faction represented in the most atrocious light. It was said that he had taken every measure which prudence could suggest, or good policy justify, for the security of the East-India company's property, the safety of the consignees, and the preserving of order and quiet in the town. 1774.

That he had it undoubtedly in his power, by calling in the assistance of the naval force which was in the harbour, to have prevented the destruction of the tea; but as the leading governor men in Boston had always made great complaints of the interposition of the army and navy, and charged all disturbances of every sort to their account. he with great prudence and temper, determined from the beginning to decline a measure, which would have been so irritating to the minds of the people; and might well have hoped, that by this confidence in their conduct, and trust reposed in the civil power, he should have calmed their turbulence, and preserved the public tranquillity.

Thus, said the ministers, the people of Boston were fairly tried. They were left to their own conduct, and to the exercise of their judgment, and the result has given the lie to their former professions. They are now without an excuse: and all the powers of government within that province, are found insufficient to prevent the most violent outrages.

It was concluded upon the whole, that by an impartial review of the papers now before them, it would manifestly appear, that nothing could be done by either civil, military, or naval officers, to effectuate the re-establishment of tranquillity and order in that province, without additional parliamentary powers to give efficacy to their proceedings. Reasons assigned for coercive measures,

That it was therefore incumbent on every member to weigh and consider, with an attention suitable to the great importance of the subject, the purport of the papers before them, and totally laying all prejudices aside, to form his opinion upon the measures most eligible to be pursued, for supporting the supreme legislative authority, the dignity of parliament, and the great interests of the British Empire. This is in substance what was urged by ministry upon the subject when they presented the papers.

The spirit now raised against the Americans became as high and as strong as could be desired, both within and without the house. In this temper a motion was made for an address to the throne, "to return thanks for the message, and the gracious communication of the American papers, with an assurance that they would not fail to exert every means in their power, of effectually providing for objects so important to the general welfare of the Kingdom." An address to the Throne.

1774.

welfare, as maintaining the due execution of the laws, and securing the just dependence of the colonies upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain.”

The Minister's advantage in this address.

By the voting this address ministry gained a greater advantage than at first appeared, for they found by the disposition of the house which was strongly against all retrospect, that they would confine themselves to the mere misbehaviour of the Americans. The violence of the Americans was public and unquestioned, and when the enquiry was confined to that ground, it would be easy to carry any proposition against them. It was of great consequence to the minister, that no part whatsoever of the weakness and disorderly state of so many governments, should be laid to the charge of those who had for some years the entire direction of them in their hands.

Petition received from Bolland the agent.

As the storm which was gathering against the colonies would probably be directed against Massachusetts Bay, Mr. Bolland, agent for the council of that province, thought it necessary to present to the house, by way of precaution, a petition desiring that he might be permitted to lay before the house the *Acta regia* of queen Elizabeth and her successors, for the security of the Planters, and their descendents, and the perpetual enjoyment of their liberties. These documents he presumed had never been laid before the house, nor had the colonies ever had an opportunity to ascertain and defend these rights. This petition was received without difficulty, and ordered to lie upon the table.

Condition of the Boston Port B. II.

The minister, after having moved that the King's message of the 7th of March should be read, opened his plan for restoration of peace, order, justice, and commerce in Massachusetts Bay, by proposing, “ that the town of Boston should be obliged to pay for the tea which had been destroyed in their port; also security to be given in future, that trade may be safely carried on, property protected, laws obeyed, and duties regularly paid. Otherwise the punishment of a single illegal act is no reformation.” It would be therefore proper to take away from Boston the privilege of a port until his Majesty should be satisfied in these particulars, and publicly declare in council, on a proper certificate of the good behaviour of the town, that he was so satisfied. —By this Boston might certainly suffer. But she ought to suffer; and by this resolution would suffer far less punishment than her delinquencies fully justified. For she was not wholly precluded from all supply. She was by this proposition only to be virtually removed seventeen miles from the sea.

sea. The duration of her punishment was entirely in her own power. For when she should discharge this just debt to the E. I. company which had been contracted by her own violence, and given full assurances of obedience in future to the laws of trade and revenue; there was no doubt, but that his Majesty, to whom he proposed to leave that power, would again open the port, and exercise that mercy which was agreeable to his royal disposition; whereupon leave was given to bring in a bill “*for the immediate removal of the officers concerned in the collection of the customs from the town of Boston in the province of the Massachusetts Bay, in North America, and to discontinue the landing and discharging, lading and shipping of goods, wares, and merchandize at the said town of Boston, or within the harbour thereof.*”

1774-

Boston
port-bill
brought
in, Mar.
14,

At the first introduction it was received with very general applause. The equity of obliging a delinquent town to make satisfaction for the disorders which arose from their factious spirit, and negligent police, was so striking, that many things which might appear exceptionable in the act were overlooked. The cry raised against the Americans, partly the natural effect of their own acts, and partly of the operations of government, was so strong as nearly to overbear the most resolute and determined in the opposition. Several of those who had been most sanguine favourers of the colonies now condemned their behaviour; and applauded the measure, as not only just, but lenient.

But in the progress of the bill, opposition seemed to collect itself, and to take a more active part. Mr. Bollan, the agent of the council of Massachusetts Bay, presented a petition, desiring to be heard for the said council, and in behalf of himself and other inhabitants in the town of Boston. The house refused to receive the petition. It was said, that the agent of the council was not agent for the corporation, and no agent could be received from a body corporate, except he were appointed by all the necessary constituent parts of that body. Besides, the council was fluctuating, and the body by which he was appointed could not be then actually existing. This vote of rejection was heavily censured. The opposition cried out at the inconsistency of the house, who but a few days ago received a petition from this very man in this very character; and now, only because they chuse to exert their power in acts of injustice and contradiction, totally refuse to receive any thing from him, as not duly qualified. Were not the reasons equally strong against receiving the first as the second petition? But what, they asserted,

Second
Petition
from Bol-
lan refus-
ed.

made

1774.

made this conduct the more unnecessary and outrageous, was, that at that time the house of lords were actually hearing Mr. Bolland on his petition, as a person duly qualified, at their bar. Thus, said they, this house is at once in contradiction to the other, and to itself. As to the reasons given against his qualification, they are equally applicable to all American agents; none of whom are appointed as the minister now requires they should be—and thus the house cuts off all communication between them and the colonies whom they are affecting by their acts.

The bill passed the house on the 25th of March, and was carried up to the lords, where it was likewise warmly debated, but as in the commons, it passed without a division. It received the royal assent on the 31st of March.

The disposition to carry things to extremities with America was become very general; and as the repeal of the stamp-act was much condemned by the ministerial side, and its authors greatly decried, they reposed the highest confidence in the success of measures of a contrary nature.

The Boston port bill formed only one part of the coercive plan proposed by the ministry as the effectual method of bringing her to obedience. Others of a deeper and more extensive nature were behind, and appeared in due time. Soon after a bill was brought in for “*the better regulating government in the province of Massachusetts Bay.*” The purpose of this bill was to alter the constitution of that province as it stood upon the charter of King William; to take the whole executive power out of the hands of the democratic part, and to vest the nomination of counsellors, judges, and magistrates of all kinds, including Sheriffs, in the crown, and in some cases, in the King’s governor, and all to be removable at the pleasure of the crown.

This bill passed by a prodigious majority, after a debate which lasted with uncommon spirit for many hours.

The disposition so prevalent in both houses to strong measures was highly favourable to the whole ministerial plan for reducing America to obedience. The good reception of the proposal for changing the charter government of Massachusetts Bay, encouraged them to propose very soon after another bill, without which, it was said, that the scheme would be entirely defective. In the committee on American papers, it was ordered, that the chairman should move for leave to bring in “*a Bill for the impartial administration of justice in the cases of persons questioned for any acts done by them in the execution of the laws, or for the suppression of riots and tumults*”

Massachusetts's Bay Bill.

“*mults*”

“ *mults in the province of Massachusetts Bay in New Eng-
land.*” 1774.

This bill provides, that in case any person is indicted in that province for murder, or any other capital offence, and that it shall appear to the governor, that the fact was committed in the exercise or aid of magistracy, in suppressing tumults and riots, and that it shall appear to the governor, that a fair trial cannot be had in the province, he shall send the person so indicted, &c. to any other colony, or to Great-Britain, to be tried. The charges on both sides to be borne out of the customs. This act to continue for four years.

provision
of the
bill.

The debate on this bill was even more warm than on the former, and the publications of the time quote an old member who is rarely in opposition, as having ended his speech with these remarkable words: “ I will now take my leave of the whole plan,—you will commence your ruin from this day. I am sorry to say, that not only the house has fallen into the error, but the people approve of the measure.—The people, I am sorry to say it, are misled. But a short time will prove the evil tendency of this Bill. If ever there was a nation running headlong to its ruin, it is this.”

The bill passed the house on the sixth of May, and being carried up to the house of peers, occasioned warm debates upon the same principles upon which it was discussed in the house of commons. The lords of the minority entered on this, as on the former bill, a very strong protest.

passed, 6
May.

The session was drawing near to the usual time of recess; and the greatest number of the members, fatigued with a long attendance on the American bills, were retired into the country. In this situation, a bill which has engaged a great deal of the public attention was brought into the house of lords: “ *The bill for making more effectual provision for the province of Quebec in North America.*”

Quebec
Bill
brought
in.

The principal objects of this bill, were to ascertain the limits of that province, which were extended far beyond what had been settled as such by the King’s proclamation of 1763. To form a legislative council for all the affairs of that province, except taxation, which council should be appointed by the crown, the office to be held during pleasure; and his majesty’s Canadian Roman catholic subjects were entitled to a place in it. To establish the French laws, and a trial without jury, in civil cases, and the English laws, with a trial by jury, in criminal. To secure to the Roman catholic clergy, except the Regulars, the legal enjoyment of their estates, and of their tythes from all who are of their

property
of this
bill.

1774.

own religion. These were the chief objects of the act; but the bill received in the course of the debates (which were warm) many amendments, so as to change it very greatly from the state in which it came down from the House of Lords; but the ground-work remained the same.—It passed June 8th without a division.

The session had now stretched far into the summer. The business of it had been of as much importance as that, perhaps, of any session since the revolution. Great changes had been made in the œconomy of some of the colonies, which were thought foundations for changes of a like nature in others; and the most sanguine expectations were entertained by the ministry, that when parliament had shewn so determined a resolution, and the advocates for the colonies had appeared so very little able to protect them, the submission throughout America would be immediate; and complete obedience and tranquillity would be secured in future. The triumphs and mutual congratulations of all who supported these measures within doors and without, were unusually great. The speech from the throne at the end of the session expressed similar sentiments. His Majesty told the parliament,

“That he had observed with the utmost satisfaction, the many eminent proofs they had given of their zealous and prudent attention to the public, during the course of this very interesting session of parliament.” Then, after mentioning with applause their proceedings relative to the gold coin, “That the bill which they had prepared for the government of Quebec, and to which he had then given his assent, was founded on the clearest principles of justice and humanity; and would, he doubted not, have the best effects in quieting the minds and promoting the happiness of his Canadian subjects. That he had long seen with concern a dangerous spirit of resistance to his government and the execution of the laws prevailing in the province of Massachusetts Bay. It proceeded at length to such an extremity, as to render their immediate interposition necessary, and they had accordingly made provision as well for the suppression of the present disorders, as for the prevention of the like in future.” And concludes, “With recommending the same zeal for the public welfare, which had distinguished all their proceedings in this session of parliament.”

C H A P. III.

View of affairs in the Colonies, in the year 1774; shewing the general effect and operation of the late laws, &c.

TH E penal laws, which we saw passed, in the last session of the last parliament, relative to the colony of Massachusetts's Bay, and which were intended to operate both as a chastisement for past, and a preventative of future misdemeanours in that province, were unfortunately productive of effects very different from those which the sanguine promoters of those bills had hoped, and which administration had held out to the nation. Other purposes were expected from them besides punishment and prevention. It was expected, that the shutting up of the port of Boston would have been naturally a gratification to the neighbouring towns, from the great benefits which would accrue to them, by the splitting and removing of its commerce; and that this would prove a fruitful source of jealousy and disunion within the province. It was also thought, that the particular punishment of that province would not only operate as an example of terror to the other colonies, but that from the selfishness and malignity incident to mankind, as well as from their common jealousies, they would quietly resign it to its fate, and enjoy with pleasure any benefits they could derive from its misfortunes. Thus it was hoped, that besides their direct operation, these bills would eventually prove a means of dissolving that band of union, which seemed of late too much to prevail amongst the colonies.

The act called the Military Bill, which accompanied these laws, and which was formed to support and encourage the soldiery in beating down all possible resistance to the other acts, it was imagined, would compleat the design, and bring the colonies to a perfect submission. In confidence of the perfection of this plan of terrors, punishments and regulations, and of the large force by sea and land (as it was then thought) which was sent to strengthen the hands of government, administration reposed in the most perfect security; and ended the session in the most triumphant manner, and with the mutual congratulations of all concerned in those acts, which we have described in our 2d chapter.

1774.

General effect of the late laws.

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The event, in all these cases, was however very different. The neighbouring towns disdained every idea of profiting in any degree by the misfortunes of their friends in Boston. The people of the province, instead of being shaken by the coercive means which were used for their subjugation, joined the more firmly together to brave the storm; and seeing that their ancient constitution was destroyed, and that it was determined to deprive them of those rights, which they had ever been taught to revere as sacred, and to deem more valuable than life itself, they determined at all events to preserve them, or to perish in the common ruin. In the same manner, the other colonies, instead of abandoning, clung the closer to their devoted sister as the danger increased; and their affection and sympathy seemed to rise in proportion to her misfortunes and sufferings.

In a word, these bills, (as had been too truly foretold by their opposers at home) instead of answering the purposes for which they were intended, spread a general alarm from one end to the other of the continent, and became the cement of a strict and close union between all the old colonies. They said it was now visible, that charters, grants, and established usages, were no longer a protection or defence; that all rights, immunities, and civil securities, must vanish at the breath of an act of parliament. They were all sensible, that they had been guilty, in a greater or lesser degree, of those unpardonable sins which had drawn down fire upon Boston; they believed, that vengeance, tho' delayed, was not remitted: and that all the mercy, the most favoured or the least culpable could expect, was to be the last that would be devoured.

In the last session, the minister had announced in the House of Commons, the appointment of General Gage to the government of the province of Massachusetts Bay, and to the command in chief of the army in North America. As this gentleman had borne several commands with reputation in that part of the world; had lived many years there, and had sufficient opportunities of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the people, and was besides well approved of by them, great hopes were formed of the happy effects which would have resulted from his administration; and it is little to be doubted, if his appointment had been at a happier time, and his government free from the necessity of enforcing measures which were generally odious to the people, but these expectations would have been answered.

The

The jealousy and ill blood between the governors and governed in the province of Massachusetts's Bay, which we in the preceding chapter have taken notice of, had ever since continued. The House of Representatives had presented a petition and remonstrance to the Governor, early in the spring, for the removal of Peter Oliver, Esq; Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Judicature, from his office; this request not being complied with, they exhibited articles of impeachment against him, of high crimes and misdemeanors, in their own name and that of the province, which they carried up to the Council-board, and gave the governor notice to attend as judge upon the trial. The charge against the Chief Justice was, the betraying of his trust, and of the chartered rights of the province, by accepting a salary from the crown, in consideration of his official services, instead of the customary grant from the House of Representatives. The resolution for carrying up this impeachment was carried by a majority of 92 to 8; from whence some judgment may be formed of the general temper of the province, and their unanimity, even in this strong and extraordinary measure.

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Impeachment of Mr. Oliver.

The Governor refused to receive the articles, and totally disclaimed all authority in himself and the Council to act as a judicatory, for the trial of any crimes or misdemeanors whatever. The House of Representatives, far from giving up the matter, only changed their mode of attack; and the Governor finding that they would persist in a prosecution under some form or other, and that every new attempt would only serve to involve things in still greater difficulty, or at least to increase the animosity, thought it necessary, at the conclusion of the month of March, to dissolve the Assembly.

Assembly of Massachusetts's Bay dissolved.

Such was the state of things in the province of Massachusetts's Bay, when Gen. Gage arrived in his government. The hopes that might have been formed upon a change of administration, and the joy that generally attends the coming of a new Governor, were, however, nipped in the bud, by the arrival just before of a ship from London, which brought a copy of the Boston Port Bill; and a Town Meeting was sitting to consider of it, at the very time he arrived in the harbour. As this fatal news was totally unexpected, the consternation which it caused among all orders of people was inexpressible. The first measure was the holding of the Town-Meeting we have mentioned, at which resolutions were passed, and ordered to be immediately transmitted to

May 13, 1774.

General Gage arrives at Boston.

Great consternation among the Boston port bill.

1774. the other colonies, inviting them to enter into an agreement to stop all imports and exports to and from Great-Britain and Ireland, and every part of the West-Indies, until the act was repealed, as the only means (they said) that were left for the salvation of North America and her liberties. They besides expatiated on the impolicy, injustice, inhumanity, and cruelty of the act, and appealed from it to God and the world.

In the mean time, copies of the act were multiplied with incredible expedition, and dispatched to every part of the continent with celerity. These had the effect which the poets ascribe to the Furies' torch; they set the countries in a flame through which they passed. At Boston and New York, the populace had copies of the bill printed upon mourning paper with a black border, which they cried about the streets under the title of a barbarous, cruel, bloody, and inhuman murder. In other places, great bodies of the people were called together by public advertisement, and the obnoxious law burned with great solemnity.

There was, however, a very surprising mixture of sobriety with this fury; and a degree of moderation was blended with the excess into which the people were hurried.

New Assembly meet at Boston, and are adjourned to Salem.

This extraordinary combustion in the minds of all ranks of the people did not prevent the Governor's being received with the usual honours at Boston. The new Assembly of the province met of course a few days after, the Council, for the last time, being chosen according to their charter. The Governor at their meeting laid nothing more before them than the common business of the province; but gave them notice of their removal to the town of Salem, on the first of June, in pursuance of the late act of parliament. The Assembly, to evade this measure, were hurrying through the necessary business of the supplies with the greatest expedition, that they might then adjourn themselves to such time as they thought proper; but the Governor having obtained some intelligence of their intention, adjourned them unexpectedly to the 7th of June, then to meet at Salem. Previous to this adjournment, they had presented a petition to the Governor, for appointing a day of general prayer and fasting, which he did not think proper to comply with.

Provincial and town meetings.

In the mean time, Provincial or Town-meetings were held in every part of the continent; in which, tho' some were much more temperate than others, they all concurred in expressing the greatest disapprobation of the measures which were pursued against Boston, an abhorrence of the new act

and,

and a condemnation of the principles on which it was founded, with a resolution to oppose its effects in every manner, and to support their distressed brethren, who were to be the immediate victims.

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The House of Burgesses, of the province of Virginia, appointed the 1st of June, the day on which the Boston Port Bill took place, to be set apart for fasting, prayer, and humiliation, to implore the Divine interposition, to avert the heavy calamity which threatened destruction to their civil rights, with the evils of a civil war; and to give one heart and one mind to the people, firmly to oppose every injury to the American rights. This example was either followed, or a similar resolution adopted, almost every where, and the first of June became a general day of prayer and humiliation throughout the continent.

This measure, however, procured the immediate dissolution of the Assembly of Virginia; but before their separation, an association was entered into and signed by 89 of the members, in which they declared, that an attack made upon one colony, to compel submission to arbitrary taxes, was an attack on all British America, and threatened ruin to the rights of all, unless the united wisdom of the whole was applied in prevention. They therefore recommended to the committee of correspondence, to communicate with the several committees of the other provinces, on the expediency of appointing deputies from the different colonies, to meet annually in General Congress, and to deliberate on those general measures, which the united interests of America might, from time to time, render necessary. They concluded with a declaration, that a tender regard for the interests of their fellow-subjects the merchants and manufacturers of Great-Britain, prevented them from going further at that time.

Assembly
of Virgi-
nia dissol-
ved.

At Philadelphia, about 300 of the inhabitants immediately met, and appointed a committee to write to the town of Boston. Their letter was temperate, but firm. They acknowledged the difficulty of offering advice upon that sad occasion; wished first to have the sense of the province in general; observed that all lenient applications for obtaining redress should be tried before recourse was had to extremities; that it might perhaps be right to take the sense of a General Congress, before the desperate measure of putting an entire stop to commerce was adopted; and that it might be right, at any rate, to reserve that measure as the last resource, when all other means had failed. They observed,

Philadel-
phia.

that

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that if the making of restitution to the East India Company for their teas, would put an end to the unhappy controversy, and leave the people of Boston upon their ancient footing of constitutional liberty, it could not admit of a moment's doubt what part they should act; but it was not the value of the tea, it was the indefeasible right of giving and granting their own money, a right from which they could never recede, that was now the matter in consideration.

New-York,

A Town-meeting was also held at New-York, and a committee of correspondence appointed; but they were as yet, in general, very temperate in their conduct; and Government had a much stronger interest in that colony than in any other. The case was far different at Annapolis in Maryland, where the people of that city, though under a proprietary government, exceeded the other colonies in the violence of their resolutions; one of which was to prevent the carrying on of any suits in the courts of the province for the debts which were owing from them in Great-Britain. This resolution, however, was neither adopted nor confirmed by the Provincial meeting which was held soon after; nor was it any where carried into practice.

In general, as might have been expected in such great commercial countries, the proposal for shutting up the ports (former resolutions of this kind having been much abused for the private gain of individuals) was received with great seriousness, hesitation, and coldness; and considered as the last desperate resort, when all other means of redress should fail. In other respects, upon the arrival of the news from Boston, moderation was little thought of any where, and the behaviour of the people was nearly similar in all places. At the numberless public meetings which were held upon that occasion, throughout the continent, they passed every resolution, and adopted every measure they could for the present think of, to shew their utmost detestation of the Boston Port Bill, and to express their determination of opposing its effects in every possible manner.

Address
from gen-
tlemen,
&c. of
Boston to
the new
governor

In this state of general dissatisfaction, complaint, and opposition, General Gage had the temporary satisfaction of receiving an address of congratulation, signed by 127 gentlemen, merchants and inhabitants of Boston, who were either the best addicted to government, the most moderate, or to whom the present measures seemed the least obnoxious. Besides the compliments customary upon these occasions, a declaration of the strong hopes which they had founded upon the General's public and private character, and a disavowal,

as to themselves, of all lawless violences, they lamented, that a discretionary power was not lodged in his hands, to restore trade to its former course, immediately, upon the terms of the late law being fully complied with; and shewed, that as the act stood at present, notwithstanding the most immediate compliance, so much time would be lost, before his favourable account of their conduct could reach the King and Council, and produce the wished-for effect, as would involve them in unspeakable misery, and they feared in total ruin.

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A few days after, an address from the Council was presented to the Governor, which contained some very severe reflections on his two immediate predecessors, to whose machinations, both in concert and apart, that body attributed the origin and progress of the disunion between Great-Britain and her colonies, and all the calamities that afflicted that province. They declared, that the people claimed no more than the rights of Englishmen, without diminution or abridgment; and these, as it was the indispensable duty of that board, so it should be their constant endeavour to maintain, to the utmost of their power, in perfect consistence, however, with the truest loyalty to the crown, the just prerogatives of which they would ever be zealous to support.

Address from the council rejected.

This address was rejected by the Governor, who would not suffer the chairman of the committee to proceed any further, when he had read the part which reflected on his predecessors. He afterwards returned an answer to the Council in writing, in which he informed them, that he could not receive an address which contained indecent reflections on his predecessors, who had been tried and honourably acquitted by the Privy Council, and their conduct approved by the King. That he considered the address as an insult upon his Majesty, and the Lords of his Privy Council, and an affront to himself.

The House of Representatives, upon their meeting at Salem, passed a resolution, in which they declared the expediency of a general meeting of committees from the several colonies, and specified the purposes which rendered such a meeting necessary. By another, they appointed five gentlemen, of those who had been the most remarkable in opposition, as a committee to represent that province. And by a third, they voted the sum of 500l. to the said committee, to enable them to discharge the important trust to which they were appointed.

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As neither this appointment, nor disposal of the public money, could be at all agreeable to the Governor, he accordingly refused his concurrence to the latter; upon which the assembly passed a resolution, to recommend to the several towns and districts within the province, to raise the said 500l. by equitable proportions, according to the last provincial tax. A recommendation, which, at present, had all the force of a law.

The Assembly foreseeing that their dissolution was at hand, were determined to give the people a public testimony of their opinions, and under the title of recommendations to prescribe rules for their conduct, which they knew would be more punctually complied with, than the positive injunctions of laws. They accordingly passed a declaratory resolution, expressive of their sense of the state of public affairs, and of the designs of government, in which they advanced, that they, with the other American colonies, had long been struggling under the heavy hand of power; and that their dutiful petitions for the redress of intolerable grievances had not only been disregarded, but that the design totally to alter the free constitution and civil government in British America, to establish arbitrary governments, and to reduce the inhabitants to slavery, appeared more and more to be fixed and determined. They then recommended in the strongest terms to the inhabitants of the province, totally to renounce the consumption of India teas, and, as far as in them lay, to discontinue the use of all goods imported from the East-Indies and Great-Britain, until the public grievances of America should be radically and totally redressed. And the more fully to carry this essential purpose into effect, it was strongly recommended, that they should give every possible encouragement to the manufactures of America.

Though the committee, that was appointed to conduct this business, endeavoured to carry it on with the greatest privacy, the Governor, notwithstanding, obtained some intelligence of it, and on the very day upon which they made their report, he sent his Secretary to pronounce their immediate dissolution. The Secretary, upon his arrival, finding the door locked, sent the House-messenger to acquaint the Speaker, that he had a message from the Governor, and desired admittance to deliver it. The Speaker, in some time, returned for answer, that he had acquainted the House with the message, which he had received, and that their orders were to keep the door fast. Upon this refusal of admittance the Secretary caused proclamation to be made upon the stairs,

stairs, of the dissolution of the General Assembly. Such June 17.
 was the issue of the final contest between the Governor of 1774.
 Massachusetts Bay, and the last Assembly which was holden
 in that province, upon the principles of its charter.

The day after the dissolution of the Assembly, a most pathetic, but at the same time firm and manly address, was presented from the merchants and freeholders of the town of Salem to the Governor. We cannot forget, that this town was now become the temporary capital of the province, in the place of Boston; and that the General Assembly, the Courts of Justice, the Custom-house, and, so far as it could be done by power, the trade of that were removed thither; so that they were already in possession of a principal share of those spoils, which it was supposed would have effectually influenced the conduct of that people, and thereby have bred such incurable envy, jealousy and animosity, between the gainers and sufferers, that the refractory capital finding herself abandoned, and being left alone to ruminate upon her forlorn situation, would soon be reclaimed, and brought to as full a sense of her duty, as of her punishment.

The assembly dissolved.
 Address from the town of Salem.

Whether this opinion was founded upon a thorough knowledge of human nature in general, or took its rise from particular instances, which were extended in speculation to the whole, may perhaps, in a certain degree, be determined from the following generous sentiments of the inhabitants of Salem. They say, "We are deeply afflicted with a sense of our public calamities; but the miseries that are now rapidly hastening on our brethren in the capital of the province, greatly excite our commiseration; and we hope your Excellency will use your endeavours to prevent a further accumulation of evils on that already sorely distressed people." — "By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade may be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature, in the formation of our harbour, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart. And were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbours."

This whole address is remarkable for the propriety with which it is conducted, and the justness of its sentiments. They treat the governor with the highest respect, and hope much from his general character, as well as from his conduct in a former government; they express the strongest attachment

1774.

tachment to the mother country, the deepest concern for the present unhappy troubles, and the most fervent wishes for a speedy and happy reconciliation, to obtain which, they are willing to sacrifice every thing, compatible with the safety of British subjects.

The general had formed considerable hopes upon the conduct of the merchants; who he expected would have entered into the spirit of the late law, and by removing their commerce along with the Custom-house to Salem, have thereby the sooner induced the capital to the compliances which were wished by government. In these expectations he was disappointed. It is probable, that the merchants thought it fit and necessary to keep fair with government; and in general disapproved of all violences; but it seems evident, that they did not enter heartily into the new measures. It seems also probable, that he believed the friends of the system of government now adopted, to be stronger and more numerous than they really were. An experiment was however made, which set this matter in a clear light. The friends of government attended a town-meeting at Boston, and attempted to pass resolutions for the payment of the tea, and for dissolving the committee of correspondence; but they found themselves lost in a prodigious majority; and had no other resource, than the drawing up of a protest against the proceedings of that assembly.

General
temper
and dis-
position
of the
people
through-
out the
continent

In the mean time, rough-draughts of the two remaining bills relative to the province of Massachusetts-Bay, as well as of that for quartering the troops in America, all of which were in agitation in England, at the time that the last ships failed from thence, were received, and immediately circulated throughout the continent. The knowledge of these bills, filled up whatever was wanting before, of violence and indignation in most of the colonies. Even those who were moderate, or seemed wavering, now became sanguine. The idea of shutting up the ports, became common language, and to be considered as a matter of necessity. Nothing was to be heard of but meetings and resolutions. Liberal contributions for the relief of their distressed brethren in Boston, were every where recommended, and soon reduced into practice. Numberless letters were written from towns, districts, and provinces, to the people of Boston, in which, besides every expression of sympathy and tenderness, they were highly flattered for their past conduct, and strongly exhorted to a perseverance in that virtue, which brought on their sufferings.

The

1774.

The people of America at this time, with respect to political opinions, might in general be divided into two great classes. Of these, one was for rushing headlong into the greatest extremities; they would put an immediate stop to trade, without waiting till other measures were tried, or receiving the general sense of the colonies upon a subject of such alarming importance; and though they were eager for the holding of a congress, they would leave it nothing to do, but to prosecute the violences which they had begun. The other, if less numerous, was not less respectable, and though more moderate, were perhaps equally firm. These were averse to any violent measures being adopted until all means were ineffectually tried; they wished further applications to be made to G. Britain; and the grievances they complained of, with the rights which they claimed, to be clearly stated, and properly presented. This, they said, could only be done effectually by a general congress, as in any other manner it might be liable to the objection of being only the act of a few men, or of a particular colony. We, however, acknowledge a third party, which were the friends to the administration in England, or more properly, those who did not totally disapprove of its measures; but their still small voice was so low, that except in a few particular places, it could scarcely be distinguished.

The more violent, who had not patience to wait for the result of a Congress, entered into other measures. An agreement was framed by the committee of correspondence at Boston, which they entitled—“*a solemn league and covenant*,” wherein the subscribers bound themselves in the most solemn manner, and in the presence of God, to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great-Britain, from the last day of the ensuing month of August, until the Boston Port-bill, and the other late obnoxious laws were repealed, and the colony of Massachusetts-Bay fully restored to its chartered rights. They also bound themselves in the same manner, not to consume, or to purchase from any other, any goods whatever, which arrived after the specified time, and to break off all commerce, trade and dealings, with any who did, as well as with the importers of such goods. They renounced in the same manner, all future intercourse and connection with those who should refuse to subscribe to that Covenant, or to bind themselves by some similar agreement, with the dangerous penalty annexed, of having their names published to the world.

The Covenant, accompanied with a letter from the committee at Boston, was circulated with the usual activity, and the

1774.

the people, not only in the New England governments, but in the other provinces, entered into this new league with the greatest eagerness. It seems, however, that similar agreements had been entered into about the same time, in various parts of the continent, and without any previous concert with each other, any more than with those at Boston.

June 29,
Proclamation
against it.

General Gage was much alarmed at this proceeding; to which its name, as well as its tendency, might possibly contribute. He accordingly published a strong proclamation against it, in which it was stiled an unlawful, hostile, and traitorous combination, contrary to the allegiance due to the king, destructive of the lawful authority of the British parliament, and of the peace, good order, and safety of the community. All persons were warned against incurring the pains and penalties due to such aggravations and dangerous offences, and all magistrates charged to apprehend and secure for trial, such as should have any share in the publishing, subscribing, aiding, or abetting the foregoing, or any similar covenant.

This proclamation had no other effect than to exercise the pens and the judgment of those who were versed in legal knowledge, by endeavouring to shew, that the association did not come within any of the treason-laws, and that the charges made by the governor, were consequently erroneous, unjust, and highly injurious. They said he had assumed a power, which the constitution denied even to the sovereign, the power of making those things to be treason, which were not considered as such by the laws; that the people had a right to assemble to consider of their common grievances, and to form associations for their general conduct towards the remedy of those grievances; and that the proclamation was equally arbitrary, odious, and illegal.

Measures relative to the holding of a general congress. Measures were now every where taken for the holding of a general congress; and Philadelphia, from the convenience of its situation, as well as its security, was fixed upon as the place, and the beginning of Sept. the time, for meeting. Where an assembly happened to be sitting, as in the case of Massachusetts-Bay, they appointed deputies to represent the province in the Congress. But as this happened to be the case in very few instances, the general method was, for the people to elect their usual number of representatives, and these, at a general meeting, chose deputies among themselves; the number of which, in general, bore some proportion to the extent and importance of the province; two being the least, and seven the greatest number, that represented any colony. But whatever the number of representatives were, each colony had no more than a single vote. At

At these county and provincial meetings, a number of resolutions were constantly passed, among which a declaration that the Boston Port-act was oppressive, unjust, and unconstitutional in its principles, and dangerous to the liberties of America, was always among the foremost. At Philadelphia, a petition, signed by near 900 freeholders, was presented to Mr. Penn, the Governor, intreating him to call a general assembly as soon as possible. This request being refused, the province proceeded to the election of deputies, who soon after met at Philadelphia. As the resolutions passed at this meeting, carry more the marks of cool and temperate deliberation, as well as of affection to the mother country, than those of many others, and are at the same time equally firm in the determination of supporting what they thought their rights, we shall be the more particular in our notice of them.

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Resolutions passed in different places.

July 15,

They set out with the strongest professions of duty and allegiance to the Sovereign, which could be well devised; and declare their abhorrence of every idea, of an unconstitutional independence on the parent state; upon which account, they say, that they view the late differences between G. Britain and the colonists, with the deepest distress and anxiety of mind, as fruitless to her, grievous to them, and destructive to the best interests of both. They then, after expressing the most ardent wishes for a reformation of the former harmony, declare that the colonists are entitled to the same rights and liberties within the colonies, that the subjects born in England are within that realm.

They reprobate, in the strongest terms, the late bills relative to the province of Massachusetts's Bay, and declare, that they consider their brethren at Boston, as suffering in the common cause of all the colonies. They also declare, the absolute necessity of a CONGRESS, to consult together, and to form a general plan of conduct to be observed by all the colonies, for the purposes of procuring relief for their suffering brethren, obtaining redress of their general grievances, preventing future dissensions, firmly establishing their rights, and the restoration of harmony between Great-Britain and her colonies upon a constitutional foundation.

They acknowledge, that a suspension of the commerce of that large trading province with Great-Britain, would greatly distress multitudes of their industrious inhabitants; but declare that they are ready to offer that sacrifice, and a much greater, for the preservation of their liberties; that, however, in regard to the people of Great-Britain, as well as of their own country, and in hopes that their just remonstrances might

at

1774. at length have effect, it was their earnest desire, that the Congress should first try the gentle mode of stating their grievances, and making a firm and decent claim of redress. They conclude with warning dealers not to raise the price of their merchandize beyond the usual rates, on account of any resolutions that might be taken with respect to importation; and by a declaration, that, that province would break off all dealing and commercial intercourse whatsoever, with any town, city or colony on the continent, or with any individuals in them, who should refuse, decline, or neglect to adopt and carry into execution such general plan as should be agreed upon in the Congress.

Aug. 1st. At a meeting of the delegates of the several counties of Virginia at Williamsburgh, which lasted for six days, besides professions of allegiance and loyalty, of regard and affection for their fellow-subjects in Great-Britain, equally strongly expressed with those which we have mentioned, and several resolutions in common with the other colonies, they passed others which were peculiar, and considering the state and circumstances of that province, with its immediate dependence on the mother country for the disposal of its only staple commodity, must be considered very deserving of attention, because strongly indicating the true spirit of that people.

Among these, they resolved not to purchase any more slaves from Africa, the West-Indies, or any other place; that their *non-importation agreement* (which had been early entered into) should take place on the first of the following November;—that if the American grievances were not redressed by the 10th of August 1775, they would export, after that time, no tobacco, or any other goods whatever, to Great-Britain; and to render this last resolution the more effectual, they strongly recommended the cultivation of such articles of husbandry, instead of tobacco, as may form a proper basis for manufactures of all sorts; and particularly to improve the breed of their sheep, to multiply them, and to kill as few of them as possible. They also resolved to declare those enemies to their country, who should break through the Non-importation resolution. The people of Maryland, the other great tobacco colony, were not behind hand with those of Virginia in their determinations; and the two Carolinas, whose existence seemed to depend upon their exportation, were by no means among the least violent.

Thus the Boston Port-bill and its companions, had even exceeded the prognostications of their most violent opponents. They had raised a flame from one end to the other of the continent

1774-
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tinent of America, and united all the old colonies in one common cause. A similar language was every where held; or if there was any difference in the language, the measures that were adopted were every where directed to the same object. They all agreed in the main points, of holding a Congress, of not submitting to the payment of any internal taxes, that were not, as usual, imposed by their own assemblies, and of suspending all commerce with the mother country, until the American grievances in general, and those of Massachusetts Bay in particular, were fully redressed.

The people, as is always the case, were, from circumstances or temper, more or less violent in different places; but the resolution as to the great object of debate, the point of *taxation*, was every where the same, and the most moderate, even at New-York, seemed determined to endure any evils, rather than submit to that. At Newport, in Rhode Island, the flame burned higher than in some other places; an inflammatory paper was there published, with a motto in capitals,—“JOIN OR DIE;”—in this piece the state of Boston was represented as a siege, and as a direct and hostile invasion of all the colonies; “the generals of despotism, (it says) are now drawing the lines of circumvallation around our bulwarks of liberty; and nothing but unity, resolution, and perseverance can save ourselves and our posterity from what is worse than death,—*slavery*.”

What rendered this state of affairs the more dangerous, was, that it did not arise from the discontent of a turbulent or oppressed nobility, where, by bringing over a few of the leaders, the rest must follow of course, or persist only to their ruin; nor did it depend upon the resolution or perseverance of a body of merchants and dealers, where every man, habitually studious of his immediate interest, would tremble at the thought of those consequences, which might essentially affect it; and where a few lucrative jobs or contracts, properly applied, would split them into numberless factions; on the contrary, in this instance, the great force of the opposition to government, consisted in the land-holders throughout America. The British lands, in that vast continent, are generally portioned out in numberless small freeholds, and afford that mediocrity of condition to the possessors, which is sufficient to raise strong bodies and vigorous minds; but seldom that superabundance, which proves so fatal to both in old and refined countries. The American freeholders, at present, are nearly, in point of condition, what the English yeomen were of old, when they rendered us formidable to all Europe, and

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our name celebrated throughout the world. The former, from many obvious circumstances, are more enthusiastical lovers of liberty, than even our yeomen were. Such a body was too numerous to be bribed, and too bold to be despised without great danger.

Address  
from the  
justices  
of Ply-  
mouth  
county.

In this untoward state of public affairs, General Gage had the consolation to receive a congratulatory address from the Justices of the Peace of Plymouth county, assembled at their general sessions, in which, besides the customary compliments, they expressed great concern at seeing that the inhabitants of some towns, influenced by certain persons, calling themselves committees of correspondence, and encouraged by some, whose business it was, as preachers of the Gospel, to inculcate principles of loyalty and obedience to the laws, entering into a league, calculated to encrease the displeasure of the sovereign, to exasperate the parent country, and to interrupt the harmony of society. A protest was also passed by several gentlemen of the county of Worcester, against all riotous disorders, and seditious practices. These efforts had however no other effect, than probably to lead the governor as well as administration into an erroneous opinion, as to the strength and number of the friends of government in that province.

Though liberal contributions were raised in the different colonies for the relief of the suffering inhabitants of Boston; yet it may be easily conceived, that in a town, containing above 20,000 inhabitants, who had always subsisted by commerce, and the several trades and kinds of business subservient to it, and where the maintenance of numberless families depend merely upon locality, the cutting off of that grand source of their employment and subsistence, must, notwithstanding any temporary relief, occasion great and numerous distresses. Even the rich were not exempt from this general calamity, as a very great part of their property consisted in wharfs, ware-houses, sheds, and all those numerous erections, which are destined to the purposes of commerce in a great trading port, and were no longer of any value.

They, however, bore their misfortunes with a wonderful constancy, and met with a general sympathy and tenderness, which much confirmed their resolution. Their neighbours, the merchants and inhabitants of the town and port of Marblehead, who were among those that were to profit the most by their ruin, instead of endeavouring to reap the fruits of their calamity, sent them a generous offer of the use of their stores and wharfs, of attending to the lading and unlading of their goods, and of transacting all the business they should

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do at their port, without putting them to the smallest ex-  
 pence; but they at the same time exhorted them to perse-  
 vere in that patience and resolution, which had ever been  
 their characteristic.

1774.

Uneasi-  
 ness ex-  
 cited by  
 the arri-  
 val of the  
 troops.

Soon after the General's arrival in his government, two  
 regiments of foot, with a small detachment of the artillery,  
 and some cannon, were landed at Boston, and encamped on  
 the common, which lies within the Peninsula on which the  
 town stands. These troops were by degrees reinforced by  
 the arrival of several regiments from Ireland, New-York,  
 Halifax, and at length from Quebec. It may be easily con-  
 ceived, that the arrival and station of these troops, was far  
 from being agreeable to the inhabitants; nor was the jea-  
 lously in any degree less, in the minds of their neighbours of  
 the surrounding counties. This dissatisfaction was further  
 increased by the placing of a guard at Boston Neck; (which  
 is the narrow isthmus that joins the Peninsula to the conti-  
 nent), a measure of which the frequent desertion of the sol-  
 diers was either the cause, or the pretext.

In this state, a trifling circumstance gave the people of  
 Boston a full earnest of the support they might expect from  
 the country in case of extremity, and an opportunity of  
 knowing the general temper of the people. A report had  
 been spread, perhaps industriously, that a regiment posted  
 at the neck, had cut off all communication with the country,  
 in order to starve the town into a compliance with any mea-  
 sures that might be proposed to them. Upon this vague re-  
 port, a large body of the inhabitants of the county of Wor-  
 cester immediately assembled, and dispatched two messen-  
 gers express to Boston, to discover the truth of the intelli-  
 gence. These envoys informed the town, that if the report  
 had been true, there were several thousand armed men, ready  
 to have marched to their assistance; and told them further,  
 that they were commissioned to acquaint them, that even  
 though they might be disposed to a surrender of their  
 liberties, the people of the country would not think them-  
 selves at all included in their act. That by the late acts of  
 the British parliament, and the bills which were pending  
 therein, when the last intelligence was received, their char-  
 ter was utterly vacated; and that the compact between  
 Great-Britain and the colony being thus dissolved, they were  
 at full liberty to combine together in what manner and form  
 they thought best for mutual security.

False  
 alarm.

Not long after the governor issued a proclamation for  
 the encouragement of piety and virtue, and for the prevent-

Procla-  
 mations  
 ing for the

1774. ing and punishing of vice, prophaneness, and immorality.  
 Aug 4. This proclamation, which was avowedly in imitation of that  
 issued by his majesty upon his accession, seems, like most  
 acts of government about this time, to have been wrong  
 placed, and ill-timed. The people of that province had  
 always been scoffed at, and reproached by their enemies, as  
 well as by those of looser manners, for a pharisaical attention  
 to outward forms, and to the appearances of religious piety  
 and virtue. It is scarcely worth an observation, that neither  
 proclamations or laws can reach farther than external appear-  
 ances. But in this proclamation "Hypocrisy" being insert-  
 ed among the immoralities, against which the people were  
 warned, it seemed as if an act of state were turned into a  
 libel on the people; and this insult exasperated greatly the  
 rage of minds already sufficiently discontented.

New  
 counsel-  
 lers chof-  
 en.

Along with the new laws, which did not arrive till the be-  
 ginning of August, Governor Gage received a list of 36 new  
 counsellors, who in conformity to the new regulations of  
 them, were appointed by the crown, contrary to the method  
 prescribed by the charter, of their being chosen by the re-  
 presentatives in each assembly. Of these gentlemen, about  
 24 accepted the office, which was a sufficient number to car-  
 ry on the business of government, until a fresh nomination  
 should arrive for filling up the vacancies.

Hostile  
 appear-  
 ances.

Matters were now, however, unfortunately tending to  
 that crisis, which was to put an end to all established go-  
 vernment in the province. The people in the different coun-  
 ties became every day more outrageous, and every thing  
 bore the semblance of resistance and war; in Berkshire and  
 Worcester counties in particular, nothing was to be seen  
 or heard of, but the purchasing and providing of arms, the  
 procuring of ammunition, the casting of balls, and all those  
 other preparations, which testify the most immediate dan-  
 ger, and determined resistance. All those, who accepted of  
 offices under the new laws, or prepared to act in conformity  
 with them, were every where declared to be enemies to their  
 country, and threatened with all the consequences due to  
 such a character. The people of Connecticut, looking up-  
 on the fate of their neighbouring colony to be only a prelude  
 to their own, even exceeded them in violence.

New  
 judges  
 incapable  
 of acting

The new judges were rendered every where incapable of  
 proceeding in their office. Upon opening the courts, the  
 great and petty juries throughout the whole province, un-  
 animously refused to be sworn, or to act in any manner, un-  
 der the new judges, and the new laws. The acting other-  
 wise

1774.

wife was deemed so heinous, that the clerks of the courts found it necessary to acknowledge their contrition in the public papers, for issuing the warrants by which the juries were summoned to attend, and not only to declare, that let the consequences be what they may, they would not act so again; but that, they had not considered what they were doing, and that if their countrymen should forgive them, they could never forgive themselves for the fault they had committed. At Great Barrington, and some other places, the people assembled in numerous bodies, and filled the court-house and avenues in such a manner, that neither the judges nor their officers could obtain entrance; and upon the sheriff's commanding them to make way for the court; they answered, that they knew no court, nor other establishment, independent of the ancient laws and usages of their country, and to none other would they submit, or give way upon any terms.

The new counsellors were still more unfortunate than the judges. Their houses were surrounded by great bodies of the people, who soon discovered by their countenance and temper, that they had no other alternative than to submit to a renunciation of their offices, or to suffer all the fury of an enraged populace. Most of them submitted to the former condition; some had the fortune to be in Boston, and thereby evaded the danger, while others, with great risque, were pursued and hunted in their escape thither, with threats of destruction to their houses and estates.

New  
counsel-  
lors com-  
pelled to  
renounce  
their offi-  
ces.

The old constitution being taken away by act of parliament, and the new one being rejected by the people, an end was put to all forms of law and government in the province of Massachusetts-Bay; and the people were reduced to that state of anarchy, in which mankind are supposed to have existed in the earliest ages. The degree of order, however, which, by the general concurrence of the people, was preserved in this state of anarchy, will for ever excite the astonishment of mankind, and continue among the strongest proofs of the efficacy of long established habits, and of a constant submission to laws. Excepting the general opposition to a new government, and the excesses arising from it, in the outrages offered to particular persons who were upon that account obnoxious to the people, no other very considerable marks appeared of the cessation of law or of government.

In the mean time, General Gage thought it necessary, for the safety of the troops, as well as to secure the important

1774.

Fortifica-  
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and town of Boston, to fortify the neck of land, which afforded the only communication, except by water, between that town and the continent. This measure, however necessary, could not but increase the jealousy, suspicion, and ill blood, which were already so prevalent; but was soon succeeded by another, that still excited a greater alarm. The season of the year was now arrived for the annual muster of the militia; and the general, having probably some suspicion of their conduct when assembled, or, as they pretended, being urged thereunto by those secret advisers and tale-bearers, to whose insidious arts, and false information, for a long time past, as well as the present, the Americans attributed all their own calamities, and the troubles that had arisen between both countries; however it was, he seized upon the ammunition and stores, which were lodged in the provincial arsenal at Cambridge, and had them brought to Boston. He also, at the same time, seized upon the powder which was lodged in the magazines at Charles-Town, and some other places, being partly private property, and partly provincial.

This excited the most violent and universal ferment that had yet been known. The people assembled to the amount of several thousands, and it was with the greatest difficulty, that some of the more moderate and leading gentlemen of the country were able to restrain them from marching directly to Boston, there to demand a delivery of the powder and stores, and in case of refusal to attack the troops. A false report having been intentionally spread, about the same time, and extended to Connecticut, in order, probably, to try the temper of that province, that the ships and troops had attacked the town of Boston, and were then firing upon it, when the pretended bearers of the news had come away, several thousands of those people immediately assembled in arms, and marched, with great expedition, a considerable distance, to the relief, as they supposed, of their suffering neighbours, before they were convinced of the mistake.

About this time, the governor's company of cadets, consisting wholly of gentlemen of Boston, and of such, in general, as had always been well affected to government, disbanded themselves, and returned to the general the standard, with which, according to custom, he had presented them upon his arrival. This slight to the governor, and apparent displeasure to the new government, proceeded immediately from his having taken away Mr. Hancock's commission, who was the colonel of that corps. A Colonel Murray of  
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the militia, having accepted a seat in the new council, 24 officers of his regiment resigned their commissions in one day; so general was the spirit which was now gone forth. 1774.

The late measure of seizing the powder, as well as the fortifications which were erecting on Boston-neck, occasioned the holding of an assembly of delegates, from all the towns of the county of Suffolk, of which Boston is the county town and capital. In this assembly a great number of resolutions were passed, some of which militated more strongly with the authority of the new legislature, than any that had yet appeared. They are, however, introduced by a declaration of allegiance; but they also declare it to be their duty, by all lawful means to defend their civil and religious rights and liberties; that the late acts are gross infractions of those rights; and that no obedience is due from that province to either, or any part of those acts; but that they ought to be rejected as the wicked attempts of an abandoned administration to establish a despotic government. They engaged that the county should support and bear harmless all sheriffs, jurors, and other persons who should suffer prosecution for not acting under the present unconstitutional judges, or carrying into execution any orders of their courts; and resolved, that those who had accepted seats at the council-board, had violated the duty they owed to their country; and that if they did not vacate them within a short limited time they should be considered as obstinate and incorrigible enemies to their country.

Sundry resolutions passed by the delegates of the county of Suffolk.

They also passed resolutions against the fortifications at Boston-neck; the Quebec bill; for the suspension of commerce; for the encouragement of arts and manufactures; for the holding of a provincial congress; and to pay all due respect and submission to the measures which should be recommended by the Continental Congress. They recommended to the people to perfect themselves in the art of war; and for that purpose, that the militia should appear under arms once every week. That, as it had been reported, that several gentlemen who had rendered themselves conspicuous by contending for the violated rights of their country, were to be apprehended, in case so audacious a measure should be carried into execution, they recommend, that all the officers of so tyrannical a government, should be seized, and kept in safe custody, until the former were restored to their friends and families.

Then followed a recommendation, which, in the present state of things, amounted to a peremptory command, to the

1774. the collectors of the taxes, and all other receivers and holders of the public money, not to pay it as usual to the treasurer; but to detain it in their hands, until the civil government of the province was placed on a constitutional foundation; or until it should be otherwise ordered by the Provincial Congress. They, however, declare, that notwithstanding the many insults and oppressions which they most sensibly feel and resent, they are determined to act merely on the defensive, so long as such conduct may be vindicated by reason, and the principles of self-preservation. They conclude by exhorting the people to restrain their resentments, to avoid all riots and disorderly proceedings, as being destructive of all good government; and by a steady, manly, uniform, and persevering opposition, to convince their enemies, that, in a contest so important, in a cause so solemn, *their conduct should be such as to merit the approbation of the wise, and the admiration of the brave and free, of every age, and of every country.*

Sept. 9th. They then appointed a committee to wait upon the governor, with a remonstrance against the fortifying of Boston-neck; in which they declare, that though the loyal people of that county think themselves oppressed by some late acts of the British parliament, and are resolved, by *divine assistance*, never to submit to them, they have no inclination to commence war with his majesty's troops. They impute the present extraordinary ferment in the minds of the people, besides the new fortification, to the seizing of the powder, to the planting of cannon on the Neck, and to the insults and abuse offered to passengers by the soldiers, in which, they say, they have been encouraged by some of the officers; and conclude, by declaring, that nothing less than a removal or redress of those grievances, can place the inhabitants of the county in that situation of peace and tranquillity, which every free subject ought to enjoy. In this address they totally disclaimed every wish and idea of independency, and attributed all the present troubles to misinformation at home, and the sinister designs of particular persons.

Answer. To this address General Gage answered, that he had no intention to prevent the free egress and regress of any person to and from the town of Boston; that he would suffer none under his command to injure the person or property of any of his majesty's subjects; but that it was his duty to preserve the peace, and to prevent surprize; and that no use would be made of the cannon, unless their hostile proceedings should render it necessary.

Before

Before public affairs had arrived at their present alarming state, the governor, by the advice of the new council, had issued writs for the holding of a general assembly, which was to meet in the beginning of October; but the events that afterwards took place, and the heat and violence which every where prevailed, together with the resignation of so great a number of the new mandamus counsellors, as deprived the small remainder of all efficacy, made him think it expedient to countermand the writs by a proclamation, and to defer the holding of the assembly to a fitter season. The legality of this proclamation was called in question, and the elections every where took place without regard to it. The new members accordingly met at Salem, pursuant to the precepts; but having waited a day, without the governor, or any substitute for him attending, to administer the oaths, and open the session, they voted themselves into a provincial Congress, to be joined by such others as had been, or should be elected for that purpose; after which, Mr. Hancock, so obnoxious to the governor's party, was chosen chairman, and they adjourned to the town of Concord, about 20 miles from Boston.

Among their earliest proceedings, they appointed a committee to wait upon the governor with a remonstrance, in which they apologized for their present meeting, by representing, that the distressed and miserable state of the colony, had rendered it indispensably necessary to collect the wisdom of the province by their delegates in that Congress; thereby to concert some adequate remedy to prevent impending ruin, and to provide for the public safety. They then express the grievous apprehensions of the people from the measures now pursuing. They assert, that even the rigour of the Boston port bill is exceeded, by the manner in which it was carried into execution. They complain of the late laws, calculated not only to abridge the people of their rights, but to license murders; of the number of troops in the capital, which were daily increasing by new accessions drawn from every part of the continent; together with the formidable and hostile preparations at Boston-neck; all tending to endanger the lives, liberties, and properties, not only of the people of Boston, but of the province in general. They conclude by adjuring the general, as he regards his Majesty's honour and interest, the dignity and happiness of the empire, and the peace and welfare of the province, to desist immediately from the construction of the fortress at the entrance into Boston, and to restore that pass to its natural state.

1774.

Writs for holding a general assembly countermanded by proclamation.

Oct. 11th

The representatives meet notwithstanding at Salem;

vote themselves into a provincial congress, and adjourn to the town of Concord.

Remonstrance from the provincial congress;

1774.  
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The general was involved in some difficulty in giving them an answer, as he could not acknowledge the legality of their assembling. The necessity of the times however prevailed. He expressed great indignation that an idea should be formed, that the lives, liberties or property of any people, except avowed enemies, should be in danger from English troops.— Britain, he said, could never harbour the black design of wantonly destroying or enslaving any people; and notwithstanding the enmity shewn to the troops, by withholding from them almost every necessary for their preservation, they had not yet discovered the resentment which might justly be expected to arise from such hostile treatment. He reminded the Congress, that while they complain of alterations made in their charter by acts of parliament, they are themselves, by their present assembling, subverting that charter, and now acting in direct violation of their own constitution; he therefore warned them of the rocks they were upon, and to desist from such illegal and unconstitutional proceedings. By this time Boston was become the place of refuge to all those friends of the new government, who thought it necessary to persevere in avowing their sentiments. The commissioners of the customs, with all their officers, had also thought it necessary, towards the conclusion of the preceding month, to abandon their head-quarters at Salem, and to remove the apparatus of a custom-house, to a place which an act of parliament had proscribed from all trade. Thus the new acts of parliament on one hand, and the resistance of the people on the other, equally joined to annihilate all appearance of government, legislation, judicial proceedings, and commercial regulations.

Upon the approach of winter, the general had ordered temporary barracks to be erected for the troops, partly, perhaps, for safety, and partly to prevent the disorders and mischiefs, which, in the present state and temper of both, must be the unavoidable consequences of their being quartered upon the inhabitants. Such, however, was the dislike to their being provided for in any manner, that the select-men and the committees obliged the workmen to quit their employment, though the money for their labour would have been paid by the crown. The general had as little success in endeavouring to procure carpenters from New-York, so that it was with the greatest difficulty he could get those temporary lodgments erected; and having endeavoured also to procure some winter covering from the latter city, the offer to purchase it was presented to every merchant there, who to a man refused complying with any part of the order, and returned for answer,

“ That

“ That they never would supply any article for the benefit of men who were sent as enemies to their country.” 1774.

Every thing now tended to increase the mutual apprehensions, distrust, and animosity between government and the people. Those of Boston, either were, or pretended to be, under continual terror, from the apprehensions of immediate danger, to their properties, liberties, and even their lives. They were in the hands of an armed force, whom they abhorred, and who equally detested them. The soldiers, on the other hand, considered themselves in the midst of enemies, and were equally apprehensive of danger from within and without. Each side professed the best intentions in the world for itself, and shewed the greatest suspicion of the other. In this state of doubt and profession, things were rendered still worse, by a measure, which did not seem of sufficient importance in its consequences, to justify its being hazarded at so critical a season. This was the landing of a detachment of sailors by night, from the ships of war in the harbour, who spiked up all the cannon upon one of the principal batteries belonging to the town.

In the mean time the Provincial Congress, notwithstanding the cautions given, and dangers held out by the governor, not only continued their assembly, but their resolutions having acquired, from the disposition and promptitude of the people, the weight and efficacy of laws, they seemed to have founded in effect something like a new and independent government. Under the style of recommendation and advice, they settled the militia; and regulated the public treasures; and they provided arms. They appointed a day of public thanksgiving, on which, among the other enumerated blessings, a particular acknowledgement was to be made to the Almighty, for the union which so remarkably prevailed in all the colonies.

These and similar measures, induced General Gage to issue a proclamation, in which, tho' the direct terms are avoided, they are charged with proceedings, which are generally understood as nearly tantamount to treason and rebellion. The inhabitants of the province were accordingly, in the king's name, prohibited from complying, in any degree, with the requisitions, recommendations, directions, or resolves of that unlawful assembly.

State of  
affairs at  
Boston.  
  
Further  
proceed-  
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vincial  
congress.  
  
Nov. 10,  
Procla-  
mation.

## C H A P. IV.

*Resolutions of the General Congress, held at Philadelphia, and opened on Monday the 5th of September, 1774.*

1774.  
Sept. 5th

General  
Congress  
held at  
Philadel-  
phia.

**D**URING these transactions in the province of Massachusetts-Bay, the twelve old colonies, including that whole extent of continent which stretches from Nova-Scotia to Georgia, had appointed deputies to attend the General Congress, which was held at Philadelphia, and opened on Monday the 5th of September 1774. Such was the unhappy effect of the measures pursued, perhaps somewhat too avowedly, and for that reason the less wisely, for reducing America by division, that those twelve colonies, clashing in interests, frequently quarrelling about boundaries and many other subjects, differing in manners, customs, religion, and forms of government, with all the local prejudices, jealousies, and aversions, incident to neighbouring states, were now led to assemble by their delegates in a general diet, and taught to feel their weight and importance in a common union. Whatever may be the event, it was undoubtedly a dangerous experiment to bring matters to this crisis.

Previous  
instructions  
to  
some of  
the de-  
puties.

Several of the colonies had given instructions to their deputies previous to their meeting in congress. In general, they contained the strongest professions of loyalty and allegiance; of affection for the mother country; of constitutional dependence on her; and of gratitude for benefits already received in that state. They totally disclaimed every idea of independence, or of seeking a separation; acknowledged the prerogatives of the crown, and declared their readiness and willingness to support them with life and fortune, so far as they are warranted by the constitution. The Pennsylvanians, in particular, declare that they view the present contests with the deepest concern; that perpetual love and union, an interchange of good offices, without the least infraction of mutual rights, ought ever to subsist between the mother country and them.

On the other hand, they were unanimous in declaring, that they never would give up those rights and liberties which, as they say, descended to them from their ancestors, and which, they say, they were bound by all laws, human and divine,

to

to transmit whole and pure to their posterity ; that they are entitled to all the rights and liberties of British-born subjects ; that the power lately assumed by parliament is unjust, and the only cause of all the present uneasiness ; and that the late acts respecting the capital and province of Massachusetts-Bay, are unconstitutional, oppressive, and dangerous.

1774.

The instructions, however, of the several colonies that pursued that mode, differed considerably from each other. In some great violence appeared. Others were more reasonable. In some nothing was spoken of but their grievances. Others proposed likewise terms on their part to be offered to G. Britain. Such as an obedience to all the trade laws passed, or to be passed, except such as were specified ; and the settling an annual revenue on the crown for public purposes, and disposable by parliament. The deputies however were instructed, that in these and all other points, they were to coincide with the majority of the Congress. This majority was to be determined by reckoning the colonies, as having each a vote, without regard to the number of deputies which it should send.

The debates and proceedings of the Congress were conducted with the greatest secrecy, nor have any parts of them yet transpired, but those which they thought proper to lay before the public. The number of delegates amounted to 51, who represented the several English colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South Carolina.

The first public act of the Congress was a declaratory resolution expressive of their disposition with respect to the colony of Massachusetts-Bay, and immediately intended to confirm and encourage that people. In this they expressed, in the most pathetic terms, how deeply they felt the sufferings of their country-men in that province, under the operation, they said, of the late unjust, cruel, and oppressive acts of the British parliament ; they thoroughly approved of the wisdom and fortitude with which their opposition to these ministerial measures had hitherto been conducted, as well as of the resolutions passed, and measures proposed, by the delegates of the county of Suffolk ; and earnestly recommended a perseverance in the same firm and temperate conduct, according to the determinations of that assembly. This was immediately published, and transmitted to that province, accompanied with an unanimous resolution, That contributions from all

Sept. 17.  
Acts of  
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1774. the colonies for supplying the necessities, and alleviating the distresses of their brethren at Boston, ought to be continued in such manner, and so long, as their occasions may require.

Resolutions passed by the county of Suffolk.

Resolutions.

By the subsequent resolutions of the Congress, they not only formally approve of the opposition made by that province to the late acts; but further declare, that if it should be attempted to be carried into execution by force, all America should support it in that opposition.—That if it be found absolutely necessary to remove the people of Boston into the country, all America should contribute towards recompensing them for the injury they might thereby sustain.—They recommended to the inhabitants of Massachusetts-Bay, to submit to a suspension of the administration of justice, as it cannot be procured in a legal manner under the rules of the charter, until the effect of the application of the Congress for a repeal of those acts, by which their charter rights are infringed, is known.—And that every person who shall accept, or act under, any commission or authority, derived from the late act of parliament, changing the form of government, and violating the charter of that province, ought to be held in detestation, and considered as the wicked tool of that despotism, which is preparing to destroy those rights, which God, Nature, and Compact, hath given to America. They besides recommended to the people of Boston and Massachusetts-Bay, still to conduct themselves peaceably towards the general, and the troops stationed at Boston, so far as it could possibly consist with their present safety; but that they should firmly persevere in the defensive line of conduct which they are now pursuing. The latter part of this instruction evidently alluded to and implied an approbation of the late resolutions of the county of Suffolk, relative to the militia, and to the arming of the people in general. The Congress conclude by a resolution, that the transporting, or attempting to transport any person beyond the sea, for the trial of offences committed in America, being against law, will justify, and ought to meet with resistance and reprisal.

Letter to G. Gage.

These resolutions being passed, the Congress wrote a letter to General Gage, in which, after repeating the complaints which had been before repeatedly made by the town of Boston, and by the delegates of different counties in the province of Massachusetts-Bay, they declare the determined resolution of the colonies, to unite for the preservation of their common rights, in opposition to the late acts of parliament, under the execution of which the unhappy people of that province are oppressed: that, in consequence of their sentiments upon

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that subject, the colonies had appointed them the guardians of their rights and liberties, and that they felt the deepest concern, that, whilst they were pursuing every dutiful and peaceable measure to procure a cordial and effectual reconciliation between Great-Britain and the colonies, his excellency should proceed in a manner that bore so hostile an appearance, and which even those oppressive acts did not warrant. They represented the tendency this conduct must have to irritate and force a people, however well disposed to peaceable measures, into hostilities, which might prevent the endeavours of the Congress to restore a good understanding with the parent state, and involve them in the horrors of a Civil War. In order to prevent these evils, and the people from being driven to a state of desperation, being fully persuaded of their pacific disposition towards the king's troops, if they could be assured of their own safety, they intreated, that the general would discontinue the fortifications in Boston, prevent any further invasions of private property, restrain the irregularities of the soldiers, and give orders that the communications between the town and country should be open, unmolested, and free.

The Congress also published a *Declaration of Rights*, to which, they say, the English colonies of North-America are entitled, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and the several charters or compacts. In the first of these are life, liberty, and property, a right to the disposal of any of which, without their consent, they had never ceded to any sovereign power whatever. That their ancestors, at the time of their migration, were entitled to all the rights, liberties, and immunities, of free and natural born subjects; and that by such emigration, they neither forfeited, surrendered, nor lost, any of those rights. They then state, that the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative council; and proceed to shew, that as the colonies are not, and, from various causes, cannot be represented in the British parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal policy, subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such a manner as had been heretofore used and accustomed.

In order to qualify the extent of this demand of legislative power in their assemblies, which might seem to leave no means of parliamentary interference for holding the colonies

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to the mother country, they declare that from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interest of both countries, they cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament, as are, *bona fide*, restrained to the regulation of their external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members, excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America, without their consent.

They also resolved, that the colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and, more especially, to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage. That they are entitled to the benefit of such of the English statutes as existed at the time of their colonization, and which they have by experience found to be applicable to their several local and other circumstances. That they are likewise entitled to all the immunities and privileges, granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured by their several codes of provincial laws. That they have a right to assemble peaceably, consider of their grievances, and petition the king for redress; and that all prosecutions, and prohibitory proclamations for so doing, are illegal. That the keeping of a standing army, in times of peace, in any colony, without the consent of its legislature, is contrary to law. That it is essential to the English constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature should be independent of each other; that therefore, the exercise of legislative power, by a council appointed during pleasure by the crown, is unconstitutional, and destructive to the freedom of American legislation.

They declared in behalf of themselves and their constituents, that they claimed, and insisted on the foregoing articles, as their indubitable rights and liberties, which could not be legally taken from them, altered, or abridged, by any power whatever, without their own consent, by their representatives in their several provincial legislatures. They then enumerated the parts, or the whole, of *eleven* acts of parliament which had been passed in the present reign, and which they declared to be infringements and violations of the rights of the colonists; and that the repeal of them was essentially necessary, in order to restore harmony between Great-Britain and them. Among the acts of parliament thus reprobated, was the *Quebec bill*, which had already been the cause of so much discussion at home, and which they

they termed, “ An act for establishing the Roman Catholic religion in the province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there ;” to the great danger (as they asserted) from so total a dissimilarity of religion, law, and government, of the neighbouring British colonies, by the assistance of whose blood and treasure that country was conquered from France.

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After specifying their rights, and enumerating their grievances, they declared, that to obtain redress of the latter, which threatened destruction to the lives, liberty, and property of the people of North-America, a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation, agreement, would prove the most speedy, effectual, and peaceable measure ;— they accordingly entered into an association, by which they bound themselves, and of course their constituents, to the strict observance of the following articles.—1. That after the first of the following December, they would import no British goods or merchandize whatsoever, nor any East-India tea, from any part of the world ; nor any of the products of the British West-India islands ; nor wines from Madeira, or the Western islands ; nor foreign indigo.—2. That, after that day, they would wholly discontinue the slave trade, and neither hire vessels, nor sell commodities or manufactures to any concerned in that trade.—3. That from the present date, they will use no tea on which a duty had been or shall be paid ; nor after the first of March ensuing, any East-India tea whatever, nor any British goods, imported after the first of December, except such as come under the rules and directions which we shall see in the 10th article.—4. By this article, the non-exportation agreement is suspended to the 10th of September, 1775 ; after which day, if the acts of parliament which they had before recited are not repealed, all exportation is to cease, except that of rice, to Europe.—5. The *British* merchants are exhorted not to ship goods in violation of this association, under penalty of their never holding any commercial intercourse with those that act otherwise.—6. Owners of ships are warned to give such orders to their captains, as will effectually prevent their receiving any of those goods that are prohibited.—7. They agree to improve the breed of sheep, and to increase their number, to the greatest possible extent.—8. This article tends to encourage frugality, œconomy, and industry ; to promote agriculture, arts, and manufactures ; to discountenance all expensive shows, games and entertainments ; to lessen the expences of funerals ; to discontinue the giving of gloves and scarfs, and the wearing

Association.

Article 1

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- wearing of any other mourning than a piece of crape or ribbon.—9. Venders of goods are to sell them at the usual prices, without taking any advantage of the present situation of affairs.—10. This article seems in a certain degree to soften the rigour of the first, and permits a conditional importation for two months longer, at the option of the owner; who, if he will deliver up any goods that he imports before the 1st. Feb. to the committee of the place that they arrive at, they are to be sold under their inspection, and the prime cost being returned to the importer, the profits are to be applied to the relief of the sufferers at Boston. All goods that arrive after that day, to be sent back without landing, or breaking any of the packages.—The three following articles, relative to the appointing of committees, to prevent any violation of the foregoing, and to publish the names of the violaters in the Gazette, as foes to the rights, and enemies to the liberty of British America; they also regulate the sale of domestic manufactures, that they may be disposed of at reasonable prices, and no undue advantages taken of a future scarcity of goods.—By the 14th and last article, any colony or province, which shall not accede to, or which shall hereafter violate the association, is branded as inimical to the liberties of their country; and all dealings or intercourse whatever with such colony is interdicted.
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This association was subscribed by all the members of the congress; and the foregoing resolutions were all marked, *nemine contradicente*. They afterwards resolved, that a congress should be held in the same place, on the 10th day of the following May, unless the redress of grievances, which they have desired, should be obtained before that time; and they recommended to all the colonies to chuse deputies, as soon as possible, for that purpose. They also, in their own names, and in the behalf of all those whom they represented, declared their most grateful acknowledgments, to those truly noble, honourable, and patriotic advocates of civil and religious liberty, who had so generously and powerfully, though unsuccessfully, espoused and defended the cause of America, both in and out of parliament.

They then proceeded to frame a petition to his majesty; a memorial to the people of Great-Britain; an address to the colonies in general; and another to the inhabitants of the province of Quebec. The petition to his majesty contained an enumeration of their grievances; among which are the following, *viz.* The keeping of a standing army in the colonies in time of peace, without the consent of the assemblies;

blies; and the employing of that army, and of a naval force, to enforce the payment of taxes.—The authority of the commander in chief, and of the brigadiers general, being rendered supreme in all the civil governments in America.—The commander in chief of the forces, in time of peace, appointed governor of a colony — The charges of usual offices greatly increased, and new, expensive, and oppressive offices, multiplied.—The judges of the admiralty-courts impowered to receive their salaries and fees from the effects condemned by themselves, and the officers of the customs to break open and enter houses, without the authority of the civil magistrate.—The judges rendered intirely dependent on the crown for their salaries, as well as for the duration of their commissions.—Counsellors, who exercise legislative authority, holding their commissions during pleasure.—Humble and reasonable petitions from the representatives of the people fruitless.—The agents of the people discountenanced, and instructions given to prevent the payment of their salaries; assemblies repeatedly and injuriously dissolved; commerce burthened with useles and oppressive restrictions.

They then enumerate the several acts of parliament passed in the present reign for the purpose of raising a revenue in the colonies, and of extending the powers of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits; whereby their property is taken from them without their consent, the trial by jury, in many civil cases abolished, enormous forfeitures incurred for slight offences; vexatious informers are exempted from paying damages, to which they are justly liable, and oppressive security is required from owners before they are allowed to defend their right.

They complain of the parliamentary vote for reviving the statute of the 35th Henry VIIIth, and extending its influence to the colonists; and of the statute of the 12th of his present majesty, whereby the inhabitants of the colonies may, in sundry cases, by that statute made capital, be deprived of a trial by their peers of the vicinage. They then recite the three acts of the preceding session, relative to Boston and the province of Massachusetts-Bay; the Quebec act, and the act for providing quarters for the troops in North America.

The petition repeatedly contains the strongest expressions of loyalty, of affectionate attachment and duty to the sovereign, of love and veneration for the parent state; they attributed these their sentiments to the liberties they inherited from their ancestors, and the constitution under which they

1774. were bred; while the necessity which compelled was the apology for delivering them.—They at the same time promised themselves a favourable reception and hearing from a sovereign, whose illustrious family owed their empire to similar principles.

They declare, that from the destructive system of colony administration, adopted since the conclusion of the last war, have flowed those distresses, dangers, fears and jealousies, which overwhelm the colonies with affliction; and they defy their most subtle and inveterate enemies to trace the unhappy differences between G. Britain and them from an earlier period, or from other causes than they have assigned. That they ask but for peace, liberty, and safety; they wish not for a diminution of the prerogative, nor do they solicit the grant of any new right in their favour; the royal authority over them, and their connection with Great Britain, they shall always carefully and zealously endeavour to support and maintain. That, “appealing to that Being who searches thoroughly the hearts of his creatures, they solemnly profess, that their councils have been influenced by no other motive than a dread of impending destruction.”

They conclude by imploring his majesty, in the name of all America, and a solemn adjuration by all that is sacred and awful, that,—“for his glory, which can be advanced only by rendering his subjects happy, and keeping them united; for the interests of his family, depending in an adherence to the principle that enthroned it; for the safety and welfare of his kingdoms and dominions, threatened with almost unavoidable dangers and distresses; that, as the loving father of his whole people, connected by the same bands of law, loyalty, faith, and blood, though dwelling in various countries, he will not suffer the transcendent relation formed by these ties, to be further violated in uncertain expectation of effects, which, if attained, never can compensate for the calamities through which they must be gained.”

This petition was subscribed by all the delegates.

Memorial to the people of G. Brita. In the memorial to the people of this country, they pay the highest praise to the noble and generous virtues of their people and our common ancestors; but they do it in a manner, that instead of reflecting any comparative honour on the present generation in this island, rather reproaches us with a shameful degeneracy. They afterwards say, that born to the same rights, liberties, and constitution, transmitted to them from the same ancestors, guaranteed to them by the plighted faith of government, and the most solemn compacts with British sovereigns,

sovereigns,

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sovereigns, it is no wonder they should refuse to surrender them to men, whose claims are not founded on any principles of reason, “and who prosecute them with a design, that, by having their lives and property in their power, they might with the greatest facility enslave us.”—They complain of being oppressed, abused, and misrepresented; and say, that the duty they owe to themselves and to their posterity, to our interest, and to the general welfare of the British empire, leads them to address us on this very important subject.

After complaining of grievances in the style and substance of the petition, they recall the happy state of the empire on both sides of the Atlantic, previous to the conclusion of the late war; and state the advantages which we derived, and to which they willingly submitted, from the system of colony government then pursued; they say, they looked up to us as to their parent state, to which they were bound by the strongest ties; and were happy in being instrumental to our posterity and grandeur. They call upon ourselves to witness their loyalty and attachment to the common interests of the whole empire: their efforts in the last war: their embarking to meet disease and death in foreign and inhospitable climates, to promote the success of our arms; and our own acknowledgments of their zeal, and our even reimbursing them large sums of money, which we confessed they had advanced beyond their proportion, and far beyond their abilities.

They ask to what causes they are to attribute the sudden change of treatment, and that system of slavery, which was prepared for them at the restoration of peace; they trace the history of taxation from that time, and assert, that those exactions, instead of being applied to any useful purpose, either for this country or that, have been lavishly squandered upon court favourites and ministerial dependants; that they ever were, and ever shall be ready to provide for the necessary support of their own government; and whenever the exigencies of the state may require it, they shall, as they have heretofore done, cheerfully contribute their full proportion of men and money.

They then proceed to state and examine the measures and the several acts of parliament, which they consider as hostile to America, and subversive of their rights; or, in their words, the progression of the ministerial plan for enslaving them.—They represent the probable consequences to this country of a perseverance in that scheme, even supposing it

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attended with success; addition to the national debt; increase of taxes; and a diminution of commerce, must attend it in the progress; and if we are at length victorious, in what condition shall we then be? What advantages, or what laurels shall we reap from such a conquest?

They artfully endeavour to render theirs a cause common to both countries, by shewing that such success would, in the event, be as fatal to the liberties of England as to those of America. They accordingly put the question, May not a minister with the same armies that subdued them enslave us? If to this it be answered, that we will cease to pay those armies, they pretend to shew, that America, reduced to such a situation, would afford abundant resources both of men and money for the purpose; nor should we have any reason to expect, that after making slaves of them, they should refuse to assist in reducing us to the same abject state.—— In a word, (they say,) “Take care that you do not fall “into the pit that is preparing for us.”

After denying the several charges, of being seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independency, all of which they assert to be calumnies; they, however, declare, that if we are determined, that our ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of mankind; if neither the voice of justice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the constitution, nor the suggestions of humanity, can restrain our hands from the shedding of human blood in such an impious cause, they must tell us,—“That they never will submit to be hewers of wood, or drawers of water, for any ministry or nation in the world.”

They afterwards make a proposal, which it were much to be wished had been more attended to, as it affords at least no unfavourable basis for negociation.—“Place us,” say they, “in the same situation that we were at the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored.”

They conclude this memorial, by expressing the deepest regret for the resolutions they were obliged to enter into for the suspension of commerce, as a measure detrimental to numbers of their fellow-subjects in Great-Britain and Ireland; they account and apologize for this conduct, by the over-ruling principles of self-preservation; by the supineness and inattention to our common interest, which we had shewn for several years; and by the attempt of the ministry, to influence a submission to their measures by destroying the trade of Boston. “The like fate,” they say, “may befall us all; we will endeavour, therefore, to live without trade, and

recur

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recur for subsistence to the fertility and bounty of our native soil, which will afford us all the necessaries, and some of the conveniencies of life." They finally rest their hopes of a restoration of that harmony, friendship, and fraternal affection, between all the inhabitants of his majesty's kingdoms and territories, so ardently wished for by every true American, upon the magnanimity and justice of the British nation, in furnishing a parliament of such wisdom, independency, and public spirit, as may save the violated rights of the whole empire from the devices of wicked ministers and evil counsellors, whether in or out of office.

Of all the papers published by the American congress, their address to the French inhabitants of Canada discovers the most able method of application to the temper and passions of the parties, whom they endeavour to gain.—They state the right they had, upon their becoming English subjects, to the inestimable benefits of the English constitution; that this right was further confirmed by the royal proclamation in the year 1763, plighting the public faith for their full enjoyment of those advantages. They impute to succeeding ministers an audacious and cruel abuse of the royal authority, in withholding from them the fruition of the irrevocable rights, to which they were thus justly entitled.—That as they have lived to see the unexpected time, when ministers of this flagitious temper have dared to violate the most sacred compacts and obligations, and as the Canadians, educated under another form of government, have artfully been kept from discovering the unspeakable worth of that, from which they are debarred, the congress think it their duty, for weighty reasons, to explain to them some of its most important branches.

Address  
to the in-  
habitants  
of Cana-  
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They then quote passages on government from the Marquis Beccari and their countryman Montesquieu, the latter of whom they artfully adopt as a judge, and an irrefragable authority upon this occasion, and proceed to specify and explain, under several distinct heads, the principal rights to which the people are entitled by the English constitution; and these rights, they truly say, defend the poor from the rich, the weak from the powerful, the industrious from the rapacious, the peaceable from the violent, the tenants from the lords, and all from their superiors.

They state, that without these rights, a people cannot be free and happy; and that under their protecting and encouraging influence, the English colonies had hitherto so amazingly flourished and increased. And, that these are the

rights

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rights which a profligate ministry are now striving by force of arms to ravish from themselves; and which they are, with one mind, resolved never to resign but with their lives.

They again remind the Canadians that they are entitled to these rights, and ought at this moment to be in the perfect exercise of them. They then ask, what is offered to them by the late act of parliament in their place? And from thence proceed to a severe examination of the Quebec act; in which they attempt to shew, that it does not afford them, and has not left them a civil right or security of any kind; as every thing it seems to grant, and even the laws they possessed before, are liable to be altered and varied, and new laws or ordinances made, by a governor and council appointed by the crown, and consequently, wholly dependent on, and removeable at the will of a minister in England; so that all the powers of legislation, as well as that of granting and applying the public supplies, and disposing of their own property, being thus totally out of the hands and controul of the people, they are liable to the most abject slavery, and to live under the most despotic government in the universe.

After pretending to point out numberless deformities in that law, and placing them in such points of view, as were sufficient to render it odious to mankind, as well as hideous to the Canadians, they represent, as an insult added to their injuries, the hopes upon which, they said, it had been founded by the minister; he expecting, that through an invincible stupidity in them, and a total inability of comprehending the tendency of a law, which so materially affected their dearest interests, they should, in the excess of a mistaken gratitude, take up arms, and incur the ridicule and detestation of the world, by becoming willing tools in his hands, to assist in subverting the rights and liberties of the other colonies; without their being capable of seeing, that the unavoidable consequences of such an attempt, if successful, would be the extinction of all hopes to themselves and their posterity of being ever restored to freedom; "For idiocy itself, (say they) cannot believe, that, when their drudgery is performed, they will treat you with less cruelty than they have us, who are of the same blood with themselves."

They again apply to their passions, and partiality for their countrymen, by calling up the venerable Montesquieu, and desiring them to apply those maxims, sanctified by the authority of a name which all Europe reveres, to their own state; they suppose him alive, and consulted by the Canadian  
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ans as to the part they should act in their present situation. They are told (after expatiating on the subject of freedom and slavery) that they are only a small people, compared with their numerous and powerful neighbours, who with open arms invite them into a fellowship; to seize the opportunity in their favour, which is not the work of man, but presented by Providence itself; that it does not admit of a question, whether it is more for their interest and happiness, to have all the rest of North America their unalterable friends, or their inveterate enemies; that as nature had joined their countries, let them also join their political interests; that they have been conquered into liberty, if they act as they ought; but that their doing otherwise will be attended with irremediable evils.

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They endeavour to obviate the jealousies and prejudices which might arise from the difference of their religious principles, by instancing the case of the Swiss cantons, whose union is composed of Catholic and Protestant states; who live in the utmost concord and peace with each other, and have been thereby enabled to defeat all attempts against their liberties. This instance, though perhaps the most apposite that could have been brought for the purpose, would not, however, have borne the test of much examination.

They declare, that they do not require them to commence acts of hostility against the government of their common sovereign; that they only invite them to consult their own glory and welfare, and not to suffer themselves to be inveigled or intimidated by infamous ministers so far, as to become the instruments of their cruelty and despotism. They conclude by informing them, that the congress had, with universal pleasure, and by a unanimous vote, resolved, that they should consider the violation of their rights, by the act for altering the government of that province, as a violation of their own; and that they should be invited to accede to their confederation, which had no other objects than the perfect security of the natural and civil rights of all the constituent members, according to their respective circumstances, and the preservation of a happy and lasting connection with Great-Britain, on the salutary and constitutional principles before mentioned.

In the address to the colonies they inform them, that as in duty and justice bound, they have deliberately, dispassionately, and impartially examined and considered all the measures that led to the present disturbances; the exertions of both the legislative and executive powers of Great Britain,

Address  
to the  
Colonies.

tain,

1774. tain, on the one hand, and the conduct of the colonies on the other. That upon the whole, they find themselves reduced to the disagreeable alternative, of being silent and betraying the innocent, or of speaking out and censuring those they wish to revere. In making their choice of these distressing difficulties, they prefer the course dictated by honesty, and a regard for the welfare of their country.

After stating and examining the several laws that were passed, and the measures pursued with respect to America, from the year 1764, to the present period, (1774), they enquire into the motives for the particular hostility carried on against the town of Boston, and province of Massachusetts's Bay, though the behaviour of the people in other colonies, had been in equal opposition to the power assumed by parliament, and yet no step whatever had been taken against any of them by government. This they represent as an artful systematic line of conduct, concealing among others the following designs: 1st, That it was expected, that the province of Massachusetts's would be irritated into some violent action, that might displease the rest of the continent, or that might induce the people of England to approve the meditated vengeance of an imprudent and exasperated ministry. If the unexampled pacific temper of that province should disappoint that part of the plan, it was in that case hoped, that the other colonies would be so far intimidated, as to desert their brethren, suffering in a common cause, and that thus disunited, all might be easily subdued.

After examining the Quebec act, and pretending to assign the motives on which it was founded, they say, that from this detail of facts, as well as from authentic intelligence, it is clear, beyond a doubt, that a resolution is formed, and now is carrying into execution, to extinguish the freedom of the colonies, by subjecting them to a despotic government.

They then proceed to state the importance of the trust which was reposed in them, and the manner in which they have discharged it. Upon this occasion, they say, that tho' the state of the colonies would certainly justify other measures than those which they have advised; yet they have, for weighty reasons, given the preference to those which they have adopted. These reasons are, that it is consistent with the character which the colonies have always sustained, to perform, even in the midst of the unnatural distresses and imminent dangers that surround them, every act of loyalty; and therefore they were induced to offer once more to his Majesty the petitions of his faithful and oppressed subjects in  
America,

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America.—Then from a sense of their tender affection for the people of the kingdom from which they derive their original, they could not forbear to regulate their steps by an expectation of receiving full conviction that the colonists are equally dear to them. That they ardently wish the social band between that body and the colonies may never be dissolved; and that it cannot, until the minds of the former shall become indisputably hostile, or their inattention shall permit those who are thus hostile to persist in prosecuting, with the powers of the realm, the destructive measures already operating against the colonists; and, in either case, shall reduce the latter to such a situation, that they shall be compelled to renounce every guard but that of self-preservation.—That, notwithstanding the vehemence with which affairs have been impelled, they have not yet reached that fatal point; that they do not incline to accelerate their motion, already alarmingly rapid; and they have chosen a method of opposition that does not preclude a hearty reconciliation with their fellow citizens on the other side of the Atlantic.

That, they deeply deplore the urgent necessity that presses them to an immediate interruption of commerce, which may prove injurious to their fellow-subjects in England; but trust they will acquit them of any unkind intentions, by reflecting that they subject themselves to similar inconveniences; that they are driven by the hands of violence into unexperienced and unexpected public convulsions; and that they are contending for freedom, so often contended for by their ancestors.

They conclude by observing, that the people of England will soon have an opportunity of declaring their sentiments concerning their cause. “That in their piety, generosity, and good sense, they repose high confidence; and cannot, upon a review of past events, be persuaded that they, the defenders of true religion, and the assertors of the rights of mankind, will take part against their affectionate Protestant brethren in the colonies, in favour of their open and our own secret enemies, whose intrigues, for several years past, have been wholly exercised in sapping the foundation of all civil and religious liberty.”

These public acts being passed, the delegates put an end to their session, on the 52d day from the opening of the congress.

The Congress  
breaks up  
Oct. 26th

Without examining the truth of their allegations, or pretending to form any opinion upon a subject, on which the first names in this country have differed so widely, it must be

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be acknowledged, that the petition and addresses from the congress have been executed with uncommon energy, address, and ability; and that considered abstractedly, with respect to vigour of mind, strength of sentiment, and the language, at least of patriotism, they would not have disgraced any assembly that ever existed.

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## C H A P. V.

*State of Affairs at the opening of the new parliament, with some account of the two Fishery Bills passed in this session.*

WHILST matters of this magnitude were transacting in America, an unexampled supineness, with regard to public affairs, prevailed among the great body of the people. Even the great commercial and manufacturing bodies, who must be the first to feel, and the last to lament any sinister events in the colonies, and who are generally remarkable for a quick foresight and provident sagacity in whatever regards their interest, seemed now to be sunk in the same carelessness and inattention with the rest of the people.

1774.  
State of affairs previous to the dissolution of Parlia-

Several causes concurred to produce this apparent indifference. The colony contests were no longer new. From the year 1765, they had, with but few, and those short intermissions, engaged the attention of parliament. Most of the topics on the subject were exhausted, and the vehement passions which accompanied them had subsided. The non-impotation agreement, (by divisions within the colonies, which, if not cauted, were much forwarded by the concessions with regard to several of the taxes laid in 1767) had broken up, before it had produced any serious consequences. Most people therefore flattered themselves, that as things had appeared so very frequently at the verge of a rupture, without actually arriving at it, that now, as formerly, some means would be found for accommodating this dispute. At worst it was conceived, that the Americans would themselves grow tired. And as an opinion was circulated with some industry and success, that a countenance of resolution, if persevered in for some time, would certainly put an end to the contest, which (it was said) had been nourished wholly by former concessions, people were in general inclined to leave the trial of the effects of perseverance and resolution, to a ministry who valued themselves on those qualities. All these things had hitherto indisposed the body of the nation from taking part in the sanguine manner they had hitherto done on other subjects, and formerly on this. From these causes, administration being totally disengaged at home, was at full leisure to prosecute the measures which

1774. which it had designed against America, or to adopt such new ones, as the opposition there rendered necessary towards carrying the new laws into execution. The times indeed were highly favourable to any purpose, which only required the concurrence of that parliament, and the acquiescence of the people.

Notwithstanding these favourable circumstances on the one side, and that general indifference which prevailed on the other, it was not totally forgotten by either, that the time for a general election was approaching, and that the parliament had but one session more to compleat its allotted term.

Nov. 30, On the meeting of this new parliament, Sir Fletcher Norton, was, without opposition, appointed Speaker. In the  
The new speech from the throne, the two houses were informed, that  
Parliament a most daring spirit of resistance and disobedience to the law  
meets. still unhappily prevailed in the province of Massachusetts-Bay, and had, in divers parts of it, broke forth in fresh violences of a very criminal nature; that these proceedings had  
Speech been countenanced and encouraged in others of the colonies, from the  
throne, and unwarrantable attempts made to obstruct the commerce of this kingdom, by unlawful combinations; that such measures had been taken, and such orders given, as were judged most proper and effectual for carrying into execution the laws which were passed in the last session of the late parliament, for the protection and security of commerce, and for restoring and preserving peace, order, and good government, in the province of Massachusetts-Bay; that they might depend upon a firm and stedfast resolution to withstand every attempt to weaken or impair the supreme authority of this legislature over all the dominions of the crown, the maintenance of which was considered as essential to the dignity, the safety, and welfare of the British empire; his majesty being assured of receiving their assistance and support while acting upon these principles.

Address. An address, in the usual form, having been moved for, an amendment was proposed, on the side of opposition, "That his Majesty would be graciously pleased to communicate the whole intelligence he had received from America to the house, as well as the letters, orders, and instructions, upon that business." The proposal for this amendment was productive of some considerable debate, as well as of a division. The minority was but 13 to 63 on the division. It was rendered memorable by the circumstance of having produced a protest, the first we remember to have heard of upon an address, and that too very strong and pointed.

The answer from the throne to this address, besides the usual

ual thanks, contained an assurance of taking the most speedy and effectual measures, for enforcing due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature ; together with a declaration, that whenever any of the colonies should make a proper and dutiful application, his Majesty would be ready to concur in affording them every just and reasonable indulgence ; and concluded with an earnest wish, that this disposition might have an happy effect on their temper and conduct.

1775.

Answer.

This answer was accompanied with a message to the Commons, in which they were informed, that as it was determined, in consequence of the address, to take the most speedy and effectual measures for supporting the just rights of the crown, and the two houses of parliament, some augmentation to the forces by sea and land would be necessary for that purpose. This message was referred, as usual, to the committee of supply.

Message from the throne for an augmentation of the forces.

While measures were thus taking to apply a military force to the cure of the disorders in America, other means were thought necessary to come in aid of this expedient. The military force might indeed coerce and punish the disobedient, and effectually support the magistrate in case of insurrection ; but how to get the body of magistracy to act, or any sufficient number upon ordinary occasions to engage heartily in their cause, did not appear. The change in the charter of Massachussett's-Bay had not produced the desired effect. Even if it should, the inferior magistrates must evidently be taken in the country ; sheriffs, constables, select men, grand and petty juries, must be aiding to the higher magistrates, or nothing could be done ; and the idea of having troops in every parish would be ridiculous. The coercive plan being therefore still relied on, it was proposed to chuse a punishment so universal, as by the inconveniencies which every man felt, would interest every man in procuring obedience and submission to the late acts of parliament. For this reason the minister moved for leave to bring in a bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the provinces of Massachussett's Bay, and New Hampshire, the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode island, and Providence Plantation, in North America, to Great-Britain, Ireland, and the British islands in the West-Indies ; and to prohibit such provinces and colonies from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, or other places therein to be mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a limited time.

Feb. 10, 1775.

Fishery bill brought in.

On the 21 of March, upon the third reading of this bill, a motion was made for an amendment, that the colonies of

The bill returned, New-

1775. New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, should be included in the same restrictions with the New-England provinces. On this amendment the question being put, it was carried by 52 to 21; and the prohibitions of the bill consequently extended to the five new provinces. The question was then put upon the bill, and carried by a majority of 73 to 21; and it was accordingly returned to the Commons with the amendment; but this house objecting to it, as causing a disagreement between the title and body of the bill, (which would have caused great embarrassment to the officers who were to carry it into execution) a conference was held, in a few days after, between the two Houses, at which the reasons offered by the Commons, having appeared satisfactory, the Lords agreed in rejecting the amendment; and the bill received the royal assent on the 30th of March.

This bill was productive of a protest signed by sixteen lords. Among other severe strictures, they represented it as one of those unhappy inventions, to which parliament is driven by the difficulties that daily multiply upon them, from an obstinate adherence to an unwise system of government. They say, that government which attempts to preserve its authority by destroying the trade of its subjects, and by involving the innocent and guilty in a common ruin, if it acts from a choice of such means, confesses itself unworthy; if from inability to find any other, admits itself wholly incompetent to the end of its institution. They severely censure the attempt made to bribe the nation into an acquiescence in this arbitrary act, by holding out to them, as a temptation for that purpose, the spoils of the New-England fishery; this they represent to be a scheme full of weakness and indecency; of indecency, because it may be suspected that the desire of the confiscation has created the guilt; and of weakness, because it supposes, that whatever is taken from the colonies, is of course to be transferred to ourselves.

Mar. 9th The Fishery-bill had scarcely cleared the House of Commons, when the minister brought in another, "To restrain the trade and commerce of the colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, to Great-Britain, Ireland, and the British islands in the West-Indies, under certain conditions and limitations." As measures of this nature were now familiar, he only thought it necessary to observe, that as the southern provinces had acceded to the non-importation and non-exportation agreement, as well as the northern, it was conformable to reason and justice that they should equally feel our resentment, and experience the

the

the same degree of punishment. The matter of this bill, being formerly discussed, the debate at the third reading was not long, nor the attendance considerable on the part of the minority. The bill passed without difficulty.

1775.

Apr. 5th.

During the passing of these two additional American bills, several conciliatory ones were offered by L. Chatham, and other lords in the minority; also petitions from the city of London and several manufacturing towns in Great-britain and Ireland. Some counter petitions were also received, calling for an enforcement of the laws of Great-Britain as the only means of preserving a trade with the colonies, and asserting that the trade hitherto had suffered none, or an inconsiderable diminution by the combination of the Americans. Much altercation arose on the truth of facts alledged on both sides, as well as on the manner of obtaining the signatures, and the quality of those who signed. The minority insisted, that the most who signed these *war petitions* (as they called them) were persons of none or a remoter interest in the American trade; but of that description of warm and active party-men commonly called Tories.— To prove the truth of the former part of their assertion, they entered into several examinations, which produced many long and hot debates.

The coercive plan for subjugating America being thus finished, this remarkable session was closed by a speech from the Speaker to his Majesty, stating the heaviness of the grants, (the Money-bills which had just received the royal assent) which nothing but the particular exigencies of the times could justify in a season of profound peace; he, however, gave an assurance, that if the Americans should persist in their resolutions, and the sword must be drawn, his faithful Commons would do every thing in their power to maintain and support the supremacy of this legislature, and concluded, that the money now raised, should be faithfully applied to the purposes for which it was appropriated.

In the speech from the throne, the most perfect satisfaction in their conduct, during the course of this important session, was expressed. It was said, that they had maintained, with a firm and steady resolution, the rights of the crown and the authority of parliament, which should ever be considered as inseparable; that they had protected and promoted the commercial interests of these kingdoms; and they had, at the same time, given convincing proofs of their readiness (as far as the constitution would allow them) to gratify the wishes, and remove the apprehensions of the subjects in America.

May, 26,

## C H A P. VI.

*State of affairs in America during the sitting of Parliament.—  
Continued from the breaking up of the general Congress, in  
Oct. 26, 1774, to the re-assembly of that body in May 10,  
1775.*

1774.

**D**URING these transactions at home, affairs were every day becoming more dangerous in America. Whatever hesitation might before have operated with the timid, or principles of caution and prudence with the moderate, they were now all removed by the determinations of the general congress. These became immediately the political creed of the colonies, and a perfect compliance with their resolutions was every where determined upon, as soon as the general sense of the people could be obtained. The unanimity which prevailed throughout the continent was amazing. The same language was held by town and provincial meetings, by general assemblies, by judges in their charges, and by grand juries in their presentments; and all their acts tended to the same point. It was a new and wonderful thing to see the inhabitants of rich and great commercial countries, who had acquired a long established habitual relish for the superfluities and luxuries of foreign nations, all at once determined to abandon those captivating allurements, and to restrain themselves to bare necessities. It was scarcely an object of greater admiration, that the merchant should forego the advantages of commerce, the farmer submit to the loss of the sale of his products and the benefits of his industry, and the seaman, with the numberless other persons dependant upon trade, contentedly resign the very means of livelihood, and trust to a precarious subsistence from the public spirit or charity of the opulent. Such however was the spectacle, which America at that time, and still in some degree, exhibited to the world.

Great hopes were however placed on the success of the petition from the continental congress to the throne. Nor was it supposed, that their general application to the people of England would have been unproductive of effect. A still greater reliance was not unreasonably placed upon the effect which the unanimity and determinations of the congress would

would produce, in influencing publick opinions and measures at home.

1774.

These hopes and opinions had for a time a considerable effect in restraining those violences which afterwards took place. But however well they might seem to be founded, and however general their operation, the principal leaders, and most experienced men, did not appear to build much upon them, and accordingly made some preparations for the worst that might happen. The Southern colonies began to arm as well as the Northern, and to train and exercise their militia; and as soon as advice was received of the proclamation issued in England to prevent the exportation of arms and ammunition to America, measures were speedily taken to remedy the defect. For this purpose, and to render themselves as independent as possible of foreigners for the supply of those essential articles, mills were erected, and manufactories formed both in Philadelphia and Virginia, for the making of gunpowder, and encouragement given in all the colonies for the fabrication of arms of every sort. Great difficulties however attended these beginnings; and the supply of powder, both from the home manufacture and the importation, was for a long time scanty and precarious.

Warlike  
prepara-  
tions.

The Governor's proclamation against the provincial congress in Massachusetts Bay, had not the smallest effect, either upon the proceedings of that assembly, or the conduct of the people, who paid an implicit obedience to its determinations. As expresses continually passed between that body and the general congress, no doubt can be entertained, that its measures were regulated by their opinion. The critical situation of the capital was an object of much consideration; nor was it easy to determine in what manner to provide for the safety of the inhabitants, and to prevent its becoming a sore thorn in the side of the province, if matters should proceed to extremity. From its natural advantages of situation, with the works thrown up on the Neck, Boston was already become a very strong hold; and was capable, with little difficulty, of being rendered a place of such strength, as, under the protection of a navy, would leave but little hope of its being ever reduced. From the same causes it was liable to be converted, at the discretion of the Governor, into a secure prison for the inhabitants, who would thereby become hostages for the conduct of the province at large.

Different proposals were said to be made to prevent or remedy these evils. One was, simply, to remove the inhabi-  
tants;

1774.

tants; another, to set a valuation upon their estates, burn the town, and reimburse them for their losses. Both these schemes were found to be clogged with so many difficulties as rendered them impracticable. Force was the only expedient which could be applied with success; but they did not as yet seem disposed to proceed to that extremity. In the mean time, numbers of the principal inhabitants quitted the town, under the real or pretended apprehension of immediate violence from the troops, or of being kidnapped and sent to England, to stand trial for supposed offences.

The provincial congress, having done all the business that was thought proper or necessary for the present, dissolved themselves towards the end of November, having first appointed another meeting to be held in the ensuing month of February. This cessation afforded an opportunity to the friends of government, or loyalists, as they now called themselves, to shew themselves in a few places; to try their strength and numbers, and to endeavour to resist the general current. Some associations for mutual defence were accordingly formed, and a refusal was made, in a few towns, to comply with the resolutions of the provincial congress; but the contrary spirit was so prevalent, that those attempts were soon quelled. The dissentients were overwhelmed by numbers. All these attempts came to nothing.

*Ordnance  
seized in  
Rhode  
Island.*

As soon as an account was received at Rhode Island, of the prohibition on the exportation of military stores from Great-Britain, the people seized upon and removed all the ordnance belonging to the crown in that province, which lay upon some batteries that defended one of the harbours, and amounted to above forty pieces of cannon of different sizes. A captain of a man of war, having waited upon the governor to enquire into the meaning of this procedure, was informed, with great frankness, that the people had seized the cannon to prevent their falling into the hands of the king's forces; and that they meant to make use of them to defend themselves against any power that should offer to molest them. The assembly of that island also passed resolutions for the procuring of arms and military stores, by every means, and from every quarter in which they could be obtained, as well as for training and arming the inhabitants.

The province of New Hampshire had hitherto preserved a greater degree of moderation than any other of the New England governments. As soon, however, as intelligence arrived of the transactions at Rhode Island, with a copy of their resolutions, and of the royal proclamation which gave  
rise

rise to them, a similar spirit operated upon that people. A body of men accordingly assembled in arms, and marched to the attack of a small fort, called William and Mary, considerable only for being the object of the first movement in the province. This was easily taken, and supplied them with a quantity of powder, by which they were enabled to put themselves into a state of defence.

1774.  
Dec. 14,  
A fort taken, & powder seized in New-Hampshire.

No other acts of extraordinary violence took place during the winter. A firm determination of resistance, was, however, universally spread, and grew the stronger by the arrival of the King's speech, and the addresses of the new parliament; which seemed, in the opinion of the Americans, nearly to cut off all hopes of reconciliation. It is remarkable that all the acts and public declarations, which here were recommended as the means of pacifying, by intimidating that people, constantly produced the contrary effect. The more clearly a determination was shewn to enforce an high authority, the more strenuously the colonists seemed determined to resist it. The assembly of Pennsylvania, which met by adjournment towards the close of the year, was the first legal convention which unanimously approved of and ratified all the acts of the general congress, and appointed delegates to represent them in the new congress, which was to be held in the ensuing month of May.

The proceedings were similar in other places, whether transacted by the assemblies, or by provincial conventions of deputies. The convention of Maryland appointed a sum of money for the purchase of arms and ammunition. A provincial convention, which was held at Philadelphia in the latter end of January, passed a number of resolutions for the encouragement of the most necessary manufactures within themselves; among which, salt, gunpowder, saltpetre, and steel, were particularly recommended. They also passed a resolution, in which they declared it to be their most earnest wish and desire to see harmony restored between Great Britain and the colonies; and that they would exert their utmost endeavours for the attainment of that most desirable object. But that if the humble and loyal petition of the congress to his Majesty should be disregarded, and the British administration, instead of redressing their grievances should determine by force to effect a submission to the late arbitrary acts of parliament, in such a situation they hold it their indispensable duty to resist such force, and at every hazard to defend the rights and liberties of America.

Resolutions of the G. C. approved of in different places

1775.  
Jan. 10th  
Rejected  
at New-  
York.

The assembly of New-York, which met in the beginning of the year, was, however, a single exception to the rest of the continent. In this assembly, after very considerable debates upon the question of acceding to the resolutions of the general congress, it was rejected upon a division, though by a very small majority. They afterwards proceeded to state the public grievances, with an intention of laying them before the king and parliament; a mode of application in which they were much encouraged by the lieutenant-governor, and from which they presaged the happiest effects, flattering themselves, that when all other means had failed of success, they should have the lasting honour of procuring a thorough reconciliation between the mother country and the colonies: a hope, however fruitless, which probably had a great effect in their late determination. It was also said, that this method had been suggested to them from authority in England. They accordingly drew up that petition to the king, memorial to the lords, and representation and remonstrance to the commons, the inefficacy of which we have already seen.

Feb. 1st.  
Proceedings of  
the new  
provinci-  
al Con-  
gress.  
in Massa-  
chusetts-  
Bay.

The new provincial congress, which met at Cambridge, in Massachusetts Bay, did not deviate from the line which had been chalked out by their predecessors. Among other resolutions they published one, to inform the people, that from the present disposition of the British ministry and parliament, there was real cause to fear, that the reasonable and just applications of that continent to Great Britain for peace, liberty, and safety, would not meet with a favourable reception; but, on the contrary, from the large reinforcement of troops expected in that colony, the tenor of intelligence from Great Britain, and general appearances, they have reason to apprehend, that the sudden destruction of that colony in particular was intended, for refusing, with the other American colonies, tamely to submit to, what they termed, the most ignominious slavery.

They therefore urged, in the strongest terms, the militia in general, and the *minute men* in particular, to spare neither time, pains, nor expence, at so critical a juncture, in perfecting themselves forthwith in military discipline. They passed other resolutions for the providing and making of fire-arms and bayonets; and renewed more strictly the prohibition of their predecessors, against supplying the troops at Boston with any of those necessaries which are peculiarly requisite for the military service; the markets at Boston being still open to the supply of provisions. As we have made use  
of

of a term which has hitherto been unknown in military transactions, it may require some explanation. By *minute men* are to be understood a select number of the militia, who undertake to hold themselves upon all occasions, and at the shortest notice, in readiness for actual service. By their alertness they have since shewn that the name was not misapplied.

1775.

A circular letter from the secretary of state for the American department, forbidding, in the king's name, and under pain of his displeasure, the election of deputies for the ensuing general congress, was productive of no manner of effect; the elections every where took place, even in the province of New-York, notwithstanding the late resolution in their assembly.

Things continued very quiet at Boston. To which the injunctions of the different congresses perhaps contributed as much, as the ships of war that crowded the harbour, or the force that was stationed in the town. The calm was however precarious and fallacious on both sides. Combustible matter had been gathered in abundance. More was in preparation, and the least spark was likely to kindle a general conflagration.

Governor Gage having received intelligence that some brass cannon were deposited in the town of Salem, sent a detachment of troops under the command of a field officer, on board a transport, in order to seize upon and bring them to Boston. The troops having landed at Marblehead, proceeded to Salem, where they were disappointed as to finding the cannon; but having some reason to imagine they had been only removed that morning in consequence of their approach, it induced them to march further into the country in hopes of overtaking them. In this pursuit they arrived at a draw-bridge over a small river, where a number of the country people were assembled, and those on the opposite side had taken up the bridge to prevent their passage. The commanding officer ordered the bridge to be let down, which the people peremptorily refused, saying, that it was a private road, and that he had no authority to demand a passage that way. For to the last moment the language of peace was preserved, and until the sword was decively drawn, all resistance was carried on upon some legal ground. Upon this refusal, the officer determined to make use of a boat, thereby to gain possession of the bridge; but the country people perceiving his intention, several of them jumped into the boat with axes, and cut holes thro' her bottom, which occasioned some scuffle

Feb. 26.

Detachments sent to seize on some cannon at Salem.

Dispute at a draw bridge.

1775.

fle between them and the soldiers in and about the boat. Things were now tending to extremities, as the commander seemed determined to force his passage, and the others as resolutely bent to prevent it. In this situation, a neighbouring clergyman, who had attended the whole transaction, remonstrated with the lieutenant-colonel, upon the fatal consequences which would inevitably attend his making use of force. And finding that the point of military honour, with respect to making good his passage, was the principal object with that gentleman, it being then too late in the evening to prosecute his original design, he prevailed upon the people to let down the bridge, which the troops took possession of; and the colonel having pushed a detachment a little way into the country, in exercise of the right which he assumed, they immediately after returned, without molestation, on board the transport. Thus ended this first expedition, without effect, and happily without mischief. Enough appeared to shew upon what a slender thread the peace of the empire hung; and that the least exertion of the military would certainly bring things to extremities. The people, since the acts for casting away their charter, and for protecting the soldiery from any trial in the province, considered themselves as put under military government. Every motion of that body became suspected, and was in their eyes an exertion of the most odious and most dreadful tyranny.

This appearance of resistance seems, on the other side, to have greatly irritated the military, for from this time they appear to have lived upon worse terms with the inhabitants of Boston than they had hitherto done; some general and wanton insults, as well as particular outrages having been complained of. But the crisis was now fast approaching, in which all her lesser evils and calamities were to be lost and forgotten in the contemplation of those of a great and serious nature.

Affair at  
Lexington  
and  
Concord.

The Provincials having collected a considerable quantity of military stores at the town of Concord, where the provincial congress was also held, General Gage thought it expedient to detach the grenadiers and light infantry of the army, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Smith, and major Pitcairn of the marines, in order to destroy them. It is said and believed, that this expedition had another object in view, which was to seize on the persons of Messrs. Hancock and Adams, those great and obnoxious leaders of the faction which opposed the new system of government. The detachment, which was supposed to consist of about 900 men,

Apr. 18.

men, embarked at Boston on the night preceding the 19th of April, and having gone a little way up Charles river, landed at a place called Phipps's Farm, from whence they proceeded with great silence and expedition towards Concord. Several officers on horse back in the mean time scoured the roads, and secured such country people as they chanced to meet with at that early time. Notwithstanding these precautions, they discovered, by the firing of guns and the ringing of bells, that the country was alarmed, and the people actually began to assemble in the neighbouring towns and villages before day-light.

Upon their arrival at Lexington, about five in the morning, they found the company of militia, belonging to that town, assembled on a green near the road; upon which an officer in the van called out, *Disperse, you rebels: throw down your arms, and disperse*: the soldiers at the same time running up with loud huzzas, some scattering shots were first fired, and immediately succeeded by a general discharge, by which eight of the militia were killed and several wounded.

Thus was the first blood drawn in this unhappy civil contest. Great pains were taken on each side to shew the other to have been the aggressor upon this occasion. A matter of little consequence, in a political view, as things were now too far advanced to leave room for a probable hope of any other than such a final issue. It was said in the Gazette, that the troops were first upon from some neighbouring houses. There is some obscurity in this business, for it appears, from the general tenor of the evidence, as well as of some of our own people who were taken prisoners, as of a great number of the provincials, all whose depositions were regularly taken and attested by proper magistrates, that the firing both at Lexington and Concord was commenced by the troops. Indeed it seems evident, that a single company of militia, standing, as it may be said under the muzzles of our soldiers guns, would have been sufficient pledges to prevent any outrage from their friends and neighbours in the adjoining houses.

After this execution, the detachment proceeded to Concord, the commanding officer having previously dispatched six companies of light infantry to possess two bridges which lay at some distance beyond the town, probably with a view of preventing any of the stores from being carried off that way; or, if he had orders about the seizure of persons, to prevent the escape of those whom it was his object to secure. A body of militia who occupied a hill in the way, retired at the

1775.

the approach of the troops, and passed over one of these bridges, which was immediately after taken possession of by the light infantry. The main body having arrived at the town, proceeded to execute their commission, by rendering 3 pieces of iron cannon unserviceable, destroying some gun and other carriages, and throwing several barrels of flour, gun-powder, and musket ball into the river. In the mean time, the militia which retired from the hill, seeing several fires in the town which they apprehended to be of houses in flames, returned towards the bridge which they had lately passed, and which lay in their way thither. Upon this movement, the light infantry retired on the Concord side of the river, and began to pull up the bridge; but upon the near approach of the militia, (who seemed studiously to have avoided all appearance of beginning the attack, and made as if they only wanted to pass as common travellers) the soldiers immediately fired, and killed two men. The provincials returned the fire, and a skirmish ensued at the bridge, in which the former seem to have been under some disadvantage, and were forced to retreat, having several men killed and wounded, and a lieutenant and some others taken.

Province  
rises in  
arms.

About this time the country rose upon them. The troops were attacked on all quarters; skirmish succeeded upon skirmish; and a continued, though scattering and irregular fire, was supported through the whole of a long and very hot day. In the march back of six miles to Lexington, the troops were exceedingly annoyed, not only by the pursuers, but by the fire from houses, walls, and other coverts, all of which were filled or lined with armed men.

L. Percy's  
detachment

It happened fortunately, that General Gage, apprehensive of the danger of the service, had detached Lord Percy early in the morning with 16 companies of foot, a detachment of marines, and two pieces of cannon, to support Colonel Smith's detachment, and that they were arrived at Lexington, by the time the others had returned from Concord. This circumstance was the more fortunate, as it is reported the first detachment had by that time expended all their ammunition; but if that even had not been the case, it scarcely seems possible that they could have escaped being cut off or taken in the long subsequent retreat of fifteen miles.

This powerful support, especially the cannon, afforded a breathing-time to the first detachment at Lexington, which they already much wanted. The field pieces obliged the provincials to keep their distance. But as soon as the troops resumed

resumed

refumed their march, the attacks, as the country people became more numerous, grew in proportion more violent, and the danger was continually augmenting, until they arrived about sun-set at Charlestown; from whence they passed over directly to Boston, under the protection (as the provincials say) of the guns of the Somerset man of war; the troops being entirely spent and worn down, by the excessive fatigues they had undergone. They had marched that day near 35 miles.

1775.

The loss was not so great on either side, as the length, irregularity, and variety of the engagement might seem to indicate; which may be attributed to the provincials not being at first powerful in number, and to their being afterwards kept at some distance by the field pieces. The king's troops, as may be expected, were the greater sufferers, having lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, 273 men, of which 65 were killed, 2 lieutenants, and above 20 private men taken prisoners, and Colonel Smith, with another lieutenant-colonel and several officers, wounded. By the provincial accounts, which gives the names and places of abode of those who fell on their side, their loss in killed and wounded (including those who fell by the first fire in the morning at Lexington) amounted only to about sixty, of which near two thirds were killed.

Loss on both sides.

By the nearest calculation that can be made, there were from 1800 to 2000 of the best troops in the service (being about half the force that was then stationed at Boston) employed upon this expedition. The event sufficiently shewed how ill-informed those were who had so often asserted at home, that a regiment or two could force their way through any part of the continent, and that the very sight of a grenadier's cap, would be sufficient to put an American army to flight.

Upon this occasion, each side charged the other with the most inhuman cruelties. Civil wars produce many such charges; but we have good reason, and some authority for believing, that these accounts, if at all true on either side, were much exaggerated. On one side, it is certain, that an officer and some of the soldiers who were wounded and prisoners, gave public testimonials of the humanity with which they were treated; and that the provincial commanders sent an offer to General Gage, to admit his surgeons to come and dress the wounded.

Although on the other side, the regulars were charged with killing the old, the infirm, the unarmed, and the wounded, without mercy; with burning several houses, and plundering

1775.  plundering every thing that came in their way ; we have had too constant and uniform an experience of the honour of our officers, and the humanity of our soldiers, not to consider this account as equally exaggerated.

Boston  
invested  
by great  
numbers  
of the  
militia.

This affair immediately called up the whole province in arms ; and though a sufficient number were speedily assembled effectually to invest the king's troops in Boston, it was with difficulty that the crowds who were hastily marching from different parts, could be prevailed upon to return to their respective homes. The body of militia which surrounded Boston, amounted, as it was said, to above 20,000 men, under the command of the Colonels Ward, Pribble, Heath, Prescott, and Thomas, who for the present acted as generals, and having fixed their head quarters at Cambridge, formed a line of encampment, the right wing of which extended from that town to Roxbury, and the left to Mystic, the distance between the points being about thirty miles. This line they strengthened with artillery. They were speedily joined by Colonel Putnam, an old and brave provincial officer, who had acquired experience and reputation in the two last wars. He encamped with a large detachment of Connecticut troops in such a position, as to be readily able to support those who were before the town.

Provinci-  
al con-  
gress.  
address  
the peo-  
ple of G.  
Britain.

In the mean time the provincial congress, which was now removed to Watertown, drew up an address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, in which they stated the most material particulars, relative to the late engagement, and took pains to shew, that hostilities were first commenced, and blood drawn, both at Lexington and Concord by the regulars. They complain of the ravages committed by them in their retreat ; place much dependence on the honour, wisdom, and valour of Britons, from which they hope their interference in preventing the prosecution of measures, which, they represent, as equally ruinous to the mother country and the colonies ; they make great professions of loyalty ; but but declare, that they will not tamely submit to the persecution and tyranny of a cruel ministry, and (appealing to Heaven for the justice of their cause) that they are determined to *die or be free*.

Measures  
pursued  
for the  
array and  
support  
of an ar-  
my.

The provincial congress also passed a vote for the array and support of an army ; fixed the pay of the officers and soldiers, and published rules and orders for its regulation and government. To provide for the military expence, they passed a vote for the issuing of a considerable sum in paper currency, which was to be received in all cases as money, and  
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the faith of the province pledged for its payment. As the term for which they were chosen was to expire on the 30th of May, they gave notice for the election of a new congress, to meet on the 31st of that month at the same place, and to be continued for six months, and no longer. They also passed a resolution, that General Gage had, by the late transactions, and many other means, utterly disqualified himself from serving that colony as a governor, or in any other capacity, and that therefore no obedience was in future due to him; but that on the contrary he ought to be considered and guarded against, as an unnatural and inveterate enemy to the country.

1775.  
May, 5th  
Pay of the officers and soldiers fixed, &c.

The affair at Lexington (though some such event must have been long foreseen and expected) excited the greatest indignation in the other colonies, and they prepared for war with as much eagerness and dispatch as if an enemy had already appeared at each of their doors. The bravery shewn by the militia in this their first essay, and the supposed advantages they had obtained over the regulars, were matters of great exultation; while those who fell in the action were regretted with the deepest concern, and honoured, not only as patriots, but as martyrs, who had died bravely in the cause of their country. The outrages and cruelties charged upon the king's forces, however unjustly founded, produced a great effect, and increased the public fever.

In some places the magazines were seized, and in New-Jersey the treasury; a considerable sum of money in which was appropriated to the payment of the troops they were raising. At the same time, without waiting for any concert or advice, a stop was almost every where put to the exportation of provisions; and in some places all exportation was stopt, till the opinion of the general congress upon that subject was known. Lord North's conciliatory plan, or the resolution founded upon it, was totally rejected by the assemblies of Pennsylvania and New Jersey; nor was it received any where.

In the mean time, the governor and forces at Boston, as well as the inhabitants, continued closely blocked up by land; and being shut out from all supplies of fresh provisions and vegetables, which the neighbouring counties could have afforded by sea, they began to experience those inconveniences which afterwards amounted to real distress. As the inhabitants had now no other resource for their subsistence than the king's stores, the provincials were the more strict in preventing all supplies, hoping that the want of provisions would

1775.

Capitu-  
lation  
with the  
inhabi-  
tants of  
Boston  
not ad-  
hered to.

would lay the governor under a necessity of consenting to their departure from the town; or at least that the women and children would be suffered to depart, which was repeatedly applied for. It is probable that the governor considered the inhabitants as necessary hostages for the security of the town, at least, if not of the troops. However it was, he at length entered into a capitulation with the inhabitants, by which, upon condition of delivering up their arms, they were to have free liberty to depart with all their other effects. The inhabitants accordingly delivered up their arms; but to their utter dismay and astonishment, the governor refused to fulfil the conditions on his side. This breach of faith, and the consequences that attended it, were much complained of. Many, however, both then, and at different times after, obtained permission to quit the town; but they were obliged to leave all their effects behind; so that those who had hitherto lived in ease and affluence, were at once reduced to the extremity of indigence and misery. The general congress ranked amongst their bitterest complaints the sufferings of the inhabitants in this respect. They say, that passports were granted or retained in such a manner, that families were broken and the dearest connections separated; part being compelled to quit the town, and part retained against their will. This, by far the most dishonourable to government, we are obliged in fairness to state according to the provincial narrative, no other having appeared to contradict or qualify it. The poor and helpless were all sent out.

## C H A P. VII.

*From the meeting of the General Congress at Philadelphia, May 10, 1775, (pursuant to adjournment, from Oct. 26, 1774), to the blockade of Boston, in July following, by the generals Washington and Lee; with a particular account of the action of Bunker's-Hill.*

**T**HE Continental Congress having met at the time appointed at Philadelphia, soon adopted such measures as confirmed the people in their resolution and conduct. Among their first acts were resolutions for the raising of an army, and the establishment of a large paper currency for its payment; the "*United Colonies*," (by which appellation they resolved that they should be known and distinguished for the future) being securities for realizing the nominal value of this currency. They also strictly prohibited the supplying of the British fisheries with any kind of provisions; and to render this order the more effectual, stopt all exportation to those colonies, islands, and places which still retained their obedience. This measure, which does not seem to have been expected, or even apprehended at home, occasioned no small distress to the people at Newfoundland, and to all those employed in the fisheries; insomuch that to prevent an absolute famine, several ships were under a necessity of returning light from that station, to carry out cargoes of provisions from Ireland.

The city and province of New-York, notwithstanding their former moderation, seemed, upon receiving an account of the late action, to receive also a plentiful portion of that spirit which operated in the other colonies. A most numerous association was accordingly formed, and a Provincial Congress elected. But as some regiments from Ireland were expected speedily to arrive there, and that capital, besides, lies open to the sea, its situation became very critical. In these circumstances, a body of Connecticut men arrived in the neighbourhood of that city, avowedly for its protection, and probably also to support the present disposition of the people. Their strength was not, however, sufficient to afford an effectual protection; nor, if it had been greater, would it have availed against an attack by sea. The city accordingly

1775.  
May 10.

Resolutions for raising an army, the establishment of a paper currency and to prevent British fisheries from being supplied with provisions.

1775. cordingly applied, through its delegates, to the Continental Congress for instructions how to act upon the arrival of the troops. The Congress advised them for the present, to act defensively with respect to the troops, so far as it could be done consistently with their own security;—to suffer them to occupy their barracks, so long as they behaved peaceably and quietly; but not to suffer them to erect any fortification, or in any manner to cut off the communications between the city and country; and if they attempted hostilities, that they should defend themselves, and repel force by force. They also recommended to them, to provide for the worst that might happen, by securing places of retreat for the women and children; by removing the arms and ammunition from the magazines; and by keeping a sufficient number of men embodied for the protection of the inhabitants in general.—The departure of so many helpless objects from the places of their habitation, was a very affecting spectacle. That once flourishing commercial city was now become almost a desert. It was by its own inhabitants devoted to the flames. It happened, perhaps happily for New-York, that the troops being more wanted at Boston, were not landed there.

Crown-point and Ticonderoga surprized.

In the mean time, several private persons belonging to the back parts of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New-York, undertook at their own risque, and without any public command or participation, an expedition of the utmost importance, and which not only in its consequences most materially affected the interest and power of government in the colonies; but had brought the question to the critical nicety of a point, and the decision to depend merely upon accident, whether we should have a single possession left in North-America. This was the surprize of Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and other fortresses, situated upon the great lakes, and commanding the passes between the British colonies and Canada. It seems that some of those who were among the first that formed this design, and had set out with the greatest privacy in its prosecution, met by the way with others, who, without any previous concert, were embarked in the same project; so extensive was that spirit of enterprize which these unhappy contests called into action. These adventurers, amounting in the whole to about 240 men, under the command of a Colonel Easton, and a Colonel Ethan Allen, with great perseverance and address, surprized the small garrisons of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. These fortresses were taken without the loss of a man on either side. They found in the forts a considerable artillery, amounting, as they said, to a-  
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bove 200 pieces of cannon, besides some mortars, howits, and quantities of various stores, which were to them highly valuable; they also took two vessels, which gave them the command of Lake Champlain, and materials ready prepared at Ticonderoga for the building and equipping of others.

1775.

During these transactions the Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, arrived at Boston from England, together with a considerable number of marines, and draughts from other regiments, to supply the vacancies there. These were soon followed by several regiments from Ireland, so that the force at Boston, with respect to number, the goodness of the troops, and the character of the commanders, was become very respectable; and it was generally believed, that matters could not continue much longer in their then situation.

Nothing remarkable had yet happened since the commencement of the blockade, except two small engagements which arose from the attempts of either party to carry off the stock of some of those islands, with which the bay of Boston is interspersed, and which afforded the mixed spectacle of ships, boats, and men, engaged by land and water. In both these skirmishes (each of which continued for several hours) the king's troops were foiled, with some loss; and in the last, which happened at Hogg and Noddle's-Islands, an armed schooner being left by the tide, the people after standing a severe fire of small arms, and two pieces of artillery from the shore, were at length obliged to abandon her, and she was burned by the provincials.

Notwithstanding the late reinforcements, and the arrival of generals of the most active character, the troops continued for some time very quiet at Boston. On the other side, it is probable that an attempt would have been made to storm that town, while the people were hot in blood after the affair of Lexington, if a concern for the preservation of the inhabitants had not prevailed over every other consideration. It must however be allowed, that from the number of vessels of war, which nearly surrounded the peninsula, as well as the vast artillery by which it was protected, and the excellency of the troops, that such an attempt must have been attended with great difficulty and danger, and that the destruction of the town must have been laid down as an inevitable consequence. There were other matters also of consideration. A repulse to new troops, or the carnage that would even attend success in so arduous a conflict, might have been attended with fatal consequences; the people were not only new to war, but they were in a new and strange state and situation; they

1775.

they were entering into an untried, unthought-of, and unnatural contest, loaded with the most fatal consequences, without experience to guide, or precedent to direct them; they had not yet in general renounced all hopes of an accommodation, and those who had not, would totally condemn any violence which shut them out from so desirable an event; in such a wavering state of hope, fear, and uncertainty, much caution was to be used, as any untoward event, might suddenly damp the ardour of the people, dissolve their resolutions, and shake all their confederacies to pieces.

June, 8.

G. Congress resolve that the compact between the crown & the province of Massachusetts Bay is dissolved.

Erect a general post-office.

In the mean time the Continental Congress resolved, that the compact between the crown and the people of Massachusetts-Bay, was dissolved, by the violation of the charter of William and Mary; and therefore recommended to the people of that province, to proceed to the establishment of a new government, by electing a Governor, Assistants, and House of Assembly, according to the powers contained in their original charter. They passed another resolution, that no bill of exchange, draught, or order, of any officer in the army or navy, their agents, or contractors, should be received or negotiated, or any money supplied to them by any person; and prohibited the supplying of the army, navy, or ships employed in the transport service, with provisions or necessaries of any kind. They also erected a general post-office at Philadelphia, which also extended through all the united colonies; and some time after placed Dr. Franklin, who had been disgraced and removed from that office in England, at the head of it. Thus had they, in effect, only under the name of recommendation and council, assumed all the powers of a supreme government.

June, 12,

Proclamation of rebellion by G. Gage.

About the same time General Gage issued a proclamation, by which a pardon was offered in the king's name, to all those who should forthwith lay down their arms, and return to their respective occupations and peaceable duties, excepting only from the benefit of the pardon, SAMUEL ADAMS and JOHN HANDCOCK, whose offences were said to be of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment. All those who did not accept of the proffer'd mercy, or who should protect, assist, supply, conceal, or correspond with them, to be treated as rebels and traitors. It also declared, that as a stop was put to the due course of justice, marshal law should take place till the laws were restored to their due efficacy. It is needless to observe, that this proclamation had as little effect as any of those that preceded

preceded it. MR. HANDCOCK\* was about that time chosen president of the Continental Congress.

1775.

This proclamation was looked upon as the preliminary to immediate action. Accordingly, from that moment both

\* This gentleman was born in the province of Massachusetts Bay, in North America, in which he enjoyed a very considerable fortune. From the first disturbances in America, about the Stamp-act, he took a very active part in the defence of, what he concluded to be, the Rights and Liberties of his native country. When delegates were first chosen to meet in continental congress, he was elected one of the representatives for his province; and on the death of Peyton Randolph, esq; unanimously chosen President. His eloquence was manifested by his very spirited oration on the anniversary of the massacre at Boston; and his coolness must be acknowledged, when it is known that most of the dutiful addresses, and conciliatory proposals, originated from his pen. He is at present in his 38th year, and was married last Autumn, to one of the most beautiful and accomplished ladies in America, who brought him a very considerable addition to his paternal fortune, yet he scorned to lie down in the lap of ease, but resolved to devote all his abilities to the benefit of that country, whose united voice, from the knowledge of his many virtues, called him to preside over the free elected representatives of the whole continent.

Mr. Hancock's character

Mr. ADAMS, is a gentleman who has made a great figure in America, and has taken so active a part in all her disputes with the mother country, that he was joined with Mr. Hancock in being the only persons refused pardons on returning to their duty to the British administration, in the proclamation just issued by Gen. Gage. He is a man of fortune, and a native of New-England; about 54 years of age, and early imbibed a love for a constitutional Liberty, which love he carried to a degree of enthusiasm, that would not prevent him to be a silent spectator of the disputes which arose first about the Stamp act, and since on the Tea. He took every opportunity to warn his countrymen of the dangers arising to their liberties; and however some may think the question problematical, yet as he always acted from principle, if he is even mistaken, he has a just claim to the title of an *honest man*. When it was thought necessary to convene delegates, from the different provinces, he was sent to the Gen. Continental Congress, as one of the representatives for the province of Massachusetts Bay. In what light he is held by the Americans may be easily gathered, from his being lately appointed to a post equivalent to that of Secretary of state. In short, he is an able politician; and the attack on Canada by the Provincials was in consequence of a plan laid down by him.

Mr. Adams's,

1775.

sides held themselves in readiness for it. The post of Charlestown had hitherto been neglected by both the parties. The provincials thought it necessary for them, whether they should chuse to act on the defensive or offensive. They accordingly made the necessary preparations, and sent a body of men thither at night with the greatest privacy, to throw up works upon Bunker's-Hill, an high ground that lies just within the isthmus, or neck of land that joins the peninsula to the continent. This peninsula is very similar to that on which Boston stands, excepting that the isthmus is considerably wider, and that Bunker's Hill is much higher than any hill in the latter. The towns are only separated by Charles-River, which in that part is only about the breadth of the Thames between London and Southwark; so that Charlestown seemed to hold the same connexion with Boston, that the Borough does with that city.

June 17.

The party that was sent upon this service, carried on their works with such extraordinary order and silence, that though the peninsula was surrounded with ships of war, they were not heard during the night, and used such incredible dispatch in the execution, that they had a small but strong redoubt, considerable entrenchments, and a breast-work, that was in some parts cannon proof, far advanced towards completion by break of day. The sight of the works, was the first notice that alarmed the Lively man of war early in the morning, and her guns called the town, camp, and fleet to behold a sight, which seemed little less than a prodigy.

A heavy and continued fire of cannon, howitzers, and mortars, was from thence carried on upon the works, from the ships, floating batteries, and from the top of Cop's-Hill in Boston. Such a great and incessant roar of artillery, would have been a trial to the firmness of old soldiers, and must undoubtedly have greatly impeded the completion of the works; it is however said, that they bore this severe fire with wonderful firmness, and seemed to go on with their business as if no enemy had been near, nor danger in the service.

Action at  
Bunker's  
Hill.

About noon, General Gage caused a considerable body of troops to be embarked under the command of Major-General Howe, and Brigadier-General Pigot, to drive the Provincials from their works. This detachment consisted of ten companies of grenadiers, as many of light infantry, and the 5th, 38th, 43d, and 52d battalions, with a proper artillery, who were landed and drawn up without opposition, under the fire of the ships of war. The two generals found  
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the enemy so numerous, and in such a posture of defence, that they thought it necessary to send back for a reinforcement before they commenced the attack; they were accordingly joined by some companies of light infantry and grenadiers, by the 47th regiment, and by the first battalion of marines amounting in the whole, as represented by General Gage's letter, to something more than 2000 men.

The attack was begun by a most severe fire of cannon and howitzers, under which the troops advanced very slowly towards the enemy, and halted several times, to afford an opportunity to the artillery to ruin the works, and to throw the provincials into confusion. Whatever it proceeded from, whether from the number, situation, or countenance of the enemy, or from all together, the king's forces seem to have been unusually staggered in this attack. The provincials threw some men into the houses of Charlestown, which covered their right flank, by which means, General Pigot, who commanded our left wing, and to whose activity, bravery, and firmness, much of this day's success was owing, was at once engaged with the lines, and with those in the houses. In this conflict, Charlestown, whether by carcasses thrown from the ships, or by the troops, is uncertain, was unfortunately set on fire in several places, and burnt to the ground. The provincials stood this severe and continual fire of small arms and artillery, with a resolution and perseverance, which would not have done discredit to old troops. They did not return a shot, until the king's forces had approached almost to the works, when a most dreadful fire took place, by which a number of our bravest men and officers fell. Some gentlemen, who had served in the most distinguished actions of the last war, declared, that for the time it lasted, it was the hottest engagement they ever knew. It is then no wonder, if under so heavy and destructive a fire, our troops were thrown into some disorder. It is said, that General Howe, was for a few seconds left nearly alone; and it is certain, that most of the officers near his person, were either killed or wounded. His coolness, firmness, and presence of mind on this occasion cannot be too much applauded. It fully answered all the ideas so generally entertained of the courage of his family. It is said, that in this critical moment, General Clinton, who arrived from Boston during the engagement, by a happy manœuvre, rallied the troops almost instantaneously, and brought them again to the charge. However that was, their usual intrepidity now produced its usual effects; they attacked the works with fixed bayonets, and

1775.

Charlestown  
burnt.

1774. irresistible fury, and forced them in every quarter.—  
 Though many of the provincials were destitute of bayonets, and, as they affirm, their ammunition was expended, a number of them fought desperately within the works, and were not drove from them without difficulty. They at length retreated over Charlestown neck, which was enfiladed by the guns of the Glasgow man of war, and of two floating batteries. They suffered but little loss from this formidable artillery, though the dread of it had prevented some regiments who were ordered to support them from fulfilling their duty.

Killed &  
wounded  
of the K's  
troops.

Thus ended the hot and bloody affair of Bunker's-Hill, in which we had more men and officers killed and wounded, in proportion to the number engaged, than in any other action which we can recollect. The whole loss in killed and wounded, amounted to 1054, of whom 226 were killed; of these, 19 were commissioned officers, including a lieutenant-colonel, 2 majors, and 7 captains; 70 other officers were wounded. Among those who were more generally regretted upon this occasion, were Lieutenant-colonel Abercromby, and the brave Major Pitcairne of the marines. The Majors Williams and Spendlove, the last of whom died of his wounds some time after the action, had also sealed their lives with such distinguished honour, as to render their loss the more sensibly felt. The event sufficiently shewed the bravery of the king's troops. There was scarcely a single officer who had not some opportunity of signaling himself; the generals and field officers used the most extraordinary exertions. All these circumstances concur in shewing the hard and dangerous service in which they were engaged. The battle of Quebec, in the late war, with all its glory, and the vastness of the consequences of which it was productive, was not so destructive to our officers, as this affair of a retrenchment cast up in a few hours. It was a matter of grievous reflection, that those brave men, many of whom had nobly contributed their share, when engaged against her natural enemies, to extend the military glory of their country into every quarter of the globe, should now have suffered so severely, in only a prelude to this unhappy civil contest.

The fate of Charlestown was also a matter of melancholy contemplation to the serious and unprejudiced of all parties. It was the first settlement made in the colony, and was considered as the mother of Boston, that town owing its birth and nurture to emigrants from the former. Charlestown

was

was large, handsome, and well built, both in respect to its public and private edifices; it contained about 400 houses, and had the greatest trade of any port in the province except Boston. It is said, that the two ports cleared out a thousand vessels annually for a foreign trade, exclusive of an infinite number of coasters. It is now buried in its ruins. Such is the termination of human labour, industry, and wisdom; and such are the fatal fruits of civil dissensions.

1775.

The king's troops took five pieces of cannon out of six, which the provincials brought into the peninsula; and they left about 30 wounded behind them. No other prisoners were taken. Their loss, according to an account published by the provincial congress, was comparatively small, amounting to about 450, killed, wounded, missing, and prisoners. On our side they are confident, that the slaughter was much more considerable; but of this we had no particulars, as the account said, that the provincials buried a great number of their dead during the engagement. This is an extraordinary circumstance. But the loss they lamented most, was that of Dr. Warren, who acting as a major-general, commanded the party upon this occasion, and was killed, fighting bravely at their head, in a little redoubt to the right of their lines. This gentleman, who was rendered conspicuous by his general merit, abilities, and eloquence, had been one of the delegates to the first general, and was at this time president of the provincial congress; but quitting the peaceable walk of his profession as a physician, and breaking through the endearing ties of family satisfactions, he shewed himself equally calculated for the field, as for public business or private study, and shed his blood gallantly in, what he deemed, the service of his country. They lost some other officers of name, one of whom, a lieutenant-colonel, died of his wounds in the prison at Boston.

Killed &amp; wounded of the provincials.

Dr. Warren killed

Both sides claimed much honour from this action. The regulars, from having, it was said, beaten three times their own number, out of a strongly fortified post, and under various other disadvantages. On the other side, they represented the regulars as amounting to 3000 men, and rated their own number only at 1500; and pretended, that this small body not only withstood their attack, and repeatedly repulsed them with great loss, notwithstanding the powerful artillery they had brought with them, but that they had at the same time, and for several hours before, sustained a most intolerable fire, from the ships of war, floating batteries, and fixed battery at Boston, which prevented them from being able

1775.

able in any degree to finish their works. What their exact number was cannot be easily known. It was not probably so large as it was made in the Gazette account; nor so small as in that given by the Americans. However, the provincials were by no means dispirited by the event of this engagement. They had shewn a great degree of activity and skill in the construction of their works; and of constancy, in maintaining them under many disadvantages. They said, that tho' they had lost a post, they had almost all the effects of the most complete victory; as they entirely put a stop to the offensive operations of a large army sent to subdue them; and which they continued to blockade in a narrow town. They now exulted, that their actions had thoroughly refuted those aspersions which had been thrown upon them in England, of a deficiency in spirit and resolution.

Bunker's-Hill fortified by the regulars.

From this time, the troops kept possession of the peninsula, and fortified Bunker's-Hill and the entrance; so that the force at Boston was now divided into two distinct parts, and had two garrisons to maintain. In one sense, this was useful to the troops, as it enlarged their quarters; they having been before much incommoded by the streightness in which they were confined in Boston, during the excessive heats that always prevail there at that season of the year; but this advantage was counterballanced by the great additional duty which they were now obliged to perform. Their situation was irksome and degrading. They were surrounded and insulted by an enemy whom they had been taught to despise. They were cut off from fresh provisions, and all those refreshments of which they stood in the greatest need, and which the neighbouring countries afforded in the greatest plenty. Thus their wants were continual and aggravating remembrancers of the circumstances of their situation. Bad and salt provisions, with confinement and the heat of the climate, naturally filled the hospitals; and the number of sick and wounded was now said to amount to 1600. Under these circumstances it was rather wonderful that the number was not greater. But few in comparison died.

Provincials throw up works on Charlestown neck.

The provincials, after the action of Bunker's-Hill, immediately threw up works upon another hill opposite to it on their side of Charlestown neck; so that the troops were as closely invested in that peninsula as they had been at Boston. They were also indefatigable in securing the most exposed posts of their lines with strong redoubts covered with artillery, and advanced their works close to the fortifications on Boston neck; while, with equal boldness and address, they burnt an advanced

advanced guard-house belonging to our people. As the latter were abundantly furnished with all manner of military stores and artillery, they were not sparing in throwing shells, and supporting a great cannonade upon the works of the provincials, which had little other effect than to inure them to that sort of service, and to wear off the dread of those noisy messengers of fate. On the other side, they seem to have been cautious in expending their powder.

1775.

Guard  
house  
burnt.

A regiment of light cavalry which arrived at Boston from Ireland, and which were never able to set foot beyond that garrison, served only to create new wants, and to increase the incommodities of the people, as well as of the army. The hay which grew upon the islands in the bay, became now an object of necessary attention, as well as the sheep and cattle which they contained; but the provincials having procured a number of whaling-boats, and being masters of the shore and inlets of the bay, were notwithstanding the vigilance and number of the ships of war and armed vessels, too successful in burning, destroying, or carrying away, those essential articles of supply. These enterprizes brought on several skirmishes, and they grew at length so daring, that they burnt the light-house, which was situated on an island at the entrance of the harbour, though a man of war lay within a mile of them at the time; and some carpenters being afterwards sent, under the protection of a small party of marines, to erect a temporary light-house, they killed or carried off the whole detachment.

Light-  
house  
burnt.

During these transactions a kind of predatory war commenced, and has since continued, between the ships of war, and the inhabitants on different parts of the coasts. The former, being refused the supplies of provisions and necessaries which they wanted for themselves or the army, endeavoured to obtain them by force, and in these attempts were frequently opposed, and sometimes repulsed with loss by the country-people. The seizing of ships in conformity to the new laws, or to the commands of the admiral, was also a continual source of animosity and violence, the proprietors naturally hazarding all dangers in the defence, or for the recovery of their property. These contests drew the vengeance of the men of war upon several of the small towns upon the sea coasts, some of which underwent a severe chastisement.

The pernicious consequences of the late Quebec-act, with respect to the very purposes for which it was framed, were now displayed in a degree, which its most sanguine opponents could scarcely have expected. Instead of gaining the

Conse-  
quences  
of the  
Quebec  
act.

French

1775. French Canadians to the interest of government by that law, the great body of the inhabitants were found as adverse to it, and as much disgusted at its operation, as even the British settlers. General Carleton, the governor of that province, who had placed much confidence in the raising of a considerable army of Canadians, and being enabled to march at their head to the relief of General Gage, (a matter which was so much relied upon at home, that 20,000 stands of arms, and a great quantity of other military stores had been sent out for that purpose) found himself now totally disappointed. The people said that they were now under the British government; that they could not pretend to understand the causes of the present disputes, nor the justice of the claims on either side; that they did, and would shew themselves dutiful subjects, by a quiet and peaceable demeanor, and due obedience to the government under which they were placed; but that it was totally inconsistent with their state and condition, to interfere, or in any degree to render themselves parties, in the contests that might arise between that government and its ancient subjects. It was in vain that the governor issued a proclamation for assembling a militia, and for the execution of martial law; they said they would defend the province if it was attacked; but they absolutely refused to march out of it, or to commence hostilities with their neighbours. The governor, as the last resort, applied to the Bishop of Quebec, to use his spiritual influence and authority with the people towards disposing them to the adoption of this favourite measure, and particularly that he would issue an episcopal mandate for that purpose, to be read by the parish priests in time of divine service; but the bishop excused himself from a compliance with this proposition, by representing, that an episcopal mandate on such a subject, would be contrary to the canons of the Roman Catholic church. The ecclesiastics, in the place of this, issued other letters, which were, however pretty generally disregarded. The noblesse alone, who were chiefly considered in the Quebec-act, shewed a zeal against the English colonists. But separated as they were from the great body of the people, they exhibited no formidable degree of strength.

Canadian troops under G. Carleton refuse to act offensively.

Indians applied to.

Other endeavours which were used to involve the colonies in domestic troubles proved equally abortive. Considerable pains were taken, by the means of several agents who had influence on them, to engage those numerous tribes of Indians that stretch along the backs of the colonies, to cause a diver-

a diversion, by attacking them in those weak and tender parts. But neither presents, nor persuasions, were capable of producing the desired effect. From whatever chance or fortune it proceeded, those savage warriors, who had at other times been so ready to take up the hatchet without support or encouragement, now turned a deaf ear to all proposals of that nature, and declared for a neutrality. They used much the same reasons for this conduct that the Canadians had done; they did not understand the subject; were very sorry for the present unfortunate disputes; but it was not fit nor becoming for them, to take any part in quarrels between Englishmen, for all of whom, on both sides of the water, they had the highest affection. This was an object of too much importance to be overlooked by the congress. They accordingly employed proper persons to cultivate favourable dispositions in the Indians; and by degrees took such measures as obliged the agents for government to provide for their own safety. It is said, that some of the Indians made proposals to take up arms on their side; but that they were only requested to observe a strict neutrality.

General Gage's late proclamation increased the animosity, indignation, and rage, which were already so generally prevalent, and brought out a Declaration from the general congress, which in the nature of those general appeals that are made to mankind, as well as to heaven, in a declaration of war, set forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms. Among the long list of those supposed causes besides the late hostilities, they state the endeavours used to instigate the Canadians and Indians to attack them, and severely reproach General Gage, for, what they call, perfidy, cruelty, and breach of faith, in breaking the conditions which he had entered into with the inhabitants of Boston; they are not less free in the censure of the army, whom they charge with the burning of Charlestown, wantonly and unnecessarily.

In stating their resources, they reckon upon foreign assistance as undoubtedly attainable, if necessary. They, however, afterwards say, that, lest this Declaration should disquiet the minds of their friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, they assure them, that they mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and happily subsisted between them, and which they sincerely wish to see restored; that necessity has not yet driven them to that desperate measure, or induced them to excite any other nation to war against them; they have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great-Britain, and establishing

1775.

July 6th,  
Declaration  
of the Gen.  
Congress  
in ans<sup>r</sup> to  
the late  
procla-  
mation.

independ-

1775. independent states; they fight not for glory or for conquest. — This declaration was read with great, serious, and even religious solemnity, to the different bodies of the army who were encamped around Boston, and was received by them with loud acclamations of approbation.

Address to the inhabitants of G. B. — to the people of Ireland. Petition to the king. This declaration was followed by an address to the inhabitants of Great-Britain; another to the people of Ireland; and a petition to the King. All these writings were drawn up in a very masterly manner; and are, in respect to art, address, and execution, equal to any public Declarations made by any powers upon the greatest occasions.

The Congress had in their Declaration, without naming it, reprobated the principles of Lord North's conciliatory proposition, which they call an insidious manœuvre adopted by parliament. They, however, afterwards, took the resolution more formally into consideration. It had been communicated to them by direction, or at least permission from that minister, in the hand-writing of Sir Grey Cowper, one of the two principal secretaries of the treasury. In the course of a long and argumentative discussion, they condemn it, as unreasonable and insidious; that it is unreasonable, because, if they declare they will accede to it, they declare, without reservation, that they will purchase the favour of parliament, not knowing at the same time at what price they will please to estimate their favour; that it is insidious, because individual colonies, having bid, and bidden again, till they find the avidity of the seller too great for all their powers to satisfy, are then to return into opposition, divided from their sister colonies, whom the minister will have previously detached by a grant of easier terms, or by an artful procrastination of a definitive answer. They conclude upon the whole, that the proposition was held up to the world, to deceive it into a belief, that there was nothing in dispute but the *mode* of levying taxes; and that parliament having now been so good as to give up that, the colonies must be unreasonable in the highest degree if they were not perfectly satisfied.

Georgia accedes to the general confederacy.

The colony of Georgia at length joined in the general alliance. A provincial congress having assembled in the beginning of the month of July, they speedily agreed to all the resolutions of the two General Congresses in their utmost extent, and appointed five delegates to attend the present. As it were to make amends for the delay, they at once entered into all the spirit of the resolutions formed by the other colonies, and adopted similar; and declared, that though their province was not included in any of the oppressive acts lately passed

passed against America, they considered that circumstance as an insult rather than a favour, as being done only with a view to divide them from their American brethren. They also addressed a petition, under the title of an humble address and representation, to his majesty; which, however threadbare the subject had already been worn, was not deficient in a certain freshness of colouring, which gave it the appearance of novelty. From this accession to the confederacy, they henceforward assumed the appellation of the THIRTEEN UNITED COLONIES.

In the mean time the General Congress, in compliance with the wishes of the people in general, and the particular application of the New-England provinces, appointed Geo. Washington, Esq;\* a gentleman of affluent fortune in Virginia, chief.

1775-  
General  
Washington appointed  
commander in  
chief.

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\* The family from which this gentleman is descended, was originally in Lancashire, but afterwards removed to the city of Coventry where he was born, on the 3d of Sept. 1727. His mother was of the same family with General Monk, who, for his services at the Restoration, was created Duke of Albemarle.

Mr. Washington discovered an early inclination to arms, and first entered as a private man, in general Wade's regiment, in the year 1746, being then not twenty-one, and soon after he bought a cornet's commission in the same regiment, and served against the Scotch rebels. He continued in the service till the peace, when he went abroad to improve himself in the military profession.

When the French war broke out in America, in the year 1755, Mr. Washington went over to that country, where his courage and military abilities being known, he was raised to the rank of Major in the provincial forces, and was at Fort Edward, under the command of general Webb, when Mons. Montcalm advanced, to take Fort William Henry, on Lake George.

Major Washington having heard of the intended attack, and being apprehensive that lieutenant colonel Monro, who then commanded at Fort William Henry, would not be strong enough to resist the French, eagerly interceded with his General to be sent with his forces to the assistance of Monro. But his ardour was restrained; and the unfortunate commander forced to make the best terms he could with the French general, who afterwards, in violation of the treaty that had been made, permitted the Indian savages to fall upon them, and strip them of every thing of value.

The Americans soon afterwards raised Major Washington to the command of a regiment, in which rank he remained till the peace, when he retired to the cultivation and improvement of a very considerable estate he possessed in the province of Virginia.

When

1775.

ginia, and who had acquired considerable military experience in the command of different bodies of the provincials during the last war, to be general and commander in chief of all the American forces. They also appointed Artemus Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam, Esqrs. to be major-generals; and Horatio Gates, Esq; adjutant-general. Of these general officers, Lee and Gates were English gentlemen, who had acquired honour in the last war; and who from disgust or principle now joined the Americans. Ward and Putnam were of Massachusetts-Bay, and Schuyler of New-York. The Congress also fixed and assigned the pay of both officers and soldiers; the latter of whom were much better provided for than those upon our establishment.

July 6th.

Washington and  
Lee arrive  
at Boston

The Generals Washington and Lee arrived at the camp before Boston in the beginning of July. They were treated with the highest honours in every place through which they passed; were escorted by large detachments of volunteers, composed of gentlemen, in the different provinces; and received public addresses from the provincial congresses of New-York and Massachusetts-Bay. The military spirit was now so high and so general, that war and its preparations occupied the hands and the minds of all orders of people throughout the continent. Persons of fortune and family, who were not appointed officers, entered cheerfully as private men, and served with alacrity in the ranks. Even many of the younger quakers forgot their passive principles of forbearance and non-resistance, and taking up arms, formed

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When the present troubles in America arose on account of the famous Tea Act, colonel Washington was one of the foremost in expressing his detestation in imposing a tax on people who were not represented; and when a General Congress was thought necessary to be convened, he was chosen one of the delegates for the province of Virginia, and in that capacity signed the association on Oct. 20th, 1774, and the other subsequent publications of that body. The Continental Congress appointed General Washington to the supreme command of their armies, to which commission was addressed,—“*To our beloved brother, George Washington, Esq; Captain General and Commander in chief of all the Forces of the United Colonies.*” The Congress annexed a very considerable salary to this important post, which he nobly refused to accept, declaring he would not take wages for his services in the Cause of Freedom, but desired only a reimbursement of the necessary expenses.

them-

themselves into companies at Philadelphia, and applied with the greatest labour and assiduity to acquire a proficiency in military exercises and discipline. It was said, (but no computation of that sort can be ascertained) that no less than 200,000 men were in arms and training throughout the continent.

The blockade of Boston, was continued with little variety throughout the year, and during a considerable part of the ensuing. The troops, as well as the remaining inhabitants, suffered much from fevers, fluxes, and the scurvy, which were brought on through confinement, heat of weather, and badness of provisions.\*

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\* To alleviate these distresses, it is said, that no less than 5000 oxen, 14000 of the largest and fattest sheep, with a vast number of hogs, were purchased and sent out alive. Vegetables of all kinds were also bought up in incredible quantities, and new arts were employed in curing them. 10000 butts of strong beer, 5000 chaldrons of coals were purchased in the river, and shipped off for Boston; even the articles of faggots was sent from London. The seemingly trifling necessaries of vegetables, calks, and vinegar, amount, in two distinct articles, where they are detached from the general comprehension of other provisions, near 2200l. And tho' there was but a single regiment of light cavalry at Boston, the articles of hay, oats, and beans, amounted to nearly as much. The immense charge of supplying an army at such a distance, was now for the first time experimentally felt.

*Provisions  
shipped for  
Boston.*

Whether it was, that these orders were not issued in time, or that delays occurred in the execution, which could neither have been foreseen or prevented, however it was, the transports were not ready to proceed on their voyage, until the year was so far advanced as to render it nearly impossible. By this means they were detained upon our own coasts by contrary winds, or tost about by tempests, until the greater part of their live cargoes of hogs and sheep, particularly the latter perished, so that the channel was every where strewed with the floating carcasses of these animals, as they were driven about by the winds and tides. A great part of the vegetables, over fermented and perished.

Nor was the condition of the transports mended when they got clear of our own coasts. They were peculiarly unfortunate as to winds and weather in the mid seas, and as they approached to the place of their destination, the American periodical winds were set in, which blew full in their teeth, and drove them off from the coasts.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Motives which led to the invasion of Canada. The taking of several Forts on the Lakes, by Montgomery and Arnold. The city of Quebec besieged.*

1775.

AS the hopes of a reconciliation with the mother country, upon the conditions claimed by the Americans, became more faint, so they grew more daring in their designs, and extended their views to the remote consequences, as well as to the immediate conduct of a war. The apparent tendency, and avowed design of the Quebec act, had early drawn their attention and awakened their apprehensions, in relation to the dangers with which they were threatened from that quarter. These apprehensions produced the address to the French inhabitants of Canada, of which we have formerly taken notice.

Motives which led to the invasion of Canada. The success which attended the expedition to the Lakes, with the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, in the beginning of this summer, by which, it might be said, that the gates of Canada were thrown open, rendered the affairs of that country more immediately interesting, and encouraged the Congress to a bold measure, which they would not otherwise perhaps have ventured upon. This was no less than the sending of a force for the invasion and reduction of that country.

A measure of so extraordinary a nature required the most serious consideration. The commencing of an offensive war with the Sovereign, was a new and perilous undertaking. It seemed totally to change the nature of the ground on which they stood in the present dispute. Opposition to government had hitherto been conducted on the apparent design and avowed principle only, of supporting and defending certain rights and immunities of the people, which were supposed, pretended, to be unjustly invaded. Opposition, or even resistance, in such a case, supposing the premises to be fairly stated, is thought by many to be entirely consistent with the principles of the British constitution; and this opinion is said to have received the sanction of precedents of the first authority. At any rate, the questions in dispute were of such a nature, that mankind might for ever be divided in opinion,

as

as the matter of right or wrong, justice or injustice, oppression or good government. But to render themselves at once the aggressors, and not content with vindicating their own real or pretended rights, to fly wantonly in the face of the Sovereign, carry war into his dominions, and invade a province to which they could lay no claim, nor pretend no right, seemed such an outrage, as not only overthrew every play of justifiable resistance, but would militate with the established opinions, principles, and feelings of mankind in general.

On the other hand, the danger was pressing and great. The extraordinary powers placed in the hands of General Carleton, the Governor of Canada, by a late commission, were new, alarming, and evidently pointed out the purposes for which they were granted. By these he was authorized to embody and arm the Canadians, to march them out of the country for the subjugation of the other colonies, and to proceed even to capital punishments, against all those, and in all places, whom he should deem rebels and opposers of the laws. The strong powers of government which he also possessed within his province, were equal to those of the most arbitrary European Monarchs, and had been already felt both by the English and French subjects. Thus, though the Canadians had hitherto refused to be embodied, or to march upon any terms out of the province, it was easily seen, that as soon as the Governor's authority was supported by the arrival of a body of English forces, they would be obliged implicitly to obey him, as well in that, as all other matters. He had besides, already engaged a considerable number of the Canada and other Indians in his service, and if his arms once became predominant, the desire of spoil and blood would bring them in crowds from the remotest deserts to his assistance. Besides, they were perfectly acquainted with, and therefore had every thing to dread, from the zeal, the spirit of enterprize, and the military talents, of that able and resolute officer.

In these circumstances, considering a war not only as inevitable, but as already begun, they deemed it inconsistent with reason and policy, to wait to be attacked by a formidable force at their backs, in the very instant that their utmost exertions would be requisite, and probably insufficient, for the protection of their capital cities and coasts, against the resentment of the mighty power whom they had so grievously offended, and with whom they were entering into so untried and arduous a contest. They argued, that preventing the known hostile intentions of an enemy, by forestalling his designs

1775.

signs ere they could be carried into execution, was as much a matter of self-defence, and less cruel, than waiting to be attacked by him under every disadvantage, and when he had arrived at his utmost force. There was no natural law, nor convention among mankind, by which a person is bound to be a simple and inactive looker-on, while his enemy was loading a gun for his destruction; was he to wait till the execution took place, for fear he should be deemed an aggressor? Questions in casuistry, however edifying upon other occasions, have nothing to do in circumstances upon which the fate of nations depend. Were they only to seek a remedy, when the savages had penetrated into their country, and the fury of the flames which consumed their settlements, were only retarded by the blood of their women and infants?

The Congress were also sensible, that they had already gone such lengths as could only be justified by arms.—The sword was already drawn, and the appeal made. It was too late now to look back, and to waver would be certain destruction. If a certain degree of success did not afford a sanction to their resistance, and dispose the court of Great-Britain to an accommodation upon lenient terms, they would not only loose those immunities for which they at present contended, but all others would lie at the mercy of a jealous and irritated government. In such a state, their moderation in the single instance of Canada, they thought, would be a poor plea for compassion or indulgence.

The knowledge they had of the present state of affairs, and the temper of the people in Canada, also contributed much to encourage them in this enterprize. They knew that the *French* inhabitants, excepting the noblesse and clergy, were in general as much discontented at the overthrow of the English laws, and the introduction of the present system of government, as even the British settlers. It seemed therefore probable, that this discontent, operating with the rooted aversion which they bore to their ancient proud and oppressive tyrants, the noblesse, or lords of the manors, and the mortal dread which they entertained of being again reduced to their former state of feudal and military vassalage, would induce them to consider the Provincials rather as friends than invaders, and to embrace so favourable an opportunity of obtaining a share in that freedom for which they were contending. Though they were perfectly unacquainted with the nature of the particular controversy, and little interested in it, it seemed to be for freedom, and American freedom, and the

the name of it was pleasing. It was in favour of colonies; and Canada was a colony.

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The Congress accordingly determined not to lose the present favourable opportunity, while the British arms were weak and cooped up, in Boston, for attempting the reduction of that province. The Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, with two regiments of New-York militia, a body of New-England men, and some others, amounting in the whole to near 3000 men, were appointed to this service. A number of batteaux, or flat boats, were built at Ticonderoga or Crown Point, to convey the forces along Lake Champlain to the River Sorel, which forms the entrance into Canada, and is composed of the surplus waters of the lakes, which it discharges into the river St. Lawrence, and would afford a happy communication between both, were it not for some rapids that obstruct the navigation.

Not above half the forces were yet arrived, when Montgomery, who was at Crown-point, received some intelligence which rendered him apprehensive that a schooner of considerable force, with some other armed vessels, which lay at the Fort of St. John's, on the river Sorel, were preparing to enter the Lake, and thereby effectually obstruct their passage. He thereupon, in the latter end of August, proceeded with such force as he had to the isle Aux Noix, which lies in the entrance of the river, and took necessary measures to guard against the passage of those vessels into the lake.—Schuyler, who at that time commanded in chief, having also arrived from Albany, they published a declaration to encourage the Canadians to join them, and with the same hope or design, pushed on to the fort of St. John, which lies only about a dozen miles from the island. The fire from the Fort, as well as the strong appearances of force and resistance which they observed, occasioned their landing at a considerable distance, in a country composed of thick woods, deep swamps, and intersected with creeks and waters. In this situation they were vigorously attacked by a considerable body of Indians, who did not neglect the advantages which they derived from it; along with which, finding that the Fort was well garrisoned and provided, they found it necessary the next day to return to their former station on the island, and to defer their operations until the arrival of the artillery and reinforcements which were expected.

Sept. 6th

Schuyler upon this retreat returned to Albany, to conclude a treaty which he had for some time been negotiating with the Indians in that quarter, and found himself afterwards so

Schuyler returns to Albany.

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occupi-

1775.

occupied by business, or broken in upon by illness, that the whole weight and danger of the Canada war fell upon Montgomery, a man most eminently qualified for any military service. His first measure was to detach those Indians who had joined General Carleton from his service, and being strengthened by the arrival of his reinforcements and artillery, he prepared to lay siege to the fort of St. John. This fort was garrisoned by the greater part of the 7th and 26th regiments, being nearly all the regular troops, then in Canada; and was well provided with stores, ammunition, and artillery.

The provincial parties were spread over the adjacent country, and were every where received with open arms by the Canadians, who besides joining them in considerable numbers, gave them every possible assistance, whether in carrying on the siege, removing their artillery, or supplying them with provisions and necessaries. In this state of things, the adventurer Ethan Allen, who without any commission from the Congress, had a principal share in the original expedition to the lakes, and the capture of the forts, and who since, under the title of colonel, seems rather to have acted as a partizan, than as obedient to any regular command, thought to signalize, and raise himself into importance, by surprizing the town of Montreal. This rash enterprize he undertook at the head of a small party of English Provincials and Canadians, without the knowledge of the commander in chief, or the assistance which he might have procured, from some of the other detached parties. The event was suitable to the temerity of the undertaking. Being met at some distance from the town, by the militia, under the command of English officers, and supported by the few regulars who were in the place, he was defeated and taken prisoner, with near forty of his party, the rest who survived escaping in the woods. Allen, with his fellow-prisoners, were by General Carleton's orders loaded with irons, and sent in that condition on board of a man of war to England, from whence, however, they were in some time remanded back to America.

The progress of Montgomery was for some time retarded by a want of ammunition sufficient for carrying on a siege; which of all operations demands the greatest supply of powder and ball. The fort of St. John's, which commands the entrance into Canada, could not be reduced without a tolerable provision of that kind. A fortunate event disengaged him from this difficulty. A little Fort called *Chamble* lay deeper in the country, and seemed covered by St. John's.

Fort Chamble taken.

It

It was garrisoned by a small detachment of the 7th regiment, and was in no very defensible condition. To this he turned his first thoughts, and by pushing forward a party joined by some Canadians, he easily made himself master of that fort. Here he found considerable stores; but the article of greatest consequence to him was the gunpowder, which they were much distressed for; and of which they took above 120 barrels. This acquisition facilitated the siege of St. John's, which had languished for want of ammunition.

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Fort of  
St. John's  
besieged.

The garrison of St. John's, under the command of Major Preston, amounted to between 6 and 700 men, of which about 500 were regulars, and the rest Canadian volunteers. They endured the difficulties and hardships of a very long siege, augmented by a scarcity of provisions, with unabating constancy and resolution. In the mean time, General Carleton was indefatigable in his endeavours to raise a force sufficient for its relief. Attempts had been for some time made by Colonel M'Lean, for raising a Scotch regiment, under the title of Royal Highland Emigrants, to be composed of natives of that country who had lately arrived in America, and who in consequence of the troubles had not obtained settlements. With these, and some Canadians, to the amount of a few hundred men, the Colonel was posted near the junction of the Sorel with the river St. Lawrence. The General was at Montreal, where, with the greatest difficulty, and by every possible means he had got together near a thousand men, composed principally of Canadians, with a few regulars, and some English officers and volunteers. With these he intended a junction with M'Lean, and then to have marched directly to the relief of St. John's. But upon his attempting to pass over from the island of Montreal, he was encountered at Longueil by a party of the Provincials, who easily repulsed the Canadians, and put a stop to the whole design. Another party had pushed M'Lean towards the mouth of the Sorel, where the Canadians having received advice of the Governor's defeat, immediately abandoned him to a man, and he was obliged to make the best of his way to Quebec, with the emigrants.

Carleton's  
defeat at  
Longueil.

In the mean time, Montgomery pushed on the siege of St. John's with great vigour, had advanced his works very near the body of the fort, and was making preparations for a general assault. Nor was there less alacrity in the defence, the spirit as well as the fire of the garrison being equally supported to the last. In this state of things, an account of the success at Longueil, accompanied by the prisoners who were

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taken, arrived at the camp, upon which Montgomery sent a flag and a letter by one of them to Major Preston, hoping that as all means of relief were now cut off by the Governor's defeat, he would, by a timely surrender of the fort, prevent that farther effusion of blood, which a fruitless and obstinate defence must necessarily occasion.

Nov. 3d.  
St. John's  
taken.

The major endeavoured to obtain a few days time in hopes of being relieved; but this was refused, on account of the lateness and severity of the season; he also endeavoured, in settling the terms of capitulation, to obtain liberty for the garrison to depart for Great-Britain, which proved equally fruitless, and they were obliged, after being allowed the honours of war on account of their brave defence, to lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners. They were allowed their baggage and effects, the officers to wear their swords, and their other arms to be preserved for them till the troubles were at an end. In all transactions with our forces, Montgomery writ, spoke, and behaved with that attention, regard, and politeness, to both private men and officers, which might be expected from a man of worth and honour, who found himself involved in an unhappy quarrel with his friends and countrymen. All the prisoners were sent up the Lakes by the way of Ticonderoga, to those interior parts of the colonies which were best adapted to provide for their reception and security. The Provincials found a considerable quantity of artillery and useful stores in the place.

Upon M'Lean's retreat to Quebec, the party who had reduced him to that necessity, immediately erected batteries on a point of land at the junction of the Sorel with the river St. Lawrence, in order to prevent the escape down the latter of a number of armed vessels, which General Carleton had at Montreal; they also constructed armed rafts and floating batteries for the same purpose. These measures effectually prevented the passage of General Carleton's armament to Quebec, which were not only foiled in several attempts, but pursued, attacked, and driven from their anchors up the river by the Provincials; so that as General Montgomery approached Montreal immediately after the surrender of St. John's, the Governor's situation, whether in the town or aboard the vessels, became equally critical.

Montreal  
taken.

This danger was soon increased by the arrival of General Montgomery at Montreal, where a capitulation was proposed by the principal French and English inhabitants, including a kind of general treaty, which Montgomery refused, as they were in no state of defence to entitle them to a capitulation,  
and

and were unable to fulfil the conditions on their part. He, however, gave them a written answer, in which he declared, That the Continental army having a generous disdain of every act of oppression and violence, and having come for the express purpose of giving liberty and security, he, therefore, engaged his honour to maintain, in the peaceable possession of their property of every kind, the individuals and religious communities of the city of Montreal. He engaged for the maintenance of all the inhabitants in the free exercise of their religion; hoped that the civil and religious rights of all the Canadians would be established upon the most permanent footing by a Provincial Congress; promised that courts of justice should be speedily established upon the most liberal plan, conformable to the British Constitution; and, in general, complied with other articles, so far as they were consistent, and in his power. This security being given to the people, his troops took possession of the town.

Nothing could now afford the slightest hope of the preservation of any part of Canada but the lateness of the season. Whether through inability for so great an enterprize, or from difference of opinion, the invasion of that province was not undertaken until the season for military operations was nearly passed. To balance this, there remained but an handful of regular troops in Canada, and the taking of General Carleton, which seemed nearly certain, would have rendered its fate inevitable. Fortune, however, determined otherwise, and at the time that all hopes of the armed vessels being able to get down the river were given up, and that Montgomery was preparing batteaux with light artillery at Montreal to attack them on that side, and force them down upon the batteries, means were successfully taken for conveying the Governor, in a dark night, in a boat with muffled paddles, past the enemies guards and batteries, and he arrived safely at Quebec, which he found environed with danger from an unexpected quarter. As it was impracticable to save the ships, General Prescott was obliged to enter into a capitulation with the Provincials, by which the whole of the river naval force, consisting of eleven armed vessels, was surrendered into their hands, the General himself, with several other officers, some gentlemen in the civil department, Canadian volunteers, and near 120 English soldiers, all of whom had taken refuge on board upon the approach of General Montgomery to Montreal, becoming prisoners of war.

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Carleton  
retires to  
Quebec.Armed  
vessels  
surrender

Whilst

1775. *Upper Canada from the New-York side, and by the old beaten course of the Lakes, an expedition, considerably distinguished by its novelty, spirit, enterprize, by the difficulties that opposed, and the constancy that succeeded in its execution, was undertaken directly against the lower part of the province and city of Quebec, from the New-England side, by a route which had hitherto been untried, and considered as impracticable. This expedition was undertaken by Colonel Arnold, who about the middle of September, at the head of two regiments, consisting of about 1100 men, marched from the camp near Boston, to Newbury-Port, at the mouth of the river Merrimack, where vessels were in readiness to convoy them by sea to the mouth of the river Kennebec, in New-Hampshire; a voyage of about forty leagues.*

Sep. 31th  
 Col. Arnold's surprising expedition to Quebec, by land.

On the 22d of the same month they embarked their stores and troops in 200 batteaux, at Gardiner's Town, on the Kennebec, and proceeded with great difficulty up that river, having a rapid stream, with a rocky bottom and shores, continually interrupted by falls and carrying places, with numberless other impediments to encounter. In this passage the batteaux were frequently filled with water, or overset; in consequence of which a part of their arms, ammunition, and provisions were sometimes lost. At the numerous carrying places, besides the labour of loading and reloading, they were obliged to convey the boats on their shoulders. The great carrying place was above twelve miles across. That part of the detachment which was not employed in the batteaux, marched along the banks of the river, and the boats and men being disposed in three divisions, each division encamped together every night. Nor was the march by land more eligible than the passage by water. They had thick woods, deep swamps, difficult mountains, and precipices, alternately to encounter, and were at times obliged to cut their way for miles together through the thickets. At the carrying places they were obliged to traverse the same ground several times heavy loaded. From all these impediments their progress was of course very slow, being in general only from 4 or 5 to 9 or 10 miles a day. The constant fatigue and labour caused many to fall sick, which added to their difficulties, and provisions grew at length so scarce, that some of the men eat their dogs, and whatever else of any kind that could be converted to food.

When they arrived at the head of the Kennebec, they sent back their sick, and one of the Colonels took that opportunity of returning with his division, under pretence of the scarcity of provisions, without the consent or knowledge of the Commander in Chief, who had marched forwards. By this desertion, and the sick that were returned, Arnold's detachment were reduced to about one third of its original number. They, however, proceeded with their usual constancy; and having crossed the heights of land, as a ridge that extends quite through the continent is called, and from whence the waters on either side, take courses directly contrary to those on the other, they at length arrived at the head of the river Chandiere, which running through Canada, falls into the river St. Lawrence, near Quebec. Their difficulties now were growing to an end, and they soon approached the inhabited parts of Canada; on the 3d of November, a party which they had pushed forward returned with provisions and they soon after came to a house, being the first they had beheld for thirty-one days, having spent that whole time in travelling an hideous wilderness, without ever meeting any thing human.

1775.

Nov. 3d.

Arnold enters the river St. Lawrence.

The Canadians received them here with the same good will that Montgomery's corps had experienced in the neighbourhood of Montreal; they supplied them liberally with provisions and necessaries, and rendered them every other assistance in their power. Arnold immediately published an address to the people signed by General Washington, of the same nature with that which had been before issued by Schuyler and Montgomery. They were invited to join with the other colonies in an indissoluble union. To range themselves under the standard of general liberty. They were informed, that the armament was sent into the province, not to plunder, but to protect and animate them; that they themselves were enjoined to act, and to consider themselves, as in the country of their best friends; they were requested, therefore, not to desert their habitations, nor fly from their friends; but to provide them with such supplies as their country afforded; and he pledged himself for their safety and security, as well as for an ample compensation.

His Address to the Canadians.

The city of Quebec was at this time in a state of great weakness, as well as internal discontent and disorder. The affairs of British merchants and inhabitants had been long much disgusted and dissatisfied. Their opposition to the Quebec Act, and the petitions which they had sent to England upon that subject, had been grievously resented by their own government;

State of Quebec.

government;

1775. vernment; and from that period, they had, as the discontented said, not only been slighted and treated with indifference; but even regarded with an apparent eye of distrust and suspicion. They complained, that as the great political object in that country, was to attach the native Canadians inviolably to government, so the French noblesse, and civil officers, became, excepting the British military, the only favourites; and these having soon acquired the manners and affectations of all other courtiers and favourites, passed no occasion to insult the English as malcontents, with the violence of their zeal, and the outrageousness of their loyalty. They represented, that these new courtiers industriously brought up questions upon public affairs, and discouries upon government in their company, and then construed that freedom of opinion, which the native English had derived from nature and habit, as well as from present discontent, as proceeding from real ill design and disaffection. There needs not a stronger proof how little they were trusted or regarded, than that when the troops were sent off to Montreal and the Sorel to oppose the rebels, notwithstanding the very alarming state of public affairs, and that the city, together with the large property which they possessed in it, were left exposed without a garrison; yet their application for leave to be embodied as a militia for its defence, so far from being complied with, was not even, as they affirmed, deemed worthy of an answer. How much of this representation was the mere effect of discontent, we cannot undertake to say. It is certain that great heartburnings and animosities prevailed among the English civil subjects and the military power in that government, which the Quebec act irritated and inflamed to a high degree.

Neither does it appear that any great reliance could be placed at that time upon the the French inhabitants for the defence of the city. Many of them were at least wavering, and some worse. As to other matters, there were no troops of any sort in the place, until M<sup>r</sup> Lean's handful of new-raised emigrants arrived from the Sorel. Some marines which the Governor had sent for to Boston, were refused by a naval council of war, from the lateness of the season, and the danger of the navigation. The militia, however, had been lately embodied by the Lieutenant-Governor.

Nov. 9th. Such was the state of affairs at Quebec, when Arnold and his party appeared at Point Levi, opposite the town. The river was fortunately between them, and the boats secured, otherwise it seems highly probable that they would have become

1775.

come masters of the place in the first surprise and confusion. This defect was indeed remedied in a few days by the alacrity of the Canadians, who supplied them with canoes, and they effected their passage in a dark night, notwithstanding the vigilance of the armed vessels and frigates of war in the river. But the critical moment was now passed. The discontented inhabitants, English and Canadians, as soon as danger pressed, united for their common defence. They became seriously alarmed for the immense property which Quebec contained. They desired to be, and were, embodied and armed. The sailors had landed, and were at the batteries to serve the guns, the defendants were considerably superiour in number to the assailants, and Arnold had no artillery. In these circumstances, his only hope must have been the defection of the inhabitants; and disappointed in that, nothing remained practicable for him, but intercepting the roads, and cutting off the supplies, until the arrival of Montgomery. He accordingly paraded for some days on the heights near the town, and sent two flags to summon the inhabitants; but they were fired at, and no message admitted; upon which, he at length drew off his detachment into quarters of refreshment.

In the mean time, Montgomery having found plenty of woollen manufactures, and other articles of wear, at Montreal, took that opportunity of new-cloathing his troops, who had suffered excessively from the severity of the climate, the deepness of the roads, and the want of covering suitable to such circumstances. Notwithstanding the flattering appearance of his successes, the situation of that commander was far from being enviable; and indeed was attended with continual and growing difficulties, that nothing less than his own genius could surmount. The difficulty of conducting and governing an army, composed wholly of new soldiers, and these led directly from their civil occupations to the field, even supposing them raised in old countries, and where subordination is the most perfectly established, will be conceived by those persons who are the most conversant in military affairs. But here the troops were composed of men the most unused, and who from principles, habits, and manner of life, were the most averse to every idea of subordination, of any civilized people in the known world; they were to be trained on through numberless wants and distresses, through strange and desert countries, and when arrived at the scene of action, with arms in their hands, in all the wantonness of military parade, their wants were to be endur'd, their appetites restrain'd,  
and

1775.

and their licentiousness controuled, for fear of alienating the affections of the Canadians, while every appearance of a harsh or strict military discipline was equally to be avoided, under the dread of their own defection. They were besides only enlisted for a certain short term, according to the usual practice of the colonies; and as the time of their discharge now drew near, there was nothing but the name of their leader, and affection to his person, to keep them longer together.

General Carleton arrived at Quebec about the time that Arnold's detachment had retired from its neighbourhood, and immediately took such measures for its defence, as were suitable to that military character which he had long established. His first act was to oblige all those to quit the town with their families, who refused to take up arms in its defence. The garrison, including all others who did duty, consisted of about 1500 men, a number, supposing them even the best troops, totally unequal to the defence of such extensive works, if an equal weakness had not prevailed on the side of the besiegers. Of these, it could scarcely be said that any were regulars, M'Lean's corps being newly raised, and the only company of the 7th regiment which had escaped being taken, consisting principally of recruits; the rest were composed of the British and French militia, a few marines, and about 450 seamen, belonging to the King's frigates, and to the merchant ships that wintered in the harbour. These last, habituated to the management of great guns, and to prompt manœuvres were the real strength of the garrison.

Is joined  
by Gen.  
Montgo-  
mery.

Montgomery, having left some troops in Montreal and the forts, and sent detachments into different parts of the province, to encourage the Canadians, as well as to forward supplies of provisions and necessaries, pushed on with as many men as could be spared from these services, and such artillery as he could procure, to join Arnold. Their march was in winter; through bad roads, in a severe climate; beneath the fall of the first snows, and therefore made under great hardships; which, however, they encountered with equal resolution; and arrived with incredible expedition at Quebec.

Dec. 5th  
The city  
summon-  
ed.

Upon their arrival before the town, Montgomery wrote a letter to the Governor, magnifying his own strength, stating the weakness of the garrison, shewing the impossibility of relief, and recommending an immediate surrender, to avoid the dreadful consequences which must attend a storm, irritated, as he said, his victorious troops were, at the injurious and cruel treatment which they had in various particulars

particulars received at his hands. Though the flag that conveyed this letter, as well as every other was fired at, and all communication absolutely forbidden by the Governor, Montgomery, found other means to convey a letter of the same nature; but neither threats nor dangers could produce any effect upon the inflexible firmness of the veteran Governor.

1775.

It does not appear that Montgomery's forces were very much superior in number or quality, to those, such as they were, who defended the town. His only prospect of success seemed therefore to be founded upon the impression which the parade of his preparations, and the violence of his attacks might make upon the motley garrison, or if those failed, to weary them out by continual motions and false alarms. He accordingly commenced a bombardment, with five small mortars, which continued for some days, and might have been supposed to have answered the former of those intentions, by throwing the garrison into disorder; but the intrepidity of the Governor, seconded by the bravery, indefatigable industry and perseverance of the chief officers, as well as the activity of the seamen and marines, prevented the expected effect. We must do justice also to the garrison in general, who nobly followed the example, and supported the bravery of their commanders, and endured the inconveniences, wants and distresses, incident to so long a siege, joined to a most grievously severe and unremitted duty, with wonderful constancy and resolution.

Siege.

In a few days Montgomery opened a six-gun battery at about 700 yards distance from the walls; but his metal was too light to produce any considerable effect. In the mean time the snow lay deep upon the ground, and the severity of the climate was such, that human nature seemed incapable of withstanding its force in the field. The hardships and fatigues which the Provincial soldiers underwent, both from the season, and the smallness of their number, seemed incredible, and could only be endured from their enthusiastic adherence to their cause, and through the affection or esteem which they bore to their General. This constancy must however fail, if the evils were increased, or too long continued. The time for which many of the soldiers had engaged was also expired, or expiring; and it could not be answered how soon they might insist upon returning home, nor whether such an event would not totally break up the little army. It is said, that the New-York men were too sensible of the climate, and did not shew the vigour or perseverance of those

1775.

those hardy New-Englanders who had traversed the desarts with Arnold.

Attempt  
to take  
Quebec.  
By escal-  
ade.

In these circumstances, Montgomery thought that something decisive must immediately be done, or that the benefit of his past successes would, in a great degree, be lost to the cause in which he was engaged, and his own renown, which now shone in great lustre, be dimmed, if not obscured. He knew the Americans would consider Quebec as taken from the instant that they had heard of his arrival before it. That the higher their expectations were raised, the more grievous the disappointment would be in case of a failure. Their confidence of success was founded upon the high opinion which they held of his courage and ability; to forfeit that opinion, was the worst of all possible consequences. Yet, to attempt the city by storm, with a garrison equal in number to the assailants, and the great natural strength of the upper town to encounter, which is one of those places that are usually called impregnable, seemed an effort truly desperate. But great minds are seldom good calculators of danger; and if the glory in view be great, do not minutely attend to the difficulties which lie in their way to that object. Indeed, the most illustrious military achievements, in all ages, have owed their success to a noble contempt of common forms, and common calculations. Fortune, in contempt of the pride of man, ever was, and ever will be, the great arbiter in war. Upon the whole, Montgomery, depending much upon fortune, and not a little upon the nature and disposition of the garrison, determined upon a desperate attempt to carry the place by escalade.

Whilst he was making the necessary preparations for this purpose, it is said the garrison received intelligence of it by some deserters, and that he perceived, by their motions, that they were not only acquainted with the general design, but with the particular mode of carrying it into execution, which they were accordingly preparing with the utmost vigour and order to oppose. This untoward circumstance, rendered a total change in his original dispositions necessary, and it is not impossible, that this disarrangement had a considerable influence on the succeeding events. However that was, early in the morning, on the last day of the year 1775, and under the cover of a violent snow storm, he proceeded to this arduous attempt. He had disposed of his little army in four divisions, of which two carried on false attacks against the upper town, whilst himself and Arnold conducted two real against opposite parts of the lower. By this means the alarm

was

was general in both towns, and might have disconcerted the most experienced troops : from the side of the river St. Lawrence, along the fortified front, and round to the Basin, every part seemed equally threatened, if not equally in danger.

1775.

About five o'clock, Montgomery, at the head of the New-York troops, advanced against the lower town, at Aunsee de Mere, under Cape Diamond ; but from some difficulties which intervened in his approach, the signal for engaging had been given, and the garrison alarmed, before he could reach the place. He however pressed on in a narrow file, upon a scanty path, with a precipice to the river on one side, and an hanging rock over him ; seized and passed the first barrier, and accompanied by a few of his bravest officers and men, marched boldly at the head of the detachment to attack the second. This barrier was much stronger than the first. Several cannon were there planted, loaded with grape shot. From these, as well as from a well-directed and supported fire of musquetry ; an end was at once put to the hopes of this enterprizing officer, and to the fortune of his party in Canada. The General himself, with his Aid de Camp, some other officers, and most of those who were near his person, fell upon the spot.\* The command devolved upon a

Montgomery killed.

Mr. Campbell,

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\* Thus fell RICHARD MONTGOMERY, Esq; who was a gentleman of excellent family in the North of Ireland, and brother to *Alex. Montgomery*, Esq; one of the present knights of the shire for the county of Donegal. Both these gentlemen served their country, in the late wars, under General Wolfe, with the greatest military abilities ; and about the year 1763, the present survivor of the two, threw up his commission under L. T. to have an opportunity of adjusting a certain affair of honor, wherein he thought himself slighted by the preferment of a junior officer to a rank he should have succeeded to. The constituents of the county of Donegal, in testimony of their entire approbation of his martial conduct, generously presented him with his seat in parliament, for that county, at the late general election, free of all expence, where he has now an opportunity of shining with equal lustre in the cabinet, that he formerly did in the field.

*Character*

The excellency of *Richard's* qualifications and disposition (who thus fell in the prime of life) had procured him an uncommon share of private affection, as his abilities had of public esteem ; and there was probably no man engaged on the same side, and few on either, whose loss would have been so much regretted both in England

1775. Mr. Campbell, who immediately retired without any further effort. Whether he yielded too easily to the first impression, as the Americans asserted, it is impossible for those who are not perfectly acquainted with all the particulars to determine.

In the mean time, Arnold, with a body of those troops who had originally signalized themselves by the memorable expedition under his command into Canada, supported by some New-York artillery, made their attempt on that part of the town called the Saut au Matelot, and having penetrated through St. Roques, they attacked a small but well defended battery, which they carried with considerable loss, after an hour's sharp engagement. They had likewise the fortune upon this occasion to be left without a commander; for Arnold's leg being shattered by a shot, he was necessarily carried off to the camp. His place was, however, well supplied by the goodness of the officers, and the resolution of

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England and America. He is represented as a real and eager lover of Liberty; and having married a lady, and purchased an estate in New-York, was from thence induced to consider himself as an American. Thus, say his friends, he was led by principle, to quit the sweets of an easy fortune, the enjoyment of a loved and philosophical rural life, with the highest domestic felicity, to take an active share in all the miseries and dangers of the present troubles. He had undoubtedly considerable, and probably great, military abilities; and it remains to be lamented, that a man who seemed so well formed to support the interests and glory of his country against her natural foes, should have perished in an unnatural and most unhappy civil contest. In America, he was revered as a martyr to the cause of human nature, and the liberties of mankind. What was more extraordinary, the most powerful speakers in the British parliament displayed their eloquence in praising his virtues and lamenting his fate. A great orator, and veteran fellow-foldier of his in the late war, shed abundance of tears, whilst he expatiated on their fast friendship and participation of service in that season of enterprize and glory. Even the minister extolled his virtues, while he condemned the rebellious cause they were employed in, and the fatal effects which their mistaken application had produced.

All enmity to this veteran soldier expired with his life, and respect to his private character prevailed over all other considerations. By the orders of General Carleton, his dead body received every possible mark of distinction from the victors, and was interred in Quebec, on the 1st day of Jan. 1776, with all the military honours due to a brave foldier.



the men ; who being ignorant of Montgomery's misfortune, were so far from being dispirited by their own, that they pushed on with great vigour, and made themselves masters of another barrier.

The garrison now being recovered from their surprize, and their hands cleared in all other quarters, had time to attend to the situation of Arnold's division, and to perceive the opportunity which was offered of cutting them off. Their situation was such, that in attempting a retreat, they must pass for a considerable way within fifty yards of the walls, exposed to the whole fire of the garrison. To render their fate inevitable, a considerable detachment, with several field pieces, issued through a gate which commanded that passage, and attacked them furiously in the rear, whilst they were already fully occupied in every other part, by the troops which now poured upon them from all quarters. In these desperate circumstances, without a possibility of escape, attacked on all sides, and under every disadvantage of ground as well as number, they obstinately defended themselves for three hours, and at length surrendered prisoners of war.

The prisoners were treated with the greatest humanity by General Carleton ; a conduct, which the habitual military severity of his temper, rendered the more honourable. It appears by comparing different circumstances previous and subsequent to this engagement, that the rebels, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, did not lose fewer than half their number ; and a letter from Arnold, written soon after, states their remaining force at only 700 men.

The Governor and officers acquired great and deserved honour by this defence, and the behaviour of the raw garrison would have done credit to veterans. It afforded an instance, how far the conduct and example of a few brave and experienced officers might operate, in rendering the rawest and worst formed troops respectable. Indeed, the emulation arising between the different orders of men which composed the garrison, probably converted an apparent weakness into a real strength.

The besiegers immediately quitted their camp, and retired about three miles from the city, where they strengthened their quarters in the best manner they were able, being apprehensive of a pursuit and attack from the latter, however, though now superior in number, were unfit for a service of that nature, and their able Governor, with a degree of wisdom and sobriety equal to his intrepidity and firmness, contented himself with the unexpected advantage

Provinci-  
als retire  
from be-  
fore the  
walls.

and

1775.

and security he had gained, without hazarding the fate of the province, and perhaps of America, in any rash enterprise. The city was now completely out of danger, and the great succours which were expected, could not fail to relieve the whole province.

By the death of Montgomery, the command of the American army devolved upon Arnold,\* whose wound rendered him, for the present, unequal to so arduous a task. Their perseverance was, however, astonishing in their circumstances. They had lost besides their General, (in whom it might be said all their hopes and confidence resided) the best of their officers, and the bravest of their fellows, with a part of their small artillery. The hope of assistance was distant, and at best, the arrival of succours must be slow. It was well known that the Canadians, besides being naturally quick and fickle in their resolutions, were peculiarly disposed to be biassed by success, so that their assistance now grew extremely precarious. The severity of a Canada winter, was also far beyond any thing they were acquainted with, and the snow lay above four feet deep upon a level. In these circumstances, it required no small share of activity, as well as address, to keep them in any manner together. Arnold, who had hitherto displayed uncommon talents in his march into Canada, (which may be compared to the greatest things done in that kind) discovered on this occasion the utmost vigour of a determined mind, and a genius full of resources. Defeated and wounded as he was, he put his troops into such a situation as to keep them still formidable. He dispatched an express to Wooster, who was at Montreal, to bring succours, and to assume the command; but as this could not be done immediately, he bore up with the force he had against the difficulties with which he was surrounded. From that time, the siege was for some months converted into a blockade, and Arnold found means effectually to obstruct the arrival of any supplies of provisions or necessaries in the town.

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\* It is unnecessary here to trouble the reader with any detached account of this gentleman. His character as a soldier, (if not sufficiently delineated in this wonderful expedition of his to Canada to stamp his fame,) fully opens itself in the succeeding campaigns of these unhappy troubles, where we see this brave American, animated with the love of his country, and in support of what he calls her rights and liberties, always foremost in every perilous attempt to her rescue.

CHAP. IX.

*Transactions in the provinces of Virginia, the North and South Carolinas, with the general occurrences of other colonies in the year 1775.*

**D**URING these proceedings in Canada, a long course of jealousy, distrust, suspicion, and altercation, between the Governor, and the major part of the governed, in the colony of Virginia, finally terminated in open hostility, and a ruinous, intestinal, and predatory war. These unhappy effects arose (as is too frequently the case) from a cause apparently unimportant; but as the heat of controversy nourished the quarrel, so mutual distrust and apprehension supplied the place of an object.

1775.

Virginia.

The people of that colony, as we have formerly shewn, had been at least as forward as any other, in all the common acts, of sending Delegates to the General Congress, acceding to its decrees, under whatever form or title they were issued, and in the instituting of committees, and the entering into associations, among themselves. They were also among the freest in expressing their resolution, and the readiest in shewing their determination, to support at all risques and events, what they deemed, or termed, the rights of America. But in other respects, the greatest order and quiet was preserved in that province; and notwithstanding the uneasiness excited by the prorogation or dissolution of their assemblies, and the consequent expiration of their militia laws, (which, in a country where a great majority of the people are in a state of slavery, was a circumstance of the most alarming nature, and which might have been attended with the most fatal consequences) yet with these causes of complaint, the people seemed to pay a more than common degree of attention and personal regard to the Earl of Dunmore, their Governor.

In this state of things, however, the want of a legal assembly, seemed to give some sanction to the holding of a convention, a Provincial Congress was assembled in the month of March, 1775, who immediately (under the cover of an old law of the year 1738, which they said to be still effective) took measures for arraying the militia; but to supply in some degree those defects in that law, to remedy which, as they pretended, all subsequent ones had been passed, they

Provinci-  
al con-  
gress  
meet.

Mar. 6th

Militia  
embodi-  
ed.

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recommended

1775. recommended to each county to raise a volunteer company, for the better defence and protection of the country.

Ap. 20th This interference in the militia, probably alarmed the Governor, and seems to have been the cause, that rendered the public magazine belonging to the colony in the capital city of Williamsburgh, an object of his apprehension. However that was, he soon afterwards employed the Captain of an armed vessel, which lay at a few miles distance in James River, with a detachment of marines, to convey the powder, by night, from the magazine on board his ship.

Consequences thereof. Though this measure was conducted with great privacy, it was by some means discovered the ensuing morning, when the apparent secrecy, and seeming mysteriousness of the act, increased the consternation and alarm among the inhabitants, who immediately assembled with such arms as they had at hand, with an intention of demanding, or, perhaps, obtaining, restitution of the gun-powder. The Mayor and corporation, however, prevented their proceeding to any extremities, whilst they presented an address to the Governor, stating the injury, reclaiming the powder as a matter of right, and shewing the dangers to which they were peculiarly liable from the insurrection of their slaves; a calamity, which had for some time been particularly apprehended, and which the removal of their only means of defence, would at any time have accelerated.

His Lordship acknowledged, that the gun-powder had been removed by his order; said, that as he had heard of an insurrection in a neighbouring county, and did not think it secure in the magazine, he had it conveyed to a place of perfect security; but gave his word, that whenever an occasion rendered it necessary, it should be immediately returned. He also said, that it had been removed in the night to prevent giving alarm; expressed great surprize at the people's assembling in arms; and observed that he could not think it prudent to put powder into their hands in such a situation.

Whatever satisfaction this answer might have afforded to the magistrates, they prevailed on the people to retire quietly to their houses, without any remarkable outrage, that we can learn, having been committed; indeed it appeared, from depositions afterwards taken by order of the assembly, that the officers of the men of war on that station, and particularly the gentleman who might be supposed to have rendered himself obnoxious by removing the powder, appeared publicly in the streets during the time of the greatest com-  
motion,

motion, without their receiving the smallest insult. A report, being, however, spread in the evening, that detachments from the men of war were upon their march to the city, the people again took to their arms, and continued all night upon the watch, as if in expectation of an attack from an enemy. They also from this time increased their night patrols, and shewed an evident design to protect the magazine from any further attempts.

1775.

The whole value of the powder and arms in the magazine, or any purpose to which they were capable of being converted, either in the hands of friends or enemies, seemed very inadequate to the alarm, suspicion, and disturbance, which this measure excited. The quantity of powder removed amounted only to fifteen half barrels, containing fifty pounds each, of a very ordinary sort, and the remaining stock left behind in the magazine, to about six of the same kind; neither does it appear that the number of serviceable muskets was sufficient to answer any essential purpose, or even to justify apprehension, and the caution of stripping these of their locks, only marked the suspicion from which it proceeded. A considerable quantity of old arms, and common trading guns, were not meddled with. Upon the whole, this act derived its only importance, from time, manner, and circumstance.

The Governor seems to have been exceedingly irritated at the behaviour of the people in these commotions, and perhaps resented too highly, for such times, their assembling in arms, not only without, but with an evident intention to oppose his authority. In this warmth of temper some threats were thrown out, which upon a cooler reflection would probably have been avoided. Among these, a threat of setting up the royal standard, of enfranchizing the negroes, arming them against their masters, and destroying the city, with other expressions of a similar nature and tendency, not only spread a general alarm throughout the colony, but excited a kind of abhorrence of government, and an incurable suspicion of its designs.

In the mean time, several public meetings were held in different counties, in all of which, the measure of seizing and removing the powder, as well as the Governor's threats, were reprobated in the strongest terms. Some of the gentlemen of Hanover, and other of the neighbouring counties, were not, however, satisfied with simple declarations. They assembled in arms to a considerable number, under the conduct of a Mr. Henry, who was one of the Provincial De-

Assem-  
bly con-  
vened.

Armed  
force  
headed  
by a Mr  
Henry.

1775.

legates to the General Congress, and marched towards Williamsburgh, with an avowed design, not only to obtain restitution of the gun-powder, but to take such effectual measures for securing the public treasury, as should prevent its experiencing a similar fate with the magazine. A negotiation was, however, entered into with the magistrates, when they had arrived within a few miles of the city, in which it was finally settled, that the Receiver-General of the colony's security, for paying the value of the gun-powder, should be accepted as a restitution, and that upon the inhabitants engaging for the future, effectually to guard both the treasury and magazine, the insurgents should return to their habitations.

The alarm of this affair, induced Lady Dunmore, with the Governor's family to retire on board the Fowey man of war in James River, whilst his Lordship, with the assistance of a detachment of marines, converted his palace into a little garrison, fortified it in the best manner he was able, and surrounded it with artillery. A proclamation from the Governor and Council, in which Henry and his followers were charged with rebellious practices, in extorting the value of the powder from the Receiver-General, and the present commotions were attributed to disaffection in the people, and a desire of changing the established form of government, served only to afford more room for altercation, and to increase the heat and discontent. Several county meetings were held, Henry's conduct vindicated and applauded, and resolutions passed, that at the risque of every thing dear, he and his followers should be indemnified from all suffering, loss and injury, upon that account. The charge of disaffection was peremptorily denied, and those of changing the form of government, and causing the present troubles, retorted. They insisted that they wanted nothing but to preserve their ancient constitution, and only opposed innovations, and that all the disturbances sprung from the Governor's late conduct.

As there are times when all circumstances seem to conspire, towards the nourishment and increase of political, as well as natural disorders, so it appeared now in Virginia, every thing tending to one common center of distrust, jealousy, and discontent. The copies of some letters from the Governor to the Minister of the American department, were by some means procured, and public and severe censures passed upon them, as containing not only unfavourable, but unfair and unjust representations, as well of facts, as of the temper and disposition of the colony. Thus one distrust begot another, until

Governor's proclamation against Henry.

His conduct approved of by the people.

Appearance of certain letters increase the ferment.

until all confidence being totally lost on both sides, every false report that was circulated, was believed on either, and served for its time to keep up the public fever. 1775.

In this state of commotion and disorder, upon the arrival of dispatches from England, the General Assembly was suddenly and unexpectedly convened by the Governor. The grand motive for this measure, was to procure their approbation and acceptance of the terms, included in Lord North's *Conciliatory Motion*, § and the parliamentary resolutions founded thereupon. His Lordship accordingly in his speech, used his utmost address to carry this favourite point; he stated the favourable disposition of parliament, as well as of government, towards the colonies; the moderation, equity, and tenderness, which induced the present advances towards a happy reconciliation; he dwelt upon the justice of their contributing to the common defence, and bearing an equi-

June 1st.

General Assembly convened by the Gov. and conciliatory motion propos'd.

§ In last Feb. 1775, while all parties pursued their debates with much eagerness and animosity, and nothing but defiance was hurled at America on the part of Government, Lord *North* at the head of administration amazed all parties, and seemed for a time almost to dissolve his own, by that famous *conciliatory motion* with respect to America, which was then, and has been since, the subject of so much discussion on both sides of the Atlantick. The motion was for passing the following resolution.—“ That  
 “ when the governor, council and assembly, or general court of  
 “ his Majesty's provinces or colonies, in North America, shall  
 “ propose to make provision, according to their respective condi-  
 “ tions, circumstances, and situations, for contributing their pro-  
 “ portion to the common defence, such proportion to be raised  
 “ under the authority of the general court, or general assembly  
 “ of such province or colony, and disposable by parliament; and  
 “ shall engage to make provision also for the support of the civil  
 “ government, and the administration of justice in such province  
 “ and colony, it will be proper, if such proposal should be ap-  
 “ proved of by his Majesty in parliament, and for so long as such  
 “ provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of  
 “ such province or colony, to levy any duties, tax, or assessment,  
 “ or to impose any further duty, tax, or assessment, except only  
 “ such duties as it may be expedient to impose for the regulation  
 “ of government; the *nett* produce of the duties last mentioned,  
 “ to be carried to the account of such province, colony, or planta-  
 “ tion respectively.” This motion after undergoing many scruti-  
 nies and altercations in a very full house, passed, by a majority of  
 278 to 88.

L. North's conciliatory motion.

1775. table proportion of the public burthens; observed, that as no specific sum was demanded, they had an opportunity of giving a free scope to their justice and liberality, and that whatever they gave, would be a free gift, in the fullest sense of the terms; that they would thus shew their reverence for parliament, and manifest their duty and attachment to the Sovereign; and the kindness with which it would be taken, that they met, on their side, the favourable disposition shewn on the other, towards bringing the present unhappy disputes to a period. He also took pains to convince them, from the proceedings and resolutions of parliament, that a full redress of all their real grievances, would be the immediate consequence of their compliance.

Maga-  
zine re-  
fled.

The first act of the assembly, was the appointment of a committee to enquire into the causes of the late disturbances, and particularly to examine the state of the magazine, that necessary measures might be accordingly taken for its replenishment. Though the magazine was the property of the colony, it was in the custody of the Governor, who appointed a keeper, so that an application to him for admittance was necessary. During an altercation which arose upon this subject, and before the order for admittance was obtained, some people of the town and neighbourhood broke into the magazine, and carried off some of the arms; several members of the House of Burgesses, however, used their personal interest and application in getting as many of them as they could returned. It appeared by the report of the Committee, that they found most of the remainder of the powder buried in the magazine yard, where it had been deposited by the Governor's orders, and suffered considerable damage from the rain; the depriving the muskets of their locks was also now discovered, as well as the nakedness and insufficiency of the magazine in all respects. Among other matters which served to irritate the people, was the planting of spring-guns in the magazine, (without giving any public notice of such a mode of security) and some effect they had taken at the time of the late depredations.

June 8th.

Lord  
Dunmore  
retires on  
board a  
ship of  
war.

Whilst the Governor's speech, with the propositions which it recommended, were yet under the consideration of the assembly, and before their address was determined upon, his Lordship, with his lady and family, quitted the palace privately, and suddenly, at night, and retired on board of the *Fowey* man of war, which then lay near *Yerk* town, on the river of the same name. He left a message for the House of Burgesses, acquainting them, that he thought it prudent

to retire to a place of safety, as he was fully persuaded, that both himself and his family were in constant danger of falling sacrifices to the blind and unmeasurable fury of the people; that so far from intending to interrupt their sitting, he hoped they would successfully proceed in the great business before them; that he would render the communication between him and the House as easy and as safe as possible; and that he supposed it would be more agreeable to them to send some of their members to him as occasion should require, than to have the trouble of moving their whole body to a nearer place. He assured them, that he should attend as usual to the duties of his office, and of his good disposition to restore that harmony which had been so unhappily interrupted.

This message produced a joint address from the Council and House of Burgesses; declaring their unbelief that any persons in that province, would meditate so horrid and atrocious a crime as his Lordship apprehended; lamenting that he had not acquainted them with the ground of his uneasiness before he had adopted this measure, as they would have used all possible means to have removed every cause of his disquietude; they feared that this removal from the seat of government would be a means of increasing the uneasiness which unhappily prevailed among the people; declared that they would cheerfully concur in any measure which he should propose for the security of himself and his family; observing how impracticable it would be to carry on the business of the session with any degree of propriety and dispatch, whilst he was at such a distance, and so inconveniently situated. They concluded by intreating his return, with his lady and family, to the palace, which would afford great public satisfaction, and be the likeliest means of quieting the minds of the people.

Lord Dunmore returned a written answer, in which he justified his apprehensions of danger, from the public notoriety of the commotions among the people, as well as of the threats and menaces with which they were attended; besides complaints of the general conduct and disposition of the House of Burgesses, he specified several charges against that body; that they had countenanced the violent and disorderly proceedings of the people, particularly with respect to the magazine, which was forced and rifled in the presence of some of the members; that instead of the commitment of those persons who had been guilty of so daring and heinous an offence, they only endeavoured to procure a restitution of the arms. That the House, or its Committee, had ventured

1775.

Report from the Committee of Enquiry.

June 10. Refusal of the Governor to go on shore to pass the bills.

1775.

on a step fraught with the most alarming consequences, in appointing guards, without his approbation or consent, under pretence of protecting the magazine, shewed thereby a design of usurping the executive power, and of subverting the constitution.

He observed, that no means could be effectual for affording the security which they proposed to concur in, but, by reinstating him in the full powers of his office, by opening the courts of justice, and restoring the energy of the laws; by disarming all independent companies, or other bodies of men, raised and acting in defiance of legal authority; by obliging the immediate return of the King's arms and stores; and by, what was not less essential than any other matter, their own example, and their endeavours to remove that general delusion which kept the minds of the people in a continual ferment, and thereby to abolish that malice and spirit of persecution, which now operated so dangerously against all those, who from duty and affection to their King and country, opposed the present measures, and who from principle and conviction differed with the multitude in political opinion. That these were the means to afford the security requisite for all parties; and that, for the accomplishment of those ends, together with the great object and necessary business of the session, he should have no objection to their adjourning to the town of York, where he would meet them, and remain till the business was finished.

He concluded by representing, that unless they had a sincere and active desire of seizing the opportunity which was now offered by parliament, of establishing the freedom of their country upon a fixed and known foundation, and of uniting themselves with their fellow-subjects of Great-Britain in one common bond of interest and mutual assistance, his return to Williamsburgh would be as fruitless to the people, as it might possibly be dangerous to himself; but that if their proceedings manifested that happy disposition, he would return with the greatest joy, and consider it as the most fortunate event of his life, if they gave him an opportunity to be an instrument of promoting their happiness, and of being a successful mediator between them and the supreme authority.

The Assembly  
address  
the Gov.  
on his  
refusal.

The mollifying terms of the conclusion, were by no means equal to the removal of the acrimony excited by those severe charges and implications, which were contained in the foregoing parts of this long message. It accordingly produced a reply of an uncommon length, under the form of an address, which

which was fraught with all the bitterness of recrimination, as well as with defensive arguments, and an examination of facts. The House had now received the report of its Committee relative to the causes of the late disturbances, backed by the depositions of a number of British merchants, who were resident in different and remote parts of the Colony, all whose testimony tended to shew the general tranquility which prevailed previous to the late affair of the powder, and the Governor's declaration relative to the slaves, the latter of which, so far as it was believed, having particularly irritated the people; that notwithstanding, quiet and order were soon every where restored, and still continued; that there was a general acquiescence every where in the determinations of the General and Provincial Congress; but they all concurred in believing, that the people had no design or wish of an independency on Great-Britain; and some, that on the contrary, they had a most eager desire for such a connection, as it stood before the late acts of parliament; they were unanimous in their opinion, that a redress of the grievances complained of, would establish a perfect tranquility, and produce a reconciliation with the parent state.

1775-  
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To refute the charges or insinuations of disaffection and disloyalty, the House of Burgesses took a retrospective view of the behaviour of the people, and of several transactions in the colony, for some years back; they stated the happiness which they derived under the conduct of former Governors, as a strong contrast to the present situation; they attributed that happiness, particularly in a very late instance, to the discountenancing of tale-bearers and malicious informers, to a proper examination of every subject, and the taking of nothing upon trust; and, finally, to the transmitting home a faithful representation of things in the colony. They stated their former conduct and behaviour with respect to his Lordship, and observed, that changes seldom happened without some difficult cause; that respect was not to be obtained by force from a free people; that nothing was so likely to insure it, as dignity of character, a candid and exemplary conduct. That they did not mean to insinuate his Lordship would, designedly, misrepresent facts; but that it was much to be feared, he too easily gave credit to designing persons, who, to the great injury of the community, possessed much too large a share of his confidence.

They controverted the facts, and examined, with great severity, the representations and charges contained in those two letters to the Earl of Dartmouth, which we have already

1775.

dy taken notice of; these they represented as exceedingly injurious and unjust, as founded on misconception, misinformation, the height of colouring, the mistating, or the assumption of facts, without evidence. They then proceeded to justify the steps which had been taken with regard to the militia; their supposed countenance to the acts done concerning the magazine, and the other matters which first excited, and afterwards inflamed, the controversy.

June 14.

The House of Burgeses also presented their address in answer to the Governor's speech, in which they entered into a long discussion of the proposition contained in the parliamentary resolution, founded upon Lord North's conciliatory motion. This they combated upon the same grounds, and with a variety of arguments of the same nature, that we have formerly stated; and they ultimately declared, that as it only changed the form of oppression, without lessening its burthen, they could not close with its terms. They observed, however, that these were only offered as the sentiments of an individual part of the whole empire; and for a final determination, they referred the affair to the General Congress, before whom they would lay the papers. To them also they referred the discovery of that proper mode of representing their well-founded grievances, which his Lordship assured them, would meet with the attention and regard so justly due to them. For themselves, they made the following declaration: "We have exhausted every mode of application which our invention could suggest, as proper and promising. We have decently remonstrated with parliament; they have added new injuries to the old. We have wearied our King with supplications; he has not deigned to answer us. We have appealed to the native honour and justice of the British nation; their efforts in our favour have been hitherto ineffectual."

In this state of distrust and ill-humour on both sides, every day afforded new ground for bickering, and every incident fresh room for altercation, so that there was a continued intercourse, by addresses, messages, and answers, between the House of Burgeses and the Fowey. This was a singular situation; an attempt to govern, without choosing, or finding it safe, to set a foot on shore in the country to be governed.

Assembly
will not
attend
him on
board the
Fowey.

At length, the necessary bills having passed the assembly, and the advanced season requiring their attendance in their several countries, the Council and Burgeses jointly intreated the Governor's presence, to give his assent to them and finish the session. They observed, that though the business had

had been greatly impeded by his absence from the seat of government, and they had submitted to the inconvenience of repeatedly sending their members twelve miles to attend his Excellency on board a ship of war, they could not but think it highly improper, and too great a departure from the constitutional and accustomed mode of transacting their business, to present the bills to him at any other place than the capital.

Lord Dunmore in his answer was somewhat rough. He insisted upon his right of calling them to any place in the colony, where the exigencies of affairs might render their attendance necessary. He further observed, that as he had not been made acquainted with the whole proceedings of the Assembly, he knew of no bills of importance, which, if he were inclined to risque his person again among the people, they had to present to him, nor whether they were such as he could assent to if they had.

To obviate these objections, though it was an unprecedented act, the Assembly sent the bills, as well as other papers which were afterwards demanded, on board the Fowey, for his inspection. The most interesting of those bills, seemingly to all parties, was that for the payment of the forces, who had lately, under his Lordship's command, suffered considerably, at the same time that they had done essential service to their country, by their bravery and success in the late Indian war. This bill was objected to by the Governor, for its imposing a tax upon the importation of slaves, and for some informality in respect to the emission of paper money. The other bills were approved of.

This produced the final address from the House of Burgesses, in which they intreated his Excellency, that he would meet them the ensuing day at Williamsburgh, to pass the bills that were ready; expressed their hopes, that he could not still entertain any groundless fears of personal danger; but declare, that if it was possible he remained under so strange an influence, they pledged their honours, and every thing sacred, for his security. If nothing could prevail, they requested that he would grant a commission for passing such bills as he approved.

Lord Dunmore persisted in the objections he had made to the bill; said that the well-grounded cause he had for believing his person not safe at Williamsburgh, had increased daily. That he therefore could not meet them, as they requested, at the capital; but that he would be ready to receive the House on the following Monday, at his present residence, for the purpose of giving his assent to such acts as he should approve of.

This

1775.

This answer put an end to all public correspondence and business between the Governor and colony. The transferring the Legislative Council and House of Representatives of a great county on board a man of war, was evidently not to be expected. Their danger in such a situation, if on other accounts it were possible they could put themselves into it, was no less than Lord Dunmore's could be on land. It may, however, be supposed, that the Governor's conduct was operated upon by causes, or influenced by motives, with which we are unacquainted.

Upon receiving the foregoing answer, the Burgesses passed resolutions, in which they declared, that the message requiring them to attend the Governor on board a ship of war, was a high breach of their rights and privileges. That the unreasonable delays thrown into their proceedings, and the evasive answers to their sincere and decent addresses, gave them reason to fear that a dangerous attack was meditated against the unhappy people of that colony, and it was therefore their opinion, that they should prepare for the preservation of their property, and their inestimable rights and liberties. And then, strongly professing loyalty to the King, and amity to the mother country, they broke up their session.

July 18th
Convention of
delegates
held, and
means
used to
arm the
province.
Declara-
tion to
justify
these
proceed-
ings.

Thus, unhappily, was an end put, for the present, to the English government in the colony of Virginia. A convention of delegates was soon appointed to supply the place of the assembly, who having an unlimited confidence reposed in them by the people, become accordingly possessed of an unlimited power in all public affairs. These immediately took in hand the raising and embodying of an armed force, as well as the providing means for its support, and pursued every other measure which could tend to place the colony in a strong state of defence. Whilst they were pursuing these dangerous steps, they published a Declaration in justification of their conduct, tracing the measures that led to the present unhappy state of public affairs, setting forth the cause of their meeting, and shewing the necessity of immediately putting the country in a posture of defence, for the protection of their lives, liberties, and properties. They concluded as the assembly had done, with the strongest professions of faith and loyalty, and declared, that as, on the one hand, they were determined at the peril of the extremest hazards, to maintain their just rights and privileges, so on the other, it was their fixed and unalterable resolution, to disband such forces as were raised for the defence of the colony, whenever their dangers were remov-

removed, and America restored to its former state of tranquillity and happiness.

1775.

Whether Lord Dunmore expected that any extraordinary advantages might be derived from an insurrection of the slaves, or that he imagined there was a much greater number of people in the colony, who were satisfied with the present system of government, than really was the case, (a mistake, and an unfortunate one, which like an epidemical distemper, seems to have spread through all our official departments in America) upon whatever grounds he proceeds, he determined, tho' he relinquished his government, not to abandon his hopes, nor entirely to lose sight of the country which he had governed. He accordingly, being joined by those friends of government, who had rendered themselves too obnoxious to the people to continue with safety in the country, as well as by a number of runaway negroes, and supported by the frigates of war which were upon the station, endeavoured to establish such a marine force, as would enable him, by means of the noble rivers, which render the most valuable parts of that rich country accessible by water, to be always at hand, and ready to profit, of any favourable occasion that offered.

Coercive
measures
also a-
dopted
by the
Govern-
nor.

Upon this, or some similar system, he by degrees equipped and armed a number of vessels of different kinds and sizes, in one of which he constantly resided, never setting his foot on shore but in a hostile manner; the force thus put together, was, however, calculated only for depredation, and never became equal to any essential service. The former, indeed, was in part a matter of necessity, for as the people on shore would not supply those on board with provisions or necessaries, they must either starve, or provide them by force. The Virginians pretend, that while the depredations were confined to those necessary objects, the respect which they bore to the rank and office of their governor, prevented his meeting with any resistance; but their nature was soon changed into open and avowed hostility. Obnoxious persons, they said, were seized and carried on board the ships; plantations ravaged and destroyed; the negroes carried off; houses burnt, and at length lives lost on both sides. In one of these expeditions, his Lordship destroyed a number of iron cannon, and carried off some others, which he supposed were provided for the purposes of rebellion, though the Virginians assert they were ship guns. These proceedings occasioned the sending of some detachments of the new-raised forces to protect the coasts, and from thence ensued, a small, mischievous, predatory war, incapable of affording honour

1775.

or benefit, and in which, at length, every drop of water, and every necessary, was purchased at the price or risque of blood.

Oct. 25th

Lord
Dunmore
repulsed
in his at-
tempt to
destroy
the town
of Hamp-
ton.

During this state of hostility, he procured a few soldiers from different parts, with whose assistance, an attempt was made to burn a port-town, in an important situation, called Hampton. It seems the inhabitants had some previous suspicion of the design, for they had sunk boats in the entrance of the harbour, and thrown such other obstacles in the way, as rendered the approach of the ships, and consequently a landing, impracticable on the day in which the attack was commenced. The ships cut a passage through the boats in the night, and began to cannonade the town furiously in the morning; but at this critical period, they were relieved from their apprehensions and danger, by the arrival of a detachment of rifle and minute men, from Williamsburgh, who had marched all night to their assistance. These, joined with the inhabitants, attacked the ships so vigorously with their small arms, that they were obliged precipitately to quit their station, with the loss of some men, and of a tender which was taken.

Nov. 7th

Procla-
mation
for mar-
tial law,
and the
emanci-
pation of
the ne-
groes.

In consequence of this repulse, a proclamation was issued by the Governor, dated on board the ship William, off Norfolk, declaring, that as the civil law was at present insufficient to prevent and punish treason and traitors, martial law should take place, and be executed throughout the colony; and requiring all persons capable of bearing arms to repair to his Majesty's standard, or to be considered as traitors. He also declared all indented servants, negroes, or others, appertaining to rebels, who were able and willing to bear arms, and who joined his Majesty's forces, to be free.

This measure of emancipating the negroes, excited less surprize, and probably had less effect in exciting the desired insurrection, from its being so long threatened and apprehended, than if it had been more immediate and unexpected. It was, however, received with the greatest horror in all the colonies, and has been severely condemned elsewhere, as tending to loosen the bands of society, to destroy domestic security, and encourage the most barbarous of mankind, to the commission of the most horrible crimes, and the most inhuman cruelties; that it was confounding the innocent with the guilty, and exposing those who were the best friends to government, to the same loss of property, danger, and destruction, with the most incorrigible rebels. It was said to establish a precedent of a most dangerous nature in the new world,

1775.

world, by giving a legal sanction to the arraying and embodying of African negroes, to appear in arms against white men, and to encounter them upon an equal footing in the field; for however founded distinctions with respect to colour may appear, when examined by the tests of nature, reason, or philosophy, while things continue in their present state, while commerce, luxury, and avarice, render slavery a principal object in the political system of every European power that possesses dominion in America, the idea of a pre-eminence must always be cherished, and considered as a necessary policy. This measure is perhaps liable to be charged with another political fault, which has attended too many others that have been lately adopted with respect to America, viz. that of violent irritation, without affording any adequate benefit.

The Proclamation, however, with Lord Dunmore's presence, and the encouragement of the small marine force he had with him, produced, for the present, some effect in the town of Norfolk, and the adjoining country, where many of the people were well-affected to government. He was accordingly joined by some hundreds both of blacks and whites, and many others, who did not chuse to take an active part, publicly abjured the Congress, with all its acts, and all conventions and committees, whatever. It is probable that Lord Dunmore now hoped, that the facility and good disposition which he experienced here, would have been so general, as to enable him to raise a considerable armed force, and thus, perhaps, without any foreign assistance, to have the glory of reducing one part of the province by the means of the other.

This pleasing hope was interrupted by intelligence, that a party of the rebels were marching towards them with great expedition. To obstruct their designs, and protect the well-affected, he took possession of a post called the Great-Bridge, which lay at some miles distance from Norfolk, and was a pass of great consequence, being the only way by which they could approach to that town. Here he constructed a fort on the Norfolk side of the bridge, which he furnished well with artillery, and rendered as defensible as the time would admit. Notwithstanding the loyalty of the people in this quarter, which included two small counties, it does not appear that his force was at all considerable, either as to the number or quality; he had indeed 200 regulars, including the grenadiers of the 14th regiment, and a body called the Norfolk volunteers; the rest was a motley mixture of blacks and whites. The enemy, under the command of a Colonel Woodford, fortified

Action
near the
Great
Bridge.

1775.

fortified themselves also, within less than cannon shot of our people; they had a narrow causeway in their front, which must be passed to come at their works, so that both parties seemed pretty well secured from surprize.

Dec. 9th

In this state they continued quiet on both sides for some days, until at length a design was formed, for surprizing the enemy in their entrenchments. This was undertaken before daylight. Capt. Fordyce, at the head of his grenadiers, amounting to about 60, led the attack. They boldly passed the causeway, and marched up to the entrenchments with fixed bayonets, and with a coolness and intrepidity, which first excited the astonishment, and afterwards the praise of their enemies; for they were not only exposed naked to the fire in front, but enfladed by another part of the works. The brave Captain, with several of his men, fell; the Lieutenant, with others, were taken, and all the survivors of the grenadier company, whether prisoners or not, were wounded.

The fire of the artillery from the fort, enabled our people to retire without pursuit, as well as to carry off many of their dead and wounded. It will excite no great surprize, that the slaves in this engagement, did more prejudice to our own people, than to the enemy. It has been said, that we were led into this unfortunate affair, through the designed false intelligence of a pretended deserter, who was tutored for the purpose: however that may be, it was grievous, that such uncommon bravery should be squandered to no purpose. Capt. Fordyce was interred with every military honour by the victors, who shewed due respect to his former merit, as well as the gallantry which signalized his last moments. The English prisoners were treated with great kindness; the Americans who had joined the king's standard, with equal rigour. In this engagement we are said to have had 129 killed, 175 wounded, and 40 of our men made prisoners.

His Lpt.
again re-
tires on
board.

Lord Dunmore with the remainder of his forces retired from the post at the Great-Bridge the ensuing night, without any other loss than a few pieces of cannon, and some trifling stores which they left behind; and as all hopes in this quarter were now at an end, he therefore thought it necessary to abandon the town and neighbourhood of Norfolk, and retired again with his people on board the ships, which were considerably increased in number, by those which he found in that port. Many of the well-affected, or Tories, (which was the appellation now given to them throughout America) thought it prudent, with their families, to seek the same asylum, whither

whether they also carried the most portable and valuable of their effects. Thus his Lordship formed a considerable fleet, with respect to the number of vessels and tonnage, and these were also crowded with people; but the ships were without force, and contained mouths without hands fit to navigate them. The rebels took possession of Norfolk, and the fleet moved to a greater distance.

1775.

During these transactions, a scheme had been in agitation, for raising a considerable force at the back of the colonies, particularly in Virginia and the Carolinas, where it was known there were many well-affected to the King's government; it was hoped that some of the Indian nations might be induced to become parties in this design; and that thus united, they not only would make such a diversion, as must greatly alarm and distress the rebels, but that they might penetrate so far towards the coasts, as to form a junction with Lord Dunmore. One Connolly, a native of Pennsylvania, an active enterprising man, who seems to have been well calculated for such an undertaking, was the framer of this design; and his project being approved of by Lord Dunmore, he with great difficulty and danger carried on a negotiation with the Ohio Indians, and his friends among the back settlers, upon the subject. This having succeeded to his satisfaction, he returned to Lord Dunmore, who sent him with the necessary credentials to Boston, where he received a commission from General Gage, to act as colonel commandant, with assurances of support and assistance, at the time and in the manner appointed. It was intended, that the garrison which we had at Detroit, and some other of the remote back forts, with their artillery and ammunition, should be subservient to this design, and the adventurer expected to draw some assistance, at least, of volunteers and officers, from the nearest parts of Canada. He was to grant all commissions to the officers, and to have the supreme direction in every thing of the new forces, and as soon as they were in sufficient condition, he was to penetrate through Virginia in such a manner, as to meet Lord Dunmore, at a given time in the month of April, in the vicinity of Alexandria, upon the river Potowmac, who was to bring such a naval force, and other assistance, as was deemed necessary for the purpose. It was also a part, and not the least comprehensive of this plan, to cut off the communication between the northern and southern colonies.

Scheme for raising the Indians and Back Settlers.

Connolly taken prisoner, and the scheme frustrated

Thus far, affairs seemed to look well with our adventurer; but on his road through Maryland to the scene of action, and when he was so far advanced that the worst seemed near-

1775. ly over, the vigilance, or suspicious temper of one of the committees, unfortunately frustrated all his hopes. Being taken up on suspicion, with two of his associates who travelled along with him, his papers betrayed every thing; among these was the general scheme of the design, a letter from L. Dunmore to one of the Indian chiefs, with such other authentic vouchers, as left nothing to be doubted. The papers were published by the Congress, and the undertakers sent to prison.

As it does not appear that the loyalists were very lenient to those who differed with them in political opinions, during the short time of their superiority in the country adjoining to Norfolk, so now, upon the turn of affairs, the obtaining a plausible shew of justice, under the colour of retaliation, afforded such a favourable opportunity for the practice of severity, and the gratification of private pique, and natural malignity, on the other side, as is never known to be neglected by any party in similar circumstances. For though many had taken shelter on board the ships, a much greater number remained behind, some being willing to hazard some danger, rather than abandon their property; others hoping that their conduct, from its moderation, would bear enquiry; and the majority, from their having no prospect of subsistence if they quitted home, and an expectation that their obscurity would save them from notice. To conclude, such charges of oppression, injustice, and cruelty, were made on both sides, as are usually done in such cases.

L. Dunmore reduces to ashes the town of Norfolk. In the mean time, the people in the fleet were distressed for provisions and necessaries of every sort, and were cut off from every kind of succour from the shore. This occasioned constant bickering between the armed ships and boats, and the forces that were stationed on the coast, particularly at Norfolk. At length, upon the arrival of the Liverpool man of war from England, a flag was sent on shore, to put the question, whether they would supply his Majesty's ships with provisions, which being answered in the negative, and the ships in the harbour being continually annoyed by the fire of the rebels, from that part of the town which lay next the water, it was determined to dislodge them by destroying it. Previous notice being accordingly given to the inhabitants, that they might remove from the danger, the first day of the new year was signalized by the attack, when a violent cannonade, from the Liverpool frigate, two sloops of war, and the Governor's armed ship the Dunmore, seconded by parties of the sailors and marines, who landed and set fire

to the nearest houses, soon produced the desired effect, and the whole town was reduced to ashes.

1775.

It appears from a gazette published in the Governor's ship, (who had removed the printing press and materials thither from Norfolk) that it was only intended to destroy that part of the town which was next the water; but that the rebels completed the destruction, by setting fire to the back and remote streets, which, as the wind was in their favour, would have otherwise been safe from the fury of the flames. It is not, however, easy to prescribe limits to the progress of a fire in such, or indeed in any circumstances. A few of those who landed, as well as of the rebels, were killed and wounded.

Such was the fate of the unfortunate town of Norfolk, the most considerable for commerce in the colony, and so growing and flourishing before these unhappy troubles, that in the two years from 1773 to 1775, the rents of the houses increased from 8,000 to 10,000 pounds a year. The whole loss is estimated at above 300,000*l*. However just the cause, or urgent the necessity, which induced this measure, it was undoubtedly a grievous and odious task to a governor, to be himself a principal actor, in burning and destroying the best town in his government. The rebels, after this transaction, to cut off every resource from the ships, and partly perhaps to punish the well-affected, burnt and destroyed the houses and plantations within reach of the water, and obliged the people to remove, with their cattle, provisions, and portable effects, farther into the country.

Nor was the situation of other governors in America, much more eligible than that of Lord Dunmore. In South-Carolina, Lord William Campbell, having, as they said, entered into a negotiation with the Indians, for coming in to the support of government in that province, and having also succeeded in exciting a number of those back settlers, who we have heretofore seen distinguished in the Carolinas, under the title of Regulators, to espouse the same cause, the discovery of these measures, before they were sufficiently ripe for execution, occasioned such a ferment among the people, that he thought it necessary to retire from Charles-Town on board a ship of war in the river, from whence he returned no more to the seat of his government. In the mean time a Mr. Drayton, who was judge of the superior court, and one of the most leading men in the colony, marched with a strong armed force to the back settlements, where a treaty was concluded between him and the leaders of the Regula-

Transac-
tions in
S. Caro-
lina.

1775.

tors ; in which the differences between them were attributed to misinformation, a misunderstanding of each others views and designs, and a tenderness of conscience on the side of the latter, which prevented their signing the association, or pursuing any measures against government ; but as they now engaged, neither by word or act to impede or contravene such proceedings as should be adopted and pursued by the province in general, nor to give any information, aid, or assistance, to such British troops as should at any time arrive in it, so they were to be entirely free in their conduct otherwise, to enjoy a safe neutrality, and to suffer no molestation, for their not taking an active part in the present troubles.

The government of the province was lodged in a council of safety consisting of 13 persons, with the occasional assistance of a committee of ninety-nine. As they had intelligence that an armament was preparing in England, which was particularly intended against it, no means were left untried for its defence, in disciplining the forces, procuring arms and gun-powder, and particularly in fortifying and securing Charles-Town.

Transactions in
N. Carolina.

Similar measures were pursued in North-Carolina, (with the difference that Governor Martin was more active and vigorous in his proceedings) but was attended with as little success. The Provincial Congress, Committee, and Governor were in a continued state of the most violent warfare. Upon a number of charges, particularly of fomenting a civil war, and exciting an insurrection among the negroes, he was declared an enemy to America in general, and to that colony in particular, and all persons forbidden from holding any communication with him. These declarations he answered with a proclamation of uncommon length, which the Provincial Congress resolved to be a false, scandalous, scurrilous, malicious, and seditious libel, and ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

As the Governor expected by means of the back settlers, as well as of the Scotch inhabitants and highland emigrants, who were numerous in the province, to be able to raise a considerable force, he took pains to fortify and arm his palace at Newbern, that it might answer the double purpose of a garrison and magazine. Before this could be effected, the moving of some cannon excited such a commotion among the people, that he found it necessary to abandon the palace, and retire on board a sloop of war in Cape Fear river. The people upon this occasion, discovered powder, shot, ball, and various military stores and implements, which had been buried

buried in the palace garden and yard; this served to inflame them exceedingly, every man considering it as if it had been a plot against himself in particular.

1775.

In other respects, the province had followed the example of their neighbours in South-Carolina, by establishing a council and committees of safety, with other substitutes for a regular and permanent government. They also pursued the same methods of providing for defence, of raising, arming and supporting forces, and of training the militia, and shewed equal vigour and eagerness in all their proceedings. The Provincial Congress published an address to the inhabitants of the British empire, of the same nature with those we have formerly seen to the people of Great-Britain and Ireland, containing the same professions of loyalty and affection, and declaring the same earnest desire of a reconciliation.

General Gage having returned in the beginning of October, to England, the command in chief of the army at Boston, devolved upon General Howe, who soon after issued a proclamation, by which, such of the inhabitants as attempted to quit the town without licence, were condemned to military execution, if detected and taken, and if they escaped, to be proceeded against as traitors, by the forfeiture of their effects. By another, such as obtained permission to quit the town, were restrained by severe penalties, from carrying more than a small specified sum of money with them. He also enjoined the signing and entering into an association, by which the remaining inhabitants offered their persons for the defence of the town, and such of them as he approved of, were to be armed, formed into companies, and instructed in military exercises and discipline, the remainder being obliged to pay their quotas in money, towards the common defence.

General Gage returns to England, — is succeeded in command by G. Howe.

As the limited term, for which the soldiers in the army before Boston had enlisted, was nearly expired, a committee from the General Congress, consisting of several of its most respectable members, were sent thither, to take the necessary measures, in conjunction with General Washington, for keeping it from disbanding. This, however, does not seem to have been a work of any great difficulty, the whole army having re-enlisted for a year certain to come. Of all the difficulties which the Americans met, in their attempts towards the establishment of a military force, nothing affected them so grievously, or was found so hard to be remedied, as the want of gunpowder. For tho' they used the utmost diligence

Continental army before Boston enlist for a new term.

in

1775. in the collecting and preparing of nitre, and in all the other parts of the manufacture; the resource from their industry must necessarily be slow, and with regard to any considerable effect distant. Nor had they yet opened that commerce, nor entered into those measures with foreign states, which have since procured them a supply of military articles. Indeed the scarcity of powder was so great, that it is said the troops at Bunker's Hill, had not a single charge left at the end of that short engagement: and it is also said, that the weakness of the army before Boston in that respect, was at one time so great, that nothing but our ignorance of the circumstance, could have saved them from being dispersed and ruined. They, however, left nothing undone to supply this defect, and among many temporary expedients, had contrived to purchase, without notice or suspicion, all the powder on the coast of Africa, and plundered the magazine in the island of Bermuda, of above 100 barrels, which was carried off (as it was pretended) without the knowledge of the inhabitants.

Oct. 18th

Falmouth
cannon-
aded, &
nearly
destroy'd.

In the course of the depredation, threat, and hostility, which continually occurred on the sea coasts, the town of Falmouth, in the northern part of the province of Massachusetts Bay, was doomed to experience a share of those calamities, which were afterwards dispensed in a greater degree to Norfolk in Virginia, (already taken notice of in the transactions of that colony). Some particular violence or misbehaviour, relative to the loading of a mast ship, drew the indignation of the Admiral upon this place, and occasioned an order for its destruction. The officer who commanded the ships upon this occasion, gave two hours previous notice to the inhabitants to provide for their safety, and this time was further enlarged till the next morning, under the cover of a negotiation for delivering up the artillery and small arms, at the price of saving the town. This, however, they at length refused to comply with; but had made use of the intermediate time in removing so many of their effects as they could procure carriages for, or as the darkness and confusion of the night would admit of.

About 9 o'clock in the morning, a cannonade was begun, and continued with little intermission through the day. Above 3000 shot, besides bombs and carcasses, were thrown into the town, and the sailors landed to compleat the destruction, but were repulsed with the loss of a few men. The principal part of the town, (which lay next the water) consisting of about 134 dwelling houses, 278 store and ware-
houses,

houses, with a large new church, a new handsome court-house, the old town-house, with the public library, were reduced to ashes; about 100 of the worst houses, being favoured by the situation and distance, escaped destruction, though not without damage. Though the settlements in this quarter were new, being mostly established since the last war, this small town was amazingly thriving, being situate on a fine harbour, and having a very considerable trade, so that it was computed to contain about 600 families, though little more than one-third of that number of dwelling-houses.

1775.

The destruction which fell upon Falmouth, probably accelerated in the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay, the daring measure (under the pretence of protecting their coasts) of passing an act,—for granting letters of marque and reprisal, and the establishment of courts of admiralty, for the trial and condemnation of British ships.—In this law they declared an intention, of only defending the coasts and navigation of America, extending the power of capture only to such ships as should be employed in bringing supplies to the armies employed against them.

Nov. 13.

A Law made for granting letters of marque and reprisal.

In the course of the summer, Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, between the several colonies which were already associated, with liberty of admission to those of Quebec, St. John's, Nova-Scotia, the two Floridas, and Bermudas, containing rules for their general government in peace and war, both with respect to foreigners and each other, were drawn up by the General Congress, and by them transmitted to the different colonies, for the inspection and consideration of their respective assemblies.* As these Articles of Confederation, &c. were the only out-lines by which the general movements and operations of the different colonies in future were regulated, and as they may serve in a great measure to shew the general sense and spirit of these times, we shall be excused in giving them *verbatim* to the reader.

Articles of confederation proposed by the Continental Congress.

The

* *Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union entered into by the Delegates of the several Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. in General Congress, met at Philadelphia, May 20th, 1775.*

ARTICLE I.

THE name of the Confederacy shall henceforth be, *The United Colonies of North-America.*

II. 1

1775.

The people, however, were not yet sufficiently irritated, nor their affections and prejudices sufficiently broken, to accede to a Confederacy, which though conditionally framed and worded, yet led to a total separation from the mother country. For tho' they took up arms and opposed government, still, it was in general, under the hope of obtaining thereby

II. The *United Colonies* hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, binding on themselves and their posterity, for their common defence against their enemies, for the security of their liberties and properties, the safety of their persons and families, and their mutual and general welfare

III. That each colony shall enjoy and retain as much as it may think fit of its own present laws, customs, rights, privileges and peculiar jurisdictions, within its own limits; and may amend its own constitution, as shall seem best to its own assembly or convention.

IV. That for the more convenient management of general interests, delegates shall be elected annually, in each colony, to meet in General Congress, at such time and place as shall be agreed on in the next preceding Congress. Only where particular circumstances do not make a deviation necessary, it is understood to be a rule, that each succeeding Congress is to be held in a different colony, till the whole number be gone through, and so in perpetual rotation; and that accordingly, the next Congress after the present shall be held at Annapolis, in Maryland.

V. That the power and duty of the Congress shall extend to the determining on war and peace, the entering into alliances, the reconciliation with Great-Britain, the settling all disputes between colony and colony, if any should arise, and the planting new colonies where proper. The Congress shall also make such general ordinances thought necessary to the general welfare, of which particular assemblies cannot be competent, *viz.* those that may relate to our general commerce or general currency, to the establishment of posts, the regulation of our common forces; the Congress shall also have the appointment of all officers civil and military, appertaining to the general confederacy, such as general treasurer, secretary, &c. &c.

VI. All charges of war, and all other general expences to be incurred for the common welfare, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which is to be supplied by each colony, in proportion to its number of male polls between 16 and 60 years of age; the taxes for paying that proportion are to be laid and levied by the laws of each colony.

VII. The number of delegates to be elected, and sent to the Congress by each colony, shall be regulated, from time to time,

by

1775.

thereby a redress of grievances ; and that being the nearer and more agreeable object, they would not willingly look to any thing further, especially to one so dreadful as a total separation. It required a longer time in the contemplation of
real

by the number of such polls returned ; so as that one delegate be allowed for every 5000 polls. And the delegates are to bring with them to every Congress an authenticated return of the number of polls in the respective colonies, which is to be taken for the purposes above-mentioned.

VIII. At every meeting of the Congress, one half of the members returned, exclusive of proxies, shall be necessary to make a *quorum* ; and each delegate at the Congress shall have a vote in all cases ; and if necessarily absent, shall be allowed to appoint any other delegate from the same colony to be his proxy, who may vote for him.

IX. An executive council shall be appointed by the Congress out of their own body, consisting of 12 persons, of whom in the first appointment, one-third, *viz.* four shall be for 1 year, four for 2 years, and four for three years ; as the said terms expire, the vacancies shall be filled up by appointments for three years, whereby one-third of the members will be chosen annually ; and each person who has served the same term of three years as counsellor, shall have a respite of three years, before he can be elected again. This Council, of whom two-thirds shall be a *quorum*, in the recess of the Congress, is to execute what shall have been enjoined thereby ; to manage the General Continental business and interests ; to receive applications from foreign countries ; to prepare matters for the consideration of the Congress, to fill up, *pro tempore*, continental offices, that fall vacant ; and to draw on the general treasurer for such monies as may be necessary for general services, and appropriated by the Congress to such services.

X. No colony shall engage in any offensive war with any nation of Indians, without the consent of the Congress or great council above-mentioned, who are first to consider the justice and necessity of such war.

XI. A perpetual alliance, offensive and defensive, is to be entered into, as soon as may be, with the Six Nations ; their limits ascertained, and to be secured to them ; their lands not to be encroached on, nor any private or colony purchase to be made of them hereafter to be held good, nor any contract for lands to be made, but between the great council of the Indians at Ononoga and the General Congress. The boundaries and lands of all the other Indians shall also be ascertained and secured to them in the same manner ; and persons appointed to reside among them in proper districts, who shall take care to prevent injustice in the
trade

1775. real or supposed injuries, and in speculations upon future; together with fresh and constant sources of irritation, to arrive at that habit of vexation and hatred, which was necessary to break ties of so long a standing, and to familiarize so new an idea.

Commer. A resolution was also passed by the Congress at the appearance of autumn, that as America was blessed with a most plentiful harvest, and should have a great superfluity to spare for other nations, so if the late restraining laws were not repealed, within six months from the 20th of July, on which they commenced, the custom-houses should be every where shut up, and their ports from thenceforth be open to every state in Europe, (which would admit and protect their trade with them; and be enabled at our general expence, by occasional small supplies, to relieve their personal wants and distresses; and all purchases from them shall be by the Congress, for the general advantage and benefit of the United Colonies.

XII. As all new institutions may have imperfections, which only time and experience can discover, it is agreed that the General Congress, from time to time, shall propose such amendments of this constitution as may be found necessary, which being approved by a majority of the assemblies, shall be equally binding with the rest of the articles of this Confederation.

XIII. Any and every colony from Great-Britain upon the continent of North America, not at present engaged in any association, may, upon application, and joining the said association, be received into the confederation, viz. Quebec, St. John's, Nova-Scotia, Bermudas, and the East and West Floridas, and shall thereupon be entitled to all the advantages of our union, mutual assistance, and commerce.

These articles shall be proposed to the several provincial conventions or assemblies, to be by them considered; and, if approved, they are advised to empower their delegates to agree and ratify the same in the ensuing Congress; after which the union thereby established is to continue firm, till the terms of reconciliation proposed in the petition of the last Congress to the King are agreed to; till the acts, since made, restraining the American commerce and fisheries, are repealed; till reparation is made for the injury done to Boston by shutting up its port; for burning Charles-town; and for the expence of this unjust war; and till all the British troops are withdrawn from America. On the arrival of these events, the colonies are to return to their former connections and friendship with Great Britain; but on failure thereof, this Confederation is to be perpetual.

commerce) free of all duties, and for every kind of commodity, excepting, only, teas, and the merchandize of Great-Britain, and her dependencies. And the more to encourage foreigners to engage in trade with them they passed a resolution, that they would, to the utmost of their power, maintain and support such freedom of commerce for two years certain after its commencement, notwithstanding any reconciliation with Great-Britain, and as much longer as the present obnoxious laws should continue.—They also, immediately, suspended the *non-importation* agreement, in favour of all ships that should bring gunpowder, nitre, sulphur, good muskets fitted with bayonets, or brass field pieces, such ships being to be loaded in return with the value of their cargoes. At this sitting of the General Congress, they likewise sent out a second petition* to the King, which was delivered to Lord Dartmouth, by Governor Penn, and to which his Lordship said,—“*No answer would be given.*” As it may perhaps

1775.

Petition
to the
KING.
Sep. 4th.

* *To the KING's most Excellent Majesty.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's faithful subjects of the colonies of *New Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania*, the counties of *New-Castle, Kent and Sussex* in *Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina*, in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants of these colonies, who have deputed us to represent them in General Congress, entreat your Majesty's gracious attention to this our humble petition.

The union between our mother-country and these colonies, and the energy of mild and just government, produced benefits so remarkably important, and afforded such assurance of their permanency and increase, that the wonder and envy of other nations were excited, while they beheld Great-Britain rising to a power the most extraordinary the world had ever known. Her rivals observing that there was no probability of this happy connection being broken by civil dissensions, and apprehending its future effects, if left any longer undisturbed, resolved to prevent her receiving so continual and formidable an accession of wealth and strength, by checking the growth of these settlements, from which they were to be derived.

In the prosecution of this attempt, events so unfavourable to the design took place, that every friend to the interest of Great-Britain and these colonies, entertained pleasing and reasonable expect-

1775. perhaps hereafter be a matter of doubt, when the war and its consequences are much better remembered, than the circumstances

expectations of seeing an additional force and extension immediately given to the operations of the union hitherto experienced, by an enlargement of the crown, and the removal of ancient and war-like enemies to a greater distance.

At the conclusion, therefore, of the late war, the most glorious and advantageous that ever had been carried on by British arms, your loyal colonies, having contributed to its success by such repeated and strenuous exertions as frequently procured them the distinguished approbation of your Majesty, of the late king, and of parliament, doubted not but that they should be permitted, with the rest of the empire, to share in the blessings of peace, and the emoluments of victory and conquest. While these recent and honourable acknowledgments of their merits remained on record in the journals and acts of that august legislature, the parliament, undefaced by the imputation, or even the suspicion of any offence, they were alarmed by a *new system of statutes* and regulations, adopted for the administration of the colonies, that filled their minds with the most painful fears and jealousies; and, to their inexpressible astonishment, perceived the dangers of a foreign quarrel quickly succeeded by domestic dangers, in their judgment of a more dreadful kind.

Nor were their anxieties alleviated by any tendency in this system to promote the welfare of the mother-country: for though its effects were more immediately felt by them, yet its influence appeared to be injurious to the commerce and prosperity of Great-Britain

We shall decline the ungrateful task of describing the irksome variety of artifices practised by many of your Majesty's ministers, the delusive pretences, fruitless terrors, and unavailing severities, which have from time to time been dealt out by them in their attempts to execute this impolitic plan, or of tracing through a series of years past the progress of the unhappy differences between Great-Britain and these colonies, which have flowed from this fatal source. Your Majesty's ministers persevering in their measures, and proceeding to open hostilities for enforcing them, have compelled us to arm in our own defence, and have engaged us in a controversy so peculiarly abhorrent from the affections of your still faithful colonists, that when we consider whom we must oppose in this contest, and if it continues, what may be the consequence; our own particular misfortunes are accounted by us only as parts of our distress.

Knowing to what violent resentments and incurable animosities civil discords are apt to exasperate and inflame the contending parties, we think ourselves required by indispensable obligations to

Almighty

stances that preceded, or the causes that led to it, whether it was possible that such sentiments could really prevail with either

1775.

Almighty God, to your Majesty, to our fellow-subjects, and ourselves, immediately to use all the means in our power, not incompatible with our safety, for stopping the further effusion of blood, and for averting the impending calamities that threaten the British empire. Thus called upon to address your Majesty on affairs of such moment to America, and probably to all your dominions, we are earnestly desirous of performing this office with the utmost deference to your Majesty; and we therefore pray that your royal magnanimity and benevolence may make the most favourable constructions of our expressions on so uncommon an occasion.

Could we represent, in their full force, the sentiments which agitate the minds of us, your dutiful subjects, we are persuaded your Majesty would ascribe any seeming deviation from reverence, in our language, and even in our conduct, not to any reprehensible intention, but to the impossibility of reconciling the usual appearances of respect with a just attention to our preservation against those artful and cruel enemies, who abuse your royal confidence and authority for the purpose of effecting our destruction.

Attached to your Majesty's person, family and government, with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire, connected with Great-Britain by the strongest ties that can unite societies, and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them, we solemnly assure your Majesty that we not only most ardently desire the former harmony between her and these colonies may be restored, but that a concord may be established between them upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings uninterrupted by any future dissensions to succeeding generations in both countries; to transmit your Majesty's name to posterity, adorned with that signal and lasting glory that has attended the memory of those illustrious personages, whose virtues and abilities have extricated states from dangerous convulsions, and by securing happiness to others, have erected the most noble and durable monuments to their own fame.

We beg leave further to assure your Majesty, that notwithstanding the sufferings of your loyal colonists, during the course of the present controversy, our breasts retain too tender a regard for the kingdom from which we derive our origin, to request such a reconciliation, as might in any manner be inconsistent with *her dignity or welfare*. These, related as we are to her, honour and duty, as well as inclination, induce us to support and advance; and the apprehensions that now oppress our hearts with unspeakable grief being once removed, your Majesty will find your faithful subjects, on this continent, ready and willing, at all times, as they

1775.

either of the parties, at the time so unnatural, and so unhappy a contest took place between them; and as the particular drift of this Petition, (distinct from its great and general object of a restoration of harmony and peace,) will, we apprehend, be more fully understood by their own sentiments and dress of language, than any comment of ours thereon, we have therefore in the notes given it in full, in their own cloathing, with all the signatures annexed thereto; being persuaded, that whatever were the inward intentions of the parties, the language was conciliatory, and the request not immoderate. The Americans are said to have laid great stress upon the success of this final application to the Throne, (which they termed their *Olive Branch*) and are said to have relaxed their operations considerably upon that idea, until they heard the event.

Dec. 6th.
Declara-
tion in
anf. to
the Roy-
al pro-
clama-
tion of the
3d Aug.

Towards the close of the year, the General Congress published a declaration in answer to the royal proclamation for suppressing rebellion and sedition, which was issued at St. James's on the 23d of August. In this piece they combated and

they have ever been, with their lives and fortunes, to assert and maintain the rights and interests of your Majesty and of our mother-country.

We therefore beseech your Majesty, that your royal authority and influence may be graciously interposed, to procure us relief from our afflicting fears and jealousies, occasioned by the system before mentioned, and to settle peace through every part of your dominions; with all humility submitting to your Majesty's wise consideration, whether it may not be expedient, for facilitating these important purposes, that your Majesty be pleased to *direct some mode* by which the united applications of your faithful colonists to the throne, in pursuance of their common councils, may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation; and that in the mean time measures be taken for preventing the further destruction of the lives of your Majesty's subjects, and that such statutes as more immediately distress any of your Majesty's colonies be repealed. For by such arrangements, as your Majesty's wisdom can form, for collecting the united sense of your American people, we are convinced your Majesty would receive such satisfactory proofs of the disposition of the colonists towards their Sovereign and the parent state, that the wished-for opportunity would soon be restored to them, of evincing the sincerity of their professions, by every testimony of devotion becoming the most dutiful subjects, and the most affectionate colonists.

That

and denied the charges of forgetting their allegiance, of treason, and rebellion, and took particular notice of the dangerous tendency, and indiscriminate nature of a clause, prohibiting under the severest penalties, the carrying on of any correspondence from England, with any persons in rebellion, or the aiding or abetting of such. But not content with critical observations, they conclude with a declaration in the name of the people of the United Colonies, that whatever punishment shall be inflicted upon any persons in the power of their enemies, for favouring, aiding, or abetting, the cause of American liberty, should be retaliated in the same kind, and the same degree, upon those in their power, who have favoured, aided, or abetted, or should favour, aid, or abet, the system of ministerial oppression.

That your Majesty may enjoy a long and prosperous reign, and that your descendants may govern these dominions, with honour to themselves and happiness to their subjects, is our sincere and fervent prayer.

JOHN HANDCOCK, President.

<i>Colonies of N. Hampshire.</i>	{ John Langdon. Tho. Cushing.				{ John Dickenson. Benj. Franklin. George Ross.
<i>Massachusetts's Bay.</i>	{ Samuel Adams. John Adams. Treat Paine.	<i>Pennsylvania.</i>			{ James Wilton. Charles Wilton. Car. Humphreys. Edward Biddle.
<i>Rhode Island.</i>	{ Stephen Hopkins. Samuel Ward. Eliphant Dyar.				{ Mat. Tilghman. Tho. Johnson, ju. William Pace. Samuel Chase. Thomas Stone.
<i>Connecticut.</i>	{ Roger Sherman. Silas Dean. W. Livingston. James Duane, John Alfop. Francis Lewis.	<i>Maryland. -</i>			{ P. Henry, jun. R. Henry Lee. Edm. Fingleton. Benj. Harrison, Thom. Jefferson.
<i>New York.</i>	{ John Jay. R. Livingston, ju. Lewis Morris. Wm. Floyd. Henry Wisner.	<i>Virginia, -</i>			{ Wm. Hooper. Joseph Hewes. H. Middleton. Thom. Lynch. Chopr. Gaesden.
<i>New Jersey,</i>	{ Wm. Livingston John Deharts. Richard Smith.	<i>N. Carolina,</i>			{ J. Rutlege. Edw. Rutlege.
<i>Delaware Counties.</i>	{ Cæsar Rodney. Thom. M'Kean, Geo. Read.	<i>S. Carolina,</i>			

1775.

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 Different
 opinions
 respect-
 ing this
 petition.

We shall of ourselves make no observations on the foregoing petition, but will close this chapter, (as well as the American accounts for this year) with some thoughts of the legislature thereon.—Those who favoured the plan of pacifying by concession, loudly clamoured at the answer of Lord Dartmouth, as calculated to drive the colonies to the last extremities of independence and foreign connection; for this reception, they said, of so dutiful and decent an address, amounted to no less than a renunciation of their allegiance.—On the other hand, the friends of the ministry took it into a different point of view. The petition, they allowed, had a decent appearance. But did they formally admit the rights of parliament? Were they not still in arms? and in that situation could their sincerity be relied on? They said, that they only wanted to gain time by a negotiation, until they had formed their government, and established their strength in such a manner, as would render all future efforts for their reduction ineffectual. We had already gone far in the expences of a war; we should not now stop short; but reap the benefits to government, which always arise from unsuccessful rebellion. And besides these great objects, of punishing the obnoxious, and providing for our friends, to revit, without leaving room for a future contest, that unconditional submission upon the Americans, which no treaty or negotiation could ever obtain. While on the contrary, if amicable terms were now entered into, all our expence and preparation would be thrown away; we must shrink from the proposals we had made to foreign Princes for hiring their troops, which would degrade us in their eyes, as our tameness in putting up with the insolence of our own people, would in those of all Europe; and all the bustle we had made would pass over, without having impressed the colonies with a sense of our dignity, or with the terror of our power. Besides the nation was prepared by the language of war for the event, and it was not certain that vigorous measures, if it should be found necessary to resume them, would be so well received as they were in the present temper of the nation, whose favourable disposition was to be carefully cultivated, and employed in the critical moment.

C H A P. X.

Affairs at Boston continued (from page 93,) to the total embarkation of General Howe's army from that garrison to Halifax.—From the blockade of Quebec, (page 112,) by Arnold, to the entire recovery of all Canada, particularizing the retaking of Montreal, Chamblee, St. John's, &c.—Continuation (from p. 132) of affairs in Virginia, North and South Carolinas.—Some account of Sir Peter Parker's Squadron, Lord Cornwallis and General Clinton's troops, with their attack on Sullivan's Island.

THE delays and misfortunes which the transports and victuallers from England and Ireland had experienced, reduced our forces at Boston to great distress. To their distress was added the mortification of seeing several vessels which were laden with the necessaries and comforts of life, taken in the very entrance of the harbour; whilst different circumstances of tide, wind, or situation, disabled the ships of war from preventing the mischief. The loss of most of the coal ships was particularly felt, as fuel could not be procured, and the climate rendered that article indispensable. The wretched inhabitants were in a state still more deplorable. Detained against their will, cut off from all intercourse with their friends, exposed to all the consequences of that contempt and aversion with which a great part of them were regarded by the soldiery, and at the same time in want of almost every necessary of life. Calamitous however as that situation was, it served as a sort of refuge to those who were either zealous in favour of the King's government, or so dissatisfied with the new state of things, that they could no longer live with comfort, some of them hardly with safety, in their own homes.

It was even feared that the military stores would fail, and salt provisions at last grew scarce. The troops at Bunker's Hill underwent great hardships, being obliged to lie in tents all the winter, under the driving snows, and exposed to the almost intolerably cutting winds of the climate in that season,

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1776.
January
Distresses
of the army
at
Boston
during
the winter.

1776.



which with the strict and constant duty occasioned by the strength and vicinity of the enemy, rendered that service exceedingly severe both to the private men and officers. Various attempts were made, to remedy or to lessen some of the wants which now prevailed in the army. That of firing, which was the most immediately and intolerably pressing, was in some measure relieved by the destruction of houses.

The attempts made to procure provisions were not attended with any great success. Some vessels which were sent to Barbadoes, obtained through the assistance of the Governor, and before the matter was fully known, a quantity so moderate that it would not at other times have been taken more notice of than any common occurrence in trade; but being now cut off from their usual resources, and having as they said, a famine staring them in the face, with 80,000 Blacks, and 20,000 Whites to feed, and no sufficient stock in hand, nor any certain supply in prospect, the measure was deemed so dangerous, that it occasioned a direct address from the assembly to the king, including along with the detail of their own melancholy situation, strong complaints against the conduct of the Governor.

Seven cargoes of provisions designedly burnt by the provincials in Georgia.

A detachment of marines, with an armed ship and some transports, were sent to Savannah in Georgia, with a view, as it would seem by the event, of obtaining cargoes of rice and other provisions, whether by force or otherwise. The militia, however, took to their arms, and would not permit the marines to land, nor the ships to hold any correspondence with the shore. In the course of the debate which arose upon this occasion, some officers belonging to the Colony were seized and detained on board the ships, and their release being refused with a high hand, and other circumstances of aggravation occurring on both sides, some batteries were speedily erected by the militia on the banks of the river, and an engagement with cannon and small arms took place, in which some blood was spilt, and seven loaded vessels belonging to the Colony, which the commanders of the King's armed vessels, seemingly by collusion with the Captains or owners, had got possession of, and whose cargoes would effectually have answered their purpose, were designedly burnt in the conflict.

In this state of things on our side, the provincials before Boston were well covered and supplied in their lines. They expected with the most earnest solicitude the setting in of the frost, which usually takes place there about Christmas, and generally covers the harbour, and all the adjoining rivers and creeks,

creeks, with a surface of solid ice. They founded great hopes upon this, as upon a most powerful auxiliary, by whose aid they did not only extend their views to the recovery of the town, but to the seizure or destruction of the fleet, as well as of the land forces.

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In these they were disappointed. The winter was uncommonly mild, and the frost had none of the effects they expected. The expectation, however, probably influenced their operations, and occasioned their continuing more quiet than they otherwise would have done. The arrival of a copy of the King's speech,* with an account of the fate of the petition

* In the speech from the throne, at the opening of parliament, Oct. 26th, 1775, After accounting for this early meeting by the situation of America, heavy complaints were made of the misrepresentations of the leaders of sedition in the colonies, who having first infused into the minds of the people, a system of opinions repugnant to their true constitutional subordination, had at length commenced hostilities, and usurped the whole powers of government. His Majesty then entered into the difference of the views of those leaders, and of those of the crown and parliament, from whence the former derived their present advantages. The view of the latter was rather to undeceive, than punish. Therefore only small forces were sent, and propositions of a conciliatory nature accompanied the measures taken to enforce authority. The former, whilst they endeavoured to delude with specious professions, had in view nothing but the establishing of an independent empire. That the consequences of the success of each plan were too obvious. The spirit of the British nation was too high, and its resources too numerous, to suffer her tamely to lose what had been acquired with so great toil, nursed with great tenderness, and protected at much expence of blood and treasure. That wisdom, and in the end clemency, required a full exertion of these resources. That the navy had been increased, and the land forces greatly augmented. Foreign succours (though no treaty was then concluded) were held out. The disposition of the Hanover troops in Mahon and Gibraltar was specified. In the end, an assurance of the royal mercy was given, as soon as the deluded multitude should become sensible of their error, and to prevent the inconveniencies which might arise from the great distance of their situation, and to remove as soon as possible the calamities which they suffer, authority would be given to certain persons upon the spot, to grant general or particular pardons and indemnities, in such manner, and to such persons, as they should think fit, and to receive the submission of any province or colony which should be

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Effects of
the fore-
going
speech.

tion from the Continental Congress, is said to have excited the greatest degree of rage and indignation amongst them; as a proof of which the former was publicly burnt in the camp; and they are said upon this occasion to have changed their colours from a plain red ground, which they had hitherto used, to a flag with thirteen stripes, as a symbol of the number and union of the Colonies.

In the mean time the arrival by degrees of several of those scattered vessels which had sailed from these kingdoms with provisions and necessaries, alleviated in a considerable degree the distresses of the forces at Boston; and though the winter was not severe enough to answer all the purposes of their enemies, the climate prevailed so far as to render both parties fond of their quarters; to check the spirit of enterprise, and to prevent the effusion of blood; so that for two or three months, an unexampled quiet prevailed on both sides.

An ord-
nance
ship seiz-
ed.

During this state of things, the American cruizers and privateers, though yet poor and contemptible, being for the greater part no better than whale boats, grew daily more numerous, and successful against the transports and store ships; and among a multitude of other prizes, had the fortune of taking one, which gave a new colour to their military operations. This was an ordnance ship from Woolwich, which had unfortunately separated from her convoy, and being herself of no force, was taken without defence by a small privateer. This vessel contained besides a large mortar upon a new construction, several pieces of fine brass cannon, a large quantity of small arms and ammunition, with all manner of tools, utensils, and machines, necessary for camps and artillery, in the greatest abundance. The loss of this ship was much resented in England, and occasioned some very severe animadversion upon the Admiralty, both within doors and without, for hazarding a cargo of such value and importance in a defenceless vessel.

disposed to return to its allegiance. It was also observed, that it might be proper to authorise such commissioners, to restore any province or colony, returning to its allegiance, to the free exercise of its trade and commerce, and to the same protection and security as if it had never revolted.—At the conclusion they were informed, that from assurances received, as well as from the general appearances of affairs in Europe, there was no apparent probability that the measures which they might adopt, would be interrupted by disputes with any foreign power.

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The tranquility at Boston, was in the beginning of March 1776. unexpectedly broke in upon, by some sudden and unexpected movements on the side of the provincials. It is said, that as soon as the Congress had received intelligence of the Prohibitory Act,* and of the hiring of foreign troops, they immediately dispatched instructions to Gen. Washington, totally to change the mode of carrying on the war, and to bring affairs at Boston to the speediest decision that was possible, in order that the army might be disengaged, and at liberty to oppose the new dangers with which they were threatened.

Bad effects at Boston on hearing of the Prohibitory-Bill and Foreign troops.

However

* On the 20th of Nov. 1775, Lord North brought into the House of Commons, the famous *Prohibitory Bill*. This Bill absolutely interdicts all trade and intercourse with the Thirteen United Colonies. All properties of Americans whether of ships or goods, on the high-seas or in the harbour, are declared forfeited to the captors; being the officers and crews of his majesty's ships of war; and several clauses of the bill were inserted to facilitate and to lessen the expence of the condemnation of prizes, and the recovery of prize-money. This bill, besides its primary object, repealed the Boston-port, with the Fishery, and Restraining Acts, their provisions in some instances being deemed insufficient in the present state of warfare, and their operation in others, being liable to interfere with that of the intended law. It also enabled the crown to appoint commissioners, who besides the power of simply granting pardons to individuals, were authorized to enquire into general and particular grievances, and empowered to determine, whether any part, or the whole of a colony, were returned to that state of obedience, which might entitle them to be received within the king's peace and protection, in which case, upon a declaration from the commissioners, the restrictions in the present bill were to cease in their favour.

Prohibitory Bill.

Treaties lately entered into between his Majesty, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the Duke of Brunswick, and the hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, for the hiring of different bodies of their troops for the American service, amounting in the whole to about 17300 men. The conditions of these treaties were, That the troops were to enter into pay before they began to march; that levy-money was to be paid at the rate of near 7*l.* 10*s.* per man; that those princes were also to be subsidized, and that a double subsidy is in one instance to be continued for two years, and for one year in another, after the troops have returned to their respective countries; and that they (the Hessian troops) should be under no controul of either King or parliament; for the

Foreign treaties.

express

1776.
New
batteries
opened.

However this was, a battery was opened near the water side, at a place called Phipp's Farm, on the night of the 2d of March, from whence a severe cannonade and bombardment was carried on against the town, and repeated on the ensuing nights. Whilst the attention of the army was occupied by the firing of houses and other mischiefs incident to this new attack, they beheld with inexpressible surprize, on the morning of the 5th, some considerable works appear on the other side of the town, upon the heights of Dorchester Point, which had been erected in the preceding night, and from whence a 24 pound and a bomb battery, were soon after opened. Some of our officers have acknowledged, that the expedition with which these works were thrown up, with their sudden and unexpected appearance, recalled to their minds those wonderful stories of enchantment and invisible agency, which are so frequent in the Eastern Romances.

The situation of the army was now very critical. The new works, along with those others which it was evident would now be speedily constructed on some of the neighbouring hills, would command the town, a considerable part of the harbour, of the beach, from whence an embarkation must take place in the event of a retreat, and rendered the communication between the troops in the works at Boston Neck, and the main body, difficult and dangerous.

express words of the treaty are, "that *they* shall remain under the command of their general, to whom His Most Serene Highness has entrusted the same."—The debates on these affairs were long and animated in both houses, particularly with the Lords, where the Duke of Richmond moved for an address, of a considerable length, to his majesty, in which, (besides several pointed observations relative to the treaties at large) he took a full and comprehensive view of American affairs in general, and demonstratively shewed from various laborious and accurate calculations, that the use of 17,300 mercenaries for the present year, would not, taking in all contingencies, cost the nation less than one million and an half *ster.* an expence, he maintained, not to be paralleled in the history of mankind, for the service of an equal number of men; therefore moved that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to countermand the march of the troops of Hesse, Hanau, and Brunswick; and likewise give directions for an immediate suspension of hostilities in America, in order to lay a foundation for a happy and permanent reconciliation between the divided parts of this distracted empire. This motion was, however, rejected by the usual majority, of about 100 to 32, including proxies, but was attended with an unusual protest, reciting the terms of the address at large.

In these circumstances no alternative remained, but to abandon the town, or dislodge the enemy and destroy the new works. General Howe, with his usual spirit and resolution, adopted the latter, and took the necessary measures for the embarkation of that very evening of five regiments, with the light infantry and grenadiers, upon a service, which the whole army must of course been ultimately engaged in. This design was frustrated by the intervention of a dreadful storm at night, which rendered the embarkation impracticable, and thereby probably prevented the loss of a great number of brave men, if not of the whole army.

It is not, however, to be wondered at, that with a high sense of the British military honour, as well as of his own, the General should hazard much, rather than submit to the indignity of abandoning the town. He commanded a force, which he knew had been considered and represented here, as sufficient to look down all opposition in America; and which, in reality, with respect to the number of regiments, if not of men, the excellency of the troops, and character of the officers, and the powerful artillery which they possessed, would have been deemed respectable in any country, and dangerous by any enemy. With such troops to give up that town which had been the original cause of the war; and the constant object of contention since its commencement, to a raw and despised militia, seemed exclusive of all other ill consequences, a disgrace not to be borne. But these brave men had, by a variety of events, and perhaps it will be thought, through original error and misconduct in the arrangement of the war, been reduced to such circumstances, and hedged in, in such a manner, that no means were left for an exertion of their force and courage, that were not subject to the greatest danger without affording a prospect of success.

Fortune prevented this perilous trial in the first instance. On the day that succeeded the tempest, the design was re-assumed, but upon a nearer inspection it was discovered, that a new work had been thrown up, which was stronger than any of the former, and that the whole were now so completely fortified, that all hope of forcing them was at an end. It became clear also that Boston was not a situation very happily chosen for the improvement of any advantage which might be obtained towards the reduction of the Colonies.

Nothing now remained but to abandon the town, and to convey the troops, artillery, and stores, on board the ships. Nor was this last resort free from difficulty and danger. The enemy,

1776.



1776. enemy, however, continued quiet in their works, and made not the smallest attempt to obstruct the embarkation, or even to molest the rear, it is said, and, though it was positively denied by the ministers in both houses, seems to be generally believed, that some kind of convention or agreement, whether verbal, or only understood by secondary means, was established between the Commanders in Chief on each side, and that the abstaining from hostility on the one, was the condition of saving the town on the other. In proof of this it is affirmed, that combustibles were ready laid for firing the town, and that the select men were permitted to go out, and to hold a conference with General Washington upon the subject.

Notwithstanding this security, the embarkation could not be regulated in such a manner, though ten days were spent in carrying it into execution, as to prevent some degree of precipitation, disorder, and loss. It resembled more the emigration of a nation, than the breaking up of a camp. Fifteen hundred of the inhabitants, whose attachment to the royal cause had rendered them obnoxious to their countrymen, incumbered the transports with their families and effects. The Officers had laid out their money in furniture, and such other conveniencies as were necessary to render their situation tolerable; no purchasers could be procured for these effects; and it would have been cruelty in the extreme to many of them, to have been under a necessity of leaving their whole substance behind. The soldiers were embarrassed by their continual duty, and all carriages and labour that could be procured in the town, were of course monopolized by the emigrant inhabitants. Every person had some private concern, which was sufficient to occupy his time and thoughts. The sick, wounded, women, and children, called for every care and attention, and of course increased the embarrassment and distress. It will not be difficult to suppose some part of the confusion incident to such circumstances.

Embarkation.

The General's situation was truly pitiable. But he bore it with great fortitude; and conducted the whole with admirable temper. Some discontents appeared, which were to be endured and allayed. Scarcity of provisions, and ill success, always bred discontent in camps. This was in some measure the case at present. The General having received no advices from England since the preceding month of October, they considered themselves in a great measure as abandoned, and left to extricate themselves as they might out of the

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the unfortunate situation in which they had been involved. Discontents are exceedingly fruitful; one generating a number of others in a very small period of time. Mutual jealousies prevailed between the army and navy; each attributing to the other, the cause of some part of that uneasiness which itself felt. The intended voyage to Halifax, was subject to circumstances of a very alarming nature. The coast, at all times dangerous, was dreadfully so at this tempestuous equinoctial season, and the multitude of ships, which amounted to about 150, increased the difficulty and apprehension. As the high north-east winds now prevailed, they were also liable to be blown off to the West Indies, without a stock of provisions in any degree sufficient to subsist them in such a passage. And, to render matters still more irksome, they were going to a sterile miserable country, which was incapable of affording those reliefs which they so much wanted. It could not pass the observation, and was highly vexatious to the military, that all this dangerous voyage, if compleated, was directly so much out of their way. They were going to the northern extremity of the Continent, when their business lay in the southern, or at least about the center.

The necessity of the situation left no choice of measures, and regret was useless. As the rear embarked, General Washington marched into the town with Drums beating, colours flying, and in all the triumph of victory. He was received by the remaining inhabitants, and acknowledged by the refugees, who now recovered their ancient possessions, with every mark of respect and gratitude, that could possibly be shewn to a deliverer. The assembly of the province were no less zealous in their public acknowledgments. His answer was proper, moderate and becoming his situation. The king's forces were under a necessity of leaving a considerable quantity of artillery and some stores behind. The cannon upon Bunker's Hill, and at Boston Neck, could not be carried off. Attempts were made to render them unserviceable; but the hurry which then prevailed, prevented their having any great effect. Some mortars and pieces of cannon which were thrown into the water, were afterwards weighed up by the town's people.

Thus was the long contested town of Boston at length given up, the Colony of Massachusetts's Bay, for the present freed from war, and left at liberty to adopt every measure which could tend to its future strength and security. It was above a week before the weather permitted the fleet to get entirely clear of the harbour and road; but they had ample

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Mar. 17.
G. Washington enters Boston.

G. Howe's army to Halifax.

amends

1776.

amends made them in the passage, the voyage to Halifax being shorter and happier than could be hoped for. Several ships of war were left behind to protect the vessels which should arrive from England; in which, however, they were not perfectly successful, the great extent of the Bay, with its numerous islands and creeks, and the number of small ports that surrounded it, affording such opportunities to the provincial armed boats, and several privateers, that they took a number of these ships, which were still in ignorance that the town had changed masters.

Fortifica-
tions, of
Castle-
William
blown up

As several movements made by the enemy, and particularly their taking stations on the neighbouring islands, indicated a design of attacking Castle William, the possession of which would be the means of locking up the ships of war in the harbour, and of rendering all future attempts upon the town by sea impracticable, General Howe thought it necessary to blow up and demolish the fortifications on that island before his departure.

General Washington was now in possession of the capital of Massachusetts Bay; but being ignorant of the destination of the fleet, and apprehensive of an attempt upon New-York, he detached several regiments for the protection of that city, on the very day upon which he took possession of Boston. The royal army were not however at that time in circumstances that admitted of their undertaking any expedition. They did not exceed, it is said, nine thousand healthy and effective men, and were in other respects by no means sufficiently provided.

The estates and effects of those emigrants who had accompanied General Howe to Halifax, were ordered to be sold, and the produce applied to the public service. Some who ventured to stay behind, though they knew themselves to be obnoxious to the present government, were brought to trial as public enemies, and betrayers of their country; and the estates of such as were found guilty were confiscated in the same manner. But nothing occupied so much at present the minds of the people of Boston, or had so much attention paid to it by the province in general, as the putting of that town in such a state of defence, as might prevent a repetition of those evils which it had lately undergone. For this purpose, the greatest diligence was used in fortifying the town and harbour; some foreign engineers were procured to superintend the works, and every inhabitant dedicated two days in the week to their construction. Great doubts may, however, be entertained, whether Boston can be rendered tenable

ble against an army, though these works may preserve it from insult.

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During these transactions at Boston, the Blockade of Quebec, was continued under great difficulties by Arnold. Reinforcements arrived slowly, and the Canadians, who are not by any means remarkable for constancy, were disheartened and wavering. It seems, as if the Congress was unequal in conduct, as well as resources, to the management of so many operations at the same time. The succours that were sent, suffered incredible hardships in their march; which they endured with that fortitude which had hitherto distinguished the Provincials in this war. On the other hand, General Carleton guarded, with his usual vigilance against every effort of fraud, force, and surprize; but as all supplies were cut off from the country, the inhabitants and garrison experienced many distresses.

Siege of
Quebec
continued from
p. 112.

As the season approached, in which supplies from England were inevitable, the Americans grew more active in their operations. They again renewed the siege, and erected batteries, and made several attempts by fire ships, and otherwise, to burn the vessels in the harbour. They failed in these attempts, though some of them were very boldly conducted; and their troops were at one time drawn up, and scaling ladders, with every other preparation, in readiness for storming the town, during the confusion which they expected the fire would have produced. Though they had not all the success they wished, they however burnt a great part of the suburbs, and the remaining houses being pulled down to prevent the spreading of the conflagration, afforded a most seasonable relief of fuel to the town, which had for some time been exceedingly distressed through the want of that necessary. During this state of things, a party of Canadians which had been embodied by Mr. Beaujeu, with a design of raising the siege, were encountered on their march, and easily dispersed by a detachment of the rebels.

Fruitless
attempts
to set the
city on
fire.

Mar. 25,

This small success was not long sufficient to support the spirits of the Provincials. Having failed in all their attempts with shells, fireships, and red hot balls, to cause a conflagration in the city, their hope of taking it by storm ceased, whilst that of succeeding by a regular siege was daily lessened; indeed their artillery was far from being equal to any great service. Although considerable reinforcements arrived in the remote parts of the Province, the various impediments of bad roads, bad weather, and the want of necessaries suitable to the service, prevented their being able to join them.

In

1776. In the state of dependency consequent of these circumstances, that scourge and terror of the western Continent and of its numerous nations, the small pox broke out, and made its usual cruel ravages amongst them. Nor was the immediate effect with respect to life or health the worst consequence of the calamity; for that disorder being considered as the American plague, and regarded with all the horror incident to that name, the dread of infection broke in upon every other consideration, and rendered it difficult, if not impracticable, to sustain discipline, or preserve order.

Small-pox break out in the provincial camp.

Arrival of the Isis man of war with land and marine forces.

In this situation, the Provincial accounts inform us, that they intended to raise the siege before the arrival of the succours from England, and that General Wooster, who at that time held the command, with some other of the principal officers, had already gone to Montreal to make some preparations necessary for the facilitating of that purpose. If such a design was formed, it was prevented from being carried successfully into execution, by the zeal and activity of the officers and crews of the Isis man of war, and of two frigates which were the first that had sailed from England with succours, and who with great labour, conduct, and resolution, having forced their way through the ice, arrived at Quebec before the passage was deemed practicable. The unexpected sight of the ships, threw the besiegers into the greatest consternation, which was not lessened by the immediate effect, of their cutting off all communication between their forces on the different sides of the river.

May 6th. Provincials before Quebec put to flight.

General Carleton, was too well versed in military affairs to lose any time in seizing the advantages which the present situation afforded. A small detachment of land forces which arrived in the ships of war, together with their marines, being landed with the utmost expedition, and joined to the garrison, the Governor immediately marched out at their head to attack the rebel camp. There he found every thing in the utmost confusion; they had not even covered themselves with an intrenchment, and having already begun a retreat, upon the appearance of our troops, they fled on all sides, abandoning their artillery, military stores, scaling ladders, and other matters of incumbrance. The flight was so precipitate as scarcely to admit of any execution; nor were the King's forces in any condition for a pursuit, if prudence could even have justified the measure. Some of the sick became prisoners. During this transaction, our smaller ships of war made their way up the river with such expedition and success, that they took several small vessels belonging to the enemy,

enemy, and retook the Gaspee sloop of war, which they had seized in the beginning of the preceding winter.

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Thus was the mixed siege and blockade of Quebec raised, after a continuance of about five months. And thus was Canada preserved by a fortitude and constancy, which must ever be remembered with honour to the Governor and garrison. From this time the Provincials and all their followers experienced a continual series of losses and misfortunes, in that province. A number of their sick and wounded lay scattered about and hid in the neighbouring woods and villages, where they were in the greatest danger of perishing under the complicated pressure of want, fear, and disease. To prevent this melancholy consequence, General Carleton issued a proclamation * for their relief, which truly hospitable act alone, (distinct from all his military achievements) gives him deservedly the name of a generous, as well as great commander.

Towards the end of May, several regiments from Ireland, one from England, another from General Howe, together with the Brunswick troops, arrived successively in Canada; so that the whole force in that Province, when completed

Additional
forces arrive at
Quebec.

* *Proclamation by G. Carleton for the relief of the fugitive Provincials, after they had been driven from before Quebec.*

WHEREAS I am informed, that many of his Majesty's deluded subjects, of the neighbouring provinces, labouring under wounds and divers disorders, are dispersed in the adjacent woods and parishes, and in great danger of perishing for want of proper assistance; all captains and other officers of militia are hereby commanded to make diligent search for all such distressed persons, and afford them all necessary relief, and convey them to the general hospital, where proper care shall be taken of them: all reasonable expences which may be incurred in complying with this order shall be repaid by the Receiver-General.

Proclamation for their relief.

And, lest a consciousness of past offences should deter such miserable wretches from receiving that assistance which their distressed situation may require, I hereby make known to them, that as soon as their health is restored, they shall have free liberty to return to their respective provinces.

Given under my hand and seal of arms, at the Castle of St Lewis, in the city of Quebec, this 10th day of May, 1776.

GUY CARLETON.

was

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was estimated to about 13,000 men. The general rendezvous was at Three Rivers, which lies half way between Quebec and Montreal; and at the computed distance of about ninety miles from each. This place lies on the north side of St. Lawrence, and takes its name from the vicinity of one of the branches of a large river, whose waters are discharged thro' three mouths, into that great reservoir.

The Provincials continued their retreat till they arrived in the borders of the river Sorel, which falls into the St. Lawrence at the distance of about 140 miles from Quebec, where they joined some of those reinforcements that had not been able to proceed farther to their assistance; but the whole were now sunk in spirit, and debilitated in act. To complete their misfortunes, the small-pox had spread through all their quarters.

Provincials repulsed at the Three Rivers.

These discouraging circumstances were not sufficient to damp the spirit of enterprize in their leaders. A very daring, and not ill-laid plan, was formed for the surprize of the king's forces at the Three Rivers; which, if it had been attended with all the success it was capable of, might have been ranked among the most considerable military achievements of that nature.

The British and Brunswick forces were at this time much separated. A considerable body were stationed at Three Rivers under the command of Brigadier General Frazer. Another under that of Brigadier General Nesbit, lay near them on board the transports. A greater than either along with the Generals Carleton, Burgoyne, Philips and the German General, Reidesel, were in several divisions by land and water, on the way to Quebec. The distance from Sorel was about fifty miles, and several armed vessels, and transports full of troops, which had got higher up than Three Rivers, lay full in the way.

In the face of all those difficulties, a body of about 2000 men, under the command of a Major General Thompson, embarked at Sorel in fifty boats, and coasting the south side of what is called the Lake of St. Peter, where the St. Lawrence spreads to a great extent, arrived at Nicolet, from whence they fell down the river by night, and passed to the other side, with an intention of surprizing the forces under General Frazer. Three Rivers is rather to be considered as a long village, than a regular town; and the design was, that it should be attacked a little before break of day, and, at the same instant, by a strong detachment from each end, while two smaller were drawn up in readiness to cover or support

support them. If the success should have proved complete, the design was extended to the destruction of all those vessels which lay near the shore.

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The concurrent circumstances necessary to give effect to this design were too numerous, to afford any strong confidence of success. It was one of those bold undertakings which might have been productive of great advantage; but which was of too perilous a nature for any thing less than the most desperate situation of affairs to justify. They missed their time by about an hour, which, though they passed the armed ships without observation, occasioned their being discovered, and the alarm given at their landing. They afterwards got into bad grounds, and were involved into many other difficulties, which threw them into disorder and confusion. In this state they found General Frazer's corps in preparation to receive them, having landed several light six pounders, which were played upon them with great effect. While they were thus engaged in front, Brigadier Nesbit, whose transports lay higher up the river, landed his forces full in their way back.

June 8th

Nothing was left but a retreat, the accomplishment of which was more to be wished for than hoped. Nesbit's corps kept the river side to prevent their escape to the boats, while Frazer's, in pursuit, galled them severely with their light artillery. Between both, they were driven some miles through a deep swamp, which they traversed with inconceivable toil, exposed to constant danger, and enduring every degree of distress. The British troops at length grew tired of the pursuit, and the woods afforded them a wished-for shelter. The first and second in command, with about 200 others, were taken prisoners. It will be easily conceived that our loss was trifling.

This was the last appearance of vigour shewed by the Provincials in Canada. The whole army having joined at Three Rivers, pushed forwards by land and water with great expedition. When the fleet arrived at Sorel, they found the enemy had abandoned that place some hours before, dismantled the batteries which they had erected to defend the entrance into that river, and had carried off their artillery and stores. A strong column was here landed under the command of General Burgoyne, with orders to advance along the Sorel to St. John's, whilst the remainder of the fleet and army sailed up the river to Longueil, the place of passage from the island of Montreal to La Prairie on the Continent.

— 14.

———— Here they discovered that the Provincials had abandoned

1776. abandoned the city and island of Montreal on the preceding evening, and that if the wind had been favourable, they might have met at this place. The army was immediately landed on the Continent, and marching by La Prairie, crossed the Peninsula formed by the St. Lawrence and the Sorel in order to join General Burgoyne at St. John's, where they expected a stand, and a strong resistance would have been made.

That General pursued his march along the Sorel without intermission; but with that caution necessary in a country not wholly cleared of the enemy, and where their last and most desperate efforts were to be expected. He arrived at St. John's on the evening of the 18th, where he found the buildings in flames, and nearly every thing destroyed that could not be carried off. The Provincials acted in the same manner at Chamblee, and burned such vessels as they were not able to drag up the rapids in their way to Lake Champlain, where they immediately embarked for Crown Point. — Though their flight was precipitate, they sustained no loss, and a General Sullivan, who commanded in the retreat, received public thanks for the prudence with which he conducted it, by which he saved their ruined army, at a time, they say, when it was encumbered with a vast multitude of sick, most of whom were ill of the small-pox.

Thus was an end happily put to the war in Canada. The pleasure of which was, however, considerably checked, by the restraint which was now laid upon the further operation of the army in that quarter. For as the enemy were masters of Lake Champlain, it was impossible for the forces to proceed to the southward, until such a number of vessels were constructed or obtained, as would afford a superiority, and enable them to traverse that lake with safety. The doing this was a work of labour and time; for though six armed vessels were sent from England for that purpose, the falls of Chamblee rendered the means of conveying them to the lake highly difficult, and a matter which required much ingenuity and industry. A vast number of other vessels were also necessarily to be constructed both for conveyance and protection.

The necessity under which we have seen Governor Martin obliged to seek refuge on board a ship of war in Cape Fear river, did not damp his ardour in the public service, nor restrain his attempts to reduce the Province of North Carolina to obedience. His confidence of success was increased, by the knowledge he had that a squadron of men of war with

seven

St. John's
and

Chamblee
retaken.

All Ca-
nada re-
covered.

Affairs
in North
Carolina,
continued from
p. 132.

seven regiments, under the conduct of Sir Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis, were to depart from Ireland on an expedition to the southern Provinces in the beginning of the year, and that North Carolina was their first if not principal object. He also knew that General Clinton, with a small detachment, was on his way from Boston to meet them at Cape Fear.

1776.

The connection he had formed with a body of desperate people, lately considered as Rebels to the King's government, now equally enemies to the Provincial establishment, who we have frequently had occasion to take notice of under the name of *Regulators*, as well as with the Highland emigrants, seemed to insure the reduction of the insurgents, even independent of the expected force. That colony was deemed the weakest in America, except Georgia; and the two parties we have mentioned were numerous, active, daring, and the former were at this time, as well as the latter, zealously attached to the royal cause. The Highlanders were considered as naturally warlike, and the Regulators, from situation, habits, and manner of living, to be much bolder, hardier, and better marksmen than those who had been bred to other courses, and in more civilized parts of the country.

The Governor sent several commissions to these people for the raising and commanding of regiments, and granted another to a Mr. Mc'Donald to act as their general. He also sent them a proclamation, commanding all persons on their allegiance, to repair to the royal standard, which was erected by General M'Donald about the middle of February.

M'Donald's commission.

Upon the first advice of their assembling at a place called Cross Creek, Brigadier General Moore immediately marched at the head of the Provincial regiment which he commanded, with such militia as he could suddenly collect, and some pieces of cannon, within a few miles of them, and took possession of an important post called Rockfish Bridge, which, as he was much inferior in strength, he immediately intrenched and rendered defensible. He had not been many days in this position, where he was receiving and expecting succours, when General M'Donald approached at the head of his army, and sent a letter to Moore, inclosing the Governor's proclamation, and recommending to him and his party to join the King's standard by a given hour the next day, or that he must be under the necessity of considering them as enemies.

Bri. Gen. Moore takes possession of Rockfish-bridge.

Feb. 15.

1776.

As Moore knew that the Provincial forces were marching from all quarters, he protracted the negotiation, in hopes that the Tory army, as they called it, might have been surrounded. In his final answer he declared, that he and his officers considered themselves as engaged in a cause the most glorious and honourable in the world, the defence of the liberties of mankind; he reminded the emigrants of the ungrateful return they made to the kind reception they met in the Colony; and the General, with some of his officers, of an oath they had taken a little before, and upon which they were permitted to come into the country, that they only came to see their friends and relations, without any concern whatever in public affairs. In return to the proclamation, he sent them the test proposed by the Congress, with a proffer, that if they subscribed it, and laid down their arms, they should be received as friends; but if they refused to comply, they must expect consequences similar to those which they had held out to his people.

In the mean time, M'Donald perceived the danger he was in of being enclosed, and abruptly quitting his ground, endeavoured with considerable dexterity, by forced marches, the unexpected passing of rivers, and the greatest celerity of movement, to disengage himself. It seems, the great and immediate object in view with this party, was to bring Governor Martin, with Lord William Campbell, and General Clinton, who had by this time joined them, into the interior country, which they judged would be a means of uniting all the back settlers of the southern Colonies in the royal cause, of bringing forward the Indians, and of encouraging the well affected to shew themselves in all places.

Action at
Moore's
Creek-
Bridge.

The provincial parties were, however, so close in the pursuit, and so alert in cutting the country and seizing the passes, that M'Donald at length found himself under the necessity of engaging a Colonel Caswell, who, with a thousand militia and minute men, had taken possession of a place called Moore's Creek Bridge, where they had thrown up an intrenchment. The royalists were by all accounts much superior in number, having been rated from 1500 to 3000, the former number of which, M'Donald, after the action, acknowledged them to be. The emigrants began an attack with great fury; but M'Cleod, the second in command, and a few more of their bravest officers and men being killed at the first onset, they suddenly lost all spirit, and fled with the utmost precipitation, and, as the provincials say, deserted their General, who was taken prisoner, as were nearly all their leaders, and the rest totally broken and dispersed.

Feb. 27.

This

This victory was a matter of great exultation and triumph to the Carolinians. They had shewn that their province was not so weak as was imagined ; for though their force actually in the engagement was not considerable, they had raised 10,000 in about ten days. But what was still more flattering, and, perhaps not of less real importance, they had encountered Europeans (who were supposed to hold them in the most sovereign contempt, both as men and as soldiers) in the field, and defeated them with an inferior force. If the zeal of these people could have been kept dormant until the arrival of the force from Ireland, it seems more than probable that the southern colonies would have considerably felt the impression of such an insurrection. But now their force and spirits were so entirely broken, their leaders being sent to different prisons, and the rest stripped of their arms, and watched with all the eyes of distrust, that no future effort could be reasonably expected from them. Perhaps too great a dependence was laid on their power and prowess, while those of the opposite side were measured by a scale equally deceitful. It is, however, extremely difficult to regulate or restrain the caprice or violence of those leaders who assume authority in such seasons.

1776.

A squadron of five frigates were sent out by the Congress early in the year, under the command of a Mr. Hopkins, § who sailed with them to Bahama islands ; where they stripped that of Providence, which is the principal, of a considerable quantity

Mar. 3d.
Hopkins strips the Bahama Islands of stores & artillery.

M 2

quantity

§ Mr. Robert Hopkins was born at Portsmouth in New England, in the year 1718. His father being in the sea service, and discovering an early inclination in his son towards that way of life, besides the Latin and Greek tongues, he had him taught the several branches of the mathematicks, particularly those of navigation, and at a proper age, when he had sufficiently acquired the theory, to add practice thereto, he put him an apprentice to a Mr. Wainwright, commander of the Joseph and Anne, a vessel of 250 tons burthen. It is to be presumed, old Mr. Hopkins' reasons for indenting his son to another person rather than to himself was, lest he should presume too much on his paternal affection, and thereby probably neglect his other duties ; but this caution, however well intended, we are of opinion, was premature, our hero, in this capacity, omitting no opportunity of making himself master of every branch of sea-service, in testimony of which, at the expiration of his third year, capt. Wainwright made him his chief mate, in which station he behaved with great satisfaction to both captain and crew.

Character

1776. tity of artillery and stores ; but were disappointed in the powder, which they most wanted, through the prudence of the Governor,

At the close of his apprenticeship he quitted the *Jos. and Anne*, and engaged as mate with an old school-fellow of his, who had just got the command of a vessel at North Carolina, then bound from that port to London. In this passage, there arose some altercation between the master and mate, in consequence of a quondam mistress belonging to the latter, who was then aboard.

About this time the war with Spain raged with great violence, and men were greatly wanted for the navy ; the press-gangs, and sloops upon the impress service swarmed every where, and the usual protections were of no avail. His captain, through pique, took this opportunity of parting with him ; for being boarded by a man of war near the coast of Carolina, Hopkins with some of the common hands were impressed, and it proved useless to him to plead his protection as then chief mate, his captain telling the lieutenant, that he had been in such a station, but was then broke for mutinous behaviour, and therefore desired Hopkins to be sent aboard particularly, giving a charge to the lieutenant to have a strict eye over him, he being, as he said, of a desperate disposition.

This ship of war shortly after joined Admiral Vernon's fleet, where Hopkins was put on board the *Burford*, the flag ship. In this new station, he endeavoured to stifle his resentment to his late captain, and to conform himself to his present birth ; in which he succeeded so well, that in a little time, he was observed not only to be an expert seaman and able navigator, but of a quite contrary disposition to what he had been represented ; and at the attack on Portobello, which soon followed, he gave an admirable specimen of his courage and conduct, all which being made known to his Admiral, our hero was ordered to walk the quarter-deck, and on his arrival in England, got to be rated as master's mate on board his majesty's store ship, *Prince Royal*, cap. Edward Barber ; and in the year 1747, having passed his examination at the Trinity House, he was appointed master of the *Weazel* sloop, in which station he continued till the peace.

In the year 1749 he returned home, just time enough to close his father's eyes, who divided his fortune equally between him and his step-brother, (a Mr. Whipple, who had proved a worthy and deserving young man). Mr. Hopkins then made his chief residence in America, and bought a vessel in which he traded to London, till the war broke out in the year 1755, when he again pursuing the calls of honour, returned to the navy, and was master of several ships till the peace of 1763.

Governor, who sent 150 barrels of it away in a small vessel, the night before they landed. They brought off the Governor, and some other public officers, as prisoners; and after taking several prizes in their return, fell in at length with the Glasgow frigate of war, accompanied with a tender, the latter of which they took, and the former escaped with difficulty after a very sharp engagement.

Lord Dunmore, with his fleet of fugitives, continued on the Lord coasts and in the rivers of Virginia for a great part of the year; *Dunmore* as every place was now strictly guarded, those unhappy people, who had put themselves under his protection, underwent great distresses. The heat of the weather, the badness of provisions, with the closeness and filth of the small vessels, in which they were crowded, by degrees produced that malignant and infectious distemper, which is known by the name of the Jail or Pestilential Fever. This dreadful disorder made great havock among them, but particularly affected the negroes, most of whom it swept away. After various adventures, in which they were driven from place to place, and from island to island, by the Virginians, several of the vessels were driven on shore in a gale of wind, and the wretched fugitives became captives to their own countrymen. At length, every place being shut against, and hostile to the remainder, and neither water nor provisions to be obtained, even at the expence of blood, it was found necessary, towards the beginning of August, to burn the smaller and least valuable vessels, and to send the remainder, amounting to between 40 and 50 sail, with the exiles, to seek shelter and retreat to Florida, Bermudas, and the West-Indies. In this manner ended the hopes entertained by the employment of the negroes to suppress the rebellion in the southern colonies. This measure,

1776.

the coasts
of Virginia
(continued
from page
132)

Fugitives
dispers'd.

It had been regulated at that peace, that all commission and warrant officers should be employed for the space of three years in rotation. Mr. Hopkins waited with patience the first three years, and came to London in 1776, expecting to be employed in his turn, but being disappointed, and perceiving others of inferior abilities preferred, Hopkins could not condescend to solicit, and returned to America, throwing up his half-pay, and resolving to attach himself to his native country for the rest of his days.

When the American troubles made it necessary for the Congress to form a Marine, Mr. Hopkins, from his experience, courage, and abilities, was thought a proper person to be at the head of it. He accepted the commission with cheerfulness, and how he has acted since, may be seen in the progress of this history.

rather

1776. rather invidious than powerful; tended infinitely to inflame the discontents in those colonies, without adding any thing to the strength of the royal arms. The unhappy creatures who engaged in it, are said to have perished almost to a man.

Sir Peter Parker's squadron with L. Cornwallis and troops, arrive at Cape Fear.

They meet G. Clinton.

It had for some time past been the fortune of the fleets, transports and victuallers, which had been sent to America, to meet with such exceedingly bad weather on their passage, such delays, and so many untoward circumstances of different sorts, as in a great degree frustrated the end of their destination. Sir Peter Parker's squadron, which sailed from Portsmouth at the close of the year, from an unexpected delay in Ireland, and bad weather afterwards, did not arrive at Cape Fear till the beginning of May, where they were detained by various causes till the end of the month. There they found General Clinton, who had lately been at New-York, and from thence proceeded to Virginia, where he had seen lord Dunmore, and finding that no service could be effected at either place with his small force, came thither to wait for them.

Proceed to Charles town.

The season of the year was much against the operations of the troops at this time in the southern colonies, the excessive heat having rendered them sickly, even at Cape Fear, notwithstanding the plenty of refreshments they procured, and the little labour they had upon their hands. Something, however, must be done, and Charlestown, the capital of S. Carolina, was within the line of Sir Peter Parker and Lord Cornwallis's instructions. They had but little knowledge of General Howe's situation; the only information that General Clinton received of his evacuating Boston, being from the American news-papers. And it happened unluckily, that a vessel, which General Howe had dispatched from Halifax with orders for their proceeding to the northward, met with such delays in her passage, that she did not arrive in Cape Fear till after their departure.

June 1st. Marine force at Charlestown Bar.

The fleet anchored off Charlestown Bar in the beginning of June. They were joined before they proceeded to action by the Experiment man of war; and the naval force then consisted of the Commodore Sir Peter Parker's ship, the Bristol, of 50 guns; the Experiment, of the same force; the Active, Solebay, Aetion, and Syren frigates, of 28 guns each; the Sphinx of 20 guns, a hired armed ship of 22, a small sloop of war, an armed schooner, and the Thunder bomb-ketch. The passing of the Bar was a matter of time, difficulty and danger, especially to the two large ships, which, notwithstanding the taking out of their guns, and the using of every other means

means to lighten them as much as possible, both touched the ground and stuck several times.

1776.

The land forces were commanded by General Clinton, Lord Cornwallis, and Brigadier General Vaughan. It was remarkable, that at the time General Clinton sailed from Boston, General Lee, at the head of a strong detachment from the army before that place, immediately set out to secure New-York from the attempt which it was supposed the former would have made upon that city. Having succeeded in that object, Gen. Clinton could not but be surprized at his arrival in Virginia, to find Lee in possession, and in the same state of preparation, in which he had left him at New-York. Upon his departure for Cape Fear, Lee again traversed the Continent with the utmost expedition to secure North Carolina. And at length, upon the further progress of the fleet and army to the southward, Lee again proceeded with equal celerity to the defence of Charlestown.

The first object of our forces, after passing the bar, was the attack of a fort which had been lately erected, though not made altogether complete, upon the south-west point of Sullivan's Island. This fort commanded the passage to Charlestown, which lay farther west, at about six miles distance; and notwithstanding the lateness of its construction, was with propriety considered as the key of that harbour. It is said to have been represented to our commanders as in even a more imperfect state than it was found in; but if the description had been otherwise, it is not probable they would have expected that a raw militia could have been able, for any length of time, to have supported the great weight of fire from our ships, even excluding the co-operation of the land forces.

The troops were landed on Long-Island, which lies near-
er, and to the eastward of Sullivan's; being separated only
by some shoals, and a creek called the Breach, which are
deemed passable at low water, the ford being represented to
our officers as only eighteen inches in depth in that state.
The Carolinians had posted some forces with a few pieces of
cannon near the north-eastern extremity of Sullivan's Island,
at the distance of near two miles from the fort, where they
threw up works to prevent the passage of the Royal army o-
ver the breach. General Lee was encamped with a consider-
able body of forces on the continent, at the back and to the
north-ward of the island, with which he held a communica-
tion open by a bridge of boats, and could by that means, at
any time, march the whole, or any part of his force, to sup-
port

Troops
land at
Long-
Island.

1776.

port that port which was opposed to our passage from Long-Island. The latter is a naked burning sand, where the troops suffered greatly from their exposure to the intense heat of the sun. But the fleet and army were greatly distressed through the badness of the water, that which is found on the sea-coasts of South Carolina being every where brackish. Nor were they in a much better condition, with respect either to the quantity or quality of provisions.

Notwithstanding the dispatch which these inconveniencies rendered necessary, such delays occurred in carrying the design into execution, that it was near the end of the month before the attack upon Sullivan's Island took place; a season which was applied by the provincials with great assiduity to the completion of their works. Every thing being at length settled between the commanders by sea and land, the Thunder bomb, covered by the armed ship, took her station in the morning, and began the attack, by throwing shells at the fort as the fleet advanced. About eleven o'clock, the Bristol, Experiment, Active, and Solebay, brought up directly against the fort and began a most furious and incessant cannonade. The Sphynx, Acteon, and Syren, were ordered to the westward, to take their station between the end of the island and Charlestown, partly thereby to enfilade the works of the fort, partly, if possible, to cut off the communication between the island and the continent, which would of course, cut off the retreat of the garrison, as well as all succours from the latter; and partly to prevent any attempts that might be made by fire-ships or otherwise, to interrupt the grand attack. This part of the design was rendered unfortunate by the strange unskilfulness of the pilot, who entangled the frigates in the shoals called the Middle Grounds, where they all stuck fast; and though two of them were in some time with damage and difficulty got off, it was then too late, and they were besides in no condition, to execute the intended service. The Acteon could not be got off, and was burnt by the officers and crew the next morning, to prevent her materials and stores from becoming a prey to the enemy.

Whilst the continued thunder from the ships seemed sufficient to shake the fierceness of the bravest enemy, and daunt the courage of the most veteran soldier, the return made by the fort, could not fail of calling for the respect, as well as of highly incommoding the brave seamen of Britain. In the midst of that dreadful roar of artillery, they stuck with the greatest constancy and firmness to their guns; fired deliberately

June 28.

Attack
on Sulli-
van's
Island.

deliberately and slowly, and took a cool and effective aim. The ships suffered accordingly; they were torn almost to pieces, and the slaughter was dreadful. Never did British valour shine more conspicuous, and never did our marine, in an engagement of the same nature with any foreign enemy, experience so rude an encounter. The springs of the Bristol's cable being cut by the shot, she lay for some time exposed in such a manner to the enemy's fire, as to be most dreadfully raked, the brave Captain Morris, after receiving a number of wounds, which would have sufficiently justified a gallant man in retiring from his station, still with a noble obstinacy disdained to quit his duty, until his arm being at length shot off, he was carried away in a condition which did not afford a possibility of a recovery. It is said that the quarter-deck of the Bristol was at one time cleared of every person but the Commodore, who stood alone a spectacle of intrepidity and firmness, which has seldom been equalled, never exceeded. The others on that deck were either killed or carried down to have their wounds dressed. Nor did Captain Scot, of the Experiment, miss his share of the danger or glory, who besides the loss of an arm, received so many other wounds that his life was at first despaired of.

The fire from the British ships was not thrown away; though it did not produce all the effect which was hoped and expected. But the fortifications were much firmer than they had been thought, and their lowness preserved them in a great degree from the weight of our shot. They were composed of palm-trees and earth, and the merlons were of an unusual thickness. The guns were at one time so long silenced, that it was thought the fort had been abandoned. It seems extraordinary, that a detachment of the land forces were not in readiness on board the transports or boats, to profit of such an occasion. But these are only a part of the circumstances relative to the engagement which have never been sufficiently cleared up. The praise bestowed upon the garrison for the constancy and bravery of their defence, by the Americans in general, as well as by General Lee, shew that they neither abandoned their guns, nor were changed; however they might be, and undoubtedly were reinforced. It appears by their accounts, that the silence of the fort proceeded from the expenditure of all their powder, and their waiting for a supply from the Continent; which, probably, did not arrive the sooner, from the necessity of its being conveyed through the line of fire from the men of war.

During

1776.

1776.

Probable
causes
for the
land for-
ces not
engaging
in this
attack.

During this long, hot, and obstinate conflict, the seamen looked frequently and impatiently to the eastward, still expecting to see the land forces advance from Long-Island, drive the rebels from their intrenchment, and march up to second their attack upon the fort. In these hopes they were grievously disappointed. Such various accounts have been given of the cause of this inaction of the land forces, that it is difficult to form any decided opinion upon the subject. The Gazette, from whence a satisfactory solution of all difficulties might be expected, is so totally defective and dissatisfactory, that it seems to have laid a foundation for every other error and contradiction relative to this business. That account says, that the King's forces were stopped by an impracticable depth of water, where they expected to have passed nearly dryshod. To suppose that the Generals, and the officers under their command should have been nineteen days in that small island, without ever examining, until the very instant of action, the nature of the only passage by which they could render service to their friends and fellows, fulfil the purpose of their landing, and answer the ends for which they were embarked in the expedition, would seem a great defect in military prudence and circumspection. But there might be reasons for concealing a true state of the affair. Until that state appears, it would be unjust to lay any imputation on the officers concerned in so critical a service. The only rational solution of the fact, must, for the present, be drawn from the different American accounts; from these it is to be inferred, that the post which the Provincials possessed at the end of Sullivan's Island, was in so strong a state of defence, the approaches on our sides so disadvantageous, and Lee's force in such preparation and capability of crushing us in the conflict, that General Clinton would have run the most manifest and inexcusable risque, of the ruin, if not total loss of his forces, if he had ventured upon an attack. To this may be added, that it was only upon a near approach, that our people acquired any certain knowledge of the force of the enemy.

The action continued, until the darkness of the night compelled that cessation, which the eagerness of the assailants, worn down as they were with fatigue, and weakened with loss, was still unwilling to accept. Sir Peter Parker, after every effort of which a brave man is capable, finding that all hope of success was at an end, and the tide of ebb nearly spent, between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, withdrew his shattered vessels from the scene of action, after an engagement

engagement which had been supported with uncommon courage and vigour for above ten hours. The Bristol had 111, and the Experiment 79 men, killed and wounded; and both ships had received so much damage, that the Provincials conceived strong hopes, that they could never be got over the bar. The frigates, though not less emulous in the performance of their duty, being less pointed at than the great ships, did not suffer a proportional loss. The bomb vessels did not do all the service upon this occasion which was expected; whether it was from overcharging in consequence of having originally taken too great a distance, which has been said, or whether it proceeded from some fault in the construction which seems more probable; however, it was, the beds of the mortars were in some time so loosened and shattered as to become utterly unserviceable.*

1776.

Colonel Moultrie, who commanded in the fort, received great and deserved applause from his countrymen for the courage and conduct by which he was so much distinguished in its defence. The garrison also received a great share of praise, and a serjeant was also distinguished by a present of a sword from the President of the Colony, for a particular act of great bravery.

* Including the loss that the Bristol and Experiment sustained, as before-mentioned, there was in the whole of this unsuccessful engagement, 175 killed, and near the same complement wounded, of as brave men as ever the British navy produced.

C H A P. XI.

The General Congress throw off their allegiance to Great Britain, and declare themselves an Independent Power.— Enter into fresh articles of confederation and perpetual union, &c.—General Howe lands at Staten Island.—Fruitless attempts to bring about conciliatory measures.—Engagements at Long-Island, New-York, Hell-Gate, Frog-Neck, and White-Plains.—The taking of forts Washington and Lee; with some account of the Jerseys, and Rhode-Island.

1776. **D**URING the foregoing transactions, the Congress took an opportunity of feeling the general pulse of the people, and of preparing them for the DECLARATION of INDEPENDENCY which was to follow, by a kind of *Circular Manifesto* to the several Colonies, stating the causes which rendered it, as they said, necessary, that all authority under the crown should be totally suppressed, and all the powers of government taken respectively into their own hands. In support of this position they instanced the *Prohibitory Act*, by which they were excluded from the protection of the crown; the rejection of their petition for redress of grievances and reconciliation; and the intended exertion of all the force of Great Britain, aided by foreign mercenaries, for their destruction. They concluded with a recommendation to these Colonies: whose government was not already sufficient, to proceed to the establishment of such a form, as was necessary to the preservation of internal peace, and suited to the present exigency of their affairs, for the defence of their lives, liberties, and properties, against the hostile invasions, and cruel depredations of their enemies.

May 15.
Circular letter from the Congress for the establishment of new governments in the colonies.

Pensylvania and Maryland were the only Colonies that in that part opposed the establishment of a new government, and the Declaration of *Independency*. A majority in the assembly of the former, though eager for redress of grievances, regarded with horror every idea of a total separation from the parent state. But though they knew that great numbers

numbers in the Province held similar sentiments, they were also sensible, that the more violent formed a very numerous and powerful body; that they had already taken fire at their hesitation, and considered them rather as secret enemies, than luke-warm friends. Their situation was besides difficult. If they broke the union of the Colonies, and thereby forfeited the assistance and protection of the others, they had no certainty of obtaining a redress of those grievances, nor the security of those rights, for which they were as willing to contend in their own way as the most violent; but were not yet willing to give up all hope, nor to break off all possibility of accommodation. Thus critically circumstanced they declared that the question of *Independence* was a matter of too great importance for them to decide finally upon, and that they would therefore refer it to their constituents together with the arguments which had been used on both sides of the question.

It was manifestly a step from which it would not be easy to retreat. On one hand, the separation from Great-Britain, even if it could be finally accomplished, must be attended with many evident inconveniencies. The protection of the great parent state, and the utility of the power of a common sovereign to balance so many separate, and, possibly, discordant commonwealths, besides many political and many commercial advantages derived from the old union, must appear in a clear light to every sober and discerning person. On the other hand, it was said, that their liberty was their first good, without which all the other advantages would be of no value. That if they were to submit to a great standing army, composed of foreigners as well as English, composed in part even of their own slaves, and of savages, what terms were they to hope for? The moment their arms were laid down they must be at the mercy of their enemy. For what end did they take up these arms? If it was to secure their liberty, to lay them down without that security, would be to own that their first resistance was causeless rebellion; and the pardon offered, was the only satisfaction for the present, or security for the future, they were given to expect. Did they resist power only to obtain a pardon? Were they so absurd originally, or are they so cowardly now? If then their object is refused to all the entreaties by Great-Britain; if she abandons them to plunder without redemption, except on unconditional submission, how is the object of their resistance to be obtained? By war only. But as long as they acknowledged the claims of the crown of Great-Britain, so
long

1776. long will their councils and generals be destitute of all civil and military authority. The war they carry on must of course be irregular, feeble, and without the smallest prospect of success. Orders will be given, which none will be obliged to obey; and conspiracies and mutinies will be formed, which none will have a just power to punish or repress. Neither will any foreign power give them any support against the hostile combination of Great-Britain, and so many foreign powers as she has called to her assistance, so long as they hold themselves to be subjects. We do not break the connection (said they), it is already broke and dissolved by an act of parliament; and thus abandoned, all laws human and divine, not only permit, but demand of us, to provide every internal and external means for our own preservation.

In these sentiments, by a reference to the people, the matter was brought to a fair trial of strength between the two parties; when it was carried by great majorities, that the Delegates should agree to the determination of the Congress. This decision, however occasioned much dissention in the Province, and founded a considerable party in opposition to the present government.

In Maryland, the delegates were instructed by a majority of seven counties to four, to oppose the question of Independence in the Congress; which they accordingly did; and having given their votes, withdrew totally from that assembly. But the horror of being secluded and abandoned, together with the reproaches of the others, and perhaps the dread of their resentment, soon gave a new turn to their conduct; if not the disposition of that province. The delegates were again instructed to return to the Congress, and to act there, as they thought best for the interest of their country. This completed the union of the colonies in that measure.

July 4th. The fatal day at length arrived, which, (however the final consequences may be) must be deeply regretted by every true friend to the British empire, when *thirteen English colonies in America, declared themselves FREE and INDEPENDENT states*;* abjured all allegiance to the British crown, and renounced

* A DECLARATION by the REPRESENTATIVES of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS assembled. July 4, 1776.

WHEN in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth

nounced all political connection with this country. Such are the unhappy consequences of *civil contention*. Such the effects that

1776.

earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of *Nature's God* intitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident ; that all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed ; and whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes ; and accordingly all experience hath shewn that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed ; but when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former system of government. The history of the present——of——, is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations ; all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained ; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless these people would relinquish the rights of representation in the legislature ; a right inestimable in them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He

1776. that may proceed from too great a jealousy of power on the one side, or an ill-timed doubt of obedience on the other.

There

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolution, to cause others to be erected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their emigrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of Peace standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws, given his assent to their pretended acts of legislation:—For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:—For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States:—For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:—For imposing taxes on us without our consent:—For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefit of trial by jury:—For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences:—For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for 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.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war with us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He

There were three principal objects proposed in the conduct of the British forces in the present campaign. The first was

1776.

N

the

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

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

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

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme JUDGE of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, and that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great-Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration,

with

1776. the relief of Quebec, and the redemption of Canada, which also included the subsequent invasion of the back parts of the Colonies by the way of the lakes. The second was the making a strong impresson on the southern colonies, which it was hoped would at least have succeeded so far as to the recovery of one of them. The third was the grand expedition against the city and province of New-York.

Of the two collateral parts of this plan we have already seen the event, so far as the first was yet capable of being carried into execution. On the third, the greatest hopes of success were not unjustly founded. Much the better part of the province of New-York is inclosed in islands, which being long and narrow, were exposed on all sides to the hostilities of our fleets, and to the descents of our troops, with every advantage in their favour, whilst they continued in a state of enmity. When reduced, the protection of the ships of war would be as effectual in their preservation, as their hostility had been in their reduction. The central situation of this Province afforded great advantages. The war could be carried on with equal facility either in Connecticut, and the Continent of New-York on the eastern side, or in New Jersey, and from thence to Pennsylvania on the western; or it might be transferred to and from either at pleasure. So that this position enabled the British commander to prescribe the scene of action, and to quit it when he liked; while if the army was withdrawn from the field, he might by the means of the great North river, and the different channels between the islands and the main land, with his ships and detachments harass and ruin the adjoining countries; at the same time that the Provincials however powerful could make no attempt on the islands, that would not be attended with the greatest disadvantages, and liable to the most imminent danger. Another great object in view from this situation was, that if General Carleton could penetrate to Hudson's or the great North river, General Howe might thereby totally cut off all communication between the northern and

with a firm alliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other, our lives, our fortunes, and sacred honour.

Signed by order, and in behalf } JOHN HANCOCK, *President.*
of the Congress

Attest. CHARLES THOMPSON, *Sec.*

southern

southern provinces. To crown these advantages, Long-Island which is very fertile in wheat and all other corn, and abounded with herds and flocks, was deemed almost equal in itself to the maintenance of an army. The inhabitants were also supposed to be in general well affected to the royal cause.

The attainment of these great objects, and the conduct of the grand armament which was necessary to the purpose, were committed to Admiral Lord Howe, and his brother the General; men who stood high in the opinion and confidence of the nation, as well from their own merit and services, as from the military character and bravery of the family. To this service was allotted a very powerful army, consisting besides the national forces, of about 13,000 Hessians and Waldeckers. The whole force, if the different parts of which it was composed could have been united in the beginning of the campaign, it was supposed, would have amounted to about 35,000 men. It will be easily conceived by those acquainted with military affairs, that all calculations of this nature, though founded upon the best official information, will far exceed even at a much nearer distance than America, the real effective number that can ever be brought to action. This force, when united, was, however, truly formidable, and such as no part of the new world had ever seen before. Nor, was it, perhaps, ever exceeded by any army in Europe of an equal number, whether considered, with respect to the excellency of the troops, the abundant provision of all manner of military stores, and warlike materials, or the goodness and number of artillery of all sorts with which it was provided. It was besides supported by a very numerous fleet, particularly well adapted to the nature of the service. Besides their military powers the General and Admiral were appointed the commissioners under the late Act of Parliament, for restoring peace to the Colonies, and for granting pardon to such as should deserve the Royal mercy.

The situation of the army at Halifax, and the long stay of above two months, which it was obliged to make there, still waiting the arrival of some of the reinforcements from England to enable it to go upon service, was neither pleasing to the General nor comfortable to the men. The country was in no situation to afford them a sufficient supply of provisions or necessaries; nor was the place even capable of providing quarters on shore, for the private men, who were obliged to continue on board the ships during the whole of their stay. As the summer advanced, the General grew impatient at

The forces under Lord and General Howe, with the nature of their commissions for restoring peace in the colonies.

1776. the delay, and was probably further urged by the scarcity of provisions. He accordingly, without waiting for his brother, or the expected reinforcements, departed with Admiral Shuldham, and the fleet and army, from Halifax, about the 10th of June, and near the end of the month, arrived at Sandy Hook, a point of land that stands at the entrance into that confluence of sounds, roads, creeks, and bays, which are formed by New-York, Staten, and Long Islands, the continent on either side, with the North and Rareton rivers.

On their passage they were joined by six transports with Highland troops on board, who were separated from several of their companions in the voyage. It appeared soon after, that some of the missing ships, with about 450 soldiers, and several officers, were taken by the American cruizers. The General found every approachable part of the island of New-York strongly fortified, defended by a numerous artillery, and guarded by little less than an army. The extent of Long-Island did not admit of its being so strongly fortified, or so well guarded; it was, however in a powerful state of defence; had an encampment of considerable force on the end of the island near New-York, and several works thrown up on the most accessible parts of the coast, as well as at the strongest internal passes.

Staten Island, being of less value and consequence, was less attended to. The General landed on the island without opposition, to the great joy of those of the inhabitants who had suffered for their loyalty; and the troops being cantoned in the villages received plenty of those refreshments which they so much wanted. He was met by Governor Tryon, with several well affected gentlemen who had taken refuge with him on board a ship, at Sandy Hook, who gave him a full account of the state and disposition of the Province, as well as of the strength of the enemy. He had the satisfaction of being joined by about sixty persons from New-Jersey, who came to take arms in the royal cause, and about 200 of the militia of the island were embodied for the same purpose; which afforded the pleasing prospect, that when the army was in force to march into the country and protect the royalists, such numbers would join it, as would contribute not a little to bring the present troubles to a speedy conclusion.

14. Lord Howe arrived at Halifax, about a fortnight after his brother's departure, from whence he proceeded to Staten-Island, where he arrived before the middle of July. His first act was to send ashore, by a flag, a *Circular Letter* to the several

G. Howe, with the army, leaves Halifax.

Is joined by six transports with troops.

July 3d. They land at Staten Island, and are joined there by several loyalists.

14. Lord Howe arrives at Halifax.

several late Governors of the Colonies, acquainting them with his civil and military powers, and desiring that they would publish, as generally as possible for the information of the people, a Declaration which accompanied the letter. In this piece he informed the people of the powers of which his brother and he were endued under the late act of parliament, of granting general or particular pardons to all those, who, in the tumult and disaster of the times, might have deviated from their just allegiance, and who were willing by a speedy return to their duty, to reap the benefits of the royal favour, and of declaring any colony, province, county, town, port, district, or place, to be at the peace of his Majesty; in which case, the penal provisions of that law would cease in their favour. It also promised that a due consideration should be had to the services of all persons who contributed to the restoration of the public tranquillity.

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Circular letter, sent by Ld. Howe to the Continent.

These papers being immediately forwarded by General Washington to the Congress, were as speedily published by them in all the news-papers, with a preface or comment of their own, in the form of a Resolution; that the publication was in order that the people of the united states might be informed of what nature are the commissioners, and what the terms, with the expectation of which the court of Great-Britain had endeavoured to amuse and disarm them; and that the few who still remained suspended by a hope founded either in the justice or moderation of that court, might now at length be convinced, that the valour alone of their country is to save its liberties.

Re-published by the Congress.

At and about the same time, different flags were sent a-shore by Lord Howe, accompanied by some of his officers, with a letter directed to George Washington, Esq; which that General refused to receive, as not being addressed with the title, and in the form, due to the rank which he held under the United States. The Congress highly applauded the dignity of this conduct in a public resolution passed for the purpose; by which they directed for the future, that none of their commanders should receive any letter or message from the enemy, but such as would be directed to them in the characters which they respectively sustained.

Letter to General Washington, refused.

At length, adjutant-General Paterson was sent to New-York by General Howe, with a letter addressed to George Washington, &c. &c. &c. That General received him with great politeness, and the usual ceremony of blindfolding, in passing through the fortifications, was dispensed with in his favour. The Adjutant regretted in the name of his principals,

Conference between Adj. Gen. Paterson, and Gen. Washington.

1776.

pals, the difficulties which had arisen with respect to addressing the letter; declaring their high esteem for his person and character, and that they did not mean to derogate from the respect due to his rank; and that it was hoped the *et cetera's* would remove the impediments to their correspondence. The general replied, that a letter directed to any person in a public character should have some description or indication of it, otherwise it would appear a mere private letter; that it was true the *et cetera's* implied every thing, but they also implied any thing; and that he should absolutely decline any letter directed to him as a private person, when it related to his public station.

A long conference ensued on the subject of prisoners, and the complaints which were made on both sides, particularly by the Congress, relative to the treatment they received. The Adjutant having observed that the commissioners were armed with great powers; that they would derive the greatest pleasure from effecting an accommodation; and that himself wished to have that visit considered as making the first advance towards that desirable object; he received for answer, among other things, that by what had appeared, their powers were only to grant pardons; that those who had committed no fault wanted no pardon; and that they themselves were only defending what they deemed their indisputable right. The Adjutant was received by General Washington in great military state, and the utmost politeness was observed on both sides.

Plots at
New York
and *Al-*
bany.

Some small time previous to the arrival of the fleet and army, plots in favour of the royal cause were discovered in *New-York* and *Albany*, which were productive of much trouble. Some few executions took place, great numbers were confined, and many abandoning their houses, under the operations of their fears, were pursued as outlaws, and enemies to their country. The estates of those unfortunate people, against whom there were proofs, were seized. In the mean time, new forms of government, (under the usual title of *Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, &c.**) were established in all the colonies, they deeming the former *Articles* insufficient to co-operate with their new system of Independence. These *Articles*, as well as the *Declaration of Independence* were published in all the colonies, and every

Congress
establish
new
forms of
govern-
ment.

* The reader will see these *Articles* inserted at large at the close of this chapter,

where

where received and accompanied with the greatest public testimonials of joy. This confidence and boldness in the midst of so untried and dangerous a struggle, and at the eve of so formidable an invasion, shewed either great presumption, a knowledge of internal strength, or a certainty of foreign support at a period which appeared alarming.

1776.

The first division of Hessians, with the British troops by whom they were accompanied, sailed directly from England to Halifax, as Lord Howe had done, being still ignorant of the general's departure from that place. By this means the month of August was considerably advanced before their arrival at New-York, and it was of course some days longer before any expedition of importance could be undertaken by the commissioners. In the mean time they were joined by Sir Peter Parker and General Clinton, with the squadron and forces for South Carolina, as well as by some regiments from Florida and the West Indies.

Additional forces from Great Britain arrive at New-York.

All the forces being now arrived, except about one half of the Hessians, who though on their way, were not speedily expected, an attempt upon Long-Island was resolved upon, as being more practicable, and therefore better fitted for the first essay than New-York, as affording a greater scope for the display of military skill and experience, and as abounding with those supplies which so great a body of men as were now assembled by sea and land necessarily demanded.

The necessary measures being taken by the fleet for covering the descent, the army was landed without opposition near Utrecht and Gravesend, on the south-west end of the island, and not far from the Narrows where it approaches closest to Staten-Island. General Putnam was at that time with a strong force encamped at Brookland or Brooklyn, at a few miles distance, on the North coast, where his works covered the breadth of a small Peninsula, having what is called the East River, which separated him from New-York on his left; a marsh, which extended to Gowan's Cove, on his right; with the bay and Governor's Island to his back. The armies were separated by a range of hills covered with wood, which intersect the country from east, to west, and are, in that part called the Heights of Guana. The direct road to the enemy lay through a village called Flat Bush, where the hills commenced, and near which was one of the most important passes. As the army advanced, the north coast was to the left, the south on the right, and Flat Bush was nearly in the center between both. The Island in that part is kept narrow by Jamaica bay, on the right, but soon widens.

Aug. 22.

Army landed at Long-Island.

1776. widens. General Putnam had detached a considerable part of his army to occupy the woody hills, and possess the passes; and if the commanders upon this service had been skilful and vigilant, they could not have been easily passed.

Position of the Provincial and British armies, previous to the attack on that Island.

Lord Cornwallis pushed on immediately, with the reserve, and some other troops, to Flat Bush, where finding the enemy in possession of the pass, he complied with his orders in making no attempt upon it. When the whole army was landed, the Hessians, under General Heister, composed the center at Flat Bush; Major General Grant commanded the left wing, which extended to the coast; and the principal army, containing much the greater part of the British forces, under the command of General Clinton, Earl Percy, and Lord Cornwallis, turned short to the right, and approached the opposite coast at Flat Land.

Every thing being prepared for forcing the hills, and advancing towards the enemies lines, General Clinton, at the head of the van of the army, consisting of the light infantry, grenadiers, light horse, reserve under Lord Cornwallis, and other corps with fourteen field pieces, began as soon as it was dark on the night of the 26th, to move from Flat Land, and passing through that part of the country called the New Lots, arrived upon the road which crosses the hills from Bedford to Jamaica, where turning to the left towards the former of these places, they seized a pass of the utmost importance, which through some unaccountable and fatal neglect of the enemy's Generals, was left unguarded. The main body under Lord Percy with ten field pieces, followed the van at a moderate distance, and the way being thus happily open, the whole army passed the hills without noise or impediment, and descended by the town of Bedford into the level country which lay between them and Putnam's lines.

Aug. 27.

Attack commences.

The engagement was begun early in the morning by the Hessians at Flat Bush, and by General Grant on the coast, and a warm cannonade, with a brisk fire of small arms, was eagerly supported on both sides for some hours. In the mean time, the ships made several motions on the left, and attacked a battery on Red Hook, not only to distract the right of the enemy, who were engaged with General Grant, but to call off their attention totally from the left and rear, where all their danger lay. Those who opposed the Hessians in the left were the first apprized of the march of the British army, and of their own danger. They accordingly retreated in large bodies, and in tolerable order, with their artillery, in order to recover their camp, but soon found themselves

selves intercepted by the King's troops, who furiously attacked, and drove them back into the woods. There they again met the Hessians, and were alternately chased and intercepted by the light infantry and dragoons. In these desperate circumstances, some of the regiments, overpowered and outnumbered as they were, forced their way to the lines, thro' all the difficulties and dangers that opposed and surrounded them. Others, perhaps not less brave, perished in the attempt. Some kept the woods and escaped; others, less fortunate, were lost under the same protection. The nature of the country, and variety of the ground, occasioned a continuance and extentoin of small engagements, pursuits, and slaughter, which lasted for many hours.

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Never was any body of men more effectually entrapped: Americans de- their right, which was engaged with General Grant on the coast, were so late in their knowledge of what was passing, feated that they were intercepted in their retreat by some of the with British troops, who, besides turning the hills on their left, great had in that morning traversed the whole extent of country in slaughter their rear. Such of these as did not chuse to take to the woods, which were the greater number, were obliged to throw themselves into the marsh at Gowan's Cove, which we have already taken notice of, where many were drowned, and others perished more miserably in the mud: a considerable number, however, made their escape this way to the lines, though they were thinned in every part of the course by the fire of the pursuers.

Their loss was represented as exceeding 3000 men, including about 1000 who were taken prisoners. Almost a whole regiment from Maryland, consisting altogether of young men of the best families in the country, was cut to pieces. Undoubtedly their loss must have been great, though they do not acknowledge any such number in their accounts, as that specified in the underneath return, * transmitted to government by General Howe.

This

An account of the killed and wound'd, with the captures of both armies.

* Return of Prisoners taken on Long-Island, 27th August, 1776

COMMISSIONED OFFICERS.

Three Generals

Three Colonels.

Major Gen. Sullivan,
Brig. Gen. Lord Stirling,
Brig. Gen. Udell.

Pensilvania rifle regiment, 1
----- musketeers, 1
New Jersey militia, 1

Four

1776. This action however broke their spirits exceedingly. They not only lost a number of their best and bravest men, but the survivors

Brought over	-	6		49
Four Lieut. Colonels.			17th Continental reg.	6
Pensylvania rifle regiment.		1	Delaware battalion.	2
----- militia		2	1st Bat. New York Conti.	5
17th Continental regiment		1	11th Bat. Continental	1
Three Majors.			New Jersey Militia	1
Pensylvania Militia		1	1st Bat. Maryland indep.	2
17th Continental regiment		1	Long-Island militia.	2
22d ditto.		1	Train of artillery	1
Eighteen Captains.			Maryland provincials	5
Pensylvania 1st reg.		2	Eleven Ensigns.	
----- musketeers		4	Pensylvania musketeers	4
----- militia		5	17th Continental reg.	5
17th Continental reg.		4	Maryland Provincials	2
Train of artillery		1	S T A F F.	
Maryland Provincials		2	Adjutant	1
Forty-three Lieutenants.			Surgeons	3
Provincial rifle reg.		11	Volunteers	2
Pensylvania musketeers		1	Privates	1006
----- militia		6		
				1097
		49	(Signed) JOS. LORING.	

Return of BRASS and IRON Ordnance, taken in this engagement.

B R A S S.		8 Six-pounders
1 Five-and-half-inch howitzer		3 Three-pounders.
4 Six-pounders		Total of Ordnance, 32 pieces.
1 Three-pounder.		A quantity of shot, shells, am-
I R O N.		munition, intrenching tools,
6 Thirty-two-pounders.		small arms, a number of long
1 Twenty-four-pounder		pikes, ammunition carts, and
4 Eighteen-pounders		many other articles not ascer-
2 Twelve-pounders		tained.
2 Nine-pounders		(Signed) W. HOWE.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing of his Majesty's forces.

K I L L E D.		W O U N D E D.	
Cap. Sir A. Murray, 17th reg.		Lieut. Morgan, 17th reg.	
Lieut. Col. Grant, 40th		Capt. Grove, 23d ditto	
Cap. Nelson, 52d		Lieut. Crammond, 42d ditto.	
Cap. Logan, 2d reg. marines.		Lieut. Mair, 43d ditto.	
Second Lieut. Lovell, roy. artil.		Lieut. Weir, of ditto	
3 Serjeants		Cap. Brown, 44th ditto.	
53 Rank and File		Cap. Kennedy of ditto.	
		Lieut.	

1776.

Survivors lost that hope of success, and confidence in their own prowess, which are so essential to victory. New soldiers, in the fulness of spirits and pride of bodily strength, can scarcely conceive any advantage over them, which the old can derive from discipline and a knowledge of their business. And if they are well commanded, and skilfully led to action in this temper, so that their opponents are deprived of an opportunity of turning these advantages to account, they will do wonderful execution: for not being yet capable of thoroughly comprehending danger, nor having known by experience the pain and vexation of wounds, they are often more daring, adventurous, and violent than veterans. But if, as in the present instance, they find courage, and strength totally useless; that when they are making the greatest, and, as they think, most effectual efforts they find them all thrown away, and that they are surrounded, overpowered, and destroyed, by means which they cannot understand, they withdraw all due confidence from those things on which they had before placed too much, and ascribe an irresistible power to military skill and discipline, which they do not really possess. Thus they abandon their natural strength, and it will be some time before they have confidence enough in their new knowledge to call it effectually into action.

Great errors seem to have been committed on the side of the provincial commanders. They say, that a body of not more than four or five thousand men was surrounded by the whole force of the British army. They endeavour to palliate their misconduct in getting into that situation by representing, that they had no idea that more than about that number of British troops were landed on the island. It does appear as if no more had landed in the first embarkation, but either from a

Lieut. Brown of ditto.
 Lieut. col. Monckton, 45th do.
 Lieut. Powell, 49th ditto,
 Lieut. Addison, 52d ditto.
 Lieut. Nugent, 1st reg. marines.
 11 Serjeants
 3 Drummers
 231 Rank and File.

M I S S I N G.

Lt. Ragg, 2d reg. mar. prisoner.
 1 Serjeant,
 29 Rank and File.
 Total loss of British troops 347.

Hessian Troops.

Major Paoli. }
 Cap. O'Reilly. } wounded.
 Lieut. Donop. }
 23 Rank & file. }
 2 Rank and file, killed.

Total loss of Hessians, 28.

(Signed)

W. HOWE.

change

1776. change or concealment of plan, very great bodies were afterwards embarked and passed. The provincials too, as usual with men in misfortunes, hinted treachery in some of those who were employed to discover the motions of their enemy, and to guard the passes, by the occupying of which they had been surrounded.

Nothing could exceed the spirit and alacrity shewn by all the different corps of which the British army was composed in this action. The ardour of the soldiers was so great, that it was with difficulty the Generals could call them off from attacking the enemy's lines, in the eagerness of their pursuit after the fugitives. Nor is it improbable, in that temper, that they would have carried every thing before them. It may be supposed that the emulation between the foreign troops and the British did not lessen the desire of being distinguished on either side in this their first action. Too much praise cannot be given to the ability which planned this enterprize, nor to the promptness and exactitude with which the several Generals carried their respective parts of it into execution.

Three of the provincial commanders; viz. Major Gen. Sullivan, with the Brigadiers General Lord Stirling* and Uddell, and 10 other field officers, were among the prisoners. The loss on the side of the British and Hessians was very trifling, being under 380 in killed and wounded; of which the latter did not compose one-fifth. The victorious army encamped in the front of the enemy's works on that evening, and on the 28th, at night, broke ground in form at 600 yards distance from a redoubt which covered the enemy's left.

General

* As the name of the abovementioned Lord Stirling is not in the list either of English, Scotch, or Irish peers, the following account of him may be acceptable to our readers. His father, Mr. Alexander, (for that is his real name) went over to America many years ago, where he acquired a considerable estate, and where the present Lord Stirling was, it is believed, born. Upon the death of Lord Stirling, a Scotch Peer, whose name was Alexander, either the late or the present Mr. Alexander, came over to England, and laid claim to the title; when the cause was tried by the House of Lords, and the claim rejected; the Lords forbidding him to assume the title on pain of being led round Westminster-Hall, labelled as an impostor: but ever since, by the courtesy of his countrymen, he has been distinguished by the title of Lord Stirling. The first Lord Stirling obtained a grant of Long-Island; was the first that settled it with British inhabitants; and was at a great expence in supporting them. He died in 1640.

1776.



General Washington passed over from New York during the engagement, and is said to have burst into a poignant exclamation of grief when he beheld the inextricable destruction in which some of his best troops were involved. Nothing was now left, but to preserve the remainder of the army on Long-Island. He knew that the superiour power of the royal artillery would soon silence their batteries, and that if their lines were forced, which, in the present depression of spirits, and comparative weakness in number as well as discipline, there was little hope of preventing, they must all be killed or taken. If he attempted to strengthen them by reinforcements from New York, he hazarded the loss of that island, which was already menaced on every side, and kept in continual alarm and apprehension by the fleet. A danger not less than any other was still to be considered; the men of war only waited for a fair wind to enter and take possession of the East river, which would have totally cut off all communication between the islands. In this situation, no hope remained but in a retreat; a matter of no small difficulty and danger, under the eye of so vigilant an enemy, and with so powerful an army, flushed with success, close to their works. This arduous task was, however, undertaken, and carried into execution with great ability by General Washington. In the night of the 29th, their troops were withdrawn from the camp and their baggage, stores, and part of their artillery, were conveyed to the water-side, embarked, and passed over a long ferry to New-York, with such wonderful silence and order, that our army did not perceive the least motion, and were surpris'd in the morning at finding the lines abandoned, and seeing the last of the rear guard (or, as they say, a party which had returned to carry off some stores that were left behind) in their boats, and out of danger. Those who were best acquainted with the difficulty, embarrassment, noise, and tumult, which attend even by day, and no enemy at hand, a movement of this nature with several thousand men, will be the first to acknowledge, that this retreat should hold a high place among military transactions.

Retire si-
lently
from
their
camp,
and quit
the
island.

Soon after the retreat from Long-Island, General Sullivan was sent upon parole with a message from Lord Howe to the Congress. In this he stated, that though he could not at present treat with that assembly as such, yet he was very desirous of having a conference with some of their members, whom he would consider for the present only as private gentlemen, and would himself meet them at such place as they should appoint. He said, that he had in conjunction with

Gen. Sui-
livan sent
upon pa-
role with
a mes-
sage from
L. Howe
to the
Congress
the

1776.

the General, full powers to compromise the dispute between Great Britain and America, upon terms advantageous to both, the obtaining of which had detained him near two months, and prevented his arrival before the *Declaration of Independency* took place. That he wished a compact might be settled at this time, when no decisive blow was struck, and neither party could say they were compelled to enter into the agreement. That if the Congress were disposed to treat, many things which they had not yet asked, might and ought to be granted to them; and that if upon the conference any probable ground of an accommodation appeared, the authority of Congress must be afterwards acknowledged, or the compact could not be complete.

The Congress returned for answer, that being the representatives of the Free and Independent States of America, they could not with propriety send any of their members to confer with him in their private characters; but that ever desirous of establishing peace on reasonable terms, they would send a committee of their body to know whether he had any power to treat with persons authorised by Congress for that purpose, in behalf of America, and what that authority was, and to hear such propositions as he should think fit to make respecting the same.

Fruitless conference between his Lordship and a Committee of the Congress.

Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Rutledge, being appointed as a committee upon this occasion, waited accordingly upon Lord Howe in Staten-Island. The committee sum up the account of this conference, which they laid before the Congress in the following words: "Upon the whole, it did not appear to your committee, that his Lordship's commission contained any other authority of importance than what is contained in the Act of Parliament, viz. That of granting pardons, with such exceptions as the Commissioners shall think proper to make, and of declaring America, or any part of it, to be in the King's peace upon submission. For, as to the power of enquiring into the state of America, which his Lordship mentioned to us, and of conferring and consulting with any person the Commissioners might think proper, and representing the result of such conversations to the ministry, (who provided the Colonies would subject themselves) might after all, or might not, at their pleasure, make any alterations in the former instructions to Governors, or propose in Parliament any amendment of the acts complained of, we apprehend any expectation from the effect of such a power would have been too uncertain

tain

tain and precarious to be relied on by America, had she still continued in her state of dependence."

1776.

In this manner the hopes of negotiation by the commissioners ended. They endeavoured to make amends for their failure in their civil capacity by the vigour of their military operations. The royal army being now divided from the island of New-York only by the East river were impatient to pass that narrow boundary. They posted themselves along the coast wherever they could see or front the enemy, and erected batteries to answer, if not to silence theirs. A fleet, consisting of considerably more than 300 sail, including transports, covered the face of the waters, while the ships of war, hovering round the island, threatened destruction to every part, and were continually engaged with one or the other of the batteries by which it was surrounded. The small islands between the opposite shores were perpetual objects of contest, until, by dint of well served artillery, the aid of the ships and the intrepidity of the troops, they secured those which were more necessary for their future operations. Thus, an almost constant cannonade was kept up for many days, and the troops who had so lately escaped from the most imminent danger, had little time to quiet their apprehensions.

Every thing being at length prepared for a descent, several movements were made by the ships of war in the North-River, in order to draw the attention of the enemy to that side of the island. Other parts seemed equally threatened, and increased the uncertainty of the real objects of the attack. The seizure of the island of Montrefor, near Hell-gate, and erecting a battery on it to silence one which the Provincials had at Horen's Hook, seemed to indicate a design of landing in that part which was near the centre of New York Island.

Descent
on York
Island.

While the provincials were in this state of uncertainty, the first division of the army, under the command of General Clinton, with Earl Cornwallis, Major General Vaughan, Brigadier General Leslie, and the Hessian Colonel Donop, embarked at the head of Newtown bay, which runs pretty deep into Long-Island, and where they were out of all view of the enemy. Being covered by five ships of war upon their entrance into the river, they proceeded to Kepp's Bay, about three miles North of New York, where being less expected than in some other places, the preparation for defence was not so great. The works, however, were not inconsiderable, nor destitute of troops, but the fire from the ships was so incessant

Sep. 15th
City of
New-
York tak-
en.

1776. cessant, and so well conducted, that they were soon abandoned, and the army landed without opposition.

The enemy immediately abandoned the city of New York, with their other posts in that part of the island, and retired towards the north end, where their principal strength lay.— They were obliged to leave their artillery, which was considerable, and their military stores, (of which, except powder, there were plenty) behind. They sustained some loss in slain, and a greater in prisoners, as well in the retreat, as in the subsequent skirmishes which took place during the day. The fore remembrance of their late loss was strongly visible in every part of their conduct, and their own accounts acknowledged, that several of their regiments behaved ill.

A brigade of the British army having taken possession of New York, the rest encamped not far from the centre of the island, with the right at Horen's Hook, on the East river, and the left at the North river, near Bloomingdale; thus occupying the extent of the island from shore to shore, which though about 16 miles in length, is not above one in breadth. The enemy was very strong in the north of the island, where they had great works erected, particularly at Kingsbridge, by which their communication with the continent of New-York was kept open, where the works were so considerable on both sides of the passage, that in their present state of force, they seemed to defy all attempts on either. Their nearest encampment was on the heights of Harlem, at the distance of about a mile and half. M'Gowan's pass, and the strong grounds called Morris's heights, lay between them and Kingsbridge, and were defensible against a very superior force. In this situation of both armies, frequent skirmishes of course happened, and it was found by degrees that their late apprehensions began to wear away.

Sep. 20,
New-
York set
on fire,
and
almost
burnt.

General Howe had not been many days in possession of New York, when some incendiaries, who probably had stayed behind and concealed themselves for that purpose, being determined, if possible, to prevent its being of any benefit to the conqueror, prepared combustibles with great art and ingenuity, and taking the advantage of dry weather and a brisk wind, set fire to the city about midnight, in several places at the same time. Thus near a third of their beautiful city was reduced to ashes, and nothing less than the courage and activity of the troops, as well as of the sailors who were dispatched from the fleet, could have preserved any part of the remainder. Many of the wretches who were, as it is said,

said, concerned in this atrocious business, being detected, experienced a summary justice, and were precipitated by the fury of the soldiers into those flames which they had themselves kindled.

The General perceiving that no attempt could be made on the enemy upon the side of New York, which would not be attended with great danger, without affording any equal prospect of success, determined at length upon a plan of operation, which would either oblige them to quit their present strong situation, or render their perseverance in holding it extremely dangerous. For this purpose the greater part of the army being embarked in flat boats and other small craft proper for the service, passed successfully through the dangerous navigation of Hell-gate, which forms a communication between the East river and the Sound, and landed at Frog's-Neck, near the town of West Chester, which lies on that part of the continent belonging to New York, upon the side of Connecticut.

Army passes through the dangerous navigation called Hell-gate, Oct. 12th Land at Frog's Neck.

Earl Percy, with two brigades of British troops, and one of Hessian, continued in the lines near Harlem to cover New-York. Though this movement was highly judicious in the present critical state of things, it seems as if it would have been extremely dangerous if General Washington had commanded a veteran army on whose performance he could rely, and that the corps under Lord Percy would in that case have been in great danger. It is, however, to be observed, that the powerful fleet which surrounded that narrow island, would have afforded shelter and protection in almost any situation to which they could have been reduced. This fleet was of infinite service in all the operations of the campaign. In this the inferiority of the provincials was most felt, being totally destitute of any force of that nature.

The army was detained for some days at Frog's Neck, waiting for the arrival of the provisions and stores, and of a reinforcement which was drawn from Staten Island. They then proceeded through Pelham's Manor to New Rochelle, which lies on the coast of the Sound, as that channel is called, which separates the continent from Long-Island. At this place they were joined to a greater part of a regiment of light horse from Ireland, one of the transports having been taken in the passage. They were also joined by a second division of Hessians under General Knyphausen, with a regiment of Waldeckers, both of which had arrived at New York since the departure of the army from thence.

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The first object of this expedition was to cut off the communication between Washington and the Eastern Colonies; and then, if this measure did not bring him to an engagement, to enclose him on all sides in his fastnesses on the North end of York-Island. The King's troops were now masters of the lower road to Connecticut and Boston; but to gain the upper it was necessary to advance to the high grounds called the White Plains; a rough, stony, and mountainous tract; which, however, is only part of the ascent, to a country still higher, rougher, and more difficult. Upon the departure of the army to the higher country, it was deemed necessary to leave the second division of Hessians, with the Waldeck regiment, at New Rochelle, as well to preserve the communications, as to secure the supplies and provisions and necessaries that were to arrive at that port. Indeed the army was now so powerful, that it was enabled to support every service.

General Washington was not inattentive to the danger of his situation. He saw, that if he continued where he was, he would at length be compelled to commit the whole fortune of the war, and the safety of all the Colonies to the hazard of a general engagement; a decision, of which he had every cause to apprehend the event, and in which a defeat would be final, as there could scarcely be a possibility of retreat. His army likewise, which had been disheartened by their late misfortunes, was then much reduced by sickness, which the severity of the services, indifferent quarters, insufficient cloathing, the want of salt and other necessaries, joined to a slovenliness generally prevalent in America, had rendered general, and very fatal in his camp.

A grand movement was accordingly made, by which the army was formed into a line of small, detached, and entrenched camps, which occupied every height and strong ground from Valentine's Hill not far from Kingsbridge, on the right, to the White Plains, and the upper road to Connecticut, on the left. In this position they faced the whole line of march of the King's troops at a moderate distance, the deep river Bronx covering their front; and the North river at some distance in their rear, whilst the open ground to the last afforded a secure passage for their stores and baggage to the upper country. A garrison was left for the protection of Fort Washington, the lines of Harlem and Kingsbridge.

In this situation of the enemy, General Howe thought it
ne-

necessary to proceed with great circumspection. The progress was slow, the march of the army close, the encampments compact, and well guarded with artillery, and the most soldier-like caution used in every respect. This did not restrain the enemy from sending parties over the Brunx to impede their march, which occasioned several skirmishes, in which the royal army were generally successful. Upon the approach of the army to the White Plains, the enemy quitted their detached camps along the Brunx, and joining their left, took a strong ground of encampment before the British on the former.

1776.

Every thing being prepared for bringing the enemy to action, the army marched early in the morning in two columns towards the White Plains, the left being commanded by General Heister. Before noon, all the enemies advanced parties being driven back to their works by the Light Infantry and Hessian Chasseurs, the army formed, with the right upon the road from Marmoroneck, at about a mile's distance from their center, and the left to the Brunx, at about the same distance from the right flank of their intrenchments.

Sep. 28.

Skirmish
at the
White-
Plain.

A body of the enemy possessed an advantageous ground, that was separated from the right flank by the Brunx, and which also by its windings, covered that corps in front from the left of our army. As this post would have been of great consequence in attacking that flank of the entrenchments, Brigadier General Leslie, with the second brigade of British troops, the Hessian grenadiers under Colonel Donop, and a battalion of that corps, were ordered to dislodge the enemy. Previous to their attack, Colonel Ralle, who commanded a brigade of the Hessians on the left, had passed the Brunx, and gained a post, which enabled him to annoy the enemies flank, while they were engaged with the other forces in front.

Though the passage of the river was difficult, it was performed with the greatest spirit, and the 28th, and 35th regiments, being the first that passed, formed with the greatest steadiness, under the enemies fire on the opposite side; they then ascended a steep hill, in defiance of all opposition, and rushing on the enemy, soon routed, and drove them from their works. No less alacrity was shewn by the other troops in supporting these two regiments. The gaining of this important post took up a considerable time, which was prolonged by the enemy's still supporting a broken and scattered engagement in defence of the adjoining walls and hedges. In the evening, the Hessian grenadiers were ordered

1776.

forward upon the heights within cannon shot of the entrenchments, the 2d brigade of British formed in their rear, and the two Hessian brigades, on the left of the second. The right and center of the army did not remove from the ground upon which they had formed. In that position the whole army lay upon their arms during the night, with a full intention and in the highest expectation, of attacking the enemy's camp the next morning.

It was perceived in the morning that the enemy had drawn back their encampment in the night, and had greatly strengthened their lines by additional works. Upon this account the attack was deferred, and it was thought necessary to wait for the arrival of the 4th brigade, and of two battalions of the 6th, which had been left with Lord Percy at New York. Upon the arrival of these troops, the necessary dispositions were made in the evening, for attacking the enemy early on the last of October; but an extreme wet night and morning prevented this design from being carried into execution.

In the mean time, General Washington had not the least intention of venturing an engagement, whilst there was a possibility of its being avoided. He knew that delay was in some sort victory to him. That small actions, which could not in the least affect the public safety, would more effectually train his men to service, and inure them to danger, than a general action, which might in one day decide their own, and the fate of America. It must be acknowledged, that in the course of this campaign, and more particularly in this part of it, he fully performed the part of no mean commander.

The American accounts say, that upon our covering four or five batteries with a powerful artillery, preparatory to an attack, together with the General's knowledge that by turning his camp, the British might become possessed of hills at his back which totally commanded it, he found it necessary to change his position. He accordingly quitted his camp on the night of the 1st of November, and took higher grounds towards the North Castle district, having first set fire to the town or village of White Plains, as well as to all the houses and forges near the lines. The British army on the next day took possession of their entrenchment.

General Howe seeing that the enemy could not be enticed to an engagement, and that the nature of the country did not admit of their being forced to it, determined not to lose time in a fruitless pursuit, and to take this opportunity of driving them out of their strong holds in York Island; an operation which their army could not now possibly prevent. For this purpose,

purpose, General Knyphausen crossed the country from New Rochelle, and having taken possession of King's Bridge without opposition, entered York Island, and took his station to the north of fort Washington, to which the provincials had retired at his approach.

1776.

Fort Washington lies to the west of New York Island, not far from King's Bridge, near Jeffery's Hook, and almost facing Fort Lee on the Jersey side, from which it was separated by the North River. This work, though not contemptible, was not sufficient to resist heavy artillery; and it was by no means of a sufficient extent for any other purpose than the strengthening of lines. But the situation was extremely strong, and the approaches difficult.

The army having returned slowly by the North River, encamped on the heights of Fordham, at a moderate distance from King's Bridge, with the river on its right, and the Bronx on the left. Every thing being prepared for attacking the Fort, and the commander, Colonel Magaw, refusing a summons to surrender, and declaring he would defend it to the last extremity, a general assault was determined upon, as saving the time that would be lost in regular approaches. The garrison consisted of near 3000 men, and the strong grounds round the Fort were covered with lines and works. Four attacks were made at the same time. The first, on the North side, was conducted by the General Knyphausen, at the head of two columns of Hessians and Waldeckers. The second on the East, was led on by Brigadier General Mathew, at the head of the 1st and 2d battalions of light infantry, and two battalions of guards, supported by Lord Cornwallis with the 1st and 2d battalions of grenadiers, and 33d regiment. These forces crossed the East river in flat boats, and as the provincial works there extended the breadth of the Island, redoubts and batteries were erected on the opposite shore, as well to cover the landing of the troops, as to annoy those works which were near the water. The third attack, which was principally intended as a feint, to distract the enemy, was conducted by Lt. Col. Sterling, with the 42d regiment, who passed the East River lower down, between the 2d and 4th attacks. The last attack was made by Lord Percy with the corps which he commanded on the south of the Island. All the attacks were supported with a numerous, powerful, and well served artillery.

A general assault against Fort Washington. Nov. 13.

— 16th.

The Hessians under General Knyphausen had a thick wood to pass, where the provincials were very advantageously posted, and a warm engagement was continued for a considerable time,

1776. time, in which the former were much exposed, and behaved with real firmness and bravery. In the mean time the light infantry landed, and were exposed both before and after to a very brisk and continual fire from the provincials, who were themselves covered by the rocks and trees among which they were posted. The former however with their usual alacrity and activity, extricated themselves by clambering up a very steep and rough mountain, when they soon dispersed the enemy, and made way for the landing of the rest of the troops without opposition. During these transactions, Lord Percy having carried an advanced work on his side, Col. Sterling was ordered to attempt a landing, and two battalions of the 2d. brigade to support him. This service was effected by the Colonel with great bravery. He advanced his boats through a very heavy fire, which they bore with the greatest firmness and perseverance, and forcing his way up a steep height, gained the summit, and took 170 prisoners, notwithstanding a bold and good defence made by the enemy.

Garrison
surrender
prisoners of
war.

In the mean time Colonel Ralle, who led the right column of General Knyphausen's attack, having forced the provincials, after a considerable opposition, from that strong post, in his line; pushed forward to their works, and lodged his column within an hundred yards of the fort; and being soon after joined by the General with the left column, who had at length overcome the impediments which he met with in the wood, the garrison surrendered prisoners of war. The loss on either side was not in any degree proportioned to the warmth, length, and variety of the action. The quantity of gunpowder found in the Fort was utterly inadequate to the purpose of almost the shortest defence. How so large a body was left with so poor a provision, is extremely unaccountable. But the narrative of all these transactions is hitherto very imperfect.

Fort Lee
taken,
and great
part of
the Jer-
seys over-
run.

Upon this acquisition, a strong body of forces under the command of Lord Cornwallis was passed over the North River in order to take Fort Lee and make a further impression in the Jersey's. The garrison of 2000 men, had a narrow escape, by abandoning the Fort just before his lordship's arrival, leaving their artillery, stores, tents, and every thing behind. The British troops afterwards overrun the greater part of both the Jerseys without opposition, the provincials every where flying before them; and at length extended their winter cantonments from New Brunswick to the Delaware. If they had any means of passing that river upon their first arrival in its neighbourhood, there seems little doubt, considering

dering the consternation and dismay which then prevailed among the provincials, that they might easily have become masters of the city of Philadelphia; but the former, very prudently, either destroyed the boats, or removed them out of the way.

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During these successes in the Jerseys, General Clinton, with two brigades of British, and two of Hessian troops, with a squadron of ships of war under the command of Sir Peter Parker, were sent to make an attempt upon Rhode Island. In this enterprize they succeeded beyond expectation. The provincials having abandoned the Island at their approach, they took possession of it without the loss of a man; at the same time that they blocked up Hopkins's Squadron which was in the harbour of Providence, on the adjoining Continent. The Squadron and troops continued here during the winter, where they had better quarters than any other of the King's forces. Hitherto the Royal army had succeeded in every object since their landing at Staten-Island. The Provincial army, besides the loss by sword, by captivity, and by desertion, began to dwindle to very small numbers, from the nature of their military engagement. They were only enlisted for a year; and the Colonists, who were but little used to any restraint, very ill brooked, even so long an absence from their families. At the expiration of the term, but few were prevailed upon to continue in service. Every thing seemed to promise a decisive event in favour of the royal arms, and a submission of some of the principal colonies was hourly expected.

Dec. 8th

In page 171, the following particulars relative to Captain Morris, of the Bristol man of war, should have been introduced. We shall therefore give them here, as communicated by the surgeon of the ship.—After having the two bones of his fore arm shattered by a chain shot, and receiving a wound from a ball in his neck, he was taken into the cockpit, where he readily submitted to amputation, which was performed just above the elbow. During the operation a red-hot ball went through the cockpit, which killed two of the surgeon's assistants, and wounded the purser. After the confusion which this circumstance occasioned was over, Captain Morris insisted on being carried on the quarter-deck to resume his command; which being complied with, he continued the fight for a considerable time after, till he was shot through the body. A prodigious effusion of blood following, and his dissolution being apparently at hand, one of the officers asked him, if he had any directions to give with respect

A singular instance of real courage.

1776. to his family, to which he heroically answered, "None!— as he left them to the providence of God, and the generosity of his country!" His Majesty accordingly, immediately on receiving an account of this affair, sent the captain's widow an handsome present, and settled a pension on her and her children.

Articles of Confederation, &c. entered into the Oct. 4th, In the course of this year, and some little time after the *Declaration of Independence*, the Congress published the following Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the States of *New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, Pennsylvania*, the Counties of *Newcastle, Kent, and Suffex*, on *Delaware-River, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia*. After having been long weighed and discussed, line by line, in the Congress, these Articles were at length resolved upon and signed by all the Delegates, the 4th of October, 1776, at Philadelphia, such as they are here set forth; and in consequence were immediately sent to the other States to be confirmed by them.

ARTICLE I. The Thirteen States above mentioned, confederate themselves under the title of The UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

II. They contract, each in their own name, by the present constitution, a reciprocal treaty of alliance and friendship for their common defence, for the maintenance of their liberties, and for their general and mutual advantage; obliging themselves to assist each other against all violence that may threaten all, or any one of them, and to repel in common all the attacks that may be levelled against all or any one of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, commerce, or under any other pretext whatsoever.

III. Each State reserves to themselves alone the exclusive right of regulating their internal government, and of framing laws in all matters that are not included in the articles of the present Confederation, and which cannot any way prejudice the same.

IV No State in particular shall either send or receive embassies, begin any negotiations, contract any engagements, form any alliances, or conclude any treaties with any King, Prince, or Power whatsoever, without the consent of the United States assembled in General Congress.

No person, invested with any post whatever under the authority of the United States, or of any of them, whether he has appointments belonging to his employment, or whether it be a commission purely confidential, shall be allowed to

accept

accept any presents, gratuities, emoluments, or any offices or titles of any kind whatever, from any Kings, Princes, or Foreign Powers.

And the general Assembly of the United States, nor any State in particular, shall not confer any title of nobility.

V. Two, nor several of the said States, shall not have power to form alliances or confederations, nor conclude any private treaty among themselves, without the consent of the United States assembled in General Congress, and without the aim and duration of that private convention be exactly specified in the consent.

VI. No State shall lay on any imposts, nor establish any duties whatever, the effect of which might alter directly, or indirectly, the clauses of the treaties to be concluded hereafter by the Assembly of the United States with any Kings, Princes, or Power whatsoever.

VII. There shall not be kept by any of the said States in particular, any vessels or ships of war above the number judged necessary by the Assembly of the United States, for the defence of that State and its commerce; and there shall not be kept on foot in time of peace by any of the said States, any troops above the number determined by the Assembly of the United States to guard the strong places or forts necessary for the defence of that State; but each State shall always keep up a well-disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and equipped, and shall be careful to procure, and keep in constant readiness, in the public magazines, a sufficient number of field pieces and tents, with a proper quantity of ammunition and implements of war.

VIII. When any of the said States shall raise troops for the common defence, all the officers of the rank of Colonel, and under, shall be appointed by the legislative body of the State that shall have raised the troops, or in such manner as that State shall have judged proper to regulate the nominations; and when any vacancy happens in these posts, they shall be filled up by the said State.

IX. All the expences of war, and all other disbursements, that shall be made for the common defence or the general weal, and that shall be ordered by the Assembly of the United States, shall be paid out of the funds of a common treasury.

That common treasury shall be formed by the contribution of each of the aforesaid States, in proportion to the number of inhabitants of every age, sex, or quality, except the Indians exempt from taxes in each State; and in order to

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fix the quota of the contribution, every three years the inhabitants shall be numbered, in which enumeration the number of white people shall be distinguished; and that enumeration shall be sent to the Assembly of the United States.

The taxes appropriated to pay this quota, shall be laid and levied in the extent of each State by the authority and orders of its legislative body, within the time fixed by the Assembly of the United States.

X. Each of the said States shall submit to the decisions of the Assembly of the United States, in all the matters or questions reserved to that Assembly by the present act of Confederation.

XI. No State shall engage in war without the consent of the United States assembled in Congress, except in case of actual invasion of some enemy, or from a certain knowledge of a resolution taken by some Indian nation to attack them, and in that case only, in which the danger is too urgent to allow them time to consult the other States.

No particular State shall give any commission to vessels, or other ships of war, nor any letters of marque or reprisal, till after a declaration of war made by the Assembly of the United States; and even in that case they shall be granted only against the kingdom or the power, or against the subjects of the kingdom, or of the power against which war shall have been so declared; and shall conform, respecting these objects, to the regulations made by the Assembly of the United States.

XII. In order to watch over the general interest of the United States, and direct the general affairs, there shall be nominated every year according to the form settled by the legislative body of each State, a certain number of Delegates, who shall sit at Philadelphia until the General Assembly of the United States shall have ordered otherwise; and the first Monday in November of each year, shall be the æra fixed for their meeting.

Each of the above mentioned States shall preserve the right and power to recall, at any time whatever of the year, their Delegates, or any one of them, and to send others in the room of them for the remainder of the year; and each of the said States shall maintain their Delegates during the time of the General Assembly, and also during the time they shall be members of the Council of State, of which mention shall be made hereafter.

XIII. Each State shall have a vote for the decision of questions in the General Assembly.

XIV. The

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XIV. The General Assembly of the United States, shall alone and exclusively have the right and power to decide of peace and war, except in the case mentioned in article XI. —to establish rules for judging in all cases the legitimacy of the prizes taken by sea or land, and to determine the manner in which the prizes taken by the land or sea forces, in the service of the United States, shall be divided or employed; —to grant letters of marque or reprisal in time of peace; —to appoint tribunals to take cognizance of piracies, and all other capital crimes committed on the high seas; —to establish tribunals to receive appeals, and judge finally in all cases of prizes; —to send and receive ambassadors; —to negotiate and conclude treaties or alliances; —to decide all differences actually subsisting, and that may arise hereafter between two or several of the aforementioned States, about limits, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatsoever; —to coin money, and fix its value and standard; —to fix the weights and measures throughout the whole extent of the United States; —to regulate commerce, and treat of all affairs with the Indians who are not members of any of the States; —to establish and regulate the posts from one State to another, in the whole extent of the United States, and to receive on the letters and packets sent by post, the necessary tax to defray the expence of that establishment; —to appoint the general officers of the land forces in the service of the United States; —to give commissions to the other officers of the said troops, who shall have been appointed by virtue of Article VIII; —to appoint all the officers of marine in the service of the United States; —to frame all the ordinances necessary for the government and discipline of the said land and sea forces; and to direct their operations.

The General Assembly of the United States shall be authorized to appoint a Council of State, and such committees and civil officers as they shall judge necessary for guiding and dispatching the general affairs, under their authority, whilst they remain sitting; and after their separation, under the authority of the Council of State.—They shall chuse for President one of their members, and for Secretary the person whom they shall judge fit for that place; and they may adjourn at what time of the year, and to what place in the United States they shall think proper.—They shall have the right and power to determine and fix the sums necessary to be raised, and the disbursements necessary to be made; —to borrow money, and to create bills on the credit of the United States; —to build and fit out fleets; —to determine the number

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ber of troops to be raised or kept in pay;—and to require of each of the aforesaid States, to compose the army, a contingent proportioned to the number of its white inhabitants. — These requisitions of the General Assembly shall be binding, and in consequence of the legislative body of each State shall nominate the particular officers, levy the men, arm and equip them properly; and these officers and soldiers, thus armed and equipped, shall proceed to the place, and within the time fixed by the General Assembly.

But if the General Assembly, from some particular circumstances should think proper to exempt one or several of the States from raising troops, or to demand of them less than their contingent, and should on the contrary judge it convenient that one or several others should raise more than their contingent; the number extraordinary demanded shall be raised, provided with officers, armed and equipped in the same manner as the contingent, unless the legislative body of that, or those of the States to whom the requisition shall have been made, should deem it dangerous for themselves to be drained of that number extraordinary, and in that case they shall furnish no more than what they think compatible with their safety; and the officers and soldiers so raised and equipped shall go to the place, and within the time fixed by the General Assembly.

The General Assembly shall never engage in any war, nor grant letters of marque or reprisal in time of peace, nor contract any treaties of alliance or other conventions, except to make peace, nor coin money or regulate its value, nor determine or fix the sums necessary to be raised, or the disbursements necessary to be made for the defence or advantage of the United States, or of some of them, nor create bills nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor dispose of any sums of money, nor resolve on the number of ships of war to be built or purchased, or on the number of troops to be raised for land or sea service, nor appoint a commander or chief of the land or sea forces, but by the united consent of nine of the States: and no question on any point whatsoever, except for adjourning from one day to another shall be decided by a majority of the United States.

No Delegate shall be chosen for more than three years out of six.

No person invested with any employment whatever in the extent of the United States, and receiving, by virtue of that employment, either by himself, or through the hands of any other for him, any salaries, wages, or emoluments whatever, shall be chosen a Delegate. The

The General Assembly shall publish every month a journal of their sessions, except what shall relate to treaties, alliances, or military operations, when it shall appear to them that these matters ought to be kept secret. The opinions *pro* and *con* of the Delegates of each State, shall be entered in the journals as often as any one of the Delegates shall require it; and there shall be delivered to the Delegates of each State, on their demand, or even to any one of the Delegates of each State, at his particular requisition, a copy of the journal, except of the parts above mentioned, to be carried to the legislative body of his respective State.

XV. The Council of State shall be composed of one Delegate of each of the States, nominated annually by the other Delegates of his respective States; and in the case where these electors might not be able to agree, that Delegate shall be nominated by the General Assembly.

The Council of State shall be authorized to receive and open all the letters addressed to the United States, and answer them; but shall not contract any engagements binding to the United States.—They shall correspond with the legislative bodies of each State, and with all persons employed under the authority of the United States, or of some of the particular legislative bodies.—They shall address themselves to these legislative bodies, or to the officers to whom each state shall have entrusted the executive power, for aid and assistance of every kind, as occasion shall require.—They shall give instructions to the Generals, and direct the military operations by land or by sea; but without making any alterations in the objects or expeditions determined by the General Assembly, unless a change of circumstances intervening and coming to their knowledge since the breaking up of the Assembly, should render a change of measures indispensibly necessary. They shall be careful of the defence and preservation of the fortresses or fortified parts.—They shall procure information of the situation and designs of the enemy. They shall put in execution the measures and plans that shall have been resolved by the General Assembly, by virtue of the powers with which they are invested by the present confederation.—They shall draw upon the treasurers for the sums, the destination of which shall have been settled by the General Assembly, and for the payment of the contracts which they have made by virtue of the powers that are granted to them. They shall respect and reprove, they shall even suspend all officers civil and military acting under the authority of the United States.—In the case of death or
suspension

1776. suspension of any officer whose nomination belongs to the General Assembly, they may replace him by what person they think proper until the next Assembly.—They may publish and disperse authentic accounts of the military operations.—They may convene the General Assembly for a nearer term than that to which they had adjourned when they separated, if any important and unexpected event should require it for the welfare or benefit of the United States, or some of them.—They shall prepare the matters that are to be submitted to the inspection of the General Assembly, and lay before them at the next sitting all the letters or advices by them received, and shall render an exact account of all that they have done in the interim.—They shall take for their secretary a person fit for that employment, who before he enters on his function shall take an oath of secrecy and fidelity.—The presence of seven members of the Council will empower them to act.—In case of the death of one of their members, the Council shall give notice of it to the colleagues of the deceased, that they may chuse one of themselves to replace him in the Council until the holding of the next general meeting; and in case there should be but one of his colleagues living, the same notice shall be given to him, that he may come and take his seat until the next sitting.

XVI. In case that Canada should be willing to accede to the present Confederation, and come into all the measures of the United States, it shall be admitted into the union, and participate in all its benefits. But no other Colony shall be admitted without the consent of nine of the States.

The above Articles shall be proposed to the legislative bodies of all the United States, to be examined by them, and if they approve of them, they are desired to authorise their Delegates to ratify them in the General Assembly; after which all the articles which constitute the present Confederation, shall be inviolably observed by all and every of the United States, and the Union shall be established for ever.

There shall not be made hereafter any alteration in these Articles, nor in any of them, unless that the alteration be previously determined in the General Assembly, and confirmed afterwards by the legislative bodies of each of the United States.

Congress
adjourn
to Cam-
bridge. After the foregoing Articles as well as other public papers had been digested and entered on their journals or books of record, the Congress adjourned to Cambridge, there to meet the 13th of the same month. At the opening of which meeting, and after several members had taken their oaths and
seats,

seats, Mr. HANDCOCK, being president, addressed the Speaker; which oration we insert, not merely for the spirit or energy of which it is fraught, but from their own public and solemn declaration to shew, (as most of their preceding papers equally do) that their principal hope of success lay in their certainty of receiving TIMELY ASSISTANCE. The reader is therefore at liberty, from these circumstances, and others that will yet follow in due course equally authenticated, to judge for himself, whether France had not early cherished and supported the idea of Independence in America, long before the Congress announced it to the public; and that too, while she was seemingly in perfect amity with the mother country.—Mr. Hancock addressed the gentlemen of the Congress as follows,—“ In so perilous and critical a season as the present, it has been thought most expedient for the many and divers momentous concerns which must come under our serious considerations for the welfare and service of this country, to meet thus early together.

President's
Speech
at the
opening
thereof.

“ It must afford us the highest satisfaction to observe, that we still continue to set aside every private interest and to adopt such salutary measures, and to pursue and maintain with the utmost unanimity and resolution, the Glorious Cause in which we are now engaged.

“ Permit me to return you my most sincere and unfeigned thanks for so distinguished and unmerited a mark of your confidence and esteem, for which I am impressed with the deepest sense of gratitude, and at the same time claim your future protection.

“ I cannot help reminding you, that on my part a most sacred oath has been taken for the faithful discharge of my duty; that on yours, the same solemn assurances have been given to support me in the very arduous and dangerous situation I now stand, in being President of this Honourable Assembly. My being chosen by the free suffrages of a brave, generous, and much injured people to rule over their welfare, is, in my opinion, the highest honour any man can enjoy. At the same time I dread much the weight and arduous duties of so honorable a station. I wish much that your choice had fallen upon one better qualified to discharge the Duties of so important a function; for tho' in zeal and integrity I will yield to no man, yet in my abilities to serve you, I am too confident of my inferiority to many; however by undertaking it, I shall be ranked undeservedly by our enemies, amongst ambitious and designing men, by whom it has been propagated that the people have been grossly deceived and misled. As I have always

1776. ways thought every man's best services are due to the good of his country, no fear of slander, difficulty, nor danger, shall deter me in exerting my utmost endeavours: In so critical a time as the present, I will not withhold them; but in the cause, every part of my life, time, and fortune shall be employed.

“Notwithstanding our arms have not been altogether successful in a neighbouring province, in our many dangerous and vigorous attempts, yet it has in a great measure answered our design, by frustrating the progress of our enemies in that quarter; and I doubt not that through *timely assistance*, and by the blessing and aid of Almighty God, we shall be able to make more than a formidable resistance; when we shall see America not only independent of Great Britain, but the seat of freedom, and the most powerful and flourishing empire in the known world.

“The immense expence both of blood and treasure must also affect our thoughts, and engross our attentions; yet the object in view is too important to reflect on the demands that are to affect such an interested occasion, still hoping that our spirit and resources are too great and numerous to submit to the tyrannical oppressions of any foreign state whatever.— And let us also remember, my brave friends and coadjutors, that as the greatest empires have risen to glory by virtue and freedom, let us still be free and virtuous; and preserve and cherish this maxim, that the great Author of Nature never created His NOBLEST WORK to be slaves, but to maintain that Independence and Liberty, which is both the happiness and glory of the human race.

“On the honour, candour, and generosity of my worthy Delegates and countrymen I rely, to put the most favourable constructions, as they have hitherto confided in my actions, resting myself assured of receiving (in a faithful discharge of my duty) the support and assistance of every good man, who is a well-wisher to America. I must conclude with observing to you, that if there should be any contention or strife arise among us, let it be who shall exert himself most to serve and to save an oppressed and much injured people. My fervent prayer to the Omnipotent Ruler of all Empires is, that under his Divine and gracious Providence, the INDEPENDENCE and LIBERTIES of America may be for ever maintained and preserved.”

C H A P. XII.

Affairs at Canada continued. (from p. 160) to the taking of Lake Champlain, &c. Situation of affairs to the Southward, (from p. 198) comprehending the taking of General Lee. The critical situation of Philadelphia. Different movements of Congress. Affairs at Trenton and Princetown; with other interesting particulars, to the close of this campaign.

THE efforts to remove those obstacles that had restrained the progress of the British arms on the side of Canada, in this summer (1776,) were equal to the importance of the objects in view, and the greatness of the difficulties which were to be surmounted. The weight and execution of the naval equipment, fell of course upon the officers and men of that department, whose ability, zeal, and perseverance in the performance, can never be too much applauded. The task was indeed arduous. A fleet of above thirty fighting vessels, of different kinds and sizes, all furnished with cannon, was to be little less than created; for though a few of the largest were reconstructions, the advantage derived from thence depended more upon the use of materials, which the country did not afford, than upon any saving as to time, or lessening of labour. When to this is added, the transporting over land, and afterwards dragging up the rapids of St. Therese and St. John's, thirty long boats, a number of flat boats of considerable burthen, a gondola, weighing 30 tons, with above 400 battoes, the whole presented a complexity of labour and difficulty, which seemed sufficient to appal even the spirit of British seamen. However it must be allowed that the labour did not fall solely on them. The soldiers had their part; and what is to be lamented, the peasants and farmers of Canada were taken from their ploughs, and compelled by power to bear a share in toils, from whence they could derive no honour or advantage.

Though the equipment was completed in about three months, the nature of the service, as well as the eagerness of

1776
July.

Preparation in Canada for the armament on Lake Champlain.

1776. the commanders and army, required, if it had been possible, a still greater dispatch. The winter was fast approaching, two inland seas to be passed, the unknown force of the enemy on each to be subdued, and the strong posts of Crown Point and Ticonderoga defended and supported by an army, to be encountered sword in hand. To add to these impediments, the communication between the Lakes Champlain and George, did not admit the passage of those vessels of force, which, after being successful on the one, might be equally wanted on the other. And if all those difficulties were surmounted, and Lake George passed, there still remained a long and dangerous march through intricate forests, extensive morasses, and an uncleared country, still in a state of nature, before they could reach Albany, which was the first post to the southward that could afford them rest and accommodation.

The spirit of the commanders rose in proportion to the difficulties which were to be encountered. The objects in view were great, the glory to be acquired tempting, and the desire of the attainment seemed to lessen or remove obstacles, which to a cold or lukewarm speculation would have appeared insuperable. If the Lakes could be recovered, and Albany possessed, before the severity of the winter set in, the northern army would hold a principal share in the honour of bringing the war to a speedy conclusion. It was conceived that they could then pour destruction at will, into the heart either of the middle or the northern colonies, each of which would be exposed to them in its most tender and defenceless part. Whilst the possession of Hudson's river would establish and secure their communication with General Howe, it would equally sever and disconnect the southern and northern provinces, leaving thereby the latter to sink under the joint weight of both armies, or to accept of such terms as they could obtain, without the participation of the others. Nor could General Washington attempt to hold any post in New York or the Jerseys, with such a superiority of force as already oppressed him in front, and General Carleton's army at his back. The successes of their fellows on the side of New York, increased the impatience, and excited the jealousy of his army, every one apprehending that the war would be brought to an end, before he could have an opportunity of sharing in the honour of that happy event.

With all this ardour, and the most unremitting industry, it was not until the month of October, that the fleet was in
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a condition to seek the enemy on Lake Champlain. The force was very considerable with respect to the place and service, extraordinary in regard to the little time spent in its formation, and such as, a very few ages ago, would have been deemed formidable even upon the European seas. The ship *Inflexible*, which may be considered as Admiral, had been re-constructed at St. John's, from whence she sailed in 28 days after laying her keel, and mounted 18 twelve pounders. One schooner mounted 14, and another 12, six pounders. A flat bottomed radeau carried six 24, and six 12 pounders, besides howitzers; and a gondola, 7 nine pounders. Twenty smaller vessels, under the denomination of gun-boats, carried brass field pieces from 9 to 24 pounders, or were armed with howitzers. Some long-boats were furnished in the same manner. About an equal number of large boats acted as tenders. Those we have taken notice of, were all intended for, or appertaining to battle; we omit the vast number destined for the transportation of the army, with its stores, artillery, baggage and provisions.

1776.
State of
the Bri-
tish force
on Lake
Champ-
lain.

The armament was conducted by Captain Pringle, and the fleet navigated by above 700 prime seamen, of whom 200 were volunteers from the transports, who after having rivalled those belonging to the ships of war in all the toil of preparation, now boldly and freely partook with them in the danger of the expedition. The guns were served by detachments of men and officers belonging to the corps of artillery. In a word, no equipment of the sort was ever better appointed, or more amply furnished with every kind of provision necessary for the intended service.

The enemy's force was in no degree equal, either with respect to the goodness of the vessels, the number of guns, furniture of war, or weight of metal. Sensible, though they were, of the necessity of preserving the dominion of the Lakes, and aided in that design by the original force in their hands, with a great advantage in point of time for its increase, their intentions in that respect were counteracted by many essential, and some irremediable deficiencies. They wanted timber, artillery, ship-builders, and all the materials necessary for such an equipment. Carpenters, and all others concerned in the business of shipping, were fully engaged at the sea ports in the construction and fitting out of privateers, whilst the remoteness, and difficulty of communication, rendered the supply of bulky materials extremely tedious. When we consider the difficulties on their part, we think it not just to deny the Americans the praise, of

1776. having combated, and in part overcome them, with an assiduity, perseverance, and spirit, which did not in the least fall short of what had been employed against them. For their fleet amounted to 15 vessels of different kinds, consisting of two schooners, one sloop, one cutter, three galleys, and eight gondolas. The principal schooner mounted 12 six and four pounders. They were commanded by Benedict Arnold, who was now to support upon a new element, that renown which he had acquired on land in the Canada expedition.

State of
the A-
merican
force.

Engage-
ment
near the
isle Va-
licour.

General Carleton was too full of zeal, and too anxious for the event, not to head the British armament, and having proceeded up the Lake, discovered the enemy's fleet drawn up with great judgment, being very advantageously posted, and forming a strong line, to defend the passage between the island of Valicour and the western main. Indeed they had at the beginning placed themselves with so much skill behind the island, that an accident only discovered their position. The King's squadron, without this seasonable discovery, would have left them behind; an event, which if it had happened, might have been attended with the most serious consequences. It is said, that the unexpected sight of a three masted ship of such force, upon the Lake, threw the enemy into the utmost, and most visible consternation. It does not seem, however, probable, that a matter of such public notoriety in Canada should have been so long withheld from them.

A warm action ensued, and was vigorously supported on both sides for some hours; but the wind being unfavourable, so that the ship *Inflexible*, and some other vessels of force could not be worked up to the enemy, the weight of the action fell upon the schooner *Carleton* and the gun-boats, which they sustained with the greatest firmness, such extraordinary efforts of resolution being displayed both by men and officers, as merited and received the highest applause from their commanders. It is to be presumed, that when so much praise was due and given to the conduct and valour of a superior force on our side, the enemy must not have acted their part amiss.

The detachment belonging to the corps of artillery, were highly distinguished, and did most essential service in the gun-boats. But the same impediments still continuing, which prevented their being seconded by the other vessels, Captain Pringle, with the approbation of the General, thought it necessary for the present, to withdraw those that were engaged from the action. At the approach of night, he brought

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the whole fleet to anchor in a line, and as near as possible to the enemy, in order to prevent their retreat. 1776.

In this engagement the best schooner belonging to the enemy was burnt, and a gondola carrying three or four guns sunk, from whence we may form some reasonable conjecture of the execution done upon their other vessels. Being now fully sensible of their inferiority, they took the opportunity which the darkness of the night afforded, of endeavouring to escape from their present imminent danger, hoping to obtain shelter and protection at Crown Point. Arnold concerted and executed this design with ability, and fortune seemed at first so favourable to his purpose, that they were out of sight by the next morning. The chase being, however, continued without intermission both on that, and the succeeding day, the wind, and other circumstances peculiar to the navigation of the Lake, which had been at first in favour of the Americans, became at length otherwise, so that they were overtaken and brought to action a few leagues short of Crown Point, about noon on the 13th.

A very warm engagement ensued, and continued about two hours, during which those vessels that were most a-head, pushed on with the utmost speed, and passing Crown Point, escaped to Ticonderoga; but two galleys and five gondolas which remained with Arnold made a desperate resistance. During this action, the Washington galley, with Waterburg, a Brigadier General, and the second in command, on board, struck, and was taken. Arnold, at length, finding it was impossible to withstand the superiority of force, skill, and weight of metal, with which he was overborne, and finding himself but ill seconded by the Captains of some of his vessels, determined that his people should not become prisoners, nor the vessels a prey to the enemy. He executed this design with equal resolution and dexterity, and ran the Congress galley, in which himself was, with the five gondolas on shore in such a manner, as to land his men safely and blow up the vessels, in spite of every effort that was used to prevent both.

Loss and defeat were so far from producing their usual effect with respect to Arnold, that his conduct in this command raised his character still higher than it was before with his countrymen. They said that he had not only acted the part of a brave soldier, but that he also amply filled that of an able naval commander. That the most experienced seaman could not have found a greater variety of resources, by the dexterity of manœuvre, evolution, and the most advan-

1776. tageous choice of situation, to compensate for the want of force, than he did; that when his vessels were torn almost to pieces, he retreated with the same resolution that he fought, and by the happiest and most critical judgment, prevented his people and them from falling into the hands of the enemy. But they chiefly gloried in the dangerous attention he paid to a nice point of honour, in keeping his flag flying, and not quitting his galley till she was in flames, lest the enemy should have boarded and struck it.

Crown Point abandoned and destroyed

G. Carleton lands there with the army.

Thus was Lake Champlain recovered, and the enemy's force nearly destroyed, a galley, and three small vessels being all that escaped to Ticonderoga. The enemy, upon the rout of their fleet, having set fire to the houses, and destroyed every thing which they could not carry off, at Crown Point, evacuated that place, and retired to their main body at Ticonderoga. Gen. Carleton took possession of the ruins, where he was soon joined by the army. As he continued there till towards the end of the month, and, besides several reconnoitring parties, pushed on at one time strong detachments on both sides of the Lake, who approached within a small distance of Ticonderoga, at the same time that vessels appeared within cannon shot of the works, to examine the nature of the channel, and found its depth, little doubt can be entertained that he had it in contemplation to attempt that place. The strength of the works, the difficulty of approach, the countenance of the enemy, and the ignorance of their number, with other cogent reasons, prevented this design from taking place.

Motives for not attacking Ticonderoga.

It was evident that this post could not be forced in its present state, without a very considerable loss of blood, whilst the benefit arising from success would be comparatively nothing. The season was now too far advanced to think of passing Lake George, and of exposing the army to the perils of a winter campaign, in the inhospitable, and impracticable wilds to the southward. As Ticonderoga could not be kept during the winter, the most that could be expected from success, would be the reduction of works, more indebted to nature than art for their strength, and perhaps the taking of some cannon; whilst the former would be restored, and the latter replaced by the enemy, before the army could interrupt their proceedings in the ensuing summer. But if the defence should be obstinate, although the army were in the end successful, it would probably thereby be so much weakened, that all prospect of advantage in the future campaign would, in a great measure, be annihilated.

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The difficulty, perhaps impossibility, of keeping open the communication with Canada, and subsisting the army during the winter was obvious. General Carleton therefore re-imbarked the army without making any attempt, and returning to Canada, cantoned them for the winter in the best manner the country afforded.

1776.

G. Carleton returns with the army.

It is fit that we should now turn our attention to the important transactions in the South. We saw towards the conclusion of the last campaign, that Lord Cornwallis had not only overrun the Jerseys, but that the Delaware was the only apparent obstacle, which seemed capable of retarding the progress of his army, in the reduction of Philadelphia and the adjoining provinces. The American army was indeed no more. It is said that the greatest number which remained embodied did not exceed 2500 or 3000 men. This was all that remained of an army, which at the opening of the campaign amounted, as it is said, to at least twenty-five thousand. There are some who represent it as having been at that time much stronger. The term of their engagement being expired, which, along with the obligation of duty, discharged all apprehension of disgrace, there was no keeping together, at the heel of a ruinous campaign, troops broken and dispirited, equally unaccustomed to subordination, and to a long absence from their countries and families. Those small bodies, who from personal attachment, local circumstances, or a superior perseverance and bravery, still continued with the Generals Washington and Lee, were too inconsiderable in force, to demand much attention on the one side, or to inspire confidence on the other: whilst the support to be derived from new levies, not yet formed, was too remote and precarious, to afford much present consolation to the Americans.

Situation of affairs to the southward.

In this critical situation of their affairs, the capture of Gen. Lee seemed to render them still more hopeless. That officer, at the head of all the men which he could collect or keep together, being on his march to join General Washington, who had assembled the Pennsylvania militia to secure the banks of the Delaware, was, from the distance of the British cantonments, betrayed into a fatal security, by which, in crossing the upper part of New Jersey from the North river, he fixed his quarters, and lay carelessly guarded, at some distance from the main body. The operation of zeal, or desire of reward in an inhabitant, having communicated this situation to Col. Harcourt, who commanded the light horse, and had then made a desultory excursion at the head

Gen. Lee taken.

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of a small detachment to observe the motions of that body, he conducted his measures with such address and activity, and they were so well seconded by the boldness and rapidity of motion which distinguish that corps, that the guard was evaded, the centres seized without noise, the quarters forced, and Lee carried off, though all that part of the country was in his favour, and that several guarded posts, and armed patrols, lay in the way.

The making of a single officer prisoner, in other circumstances would have been a matter of little moment; but in the present state of the raw American forces, where a general deficiency of military skill prevailed, and the inexperience of the officers was even a greater grievance than the lack of discipline in the soldiers, the loss of a commander, whose spirit of enterprize was directed by great knowledge in his profession acquired by actual service, was of the utmost importance, and the more distressing, as there was little room to hope it could be soon supplied.

The rejoicing in Great Britain on this occasion was equal at least to the dejection of the Americans. It was conjectured, that some personal animosities between this General and several officers in the army, as well as persons of power at court, contributed not a little to the triumph and exultation of that time.

The capture of Gen. Lee was also attended with a circumstance, which has since been productive of much inconvenience to both sides, and of much calamity to individuals. A cartel, or something of that nature, had some time before been established for the exchange of prisoners between the Generals Howe and Washington, which had hitherto been carried into execution, so far as time and other circumstances would admit. As Lee was particularly obnoxious to government, it was said, and is supposed, that Gen. Howe was tied down by his instructions from parting with him upon any terms, if the fortune of war should throw him into his power. Gen. Washington not having at this time any prisoner of equal rank with Lee, proposed to exchange six field officers for him, the number being intended to balance that disparity; or if this was not accepted, he required that he should be treated and considered suitably to his station, according to the practice established among polished nations, and the precedent already set by the Americans in regard to the British officers in their hands, until an opportunity offered for a direct and equal exchange.

1776.

To this it was answered, that as Mr. Lee was a deserter from his Majesty's service, he was not to be considered as a prisoner of war, that he did not at all come within the conditions of the cartel, nor could he receive any of its benefits. This brought on a fruitless discussion, whether Gen. Lee, who had resigned his half pay at the beginning of the troubles, could be considered as a deserter, or whether he could with justice be excluded from the general benefits of a cartel, in which no particular exception of person had been made; the affirmative in both these positions being treated by Washington with the utmost indignation.

In the mean time Lee was confined in the closest manner, being watched and guarded with all that strictness and jealousy, which a state criminal of the first magnitude could have experienced in the most dangerous political conjuncture. This conduct not only suspended the operation of the cartel, but induced retaliation on the other side, and Colonel Campbell, who had hitherto enjoyed every degree of liberty consistent with his condition, and had been treated with great humanity by the people of Boston, was now thrown into a dungeon, and treated with a rigour equal to the indulgence he had before experienced. Those officers who were prisoners in the southern colonies, though not treated with equal rigour, were, however, abridged of their parole liberty, and deprived of other comforts and satisfactions, which had hitherto rendered their condition uncommonly easy. It was at the same time declared, that their future treatment should in every degree be regulated by that which Gen. Lee experienced, and that their persons should be answerable, in the utmost extent, for any violence that was offered to him.

This was not the only instance in which the Congress manifested a firm and undaunted resolution. In the midst of the dangers with which they were environed, far from giving way to any thing like unconditional submission, they made no overtures towards any kind of accommodation. On the other side none were made to them. They prepared to renew the war, and to repair their shattered forces with all diligence. They were now convinced of the inefficacy of temporary armies, engaged only for a short term, and calculated merely to repel a sudden invasion, when opposed to the constant war of a powerful enemy, and the incessant efforts of regular forces. It could never be hoped, with new men thus changed every year, to make any effectual stand against veteran troops, and their present critical situation afforded too alarming an experience, of the fatal consequences which might attend

Perseverance of the Congress.

1776. attend that period of utter imbecility, between the extinction of the old army, and the establishment of the new. To guard against this evil in future, which could not be remedied for the present, they issued orders about the middle of September, for the levying of 88 battalions, the soldiers being bound by the terms of enlistment to serve during the continuance of the war.

Measures for re-
newing
the army. The number of battalions which each colony was by this ordinance appointed to raise and support, may be considered as a pretty exact political scale of their comparative strength, framed by those who were interested in its correctness, and well acquainted with their respective circumstances. Massachusetts's Bay and Virginia were the highest on this scale, being to furnish 15 battalions each; Pennsylvania came next, and was rated at twelve; North Carolina 9, Connecticut and Maryland 8 each; New York, and the Jerseys, the latter considered as one government, were, in consequence of their present situation, set no higher than 4 battalions each.

Lands al-
lotted for
serving
during
the war. The liberty of the Congress in its encouragement to the troops, was proportioned to the necessity of speedily compleating the new army. Besides the bounty of twenty dollars to each soldier at the time of enlisting, lands were to be allotted at the end of the war to the survivors, and to the representatives of all who were slain in action, in different stated proportions, from 500 acres, the allotment of a Colonel, to 150, which was that of an Ensign; the private men, and non-commissioned officers, were to have 100 acres each. As a bar to the thoughtlessness and prodigality incident to soldiers, and to prevent the most worthless and undeserving from obtaining for trifles, those rewards due to the brave for their blood and services, all these lands were rendered unalienable during the war, no assignment or transfer being to be admitted at its conclusion.

The Congress had before, as an encouragement to their forces by sea and land, decreed that all officers, soldiers, and seamen, who were or might be disabled in action, should receive during life, one half of the monthly pay to which they were entitled by their rank in the service, at the time of meeting with the misfortune. Notwithstanding these encouragements, it seems, as if the condition of serving during the indefinite term of the continuance of the war, was not generally agreeable, to a people so little accustomed to any kind of subordination or restraint; so that in the month of November, the Congress found it necessary to admit of another mode of enlistment for the term of three years, the soldiers under

under this compact receiving the same bounty in money with the others, but being cut out from any allotment of lands.

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With all these encouragements by the Congress, the business of recruiting went on, however but heavily; and it must not be imagined, that the army actually raised, did at any time bear any proportion in effective men to that which was voted.

The holding out a promise of lands as an inducement to fill up their armies, was probably intended to counteract the effect of a similar measure which had some time before been adopted on the side of the crown, large grants of *vacant* lands, to be distributed at the close of the troubles, having been promised in its name to the Highland emigrants, and some other new troops raised in America, as a reward for their expected zeal and loyalty in the reduction of the rebellious colonies. A measure that tended more to increase and excite the animosity of the people, than any other perhaps which could have been proposed in the present circumstances. For they universally considered the term *vacant*, as signifying *forfeited*, which being an effect of the treason laws yet unknown in America, excited the greater horror; the people being well aware from the experience of other countries, that if the sweets of forfeiture were once tasted, it would be equally happy and unusual, if any other limits than those which nature had assigned to their possessions, could restrain its operation.

The annual supplies raised in different colonies by their respective assemblies, being insufficient to provide for the extraordinary expences of so large an army, together with the other numerous contingencies, inseparable from such a war, the Congress found it necessary to negotiate a loan to answer these purposes. They accordingly passed a resolution to borrow five millions of dollars at the interest of four per cent. the faith of the united states being pledged to the lenders for the payment both of principal and interest.

Money
borrow'd

As the situation of affairs became extremely critical, and the preservation of Philadelphia to all appearance hopeless, at the time that Lord Cornwallis had overrun the Jerseys, and that the British forces had taken possession of the towns and posts on the Delaware, the Congress published an address to the people in general, but more particularly those of Pennsylvania and the adjacent states. The general objects of this piece, were to awaken the attention of the people, remove their despondency, renew their hopes and spirits, and confirm their attentions of supporting the war, by shewing that

Dec. 10,
Address
to the
people.

1776.

no other means were left for the preservation of those rights and liberties for which they originally contended. But it was particularly and immediately intended to forward the completion of the new army, and to call out the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries, to the defence of Philadelphia.

For these purposes they enumerated the causes of the troubles, the supposed grievances they had endured, the late oppressive laws which had been passed against them, dwelt much upon the contempt with which all their petitions and applications for redress had been treated; and to shew that no alternative but war, or a tame resignation of all that could be dear to mankind remained, they asserted, that even the boasted Commissioners for giving peace to America had not offered, nor did yet offer, any terms but pardon on absolute submission. From this detail and these premises they deduced the necessity of the act of Independency, asserting, that it would have been impossible for them to have defended their rights against so powerful an aggressor, aided by large armies of foreign mercenaries, or to have obtained that assistance from other states which was absolutely necessary to their preservation, whilst they acknowledged the sovereignty, and confessed themselves the subjects of that power, against which they had taken up arms, and were engaged in so cruel a war.

They boasted of the success that had in general attended their cause and exertions, contending that the present state of weakness and danger, did not proceed from any capital loss, defeat, or from any defect of valour in their troops, but merely from the expiration of the term of those short enlistments, which had in the beginning been adopted from an attention to the ease of the people. They assured them, that foreign states had already rendered them essential services, and had given them the most positive assurances of further aid. And they excited the indignation and animosity of the people, by expatiating upon the unrelenting, cruel, and inhuman manner, in which, they said, the war was carried on, not only by the auxiliaries, but even by the British forces themselves.

Complaints of this kind held a distinguished place in all the American publications of that time. Some of them indeed contained nothing else, but details of rapes, rapine, cruelty and murder. Though these accounts were undoubtedly highly exaggerated, it is, however, to be apprehended, that too much room was afforded for complaints of that nature. The odium began with the Hessians, and has since stuck closely to them, though the British troops were far from escaping a share

share of the imputation. The former, naturally fierce and cruel, ignorant of any rights but those of despotism, and of any manners, but those established within the narrow precinct of their own government, were incapable of forming any distinction between ravaging and destroying an enemy's country, where no present benefit was intended but plunder, nor any future advantage expected but that of weakening the foe, and the reducing of a malcontent people (who though in a state of rebellion, were still to be reclaimed, not destroyed) to a due sense of obedience to their lawful sovereign.

1776.

It has been said, that in order to reconcile them to so new and strange an adventure, some idea had been held out to them in Germany, that they should obtain large portions of the lands which they were to conquer in America, and that this notion, however absurd, made them at first consider the ancient possessors as their natural enemies; but that when they found their error, they considered the moveable plunder of the country, not only as a matter of right, but an inadequate recompense for undertaking such a voyage, and engaging in such a war.

Military rapine may be easily accounted for without any recourse to such a deception. It had been observed from the beginning, that the most mortal antipathy subsisted between the Americans and Hessians. The former, contending themselves for freedom, and filled with the highest notions of the natural rights of mankind, regarded with equal contempt and abhorrence, a people whom they considered as the most sordid of all mercenary slaves, in thus resigning all their faculties to the will of a petty despot, and becoming the ready instruments of a cruel tyranny. They reproached them with the highest possible degree of moral turpitude, in thus engaging in a domestic quarrel, in which they had neither interest nor concern, and quitting their homes in the old world to butcher a people in the new, from whom they never had received the smallest injury; but who, on the contrary, had for a century past afforded an hospitable asylum to their harrassed and oppressed countrymen, who had fled in multitudes to escape from a tyranny, similar to that under which they were now acting, and to enjoy the blessings of a liberty most generously held out to them, of which these mercenaries would impiously bereave the German as well as English Americans.

Such sentiments, and such reproaches, did not fail to increase their natural ferocity and rapaciousness; and it is said that they continued in a course of plunder, until they at length became so encumbered and loaded with spoil, and so

anxious

1776. anxious for its preservation, that it grew to be a great impediment to their military operations.

However disagreeable this conduct was, and contrary to the nature of the British commanders, it was an evil not easily to be remedied. They could not venture to hazard the success of the war, in so distant a situation, and such precarious and critical circumstances, by quarrelling with auxiliaries, who were nearly as numerous and powerful as their own forces. Allowances were necessarily to be made for a difference of manners, opinions, and even ideas of military rules and service. Without opening any general ground of dislike or quarrel, it required all the constancy, and all that admirable equanimity of temper which distinguish General Howe's character, to restrain the operation of those picques, jealousies, and animosities, the effect of national pride, emulation, and a difference of manners, which no wisdom could prevent from springing up in the two armies.

It was scarcely possible that the devastation and disorders practised by the Hessians, should not operate in some degree in their example upon the British troops. It would have been difficult to have punished enormities on the one side, which were practised without reserve or apprehension on the other. Every successful deviation from order and discipline in war, is certainly and speedily followed by others still greater. No relaxation can take place in either without the most ruinous consequences. The soldier, who at first shrinks at trifling excesses, will in a little time, if they pass without question, proceed, without hesitation, to the greatest enormities.

From hence sprung the clamour raised in America of the desolation which was spread through the Jerseys, and which by taking in friends and moderate men, as well as enemies, did great injury to the royal cause, uniting the latter more firmly, and urging to activity, or detaching, many of the former. Nor could the effect be confined to the immediate sufferers; the exaggerated details which were published of these enormities, serving to embitter the minds of men exceedingly through all the colonies. These accounts being also transmitted to Europe, seemed in some degree to affect our national character; in France particularly, where the people in general, through the whole course of this contest, have been strongly American, they were readily received and willingly credited. Among other enormities which received the censure of our neighbours in that country, the destruction of the public library at Trenton, and of the college and library at Princetown, together with a celebrated orrery made by Rittenhouse,

Rittenhouse, said to be the best and finest in the world, were brought as charges of a Gothic barbarity, which waged war even with literature and the sciences.

1776.

In about a month after the taking of New-York, the inhabitants of that city and island, presented a petition to Lord and General Howe, the commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies, signed by Daniel Horsfemenden, Oliver de Lancy, and 946 others, declaring their allegiance, and their acknowledgment of the *Constitutional Supremacy* of Great-Britain over the colonies; and praying that in pursuance of the former declarations issued by the Commissioners, that city and county might be restored to his Majesty's peace and protection.

Petitions from the inhabitants of New-York, &c. to the commissioners.

This petition to the Commissioners was followed by another to the same purpose, from the freeholders and inhabitants of Queen's County in Long-island. It was observed of these petitions, that the acknowledgment of the Constitutional supremacy in one, and of the constitutional authority of Great-Britain in the other, were very guardedly expressed, all mention of parliament being omitted, and the great question of unconditional submission left totally at large. It is also remarkable, that though the inhabitants of York Island and Queen's County, besides raising a considerable body of troops for the King's service, and establishing a strong militia for the common defence, had given every other testimony of their loyalty, which could be expected or wished, yet these petitions were not attended to, nor were they restored to those rights which they expected in consequence of the declarations, as well as of the late law for the appointment of Commissioners.

Critical state of Philadelphia.

The critical situation of Philadelphia, which a night or two's frost would have laid open to the British forces, obliged the Congress, about the close of the year, to consult their own safety by retiring to Baltimore, in Maryland. In this state of external danger, the dissensions which sprung up among themselves were not less alarming to the Americans. We have formerly shewn that the Declaration of Independence had met with a strong opposition in Philadelphia, not only from those who were called, or considered as Tories, but from many, who in all other matters had been among the most forward in opposing the claims of the crown and parliament. The carrying of the question by a great majority throughout the province, was far from lessening the bitterness of those who opposed it, amongst whom were most of the Quakers, a great and powerful body in that colony; so that

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that the discontented in this business, forgetting in the present their ancient animosity, with all its operating causes, coalesced with the Tories or loyalists, whom they had formerly persecuted, and considered as betrayers, and inveterate enemies of their country, thus composing all together a very formidable party.

Divisions
inPensyl-
vania.

In consequence of this dissention, and of the ill success of the rebellious arms during the greater part of the campaign, which disposed many to look to their safety, a Mr. Galloway, the family of Allens, with other leading men, either in Pennsylvania or the Jerseys, some of whom had been members of Congress, fled to the Commissioners at New-York, to claim the benefits of the general pardon which had been offered; expecting, as matters then stood, to return speedily home in triumph. These were, however, much less troublesome and dangerous to the Americans, than those who kept their ground, who were so numerous and powerful, that upon the approach of the British forces to the Delaware, they prevented the order for fortifying the city of Philadelphia from being carried into execution. This eccentric and alarming movement in the seat of life and action, obliged General Washington, weak as he was, to detach three regiments, under the command of Lord Stirling, effectually to quell the opposition of that party, and to give efficacy to the measure of fortifying the city. This decisive conduct answered all its purposes, except that of fortifying the city, a design which seems to have been abandoned as not practicable, or not necessary at that time.

As the season grew too severe to keep the field, and the frosts were not yet sufficiently set in for the passage of the Delaware, it became necessary towards the middle of December to put the British and auxiliary forces under cover. They were accordingly thrown into great cantonments, forming an extensive chain from Brunswick on the Rariton to the Delaware, occupying not only the towns, posts, and villages, which came within a liberal description of that line, but those also on the banks of the Delaware for several miles, so that the latter composed a front at the end of the line, which looked over to Pennsylvania.

Things were now in such a situation, that there seemed to be as little probability of interrupting the designs, or endangering the security on the one side, as of renewing the spirit, or retrieving the weakness, on the other. In this state of affairs, a bold and spirited enterprize, which shewed more of brilliancy than real effect in its first appearance, became ca-
pable

pable in its consequences of changing in a great measure the worst fortune of the war. Such extraordinary effects do small events produce, in that last and most uncertain of human decisions. 1776.

Colonel Rall, a brave and experienced officer, was stationed with a brigade of Hessians, consisting of three battalions, with a few British light-horse, and 50 chassours, amounting in the whole to 14 or 1500 men, at Trenton, upon the Delaware, being the highest post which the royal army occupied upon that river. Colonel Donop, with another brigade, lay at Bordentown, a few miles lower down the river; and at Burlington still lower, and within twenty miles of Philadelphia a third body was posted. The corps at Trenton, as well as the others, partly from the knowledge they had of the weakness of the enemy, and partly from the contempt in which they held him, considered themselves in as perfect a state of security, as if they had been upon garrison duty in their own country, in a time of the profoundest peace. It is said, and seems probable, that this supposed security, increased that licence and laxity of discipline, of which we have before taken notice, and produced an inattention to the possibility of a surprize, which no success or situation can justify in the vicinity of an enemy, however weak or contemptible. Surprize at Trenton.

These circumstances, if they really existed, seem not to have escaped the vigilance of General Washington. But, exclusive of these, he fully saw and comprehended the danger to which Philadelphia and the whole province would be inevitably exposed, as soon as the Delaware was thoroughly covered with ice, if the enemy, by retaining possession of the opposite shore, were at hand to profit of that circumstance, whilst he was utterly incapable of opposing them in the field.

To ward off this danger, he with equal boldness and ability formed a design to prevent the enemy, by beating up their quarters; intending to remedy the deficiency of force by the manner of applying it; by bringing it nearly to a point; and by attacking unexpectedly and separately those bodies which he could not venture to encounter if united. If the design succeeded only in part, it might, however, induce the enemy to contract their cantonments, and to quit the vicinity of the river, when they found it was not a sufficient barrier to cover their quarters from insult and danger; thus obtaining that security for Philadelphia, which, at present, was the principal object of his attention.

1776.

For this purpose, General Washington took the necessary measures for assembling his forces (which consisted mostly of drafts from the militia of Pennsylvania and Virginia) in three divisions, each of which was to arrive at its appointed station on the Delaware, as soon after dark, and with as little noise as possible, on the night of Christmas-day. Two of these divisions were under the command of the Generals Erwing and Cadwallader, the first of which was to pass the river at Trenton Ferry, about a mile below the town, and the other still lower towards Bordentown. The principal body was commanded by Mr. Washington in person, assisted by the Generals Sullivan and Green, and consisted of about 2500 men, provided with a train of 20 small brass field pieces.

With this body he arrived at M'Kenky's Ferry, about nine miles above Trenton, at the time appointed, hoping to be able to pass the division and artillery over by midnight, and that it would then be no difficulty to reach that place long before daylight, and effectually to surprize Rall's brigade. The river was, however, so incumbered with ice, that it was with great difficulty the boats could make their way through, which with the extreme severity of the weather, retarded their passage so much, that it was near four o'clock before it was completed. They were still equally delayed and incommoded in the march by a violent storm of snow and hail, which rendered the way so slippery, that it was with difficulty they reached the place of destination by eight o'clock.

The detachment had been formed in two divisions immediately upon passing the river, one of which, turning to the right, took the lower road to Trenton, whilst the other, with General Washington, proceeded along the upper, or Pennington road. Notwithstanding the delays they met, and the advanced state of daylight, the Hessians had no knowledge of their approach, until an advanced post, at some distance from the town, was attacked by the upper division, the lower, about the same time, driving in the outguards on their side. The regiment of Rall, having been detached to support the picket which was first attacked, was thrown into disorder by the retreat of that party, and obliged to rejoin the main body. Colonel Rall now bravely charged the enemy, but being soon mortally wounded, the troops were thrown into disorder after a short engagement, and driven from their artillery, which consisted only of six battalion brass field pieces. Thus overpowered, and nearly surrounded, after
an

Col. Rall
mortally
wounded

an ineffectual attempt to retreat to Princetown, the three regiments of Rall, Lofsberg, and Knyphausen, found themselves under the unfortunate necessity of surrendering prisoners of war. 1776.

Three regiments surrender themselves prisoner

As the road along the river side to Bordentown led from that part of Trenton most remote from the enemy, the light-horse, chasseurs, a considerable number of the private men, with some few officers, made their escape that way. It is also said, that a number of the Hessians who had been out marauding in the country, and accordingly absent from their duty that morning, found the same refuge, whilst their crime was covered under the common misfortune.

The loss of the Hessians in killed and wounded was very inconsiderable; not exceeding 30 or 40 at the most; that on the other side was too trifling to be mentioned; the whole number of prisoners amounted to 918. Thus was one part of General Washington's project crowned with success; but the two others failed in the execution, the quantity of ice being so great, that the divisions under Erwing and Cadwallader, found the river, where they directed their attempts, impassable. If this had not been the case, and that the first, in pursuance of his instructions, had been able to have possessed the bridge over Trenton Creek, not one of those who made their way to Bordentown could have escaped. But if the design had taken effect in all its parts, and the three divisions had joined after the affair at Trenton, it seems probable that they would have swept all the posts on the river before them.

As things were, General Washington could not proceed any further in the prosecution of his design. The force he had with him was far from being able even to maintain its ground at Trenton, there being a strong body of light infantry within a few miles at Princetown, which by the junction of Donop's brigade, or other bodies from the cantonments, would have soon overwhelmed his little army. He accordingly repassed the Delaware the same evening, carrying with him the prisoners, who with their artillery and colours, afforded a day of new and joyful triumph at Philadelphia.

This small success wonderfully raised the spirits of the Americans. It is an odd, but a general disposition of mankind, to be much more afraid of those whom they do not know, than of those with whom they are acquainted. Difference of dress, of arms (though less useful), of complexion, beard, colour of the hair or eyes, with the general manner, air, and countenance, have at different times had sur-

Great effects of the surprize at Trenton on the Americans in general.

1776.



prizing effects upon brave, disciplined, and experienced armies. The Hessians had hitherto been very terrible to the Americans; and the taking of a whole brigade of them prisoners, seemed so incredible, that at the very time they were marching into Philadelphia, people were contending in different parts of the town, that the whole story was a fiction, and indeed that it could not be true. The charm was now, however, dissolved, and the Hessians were no longer terrible. In the mean time General Washington was reinforced by several regiments from Virginia and Maryland, as well as with several new bodies of the Pennsylvania militia, who, with those of that province already under his command, were much distinguished in the hard service of the ensuing winter campaign.

Reasonings and conjectures thereon.

The surprize at Trenton did not excite less amazement in the British and auxiliary quarters, than it did joy in those of the Americans. Blame was loosely scattered every where. That three old established regiments, of a people who make war their profession, should lay down their arms to a ragged and undisciplined militia, and that with scarcely any loss on either side, seemed an event of so extraordinary a nature, that it gave full scope to the operation of conjecture, suspicion, censure, and malignity, as different tempers were differently affected.

The General was blamed for laying so extensive a chain of cantonments; Rall was condemned for marching out of the town to meet the enemy, and the character of the Hessians, in general, did not rise in the opinion of their allies.

As to the first, the General had foreseen the objection, but he depended upon the weakness of the enemy, the good disposition of the inhabitants, the considerable force which was stationed in the advanced posts, and was besides influenced by a desire to cover and protect the county of Monmouth, where a great number of the people were well affected to the royal cause. It may be added, that perhaps no line of cantonment or post can be contrived so compact and secure, as not to admit the possibility of an impression in some one part, by a force much inferior to the aggregate power of the defensive.

With respect to Colonel Rall, if the charge against him was well founded, his misconduct sprung from an error, which was generally prevalent among the officers and men both of the British and Hessian forces. The fact is, that from the successes of the preceding campaign, and the vast superiority which they perceived in themselves in every action, they had held

held the Americans in too great contempt both as men and as soldiers, and were too apt to attribute those advantages to some extraordinary personal virtue and excellence, which were in reality derived from the concurrence of a number of other, and very different causes; from military skill, experience and discipline; from the superior excellence of their small arms, artillery, and of all other engines, furniture, and supplies, necessary for war; and still more particularly, to a better supply, and a more dexterous and effective use of bayonets; which gave them a great superiority over the Americans, who were poorly furnished with this kind of arms, and were by no means expert in the use of them.

1776.



The alarm now spread, induced the British and auxiliary troops immediately to assemble, and General Grant, with the forces at Brunswick and that quarter, to advance speedily to Princetown; whilst Lord Cornwallis, who had gone to New York in his way to England, found it necessary to delay his voyage, and return post to the defence of the Jerseys. They were not now without an enemy to encounter, for General Washington, encouraged by the reinforcements he had received, had again passed the Delaware, and was with his whole force at Trenton.

Lord Cornwallis returns to the Jerseys.

Lord Cornwallis marched immediately to attack the enemy, whom he found in a strong position, formed at the back of Trenton Creek, being in possession of the bridge, and other passages, which were well covered with artillery. After several skirmishes in the approach, a cannonade ensued on both sides, which continued until night. A brigade of the British troops lay that night at Maidenhead, six miles from Trenton, and another upon its march from Brunswick, consisting of the 17th, the 40th, and 55th regiments, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Mawhood, were at Princetown, about the same distance beyond Maidenhead.

Jan. 2, 1777.



In this situation on both sides, General Washington, who was far from intending to risque a battle, having taken the necessary precaution of keeping up the fires, and every other appearance of still occupying his camp, and leaving small parties to go the rounds, and guard the bridge and the fords, withdrew the rest of his forces in the dead of night, and with the most profound silence. They marched with such expedition towards Princetown, that though they took a large circuit by Allentown, partly to get clear of the Trenton, or Assumpink Creek, and partly to avoid the brigade which lay at Maidenhead, their van fell in at sunrise the next morning with Colonel Mawhood, who had just begun his march.

General Washington quits his camp, and attacks Colonel Mawhood, near Princetown.

1776.

That officer not having the smallest idea of their forces, the fogginess of the morning, or circumstances of the ground, preventing him from seeing its extent, considered it only as the attempt of some flying party to interrupt his march, and having easily dispersed those by whom he was first attacked, pushed forward without further apprehension. But in a little time, he not only found that the 17th regiment which he led was attacked on all sides by a superior force, but that it was also separated and cut off from the rest of the brigade, whilst he discovered, by the continued distant firing, that the 55th, which immediately followed, was not in better circumstances.

In this trying and dangerous situation, the brave commander, and his equally brave regiment, gained immortal honour. After a violent conflict, and the greatest repeated exertions of courage and discipline, they at length, by dint of bayonet, forced their way through the thickest ranks of the enemy, and pursued their march to Maidenhead undisturbed. The 55th regiment was little less pressed, and finding it impossible to continue its march, with great resolution made good its retreat, and returned by the way of Hillsborough to Brunswick. The 40th regiment, which was still at Princetown when the action began, suffered less than the others, and retired by another road to the same place. The enemy acknowledged that nothing could exceed the gallant behaviour of the corps under Mawhood.

Though the number killed, considering the nature and warmth of the engagements, was not so considerable as might have been expected; yet, upon the whole, the three regiments suffered severely; their loss in prisoners amounting to about 200; the killed and wounded were much fewer. The Americans had many more killed, among whom were some brave officers, particularly General Mercer belonging to Virginia, who was much esteemed and lamented.

It cannot escape the observation of any person who has attended to the circumstances of this war, that the number slain on the side of the Americans, has in general greatly exceeded that in the royal army. Though every defect in military skill, experience, judgment, conduct, and mechanical habit, will in some degree account for this circumstance, yet perhaps it may be more particularly attributed to the imperfect loading of their pieces in the hurry of action, than to any other cause; a defect, of all others, the most fatal; the most difficult to be remedied in a new army; and to which even veterans are not sufficiently attentive. To this may also be added

added the various make of their small arms, which being procured as chance or opportunity favoured them, from remote and different quarters, were equally different in size and bore, which rendered their being fitted with ball upon any general scale impracticable.

This active and unexpected movement, with its spirited consequences, immediately recalled Lord Cornwallis from the Delaware; who was, not without reason, alarmed for the safety of the troops and magazines at Brunswick. The Americans, still avoiding a general action, and satisfied with their present advantages, crossed the Millstone river, without any further attempt. In a few days, however, they overran East Jersey as well as the West, spreading themselves over the Rariton, even into Essex county, where, by seizing Newark, Elizabeth Town, and Woodbridge, they became masters of the coast opposite to Staten Island. Their principal posts were taken and strengthened with so much judgment, that it was not practicable to dislodge them. The royal army retained only the two posts of Brunswick and Amboy, the one situated a few miles up the Rariton, the other point of land at its mouth, and both holding an open communication with New York by sea.

Thus by a few well concerted and spirited actions, was Philadelphia saved, Pennsylvania freed from danger, the Jerseys nearly recovered, and a victorious and far superior army reduced to act upon the defensive, and for several months restrained within very narrow and inconvenient limits. These actions, and the sudden recovery from the lowest state of weakness and distress, to become a formidable enemy in the field, raised the character of General Washington, as a commander, very high both in Europe and America; and with his preceding and subsequent conduct, serve all together to give a sanction to that appellation, which is now pretty generally applied to him, of the American Fabius.

Nor was this change of affairs to be attributed to any error in the British Generals, or fault in the troops which they commanded; but depended entirely upon the happy application of a number of powerful and concurring circumstances, which were far beyond their reach or controul. Though many of these were foreseen and pointed out, by those who from the beginning, either opposed in public, or regretted in private, this war, and that others are now obvious to every body, it may not, however, be amiss to specify some of those causes which clogged it with particular difficulties.

Lord
Cornwal-
lis returns
from the
Delaware
to Brunf-
wick.

Ameri-
cans over
run the
Jerseys.

1776.

Among the principal of these may be considered the vast extent of that continent, with its unusual distribution into great tracts of cultivated and savage territory; the long extent of sea coast in front, and the boundless wastes at the back of the inhabited countries, affording resource or shelter in all circumstances; the numberless inaccessible posts, and strong natural barriers, formed by the various combinations or woods, mountains, rivers, lakes and marshes. All these properties and circumstances, with others appertaining to the climates and seasons, may be said to fight the battles of the inhabitants of such countries in a defensive war. To these may be added others less local. The unexpected union, and unknown strength of the colonies; the judicious application of that strength, by suiting the defence to the nature, genius, and ability of the people, as well as to the natural advantages of the country, thereby rendering it a war of posts, surprizes, and skirmishes, instead of a war of battles. To all these may be added, the people's not being bridled by strong cities, nor fettered by luxury to those which were otherwise, so that the reduction of a capital had no effect upon the rest of the province, and the army could retain no more territory than what it occupied, which was again lost as soon as it departed to another quarter.

British and Auxiliary forces keep possession of Brunswick and Amboy, during the remainder of the winter.

During the remaining winter, and the whole of the spring the army under Lord Cornwallis continued much straitened at Brunswick and Amboy, the troops undergoing, with the greatest perseverance and resolution, the hardships of a most severe and unremitting duty; whilst their ranks were thinned by a continued series of skirmishes, which were productive of no real advantage on either side, other than that of inuring the Americans to military service. In a word, every load of forage which was procured, and every article of provision which did not come from New-York, was sought or purchased at the price of blood.

The consequence of the late military outrages in the Jerseys were severely felt in the present change of circumstances. As soon as fortune turned, and the means were in their power, the sufferers of all parties, the well disposed to the royal cause, as well as the neutrals and wavering, now rose as a man to revenge their personal injuries and particular oppressions, and being goaded by a keener spur, than any which a public cause, or general motive could have excited, became its bitterest and most determined enemies. Thus the whole country, with too few exceptions, became hostile; those who were incapable of arms, acting as spies, and keeping a continual

continual watch for those who bore them; so that the smallest motion could not be made, without its being exposed and discovered, before it could produce its intended effect. Such were the untoward events, that in the winter damped the hopes of a victorious army, and nipped the laurels of a foregoing prosperous campaign.

We have formerly had occasion to shew, the bad success Indian war. which invariably attended the repeated attempts that had been made, of calling off the attention and force of the southern colonies from the support of the general alliance to their own immediate defence, by involving them effectually in civil war and domestic contention, either through the means of the well affected in general, the Regulators and Highland emigrants in the Carolinas, or of the Negroes in Virginia. We have also taken some small notice, of the charges made by the insurgents in some of these provinces against their governors, of endeavouring to bring the savages down to further those designs.

The failure of these attempts, was not sufficient to damp the zeal of the British agents among the Indian nations, nor to render them hopeless of still performing some essential service, by engaging these people to make a diversion, and to attack the southern colonies in their back and defenceless parts. The Indians, ever light in act and faith, greedy of presents, and eager for spoil, were not difficultly induced, by a proper application of the one, and the hope of the other, concurring with their own natural disposition, to forget the treaties which they had lately confirmed or renewed with the colonists, and to engage in the design.

It was held out to them, that a British army was to land in West Florida, and after penetrating through the Creek, Chickesaw, and Cherokee countries, and being joined by the warriors of those nations, they were jointly to invade the Carolinas and Virginia, whilst another formidable force by sea and land, was to make a powerful impression on the coasts. Circular letters to the same import, were sent by Mr. Stuart, the principal agent for Indian affairs, to the inhabitants of the back settlements, requiring all the well-affected, as well as all those, who were willing to preserve themselves and their families from the inevitable calamities and destruction of an Indian war, to be in readiness to repair to the royal standard, as soon as it was erected in the Cherokee country, and to bring with them their horses, cattle, and provisions, for all of which they were promised payment. They were likewise required, for their present security,

1776. rity, and future distinction from the King's enemies, to subscribe immediately to a written paper, declaratory of their allegiance.

The scheme was so plausible, and carried such a probability of success, that it seemed to have had a very extensive operation upon the disposition of the Indians, and to have prepared them in a great measure for a general confederacy against the Colonies. Even the six nations, who had before agreed to the observance of a strict neutrality, now committed several small acts of hostility, which were afterwards disowned by their elders and chiefs. The Creek Indians, more violent, began the southern war with all their usual barbarity, until finding that the expected succours did not arrive, they, with a foresight uncommon among Indians, stopped suddenly short, and repenting of what they had done, were, in the present state of affairs, easily excused; and being afterwards applied to for assistance by the Cherokees, returned for answer, that they, the latter, had plucked the thorn out of their foot, and were welcome to keep it.

But the Cherokees fell upon the adjoining colonies with determined fury, carrying, for a part of the summer, ruin and desolation wherever they came, scalping and slaughtering the people, and totally destroying their settlements. They were soon, however checked, and severely experienced, that things were much altered, since the time of their former warfare upon the same ground, and that the martial spirit now prevalent in the colonies, was extended to their remotest frontiers. They were not only repulsed or defeated in every action, by the neighbouring militia of Virginia and the Carolinas, but pursued into their own country, where their towns were demolished, their corn destroyed, and their warriors thinned in repeated engagements, until the nation was nearly exterminated, and the wretched survivors were obliged to submit to any terms prescribed by the victors; while the neighbouring nations of Indians were silent and passive spectators of their calamities.

Nor was this Indian war more fortunate, with respect to its effect on the well-affected on those quarters; who are not only said, to a man, to have expressed the utmost aversion to the authors, and abhorrence of the cruelty of that measure, but that some of the chief leaders of the Tories, avowed a recantation of their former principles, merely upon that account.

It was in the midst of the bustle and danger of the war, and when the scale of fortune seemed to hang heavily against them,

them, by the defeat on Long-Island, and the reduction of New-York, at a time when a great and invincible force by sea and land, carried dismay and conquest wherever it directed its course, that all the members of the Congress ventured to sign that remarkable treaty of perpetual compact and union between the thirteen revolted colonies, which lays down an invariable system of rules or laws, for their government in all public cases with respect to each other in peace or war, and is also extended to their commerce with foreign states. This piece, which may be considered as a most dangerous supplement to the Declaration of Independency, was published under the title of Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the thirteen specified states, and has since received, as the necessary forms would permit, the separate ratification of each colony. Such was in general the state of affairs in America at the close of the year 1776. [*For these Articles at large, see p. 200.*]

1776.

Oct. 4.

C H A P. XIII.

Campaign of the year 1777 opens. General Sir William Howe, Lord Cornwallis, and General Tryon, with the British forces under their command; and the Hessians under that of General Knypphausen, take the field; as also those of the enemy under the Generals Washington, Wooster, Sullivan, Warren, Mercer, Wayne, Gates, Parsons, and Arnold, with those under Lord Stirling. The different actions, at Peeks's-Kill, Danbury, Egg-Harbour, Amboy, Staten-Island, Sandy-Hook, and Ticonderoga. At the River-Elk, Red-Clay Creek, Chad's-Ford, Brandywine, and Germantown. Philadelphia taken. Delaware passage obstructed. The expedition to Billingsfort, Germantown, Red-Bank, and Mud-Island. Delaware passage opened. Sir William Howe winters in Philadelphia. Washington at Valley-Forge.

1777.

WE have already shewn the state and situation of the armies in America during the winter and greater part of the spring. As the season opened, and enlarged the field of enterprize, our commanders did not neglect seizing those advantages which nature and their naval superiority presented, in a country deeply intersected by navigable rivers, and continually laid open in other parts by the numberless inlets and channels, which the peculiar construction of the islands and coasts, admit in their junction with the ocean and those rivers.

Loyal Provincial-embodied, and placed under the command of G. Tryon.

In the mean time a considerable body of provincial troops was formed under the auspices of General Sir William Howe, which by degrees amounted to several thousand men, and which under that denomination included, not only American, but British and Irish refugees from the different parts of the continent. This corps was entirely officered, either by those gentlemen, who for their attachment to the royal cause had been obliged to abandon their respective provinces, or by those who lived under that protection in the New-York islands. The new troops were placed for the temporary time of their service, upon the same footing as to pay, subsistence, and

and

and clothing, with the established national bodies of the royal army, with the further advantage to the private men and non-commissioned officers, that they were entitled to considerable allotments of vacant lands at the end of the troubles. This measure, besides its utility in point of strength, afforded some present provision to those, who having lost every thing in this unhappy contest, were now thrown upon the crown, as their only refuge, for support; whilst on the other side, instead of their being an heavy and unprofitable burden to the crown, they were placed in a condition which enabled them to become active and useful instruments in effecting its purposes. At the same time, this acquisition of strength, derived from, and growing in the country, carried a most flattering appearance, and seemed to indicate resources for the prosecution of the war in the very theatre of action.

As all new forces must of course be much fitter for defence, than for active service in the field, so it added much to the apparent utility of this measure, that the royal provincials could immediately be disposed of to the greatest advantage, in the protection and defence of New-York and the adjacent islands, supplying thereby the place of the veteran troops, and affording a free scope to the distant operations of the grand army. To render this defensive system for the islands more complete, Governor Tryon, who, already in his civil capacity commanded the militia, and who had taken the utmost pains in its establishment, was now placed by the commander in chief at the head of the new corps, under the title and rank of Major-General of the provincials, whereby he was enabled effectually to combine and bring into action the joint force of these separate bodies.

The great natural strength of the country, the vicinity of the North River, with its convenience in respect to the seat of war, had induced the Americans, during the winter, to erect mills and establish their principal magazines, in that rough and mountainous tract called the Manor of Courtland. Thus it became their grand repository, and trusting in the security of this natural citadel, neither industry was wanting, nor expence spared, in abundantly providing it with immense supplies of provisions, forage, and stores, of all sorts. A place, otherwise of no importance, called Peek's Kill, which lies about fifty miles up the North River from New-York, served as a kind of port to Courtland Manor, by which it both received provisions, and dispensed supplies.

Sir

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Sir William Howe was well aware of these circumstances in general, and was as well convinced of the decisive consequences which must ensue from the cutting off those resources, which the enemy had with such infinite labour and expence accumulated for the support and prosecution of the war. A general attempt upon Courtland Manor, would not only be dangerous, from the strength of the country, and impracticability of the ground; but must from its own nature be rendered abortive; as the length, the parade, and the manner of the preparation, would afford the Americans time and warning to assemble their whole force in that quarter; where, if we still persisted in our design, we must fight under every possible disadvantage, and a moral certainty of great loss; and if they did not chuse, even upon these terms, to hazard an engagement with us, they would have sufficient time to remove their magazines, before we could bring the point to any decision.

Expedi-
tion to
Pee
Kill.

March
23d.

Peek's Kill, was, however, within reach, and the General determined to profit of that circumstance. Colonel Bird, with a detachment of about 500 men, under the conduct of a frigate of war, and other armed vessels, was sent on board some transports up the North River for that service. The enemy upon the approach of the British armament, finding, or thinking themselves, unequal to the defence of the place, and being convinced, that there was no possible time to remove any thing but their arms and bodies, set fire to the barracks, and principal store-houses and then retired to a strong pass at about two miles distance, which commanded the entrance into the mountains, and covered a road which led to some of the mills and other deposits. The British troops upon their landing, perceiving that they could not have time or opportunity to bring off the provisions or other articles, completed the conflagration. All the magazines were destroyed. The troops re-embarked when the service was performed, and the armament, after destroying several small craft laden with provisions, returned.

This service, however, was far from filling up the outline of the General's design. The magazines at Peek's Kill were not of the importance and magnitude which he had been led to expect, and something, if possible, must still be done, to weaken the enemy by cutting off their resources. He obtained intelligence, that the Americans had deposited large quantities of stores and provisions in the town or village of Danbury, and other places in the borders of Connecticut, which lay contiguous to Courtland Manor. An expedition

pedition was accordingly undertaken for the destruction of these deposits, the charge of which, as an introduction to his new military command, was committed to Governor Tryon, who was assisted by those active and able officers, Brigadier-General Agnew, and Sir William Erskine. The expedition was said to be undertaken on a plan of General Tryon, who had flattered himself with finding a junction of many provincials in that quarter as soon as he should appear with the troops.

1777.

April 25.

The detachment appointed to this service consisted of about 2000 men, who being passed through the Sound, under the convoy of a proper naval armament, were landed near Norwalk in Connecticut, about 20 miles to the Southward of Danbury. As the country was in no state of preparation, nor under any apprehension of the design, the troops advanced without interruption, and arrived at Danbury the following day. They now perceived that the country was rising to intercept their return, and as no carriages could be procured, if it had been otherwise, to bring off the stores and provisions, they immediately proceeded to the destruction of the magazine. In the execution of this prompt service, the town was unavoidably burnt.

Expedition to Danbury

Magazines destroyed.

The detachment returned on the 27th by the way of Ridgefield. In the mean time the Generals Wooster, Arnold, and Silliman, having hastily arrived from different quarters, and collected such militia as were within their reach, endeavoured by every possible means to interrupt their march, until a greater force could arrive to support them with effect in the design of cutting off their retreat. The first of these officers hung upon the rear of the detachment, whilst Arnold, by crossing the country gained their front, in order to dispute their passage through Ridgefield. Nor could the excellent order and formidable appearance of the British forces, who had large covering parties well furnished with field pieces on their flanks and rear, nor the tumultuary manner in which a militia not very numerous were got together, prevent the Americans, upon every advantage of the ground, from making bold attempts to interrupt the progress of the King's army. In one of these skirmishes, General Wooster an experienced Provincial officer, who had served with some reputation in the two former wars, at an age approaching closely to seventy, and in the active exertion of a valour, which favoured more of rashness, than of the temperance and discretion of that time of life, was mortally wounded,

General Wooster killed.

1777. wounded, and died with the same resolution that he had lived.

The royal forces had only got quit of Wooster, when they found themselves engaged with Arnold, who had got possession of Ridgefield, and with less than an hour's advantage of time, had already thrown up some sort of an entrenchment to cover his front. The courage and discipline of the British troops, would have triumphed over an enemy more equal in force and condition. The village was forced, and the Americans drove back on all sides. The action was sharp, and Arnold displayed his usual intrepidity. His horse having been shot within a few yards of our foremost ranks, he suddenly disengaged himself, and drawing out a pistol, shot the soldier dead who was running up to transfix him with his bayonet.

General Tryon lay that night at Ridgefield, and renewed his march on the morning of the 28th. The enemy having been reinforced with troops and cannon, the army was exceedingly harrassed during this day's march. Every advantageous post was seized and disputed, whilst hovering parties on the flanks and rear, continually endeavoured to disturb the order of march, and to profit of every difficulty of ground. The army at length gained, in good time, the Hill of Compo, within cannon shot of the ships. It was then evening, and their ammunition exhausted, although it is reported, that they had been supplied with sixty rounds a man at their outset upon the expedition. The forces immediately formed upon the high ground, where the enemy seemed more determined and resolute in their attack than they had been hitherto. In this situation, the General ordered the troops to advance, and to charge with their bayonets. This order was executed with such impetuosity, that the enemy was totally broken, and every thing being prepared at the shore for their reception, the troops were embarked without further molestation.

Large quantities of corn, flour, and salt provisions, a great number of tents, with various military stores and necessaries, were destroyed in the course of this expedition. The loss of men on the royal side, was, as usual, much less considerable than could have been expected; the whole, in killed, wounded and missing, amounted to 172, of whom more than two thirds were wounded. The general loss under all these heads on the American side was more than double, and the number of the slain about four to one. On the British side no officer was killed. On theirs, besides General Wooster,

ter, they lost three colonels, and a Dr. Atwater, a gentleman of consideration in that country. The number of officers that happened to be in that country, and to assemble on the occasion, was out of all proportion to that of the private men; whilst the raw and undisciplined state of the militia, together with their weakness and point of number, obliged the former, as well as those volunteer gentlemen who joined them, to uncommon exertions, and to expose themselves in an extraordinary degree. These circumstances may account for the number of men of rank, in their service who fell on that side.

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Upon the whole, the effect of this expedition did not probably answer the expectation upon which it was founded. The actual public stores at Danbury and other places were far inferior to what they had been supposed or represented; and though much mischief was done, it may appear doubtful, whether the loss sustained on the one side was equivalent to the risk encountered on the other. Events, however, are not to be considered as tests of conduct, and it must ever be one of the first objects with a great general, to render the force of the enemy inefficacious by cutting off their resources.

It was perhaps in return for this expedition that the Connecticut men not long after paid a visit to Long-Island. Having received intelligence that Commissaries had for some time been employed on the east end of Long-Island, in procuring forage, grain, and other necessaries for the British forces, and that these articles were deposited for embarkation at a little port called Sagg Harbour; the distance of that place from New-York, and the weakness of the protection, which consisted only of a company of foot and an armed schooner of twelve guns, afforded encouragement for a design to frustrate the scheme of supplying the wants of the army. The principal difficulty and danger lay in passing and repassing of the Sound, which was continually traversed by the British cruizers.

Colonel Meigs, an enterprising officer, who had attended Arnold in the expedition to Quebec, and had been taken prisoner in the attempt to storm that city, conducted this enterprize. Having passed his detachment in whale-boats through the Sound, and landed on the north branch of the Island, where it is intersected by a bay that runs in far from the East end, it seems by the account, which is not in that part very clear, as if they had carried their boats over that arm of the land. They, however, embarked again on the

Vessels
and pro-
visions
destroy-
ed at
Sagg
Harbour.

1777. bay, which he crossed with 139 men, and landed on the fourth branch of the island, within four miles of Sagg Harbour. They arrived at the place before day, and notwithstanding the resistance they met with from the guard and crews of the vessels, and the vigorous efforts of the schooner, which kept up a continued fire of round and grape shot at 150 yards distance, they fully completed their design; having burnt a dozen brigs and sloops which lay at the wharf, and entirely destroyed every thing on the shore. They brought off with them about 90 prisoners, consisting of the officer who commanded with his men, the commissaries and most of the masters and crews of the small vessels which they destroyed. A circumstance which renders this expedition particularly curious, if a fact, is asserted by the Americans. They say, that the party returned to Guilford, in Connecticut, in 25 hours from the time of their departure, having during that space, not only effectually completed the design of their expedition, but having traversed no less by land and by water, than 90 miles. A degree of expedition, which requires some credulity to be admitted; and from whence, if the fact is established, it would appear that Meigs possesses no inconsiderable portion of that spirit which operates in the Canada expedition.

The season for action was now advanced; but from some improvidence or inattention unaccounted for, at home, the army was restrained from taking the field through the want of tents and field equipage. Lord Cornwallis however made shift with the old tents to encamp the forces at Brunswick on the hills that commanded the Rariton, and along the communications upon that river to Amboy; the example being followed at the latter place by General Vaughan.

This delay was of the utmost importance to the Americans. The winter campaign had been principally carried on by detachments of the militia, the greater part of whom returned home when the time of their service was expired. Others more generous, more patient of toil, or more sanguine in the common cause, outstayed the allotted time, merely from a consideration of the weakness of the army, and the ruin which must attend their departure before it was reinforced. In the mean time, the business of recruiting under an engagement of serving during the war, or even for three years, went on but slowly. The term of service was contrary to the genius and habits of the people, and the different provinces found the greatest difficulty in raising any thing near the stipulated proportion of troops which had been allotted

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allotted for each by the Congress. In this extremity, the making of draughts from the militia, was looked to in several as the *dernier resort*. Such an act of force, however, upon those who were contending for liberty on the most enlarged plans, and who considered all the rights of freemen as sacred, was irksome and dangerous. Every method was tried to avoid having recourse to this disagreeable measure and final resource. In some of the colonies the enlisting of apprentices, and of Irish indented servants was permitted, contrary to former resolutions and decrees, with a promise of indemnification to their masters. As a farther check upon the increase of the force in the Jerseys, the New-England provinces which abounded with men, were taken up with their domestic concerns. An invasion was expected on the side of Canada; Hudson's-River and Rhode-Island afforded continual room for apprehension; nor did any expedition against Boston appear at all improbable; especially, as the great number of British prizes which were brought into that port, had, besides rendering it an object of the first importance, renewed, and even increased, if possible, the detestation and abhorrence with which that people had been long regarded.

In such circumstances the advantages of an early campaign, and the benefit which the enemy derived from the delay, were obvious. The fine weather brought reinforcements from all quarters to the Jerseys. Those who shuddered at a winter's campaign grew bold in summer; and the certainty of a future winter, had no greater effect than distant evils usually have. Upon this increase of strength, towards the latter end of May, General Washington quitted his former position in the neighbourhood of Morris-Town, and advancing within a few miles of Brunswick, took possession of the strong country along Middle Brook.

Upon this single movement, hung a great part of the future events of the war in the Jerseys. Washington turned that advantageous situation to every account of which it was capable. His camp, winding along the course of the hills, was strongly entrenched, fortified, and well covered with artillery; nor was it better secured by its immediate natural or artificial defences, than by the difficulties of approach which the ground in front threw into the way of an enemy. In this situation he commanded a view of the British encampments on the hills of Brunswick, and of much of the intermediate country towards that place and Amboy.

1777.

Different
schemes
respect-
ing the
cam-
paign.

The great object of the campaign on the side of New-York seems to have been, that Sir William Howe should have penetrated through the Jerseys to the Delaware, driving Washington before him, so as to clear those provinces entirely of the enemy, at the same time reducing the inhabitants to so effectual a state of subjection, as to establish a safe and open communication between that city and the army. If in the prosecution of this design the enemy hazarded a battle, nothing was more wished, nor could any great doubt be entertained of success; or if they constantly retired, which was more to be expected, the consequences in regard to the general objects would be nearly the same, and the army having by the reduction of the Jerseys, left every thing safe in its rear, and secured the passage of the Delaware, would of course become masters of Philadelphia, which from its situation was incapable of any effectual defence, and could only be protected by Washington, at the certain expence and hazard of a battle.

In this manner several conceived and reasoned on the operations in Jersey. Others were clearly of opinion, that the bringing of Washington to a decisive action upon terms of any tolerable equality with regard to ground, in such a country and against his inclinations, was a thing impracticable. That if he could not be brought to such an action in such a manner, so as wholly to drive him out of the Jerseys, the attempt to pass a river like the Delaware, full of armed vessels in its stream, strong forts in its islands, great obstructions in its channels, with an enemy in front, and leaving a strong army in rear, would be a very unadvised enterprize: and the failure in it would be the total and immediate ruin of the royal cause in America.

On the other hand, if the obstacles in the Jerseys were found so great that they could not be overcome without much loss of time and expence of blood, it was thought adviseable, in those circumstances, to profit of the powerful naval force, and the infinite number of transports and vessels of all sorts which lay at New-York; to combine this powerful auxiliary (which had hitherto produced such signal advantages, in every instance where it could be brought into action) with the land force, and by conveying the army by sea to the place of its destination, to elude all those difficulties by which the passage through the Jerseys might be clogged. In this alternative, the object was still the same, the means of attaining it being only changed. Philadelphia was the immediate point in view. If that object was properly chosen, and the

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the general opinion at that time pointed it out as the most eligible, the passage by sea seemed the most secure of its effects, though unquestionably the slowest in the operation. The Delaware, or the great bay of Chesapeak, opened the way into the heart of the richest and best of the central colonies, and led either directly, or by crossing a country of no great extent, to the possession of that place. That point gained, Philadelphia was to become the place of arms, and center of action, whilst every part of the three hostile and flourishing Provinces of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, would, from their deep bays and navigable rivers, be exposed to the combined powerful action, and continual operation of the land and marine force. However, before this plan was adopted, as we shall see, measures were taken in the Jerseys, if possible, to bring Washington to an action.

The operations in the southern or central provinces, however efficacious or extensive, did not, by any means, include all the great objects of the campaign. Something was of course to be expected on the side of Canada, where a very considerable army had been collected, and by the success of the last campaign on the lakes, had a way opened for it to penetrate into the back parts of the New-England and New-York provinces. The command in this expedition was committed to General Burgoyne, who was reported to be author of the plan. The great body was to be seconded by a lesser expedition from the upper part of Canada, by the way of Oswego to the Mohawk River. This scheme was eagerly adopted by the Ministers, who founded the greatest hopes upon its success. All the advantages that had ever been expected from the complete possession of Hudson's River, the establishment of a communication between the two armies, the cutting off the intercourse between the Northern and Southern Colonies, with the consequent opportunity of crushing the former, detached and cut off from all assistance, it was now hoped would have been realized. The greater hopes were conceived of it, from the opinion entertained of the effect of the savages on the minds of the Americans. It was known, that the Provincials in general were in great dread of them, from their cruel and desolating manner of making war. These were therefore collected at great expence, and with much labour, from all parts of the continent. In a word, this expedition seemed to become the favourite object of the present year.

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The tents and field equipage, with a body of Anspach troops, and a number of British and German recruits, having at length arrived at New-York by the beginning of June, the General, Sir William Howe, passed over to the Jerseys, and took the field about the middle of that month. The enemy were now in a strong state of defence. Washington's army, besides the advantages it derived from the inaccessible posts which it occupied, was become more considerable as to number and force. Several bodies of the New-England troops, under the Generals Gates, Parsons, and Arnold, advanced to the borders of the North River, where they were ready to pass over to the Jerseys, whenever opportunity invited their action, or the necessity of their friends demanded their assistance. At the same time, the Jersey militia assembled from every quarter with the greatest alacrity, so that in every position it took, and motion it made, the army was watched and environed by enemies.

The General left nothing untried that could provoke Washington to an engagement, and no measure untried that could induce him to quit his position. He pushed on detachments; and made movements, as if he intended to pass him, and advance to the Delaware. This manœuvre proving ineffectual, he advanced in the front of his lines, where he continued for four days, exploring the approaches to his camp, and accurately examining the situation of his posts, hoping that some weak or unguarded part might be found, upon which an attack could be ventured with a probability of success, or that, in the nearness of the armies, chance, inadvertence, impatience, or error, might occasion some movement, or be productive of some circumstances, which would open the way to a general engagement. All these hopes were frustrated. Washington knew the full value of his situation. As he had too much temper to be provoked or surprized, into a dereliction of his advantages, so he had too much penetration to lose them by circumvention or sleight. And he had too long profited of that rule of conduct from which he had not once hitherto deviated during the course of the troubles, of never committing the fortune of America to the hazard of a single action, to depart from it upon this occasion, when it was not even demanded by any urgent necessity.

Sir William Howe did not yet seem to have abandoned his design, of enticing Washington to quit his fastnesses. He suddenly retreated, and with some apparent marks of precipitation, from his position in the front of the enemy, and with-

withdrawing his troops from Brunswick, returned with the whole army towards Amboy. If the General's design was what we have supposed, this movement produced all the immediate effect which he could have expected. The army was eagerly pursued by several large bodies of the American regular forces as well as of the Jersey militia, under the command of the Generals Maxwell, Lord Sterling, and Conway; the latter of whom was a Colonel of the Irish Brigade, and one of that numerous train of officers in the French service, who had taken an active part against Great Britain in this unhappy civil war.

Such trifling advantages as the best regulated retreat must afford to the pursuers, and some excesses committed, perhaps with a view to the general design, by the retiring soldiers, served to increase the ardour, and inflame the passions of the Americans. The measures, which the General immediately adopted at Amboy completed the delusion. The bridge which was intended for the Delaware, was thrown over the channel which separates the Continent from Staten island. The heavy baggage, and all the incumbrances of the army, were passed over. Some of the troops followed, and every thing was in immediate preparation for the passage of the rest of the army. By these judicious measures, if the immediate design failed of effect, every thing was forwarded as much as it could be for the intended embarkation; a measure of which the Americans had as yet no knowledge.

Every thing concurred, along with the vanity natural to mankind, in inducing the Americans to believe, that the retreat was not only real, but that it proceeded from a knowledge of their superiority, and a dread of their power: Even Washington himself, with all his caution and penetration, was so far imposed upon by the feint, that he quitted his secure posts upon the Hills, and advanced to a place called Quibbletown, to be the nearer at hand for the protection or support of his advanced parties.

The British General lost no time in endeavouring to profit of those circumstances. He immediately marched the army back by different routes, from Amboy. He had three objects in view. To cut off some of the principal advanced parties; to come up with, and bring the enemy to an engagement in the neighbourhood of Quibbletown; or, if this design, through the celerity of the enemy, failed in the effect, it was intended that Lord Cornwallis, who, with his column, was to take a considerable circuit to the right, should, by turning the enemy's left, take possession of some passes

1777.  passes in the mountains, which, by their situation and command of ground, would have reduced them to a necessity of abandoning that strong camp, which had hitherto afforded them so advantageous a security.

Skirmishes.

Americans under Lord Sterling defeated.

Lord Cornwallis having dispersed the smaller advanced parties of the enemy, fell in at length with Lord Sterling, who with about 3000 men, strongly posted in a woody country, and well covered by artillery judiciously disposed, not only lay full in his way, but shewed a determination to dispute his passage with vigour and firmness. The ardour excited upon this occasion by an emulation between the British and Hessian troops was conspicuous and irresistible. All obstacles gave way to their impetuosity in pressing forward, to try who should obtain the honour of first coming to a close engagement with the enemy. The party of Americans first attacked, unable to withstand the shock, were soon routed on all sides, having sustained, besides no inconsiderable loss in men, that of three pieces of brass ordnance, which were taken by the British Guards, and the Hessian grenadiers. The pursuit was continued as far as Westfield, but the woods, and the intense heat of the weather, prevented its effect.

Washington regains his strong camp.

In the mean time, General Washington soon perceived, and as speedily remedied his error, by withdrawing his army from the plains, and again recovering his strong camp on the hills. At the same time, penetrating into Lord Cornwallis's further design, he secured those passes in the mountains, the possession of which by the British troops, would have exposed him to the necessity of a critical change of position, which could not have been executed without danger.

Royal army pass over to Staten-Island.

Thus was this, apparently well concerted scheme of bringing the enemy to an action, or at least of withdrawing them from their strong holds, rendered abortive, by the caution and prudence of General Washington. Sir William Howe was now convinced, that he was too firmly attached to his defensive plan of conducting the war, to be induced by any means, other than by some very clear and decided advantage, to hazard a general engagement. Nothing then remained to be done in the Jerseys. To advance to the Delaware, through a country entirely hostile, and with such a force in his rear, appeared to the British commanders no better than madness. All delay was therefore not only fruitless, but a waste of that time and season, which might be employed to great advantage elsewhere. The General accordingly returned with the army to Amboy, on the second day from its departure.

departure on the expedition, and passed it over on the next to Staten Island, from whence the embarkation was intended to take place.

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The preparations for this grand expedition excited a general alarm throughout the Continent. Boston, the North River, the Delaware, Chesapeak Bay, and even Charles-Town, were alternately held to be its objects. General Washington, in pursuance of the intelligence which he continually received from New-York, and the other islands, was constantly dispatching expresses to put those places upon their guard, against which, from immediate information, he supposed for the time the storm to be directed. It was one of the manifest advantages of proceeding by sea, that it was impossible for Washington directly to know where the storm would fall. He must therefore keep his position; and the King's army must necessarily make a considerable progress towards its object, before he could be in a condition to resist them; and such a progress would not leave him that choice of posts, by which hitherto he had avoided a general action.

Alarm excited by the preparations for the grand expedition.

During the cessation procured by preparation on the one side, and apprehension on the other, a spirited adventure on the side of Rhode Island, not only retaliated the surprize of General Lee, but seemed to procure an indemnification for his person. Colonel Barton, a Provincial, with several other officers and volunteers, passed by night from Providence to Rhode Island, and though they had a long passage by water, they eluded the watchfulness of the ships of war and guard boats which surrounded the island, and conducted their enterprize with such silence, boldness, and dexterity, that they surprized Gen. Prescott, who commanded in chief, in his quarters, and brought him and his Aid-de-Camp, through all those perils, safe to the Continent. This little adventure produced much exultation on the one side, and more regret than it seemed to deserve on the other, from the influence which it must necessarily have on the destination of General Lee. It was, however, particularly galling and grievous to General Prescott, who not long before had carried matters to such a length, as to set a price upon Arnold, and offer a reward for taking his person, as if he had been a common out-law or robber; an insult which Arnold immediately returned, by setting an inferior price upon the General's person.

General Prescott carried off from Rhode-Island.

Some time previous to these transactions, the Congress had found it necessary to advance the rate of interest upon the large loan which they proposed for the service and upon

Rate of interest upon the

loan.

the

1777. the credit of the united Provinces, from four, which was first offered, to six per cent. As a testimony of public gratitude, and a future incitement to, what they considered or held out, as virtue and patriotism, they ordered, that a monument should be erected at Boston, in honour of Major General Warren, who commanded and fell in the engagement at Bunker's Hill, and another in Virginia, in honour of Brigadier General Mercer, who was slain in the action near Prince-Town; the resolution conveying in a very few words, the highest eulogium on the character and merits of the deceased. They likewise decreed, that the eldest son of the former of these gentlemen, and the youngest son of the latter, should be educated at the expence of the United States. As Mercer had a good landed estate, the propriety of adopting his youngest son as the child of the public is obvious.

Monuments decreed for the Generals Warren and Mercer.

Fleet and army de- part from Sandy Hook.

Notwithstanding the preparations that had already been made for the embarkation, and the assistance afforded by the crews of near 300 vessels, yet such are the unavoidable delays incident to such operations when at all extensive, that it was not until the 23d of July that the fleet and army were able to depart from Sandy Hook. In order more effectually to perplex and deceive the enemy, the General ordered some transports, with a ship cut down to act as a floating battery, up the North River, a little before the embarkation was completed; a feint which succeeded so far as to induce Washington to detach a considerable body of his army across that river.

Force embark- ed on the expedi- tion.

The force that embarked upon the expedition consisted of 36 British and Hessian battalions, including the light infantry and grenadiers, with a powerful artillery, a New-York corps called the Queen's Rangers, and a regiment of light horse. Seventeen battalions, with a regiment of light horse, and the remainder of the new Provincial corps, were left for the protection of New-York, and the adjoining islands. Rhode island was occupied by seven battalions. So much was the active force of the army restrained, by the possession, which it was, however, indispensably necessary to hold, of these important posts. It is said, that the General intended to have taken a greater force with him upon the expedition; but that upon the representations of General Clinton, who was to command in his absence, of the danger to which the islands would be exposed, from the extensiveness of their coasts, and the great number of posts that were necessarily to be maintained, he acknowledged the force of these arguments by relanding several regiments.

Whilst both Gen. Washington and the Congress were sufficiently engaged, by their attention to the movements, and apprehension of the designs of the powerful fleet and army which was conducted by the brother Generals and Commissioners, the rapid progress of General Burgoyne on the side of the Lakes, and the unaccountable conduct of their commanders in abandoning Ticonderoga, were events so alarming and unexpected, that they could not fail to perplex their counsels, and considerably to impede their defensive preparations in other parts. The Congress behaved with firmness in this exigency. They immediately issued orders for a recall to head quarters, and an enquiry into the conduct of the general officers who had abandoned Ticonderoga; they directed Washington to appoint other commanders; and they likewise directed him to summon such numbers of the militia from the eastern and central provinces for the northern service, as he should deem sufficient for restraining the progress of the enemy.

1777.

Congress
and
Wash-
ington a-
larmed
by the loss
of Ticon-
deroga.

The voyage was far from being favourable to the fleet and army, engaged on the expedition. It cost them a week to gain the Capes of Delaware. The information which the commanders received there, of the measures taken by the enemy for rendering the navigation of that river impracticable, afforded so little encouragement to the prosecution of their design by that way, that it was given up, and a passage by Chesapeak Bay, to that part of Maryland, which lies to the East of that vast inlet, and not at a very great distance to the South-West of Philadelphia, was adopted in its place, as presenting fewer obstacles to their operations. The winds were so contrary in this part of the voyage, that the middle of August was turned before they entered Chesapeak Bay; a circumstance highly inconvenient and irksome in that hot season of the year, with so great a number of men and horses, crowded and cooped up in the vessels; but which must have been attended with the most fatal consequences, if the foresight of the commanders had not guarded against every event by the unbounded provision they had made for the voyage, as a failure in any one article, even that of water, would have been probably irremediable.

The winds fortunately proved fair in the bay, so that the fleet gained the mouth of the River Elk near its extremity, in safety, through a most intricate and dangerous navigation for such a multitude of vessels, in which the Admiral performed the different parts of a commander, inferior officer, and pilot, with his usual ability and perseverance. Having pro-
ceeded

Fleet ar-
rives at
the River
Elk.

1777.

ceeded up the Elk as far as it was capable of admitting their passage, the army was at length relieved from its long and tiresome confinement on board the transports, being landed without any opposition at Elk Ferry, in a degree of health and condition which could scarcely have been expected on the 25th of August. Whilst one part of the army advanced to the head of Elk, the other continued at the landing place, to protect and forward the artillery, stores, and necessary provisions, the General not permitting the troops to be much incumbered with baggage; indeed the scarcity of carriage rendered even a great abridgment in the article of tents necessary.

Washing-
ton re-
turns to
the de-
fence of
Philadel-
phia.

In the mean time, Gen. Washington, with the army from the Jerseys, had returned to the defence of Philadelphia, and upon advice of the descent at Elk, advanced to the Brandywine Creek, or River, which, crossing the country about half way to that city, falls into the Delaware. Their force, including the militia, amounted to 15,000 men, which was probably about the number, making the necessary allowance for posts and communications, that the royal army could bring into action.

Declara-
tion issu-
ed by the
General.

Sir William Howe, in order to quiet and conciliate the minds of the people in Pennsylvania, the Delaware Counties, and the adjacent parts of Maryland, and to prevent a total desertion and desolation of the country in the front of the army, published a declaration, in which he promised, that the strictest regularity, good order and discipline, should be observed by the army, and the most perfect security and effectual protection afforded to all his Majesty's peaceable and well disposed subjects; extending at the same time this security and protection to such persons, who not having been guilty of assuming legislative or judicial authority, might otherwise have acted illegally in subordinate stations, upon the proviso of their immediate return to their habitations, and peaceable demeanor for the future. He also offered a free and general pardon to all officers and soldiers in arms, who should surrender themselves to the royal army.

It was not till the 3d of September, that the army was enabled to quit the head of Elk, and pursue its course towards Philadelphia. In the mean time the enemy had advanced from the Brandywine, and taken post on Red Clay Creek, from whence they pushed detachments forward, to occupy difficult posts in the woods, and to interrupt, by continual skirmishes, the line of march. As the country was difficult, woody, and not well known, and that the genius of the
enemy

enemy lay to profit of such circumstances, the General advanced slowly, and with extraordinary caution. He was from necessity, as well as disposition, sparing of his troops. Recruits were brought from a prodigious distance, and procured with difficulty even at the source. Every man killed, wounded, or taken, was to him an irreparable loss, and so far as it went, an incurable weakening of the army, for the present year at least. On the other hand, the enemy were at home. Every loss they suffered was not only immediately repaired, but the military ability of the survivors was increased by every destruction of their fellows.

This caution could not, however, prevent some skirmishes, in which the royal forces were almost always victorious. It does not appear that the Americans made all the use that might be expected of the advantage which the country afforded for harrassing and impeding the progress of the British army. After several movements on both sides, the enemy retired beyond the Brandywine, where they took possession of the heights, and covered the fords, with an evident intention of disputing the passage of that river.

In this situation the British army, at day break, advanced in two columns towards the enemy. The right, under the command of Gen. Knyphausen, marched directly to Chad's Ford, which lay in the center of the enemy's line, where they expected, and were prepared for the principal attack; their right and left covering other less practicable fords and passages for some miles on either hand. A heavy cannonade commenced on both sides about ten o'clock, which was well supported during the day, whilst the General, to amuse and deceive the enemy, made repeated dispositions for forcing the Ford, the passage of the river seeming to be his immediate and determined object. To impede or frustrate this design, they had passed several detachments to the other side, who, after a course of skirmishes, sometimes advancing, and at others obliged to retire, were at length finally, with an eager pursuit, driven over the river. Thus the noise and semblance of a battle was held up, and the expectation kept continually alive to the most immediate and decisive consequences.

Whilst the attention of the Americans was thus fully occupied in the neighbourhood of Chad's Ford, and that they supposed the royal force was in their front, Lord Cornwallis, at the head of the second column, took a long circuitous march to the left, until he gained the Forks of the Brandywine, where the division of the river rendered it of course

1777.

Sept. 11.
Advances to the Brandywine, and to Red-Clay Creek.

Various movements on both sides.

more

1777.



more practicable. By this very judicious movement, his Lordship passed both branches of the river at Trimbles, and at Jeffery's Ford, without opposition or difficulty, about two o'clock in the afternoon, and then turning short down the river, took the road to Dilworth, in order to fall upon the enemy's right.

General Washington having, however, received intelligence of this movement about noon, endeavoured, as well as he could, to provide against its effect, by detaching General Sullivan with all the force he could venture to withdraw from the main body, to oppose Lord Cornwallis. Sullivan shewed a considerable share of judgment and ability in the execution of this commission. He took a very strong position on the commanding grounds above Birmingham church, with his left extending towards the Brandywine, his artillery advantageously disposed, and both flanks covered with very thick woods.

Action at
the Bran-
dywine.

As this disposition obliged Lord Cornwallis to form a line of battle, it was about four o'clock before the action began. Neither the good disposition of the enemy, the advantages of situation, nor a heavy and well supported fire of small arms and artillery, were at all sufficient to restrain the impetuosity of the British and Hessian troops. The light infantry, chasseurs, grenadiers, and guards, rushing on through all obstacles and dangers, drove the enemy, in spite of all their efforts, though not without a spirited opposition, from their posts, and pursued them pell-mell into the woods on their rear. In the mean time, a part of the enemy's right, which had not been broken, took a second strong position in a wood on the same side, from whence, after some considerable resistance, they were dislodged and pursued by detachments from the second line.

Several bodies of the troops that were first engaged, got so deeply entangled in the woods through the eagerness of pursuit, that they were not able to rejoin the army before night. In the mean time, as the main and collected body continued advancing, they came upon a corps of the enemy which had not yet been engaged, and which had taken possession of a strong post, to cover the retreat of the defeated wing of their army. A very warm engagement now ensued, and this post was so vigorously defended, that it was some time after dark before it could be forced. The darkness, the uncertainty of the ground, of General Knyphausen's situation, together with the extreme fatigue which the troops had undergone, in a long march and severe action, which had scarcely admitted of

of the smallest respite during the whole course of the day, 1777. all concurred in preventing the army from pursuing its advantages any farther.

General Knyphausen, after successfully amusing the enemy all day with the apprehension of an attack which he did not intend, made his passage good in the evening, when he found that they were already deeply engaged on the right. He carried the entrenchment, and took the battery and cannon, which defended and covered Chad's Ford. At this instant, some of the British troops, who had been entangled in, and had penetrated through the woods, threw the enemy into such a confusion, that an immediate retreat, or rather flight, took place in all parts. The lateness and darkness of the evening, prevented a pursuit here, as it had done on the right.

General Knyphausen makes an attack at Chad's Ford. Lord Cornwallis attacks the enemy's right.

A few hours more daylight would have been undoubtedly productive of a total and ruinous defeat to the Americans.

Loss on both sides.

A part of their troops, among whom were particularly numbered some of the Virginia regiments, and the whole corps of artillery, behaved exceeding well in some of the actions of this day, exhibiting a degree of order, firmness, and resolution, and preserving such a countenance in extremely sharp service, as would not have discredited veterans. Some other bodies of their troops behaved very badly. Their loss was very considerable, which probably was the cause that it was not particularly specified in their own accounts. In the Gazette it was computed, at about 300 killed, 600 wounded, and near 400 taken prisoners. They also lost ten small field pieces, and a howitzer, of which all, but one, were brass.

The loss in the royal army was not in proportion, being something under five hundred, of which the slain did not amount to one fifth. The officers suffered considerably, especially in wounded, though no one of higher rank than a captain was killed. The enemy retreated first to Chester, and on the next day to Philadelphia. The victorious army lay that night on the field of battle.

Washington, so far as we can judge at this distance, seems to have been more out-generalled in this action, than any other since the beginning of the war. This conclusion is not, however, to be considered as established; as we are sensible that it may be well questioned, from the premises even before us. The defence of such a length of river, intersected with fords, and some at remote distances, was undoubtedly impracticable. If it be asked then why the attempt

Reflections on the action.

1777. tempt was made, it may be answered, that his great object was to harass, and to interrupt the progress of the royal army to Philadelphia, by every possible means, which did not involve his own in the risque of a general engagement; that even a superior loss of men, was not to be considered by him, to whom perhaps it was necessary to learn, even by a dangerous experiment, the improvement and state of his own troops. His choice of a post on the Brandywine, in preference to those more defensible that were nearer to Philadelphia, has been censured; but how far this choice was altogether in his power does not fully appear. And, however difficult he was in point of intelligence, with respect to Lord Cornwallis's movement, he shewed great ability in his endeavours to remedy that negligence, by the prompt and judicious measures which he took to cover his right. Whatever the merits or demerits were on this side of the question, it must be acknowledged, that the movements of the royal army were judicious and masterly.

Motions
of the ar-
mies.

The present unhappy contest was so interesting to foreigners, and rendered America so conspicuous a theatre of action, that it drew bold and enterprizing spirits, from different parts of Europe, either merely in search of glory and rank, or to acquire military experience and improvement. Among the numerous instances of this nature which might be given, a few are necessary, and will be sufficient. The Marquis de la Fayette, a young French nobleman, of the first rank, and of large fortune, was so carried away by this enthusiasm, as to purchase and freight a ship with military stores (in which he embarked with several of his friends) for the service of the Americans; he bore a command, and was wounded in this action. The Baron St. Ovary, another French volunteer, for whose release the Congress shewed a particular attention, was soon after made a prisoner. De Coudry, a French General, was about this time drowned in the Schuylkill, through his eagerness to come in time into action. Roche de Fermoy, was a member of the council of war, who had signed the resolution for abandoning Ticonderoga. Pulawski, a noble Pole, commanded a detachment of American light-horse in the action of the Brandywine. Count Grabouskie, another Polish nobleman, was about the same time killed on the North River, exhibiting great intrepidity on the British side, and bestowing his last breath in encomiums on the undaunted courage displayed by the partners of his danger, and witnesses of his fall.

It

It is to be observed, that in the battle of the Brandywine, the provincial forces were met in the field, and with no very great advantage of situation. A victory was clearly obtained over them; but it was not of that final and decisive kind which the public had expected as the certain consequence of such a meeting. People rarely consider how much trivial and accidental circumstances render all things of this kind extremely uncertain, even with any superiority of troops, or goodness of generalship.

Notwithstanding the victory of the king's troops, and the precipitate flight of the enemy, the royal army proceeded with the caution and circumspection; and it did not seem unnecessary; for the enemy did not seem disheartened; and Mr. Washington exerted himself with ability and diligence to repair his defeat. The army was posted in the neighbourhood of Concord and Ashtown, while a detachment was sent to seize on Wilmington which was made a receptacle for the sick and wounded. Upon a movement towards Goshen, the General received intelligence upon his march, that the enemy had quitted Philadelphia, and were advanced upon the Lancaster road, a few miles above that place. Upon this advice, he took such effectual measures for bringing them to an immediate engagement, that nothing but the event which followed could have frustrated his design. An excessive fall of rain, which overtook both armies upon their march, and which continued without any intermission for 24 hours, rendered both parties equally and totally incapable of action.

In the course of a number of movements on both sides, which took place for some days after, and in which every measure was ineffectually used, to involve the enemy in similar circumstances to those which they had so lately and with such loss escaped, intelligence having been received, that general Wayne, with 1500 men, was lying in the woods upon some scheme of enterprize, in the rear, and at no great distance from the left wing of the army, Major-General Grey was detached at night, with 2 regiments, and a body of light infantry, to surprize that corps. That General conducted the enterprize with equal ability and success; and, perhaps, in emulation of a remarkable action of the late war in Germany, took effectual measures that a single shot should not be fired in the course of the expedition, and that the execution should only be done by the point of the bayonet. In the prosecution of this design, the enemy's out-posts and pickets were compleatly surprized and forced without noise, about one in the morning, and the troops being guided by the light

1777.

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of their fires, rushed in upon the encampment, where a severe and silent execution took place, about 300 being killed or wounded upon the spot, and a number of prisoners taken; the remainder escaping by the darkness of the night, and some prudent dispositions made by the officer who commanded the Americans, with the loss of the greater part of their baggage, arms, and stores. The victors, in this brisk action, lost only a captain of light infantry and three private men, with about the same number wounded.

Royal  
army ad-  
vance to  
German-  
Town.

The General finding that the enemy could not by any means be brought to action, and that they were evidently abandoning even the protection of the capital, rather than hazard that final decision, made such movements and took such positions as gave him the command of the Schuylkill, and enabled him, at length, to pass the army over that river without opposition. There being nothing now to impede his progress, the army advanced to German Town, and Lord

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L. Corn-  
wallis  
takes  
possession  
of Phila-  
delphia.

Cornwallis, on the next morning, took possession of Philadelphia. Thus was the rich and flourishing city of Philadelphia, the capital late of the most rising colony, and attended with the most singular circumstances, that history can give any example of, and the seat of that General Congress of delegates, who dispensed laws and government to the continent of North America, reduced without opposition, and consequently without damage.

Some of  
the prin-  
cipal in-  
habitants  
sent pri-  
soners to  
Virginia.

This circumstance was more fortunate than had been expected; for it was even spoken of by themselves as a settled and fixed determination, to destroy the city, whenever it was found that it could be no longer protected, rather than suffer it to become a place of arms, and the center of operation to the British fleets and armies. A number of the Quakers, and some other of the principal inhabitants of Philadelphia, to the amount of more than twenty, who had been justly considered as strongly attached to the royal cause, and violently inimical to the present ruling powers, had been taken into custody upon the immediate danger of an invasion. These gentlemen positively refused to give any security in writing, or even verbal attestation, of attachment, submission, or allegiance, to the present government, or of not holding a correspondence with those whom they represented as enemies. They even refused to confine themselves to their respective dwelling-houses, and boldly appealing to the laws for redress and security to their persons, strongly reproached those, who under the pretence of asserting and protecting the liberties of the subject, had involved the whole continent in civil war and contention,

1777.

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Contention, and who thus, at the same time, in the most arbitrary and tyrannical manner, deprived him of his personal liberty, and of every security which he derived from the laws. They were answered, that the laws themselves, and all other considerations must give way to the public safety, in cases of great and imminent danger ; that there was no new or particular hardship in the present measure, which was justified by the practice of all states in similar circumstances ; that in England, in its highest state of freedom, and under its happiest governments, the Habeas Corpus law was suspended in cases of internal commotion, or the apprehension of foreign invasion ; that there, suspicion only was a sufficient ground for securing the person of the subject, without regard to rank, quality, or any security he might propose to give for his peaceable demeanour ; but that their situation was much more favourable to themselves, if their incorrigible obstinacy, their dangerous designs against the state, and their mortal enmity to the government, had not precluded them from its benefit ; they were not retained in prison merely upon suspicion, however strong and well founded that was, and however justifiable the measure would be upon that ground only ; it was immediately in their power to return in the most unrestrained liberty to their habitations, only by complying with that very moderate test of their principles and conduct which was required, and shewing that obedience to government, and good disposition to the state, which every member of society owed to the community to which he belonged, as a return for the protection which he received. But that as they denied all allegiance to the state, they of course disclaimed its protection, and forfeited all the privileges of citizenship ; whilst by refusing every security for their peaceable demeanour, they could only be considered as its most dangerous and determined enemies. As these gentlemen were unconquerable in their resolution not to submit to the proposed test, they were all sent off to Staunton, in Virginia, as a place of security, upon the approach of the royal army.

As soon as Lord Howe had received intelligence of the success at the Brandywine, and the determined progress of the army to Philadelphia, he took the most speedy and effectual measures for conducting the fleet and transports round to the Delaware, not only to be at hand to concur in the active operations of the campaign, but to supply the army with those provisions, stores, and necessaries, which he knew, must by that time have been indispensably necessary. The voyage was intricate, tedious, and dangerous ; and nothing less than

1777. the superior skill and ability which was exerted, in the conduct and management of so great a number of ships, could have prevented the loss from being considerable. As the passage to Philadelphia, was yet impracticable, the fleet drew up and anchored along the western or Pennsylvania shore, from Reedy Island to New-Castle.

Attack on the new batteries at Philadelphia.

When the British troops had taken possession of Philadelphia, their first object was the erecting of batteries to command the river, as well to prevent the intercourse of the American vessels between their upper and lower posts, as to protect the city from any insult by water. The necessity of this measure became obvious, almost as soon as it was determined upon. The very day after the arrival of the forces, the American frigate Delaware, of 32 guns, anchored within 500 yards of the unfinished batteries, and being seconded by another frigate, with some smaller vessels, they commenced, and supported for some hours, a very heavy cannonade, both upon the batteries and the town. They did not, however, display the judgment which their knowledge of the river might be supposed to afford. Upon the falling of the tide the Delaware grounded so effectually that she could not be got off, which being soon perceived by the grenadiers, they brought their battalion field pieces to play upon her with so true a direction and excellent effect, that the Delaware being obliged to strike her colours, was boarded and taken by an officer and detachment of that corps. Brigadier General Cleveland immediately profited of the effect of the battalion guns, by directing the whole fire of the batteries to the other vessels, which were compelled to retire, with the loss of a schooner which was driven ashore.

Delaware Frigate taken.

The passage of the Delaware rendered impracticable.

The Americans had at vast expence, and with wonderful labour and industry, constructed great and numerous works, to render the passage of the Delaware up to Philadelphia impracticable. In the prosecution of this design, they had erected works and batteries upon a flat, low, marshy island, or rather a bank of mud and sand, which had been accumulated in the Delaware, near the junction of the Schuylkill, and which from its nature was called Mud, but from these defences, Fort-Island. On the opposite shore of New Jersey, at a place called Red-Bank, they had also constructed a fort or redoubt, well covered with heavy artillery. In the deep navigable channel, between, or under the cover of these batteries, they had sunk several ranges of frames or machines, to which, from a resemblance in the construction, they had given the appellation of chevaux de frize, being composed of transverse beams,

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beams, firmly united, pointing in various directions, and strongly headed with iron. These were of such a weight and strength, and sunk in such a depth of water, as rendered them equally difficult to be weighed or cut through, and destructive to any ship which had the misfortune of striking against them. No attempt for raising them, or for opening the channel in any manner, could, however, be made, until the command of the shores on both sides was fully obtained.

About three miles lower down the river, they had sunk other ranges of these machines, and were constructing for their protection some considerable and extensive works, which, though not yet finished, were in such forwardness as to be provided with artillery, and to command their object, at a place on the Jersey side called Billings' Point. These works and machines were further supported by several galleys mounting heavy cannon, together with two floating batteries, a number of armed vessels and small craft of various kinds, and some fire ships. In a word, the Delaware seemed to teem with every defensive preparation, which could render the hostile operations and movements of a fleet, in the confined and uncertain navigation of a river, extremely dangerous.

Upon the representation of Captain Hammond, of the *Success-ful* *expedition* *to* *Billings'-* *Fort.* *Roebuck*, who with some other ships of war had arrived in the Delaware before Lord Howe, the General detached two regiments, consisting of three battalions, under Colonel Stirling, to dislodge the enemy from Billingsfort. The detachment having crossed the river from Chester, where the ships lay, performed the service effectually without loss or opposition. The enemy, without waiting to be attacked, as soon as they heard of their approach, immediately spiked their artillery, set fire to the barracks, and abandoned the place with the greatest precipitation. The detachment waited to destroy, or to render unserviceable, those parts of the works which fronted the river. This success, with the spirit and perseverance exhibited by the officers and crews of the ships under his command, enabled Captain Hammond, through great difficulties, and a vigorous opposition from the marine force of the enemy, to carry the principal object of the expedition into effect, by cutting away and weighing up so much of the *chevaux de frize*, as opened a narrow and difficult passage for ships through this lower barrier.

Upon the return of the detachment from Jersey, another regiment was sent to meet them at Chester, in order that

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they might altogether form a sufficient escort for a large convoy of provisions to the camp. The army still lay at German Town, a very long and considerable village, about half a dozen miles from Philadelphia, and which, stretching on both sides of the great road to the northward, forms a continued street of two miles in length. The line of encampment passed German Town at right angles about the center, the left wing extending on the west from the town to the Schuylkill. That wing was covered in front, by the mounted and dismounted German chasseurs; a battalion of light infantry, and the Queen's American rangers, were in the front of the right, and the 40th regiment, with another battalion of light infantry, were posted at the head of the village. Lord Cornwallis lay at Philadelphia, with four battalions of grenadiers; and we have already seen, that three regiments had been detached on the side of Chester.

Royal
army sur-
prised at
German-
Town.

The enemy were encamped at Skippach Creek, about 16 miles from German Town. They had received some reinforcements, and they were not ignorant that the royal army was weakened by the detachments it had made to Philadelphia and Chester. These circumstances induced an enterprise, little expected, and seemingly as little suited, to the general caution, and to the supposed genius and disposition of Washington. Instead of shunning, as usual, every thing that might lead to an action, the American army quitted its strong post at Skippach Creek at six in the evening, and marched all night to surprize and attack the royal army in its camp at German Town.

At three o'clock in the morning, their approach was discovered by the patrols, and the army was immediately called to arms. They began their attack upon the 40th regiment, and the battalion of light infantry by which it was accompanied. These corps, after a vigorous resistance, being at length overpowered by numbers, were pressed and pursued into the village. In this exigence, a measure upon which much of the future fortune of the day depended, was instantly and happily adopted by Lieutenant Colonel Mifgrave, who threw himself with six companies of the 40th regiment into a large and strong stone house, which lay full in the front of the enemy.

By this measure they were checked in their forward hope and design of gaining complete and immediate possession of that long town, which among other great and obvious advantages, would have enabled them effectually to separate the right and left wings of the royal army. The Colonel and

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and his brave party, surrounded by a whole brigade, and attacked on every side with great resolution, defended the house with the most undaunted courage; and though the enemy at length brought cannon up to the assault, he still maintained his post with equal intrepidity, pouring a dreadful and unceasing fire through the windows, until affairs had taken such a turn as afforded him relief.

This was accomplished by Major-General Grey, who bringing the front of a great part of the left wing by a timely movement to the village, led on three battalions of the 3d brigade, who attacked the enemy with vigour, and were as bravely supported and seconded, by Brigadier-General Agnew, at the head of the 4th brigade. The engagement was now for some time very warm; but the enemy being attacked on the opposite side of the village by two regiments of the right wing, were thrown into total disorder, and driven out of the town with considerable slaughter.

In the mean time, the light infantry and pickets of the right wing, supported by the 4th, and seconded by the 49th regiment, were warmly engaged with the enemy's left; but General Grey, after forcing their troops in the village, having passed it, and bringing the left wing forward, they immediately retired on all sides. The enemy was pursued for some miles; but the country being woody, strong, and enclosed, the pursuit was attended with so little effect, that they carried their cannon clear off. Lord Cornwallis arrived with a squadron of light-horse from Philadelphia, towards the close of the engagement, and joined in the pursuit; whilst three battalions of grenadiers from the same place, who had run themselves out of breath in the ardour of succouring their fellows, were too late to come in for any share of the action.

Americans repulsed.

It appears that the morning was exceedingly foggy, to which the Americans (who had considerable success in the beginning of the action) attribute their not improving the advantages they at first gained, in the manner which they would otherwise have done. For they were not only, as they assert, through this circumstance, prevented from observing the true situation of the enemy, by which the latter had time to recover from the effect of the first impression they had made on them; but the different bodies of their own army were kept in ignorance of each others movements and success, and were consequently incapable of acting in concert. It is even said, that some of their parties, in the thickness of the fog, had poured their fire upon each other,

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under a blind mistake on both sides of being engaged with the enemy. Washington paid great compliments to the right wing for its good behaviour, of which he had been a witness, but he left the conduct of the left, at least, doubtful, by saying that he had not yet received sufficient information to found any opinion on.

Loss on
both
sides.

The loss of the royal army in this action, including the wounded and a few prisoners, rather exceeded that at the Brandywine, the whole amounting to 535; but the proportion of the slain was still smaller than in that engagement, and scarcely exceeded 70. In this number were unhappily some very brave and distinguished officers; particularly Brigadier-General Agnew, and Lieutenant Colonel Bird. The number of officers wounded was considerable. The American loss was estimated in the Gazette, at between 2 and 300 slain, 600 wounded, and above 400 prisoners. Among the slain was General Nash, and several other officers of all ranks; 54 officers were taken prisoners. In this action the Americans acted upon the offensive; and though repulsed with loss, shewed themselves a formidable adversary; capable of charging with resolution, and retreating with good order. The hope therefore entertained from the effect of any action with them as decisive, and likely to put a speedy termination to the war, was exceedingly abated.

Army re-
moves to
Philadel-
phia.

The taking of Philadelphia was not attended with all the advantages expected from that conquest. The rebel army however straitened, still kept the field; and until the Delaware could be cleared, it was obvious that the army could not support itself in that town for the winter. Therefore, as the whole effect of the campaign depended upon that operation, about a fortnight after the battle, the King's army removed from German-Town to Philadelphia, as being a more convenient place for the reduction of Mud, or Fort Island, and for co-operating with the naval force in opening the navigation of the river. The enemy had returned after the action of German-Town, to their old camp at Skippach Creek, where they still continued.

Unsuc-
cessful at-
tack on
the Dela-
ware.

Measures being concerted between the General and Admiral for removing the obstructions of the river, the former ordered batteries to be erected on the western shore, or Pennsylvania side, in hopes of assisting in dislodging the enemy from Mud-Island, the difficulty of access to which, was found to render its reduction a much more tedious and difficult operation than had been expected. He also detached a strong body of Hessians across the river at Cooper's Ferry, opposite

the

the town, who were to march down and force the redoubt of Red Bank, whilst the ships, and the batteries on the other side, were to carry on their attacks against Mud-Island and the enemy's marine force. The Hessian detachment was led by Colonel Donop, (who had gained great reputation in various actions of this war) and consisted besides of light infantry and Chasseurs, of three battalions of grenadiers, and the regiment of Mirbach. The American force at Red Bank was estimated at about 800 men.

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Though nothing could exceed the good disposition made for these several attacks, nor the exertions of vigour and courage displayed both by land and naval force on their different elements, yet this enterprize not only failed of success, but was in every respect unfortunate. Colonel Donop attacked the enemy's entrenchments with the utmost gallantry, and after a very sharp action, succeeded in carrying an extensive out-work; but he found the enemy better covered in the body of the redoubt, and the defence more vigorous than he expected. The brave Colonel was there mortally wounded and taken prisoner. Some of his best officers were killed or disabled, and the Hessians after a desperate engagement, were repulsed with great loss. Colonel Mingerode, the next in command, being likewise dangerously wounded, the detachment was brought off by Lieutenant-Colonel Linsing, having suffered much in the approach and retreat from the assault by the fire of the enemy's galleys and floating batteries. The loss of the Hessians, whether as to private men or officers, was never particularly authenticated; it was however, known to be very considerable: probably not less than four or five hundred men.

Hessians
repulsed
with
great loss
at Red B.
Oct. 22.

Col. Do-
nop kill'd

The men of war and frigates destined for the attack, having made their way with difficulty through the lower barrier, took every possible disposition that the nature and situation of the river would admit for the destruction of the upper works and defences, where they commenced their assault, at the same time that Colonel Donop was engaged at Red Bank. Fortune was not more favourable here than ashore. The ships could not bring their fire to bear with any great effect upon their works. The extraordinary obstruction with which the enemy had interrupted the free course of the river, had even affected its bed, and wrought some alteration in its known and natural channel. By this means, the Augusta man of war and Merlin sloop, were grounded so fast at some distance from the chevaux-de-frize, that there was no possibility of getting them off. In this situation, though the skill and

and

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and courage of the officers and crews of the several vessels, prevented the effect of four fire ships which the enemy had sent to destroy the *Augusta*, she unfortunately took fire in the engagement, which placed the others under the necessity of retiring with the utmost expedition, to get beyond the effect of the explosion. In these urgent and difficult circumstances, the *Merlin* was hastily evacuated, and laid in a train of destruction, and the greater part of the officers and crew of the *Augusta* saved; but the second Lieutenant, Chaplain, and gunner, with no inconsiderable number of the common men, unhappily perished.

New and
effectual
measures
taken.

The ill success of this enterprize by no means damped the resolution of the commanders, in prosecution of the absolutely necessary work of opening the navigation of the Delaware. New ground was taken, new measures adopted, and every preparation made that could insure success in the design. Nor were the enemy idle on their side. They well understood the great consequence it was of to them to keep the naval force separated from the army, and to render the communication between them tedious and difficult. They accordingly left nothing undone to strengthen their defences.

Nov. 15.

The officers and seamen of the fleet were incessantly employed in conveying heavy artillery, provisions and stores, up the river, by a difficult channel on the west side, to a small morassy island, where they erected batteries, which greatly incommoded the enemy's works on Mud-Island. Every thing being prepared for an attack, the *Isis* and Somerset men of war, passed up the east channel, in order to attack the enemy's works in the front; several frigates drew up against a fort newly erected on the Jersey side, near Manto Creek, which was so situated as to flank the men of war in their station; and two armed vessels, mounted with 24 pounders, successfully made their way through the narrow channel on the western side at the back of Hogg Island; a matter of the greatest importance with respect to the success of the attack, as these two vessels, in concert with the batteries newly erected in Province Island, enfiladed the principal works which the enemy had erected on Mud-Island.

Mud
Island, &
Red Bank
taken.

A heavy fire was supported on both sides. At length the vigorous attack made by the *Isis* in front, and by the two armed vessels, and the batteries in other quarters, so overpowered the enemy in the fort and works on Mud-Island; that towards evening their artillery was entirely silenced. And they perceiving that measures were taking for forcing their works on the following morning, and being also sensi-

ble that, in the present state of things, they were not defensible, they set fire to every thing that was capable of receiving it, and abandoned the place in the night.

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The loss of the enemy in men was said to be very considerable; that of the fleet, was more trifling than could have been supposed. Their artillery and some stores were taken at Mud Island. In two days after, Lord Cornwallis passed over with a detachment from Chester to Billing's Fort, where he was joined by a body of forces just arrived from New York. They proceeded all together to Red Bank, which the enemy abandoned at their approach, leaving their artillery with a considerable quantity of cannon-ball and stores behind them. The works were demolished.

The enemy's shipping having now lost all protection on their side of the river, several of their galleys and other armed vessels took the advantage of a favourable night, to pass the batteries of Philadelphia, and escape to places of security farther up. The discovery of this transaction occasioned the sending an officer with a party of seamen to man the Delaware frigate lately taken, and lying at Philadelphia, and the taking of such other measures, as rendered the escaping of the remainder impracticable. Thus environed, the crews abandoned and set fire to their vessels, which were all consumed to the amount of seventeen of different sorts, including the two floating batteries, and fire-ships. With all these advantages, the season of the year, and other impediments, rendered the clearing of the river, in any considerable degree, impracticable; so that the making or discovering of such a channel, as might admit the passage of transports and vessels of easy burden with provisions and necessaries for the use of the army at Philadelphia, was all that could be obtained at present.

Americans burn their vessels.

General Washington being reinforced by 4000 men from the northern army, advanced within 14 miles of Philadelphia, to a place called White Marsh, where he encamped in a very strong position, with his right to the Wissahichon Creek, and the front partly covered by Sandy Run. As this movement seemed to indicate a disposition to adventure, General Howe was not without hopes, that the late reinforcement would encourage them to hazard a battle for the recovery of Philadelphia. If such was their intention, he was determined that they should not cool in it, for want of an opportunity of bringing it into action; or if they still adhered to their usual system of caution and defence, it was still reasonably to be hoped that upon a close inspection of their

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their situation, some part of their camp would be found so vulnerable as to admit of a successful impression.

Upon these grounds the general marched the army from Philadelphia on the 4th of December at night, and took post at Chesnut Hill, in the front of the enemy's right on the next morning. Finding that their right afforded no opening for an attack, he changed his ground before day on the 7th, and took a new position opposite to their center and left. Some skirmishes happened in which the enemy were constantly defeated, and their flying parties pursued home almost to their works. The General at length, after continuing above three days constantly in their sight, advancing within a mile of their lines, and examining their works with the closest attention, finding that nothing could provoke or entice them to action, and that their camp was in every part inaccessible, gave up the prosecution of a design which was evidently fruitless. The army also suffered greatly from the severity of the weather, both officers and soldiers being totally destitute of tents and field equipage.

G. Howe
returns to
Philadel-
phia.

The General accordingly began his march to Philadelphia on the afternoon of the 8th, in full view of the enemy, without being pursued, or in the smallest degree incommoded on his return. As the season was now too far advanced, to admit of any other attention than what related to the accommodation of the army, a grand detachment was sent out to procure forage for the winter, which was successfully performed. In the mean time Washington removed his camp from White Marsh to Valley Forge, upon the Schuylkill, about 15 or 16 miles from Philadelphia, in a very strong and consequently secure position. Nothing could afford a stronger proof, to whoever considers the nature and disposition of those people, of the unbounded influence on the minds both of his officers and men which that General possessed, than his being able not only to keep them together, but to submit to the inconveniences and distresses incident to living in a huddled camp, during the severe winter of that climate, and where all his supplies of provision and stores must come from a great distance, at much expence and no small hazard. It was also a proof with many others, of the general strong disposition of America, to suffer all things rather than submit to force.

Such was the issue of the campaign upon the Delaware. A campaign which affords much room for the most serious reflection. The British arms were crowned with the most brilliant success. Two very considerable victories were obtained. In all lesser actions, bating the affair at Red-Bank, they

were equally triumphant. Yet with all this tide of success, all the fruit derived from our victories at the close of the campaign, amounted to no more than simply a good winter lodging for our army in the city of Philadelphia; whilst the troops possessed no more of the adjacent country than what they immediately commanded with their arms. It was still more discouraging, that the enemy had given repeated proofs, that however he might engage them when he thought it to his advantage, it was impossible for the royal army to bring him to action against his consent. This gave occasion to much uneasiness in England; where the news of the first successes had caused the greatest exultation, which was now succeeded with very gloomy reflections on the peculiar and fatal circumstances, which, from the nature of the country, and other co-operating causes, had distinguished this war, from all others in which we had ever been concerned; and in which victory and defeat were nearly productive of the same consequences.

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G. T. A. P.

C H A P XIV.

Affairs in Canada. Northern expedition committed to General Burgoyne. Line of conduct pursued by General Carleton. Savages employed. Expedition under Colonel St. Leger. War-feast, and speech to the Indians. Manifesto. Ticonderoga and Mount Independence invested by the royal army. Council of war held, and the forts abandoned by the Americans. Pursuit by land and water. Rear of the Americans overtaken by General Frazer. General St. Clair take to the woods, with the remains of his army, and at length arrive at Fort Edward. Fort Anne abandoned. Difficulties encountered by the royal army in their march to Fort Edward. American army retires to Saratoga.

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WE now turn from exemplifying victory without equivalent advantage in one quarter, to behold the most mischievous consequences of defeat in another. The war upon the side of Canada and the lake, was committed to the charge of Lieutenant General Burgoyne; an officer whose ability was unquestioned, and whose spirit of enterprize, and thirst for military glory, however rivalled, could not possibly be exceeded.

This appointment, however palliated or justified, by the propriety or supposed necessity of the Governor's constant residence in his province, could not fail of being sensibly felt, and could scarcely be supposed not to give umbrage, to General Carleton, to whose abilities, and resolution, this nation in general acknowledged, and the world attributed, the preservation of Canada. It was said, that his powers had been diminished in proportion to the greatness of his services. His military command extended before to every part of America, whither he might find it fitting to conduct the army under his direction. It was now suddenly restrained to the narrow limits of his own province. He had, said his friends, in the preceding campaign, not only driven the enemy out of Canada, but a great naval armament had been formed,

ed, the enemy's force on Lake Champlain destroyed, and Crown-point recovered, under his authority. The lateness of the season only, prevented him from attacking Ticonderoga, and immediately prosecuting the war to the Southward. He had, during the winter, exerted his usual industry, and applied his military skill and judgment, in the forwarding of every preparation, which might conduce to the success of the design in the ensuing campaign. At the opening of the communication with England, instead of the reinforcement which he had required and expected for the completion of his purpose, he received an arrangement totally new, which as it had been framed without any reference to his judgment, or attention to his approbation, left nothing to his discretion or opinion in the execution. Two expeditions were to be formed, in each of which, the number and nature of the troops to be employed, the particular service of each corps, with its subdivisions and the smallest detachment to be made from it, had been minutely and precisely specified by the minister. He was not even consulted as to the number or nature of the troops which were to remain in his hands for the defence or security of Canada. In a word, the army which he had lately commanded was taken out of his, and placed in other hands, and officers who lately acted under his direction, were by a detraction from his authority, virtually placed in independent commands; for their instructions to put themselves under the orders of Sir William Howe, seemed little more than a mockery, as that General had informed Sir Guy Carleton, that the concerted operations of the campaign on his side, would lead him to such a distance, as to render any communication of that nature impracticable.

That the governor felt and understood his arrangement and these appointments in the manner we have related from the complaints of his friends in England, seems evident from the immediate resignation of his government which then took place; but as the notification, the appointment of another, and the passage of his successor from Europe, were all works of time, he was still, however ungrateful the task, obliged to continue in the exercise of his office, during a longer period than that of which we are treating.

Under these circumstances, and in this trying and difficult situation, he endeavoured to shew that resentment could not warp him from his duty, and he applied himself with the same diligence and energy, to forward by every possible means, and to support in all its parts the expedition, as if the arrangement

1777. arrangement was entirely his own. This conduct, however praise-worthy, was not less necessary, from the peculiar nature of the service which was to be performed; a service exceedingly complicated in the arrangement, uncommonly numerous in the parts; and many unusual in practice. It will not be difficult to conceive, how effectually negligence, dislike, obstinacy, or even a colourable and rational difference of opinion in some disputable points, might frustrate all the hopes founded upon such a system.

Nothing of this sort intervened, to damp the spirit or to defeat the success of the expedition. The preparations were carried on with vigour.

We have before taken notice, that the ministers, and more particularly the noble lord at the head of the American department, were not only particularly interested in the event, but had founded the most sanguine hopes upon the success of this expedition. Nothing was accordingly left undone on their side, which, in proportion to the number of regular troops that could be spared for that particular service, might conduce to give efficacy to their operations. Besides, Canada it was hoped would supply a warlike though undisciplined militia, well calculated for, and acquainted with, the peculiar nature of the service and country.

To strengthen and increase this irregular, but necessary aid, arms and accoutrements were amply provided, to supply those numerous loyalists, who were expected to join the royal army as soon as it approached or penetrated the frontiers of the adjacent provinces. As a powerful artillery is considered to be the great and effective arm in an American war, where a numerous and undisciplined enemy is to be continually attacked in difficult posts, and driven out of woods and fastnesses, so this part of the service was particularly attended to, and the brass train that was sent out upon this expedition, was perhaps the finest, and probably the most excellently supplied as to officers and private men, that had ever been allotted to second the operations of any army, which did not far exceed the present in number.

Besides these forces, several nations of savages had been induced to come into the field. This measure was defended upon the supposed necessity of the case; as if from their character it was presumed they could not lie still, and if not engaged in the King's service, would have joined the Americans. Whatever advantages were hoped from them, General Carleton did not in the preceding year make much use of them; but civilly dismissed them at the close of the campaign, on a promise

promise of appearing in the next if required. There has been a good deal of discussion, which we want materials to settle, how far he approved of their employment at all. The friends of ministry said, that he had recommended and forwarded the measure. Others said, that partly from humanity, partly from his forming a just estimate of their services, and knowing by experience the extent of their powers and ability in war, he was unwilling to use them, knowing that they were capricious, inconstant, and intractable. That as their ideas of war and of courage were totally different from those of civilized nations, so, notwithstanding their ferocity of character, and the incredible specimens of passive valour which they sometimes exhibited in cases adapted to their own opinions, they not only abhorred, but dreaded, whatever is considered as fair and generous service among Europeans, wherein the contending parties bravely seek and are included in one common danger, trusting only for success to their superior skill and courage. That their object and design in all wars, was not to fight, but to murder; not to conquer, but to destroy. In a word, that their service was uncertain, their rapacity insatiate, their faith ever doubtful, and their actions cruel and barbarous.

Whatever his reasons were for not employing them in a more early and effectual manner, if it were in his power to do it, as early and effectually as was imagined, this conduct was far from being generally approved of at home. Those who were particularly warm in their zeal against the colonies, began somewhat to forget their natural humanity in their anger. They insisted, that every appearance of lenity in such circumstances was actual cruelty in the effect, by acting as an incentive to disobedience, and increasing the objects of punishment. That on the contrary, partial severity was general mercy; as timely exertions of justice, and strict inflictions of punishment, were at all times the sure means of preventing crimes. That the only method of speedily crushing the rebellion, was to render the situation of the actors in it so intolerable, that a cessation from danger, and the blessings of repose, should become the only objects of their contemplation and hope. That the means were but little to be attended to, when they led to the accomplishment of so great and happy a purpose, as the destruction of rebellion, and the restoration of order and legal government.

And that in all convulsions of states, the innocent were too frequently involved in the calamities which were intended or wished to be confined entirely to the guilty; but such was

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the lot and condition of mankind, that this evil, however deplored, could not in numberless instances be avoided or prevented. This doctrine was supported by the avowed friends of government, whether out of office, or in the subordinate departments of the state; it was also generally supposed to be consonant to the opinions of the ministers, and that General Carleton's scruples or niceties upon this point were by no means acceptable.

The English employ the savages.

However this was, in the present arrangement, the aid of the savages was considered as a principal member of that force which was destined to the prosecution of the northern war, and the Governor of Canada was accordingly enjoined to use his utmost weight and influence, in bringing the Indian nations forward in support of the expedition. His zeal was as active in fulfilling this duty, as it was in every other which appertained to the present service. Nor was his success disproportioned to his zeal. Whether it proceeded from the Governor's influence with the Indians, their avidity to seize the presents which were now liberally distributed amongst them, from their own innate thirst for war and plunder, or more probably, from the joint operation of all these causes, their remote as well as near nations poured forth their warriors in such abundance, that he became at length apprehensive, that their numbers might render them an incumbrance rather than an aid to the army.

The regular force allotted to the expedition conducted by General Burgoyne, consisting of British and German troops, amounted to 7173 men, exclusive of the artillery corps. Of these, the German Corps (consisting mostly of Brunswickers) amounted to 3217. The force required by that General in the proposals which he laid before the Minister, consisted of 8000 regulars, rank and file, besides the artillery, a corps of Watermen, 2000 Canadians, including hatchetmen, and other Workmen, with a thousand, or more, savages. We have no certain information what numbers of these auxiliaries were in actual service upon the expedition.

Canada was largely rated, and its inhabitants must have sensibly felt the proportion which they were allotted to contribute towards this service. In the proposals laid before the Minister, besides the militia and various species of workmen supposed necessary to be immediately attached to the army, and to accompany it on the expedition, chains of their militia, patroles, and posts, were expected to occupy the Woods in the frontiers on the rear of the army, partly to intercept the communication between the enemy and the ill affected

fectcd in Canada, partly to prevent desertion and to procure intelligence, and for various other duties necessary towards keeping the country in quiet. Another great call upon them was for workmen to complete the fortifications at Sorel, St. John's, Chamblee and Isle au Noix, which it was supposed would amount to 2000 men. A still greater call upon the Canadians, and the more grievous, as it was at their seed-sowing season, was for the transport of all the provisions, artillery, stores, and baggage of the army, from the different repositories to the water, and afterwards at the carrying places, besides the corvees for making the roads. It was estimated that this service would for some time before, and at the opening of the campaign, require no less than 2000 men, besides a very large proportion of horses and carts.

General Burgoyne was seconded by able and excellent officers. Of these, Major-General Phillips of the artillery, who had gained such distinguished renown by his conduct in that service during the late war in Germany, deserves to be particularly mentioned. He was likewise assisted by the Brigadier-Generals, Frazer, Powel, and Hamilton, all distinguished officers, with the Brunswick Major-General Baron Reidesel, and Brigadier-General Specht. The army was, in every respect, in the best condition that could possibly be expected or wished, the troops being in the highest spirits, admirably disciplined, and uncommonly healthy.

The detachment on the expedition to the Mohawk River under Colonel St. Leger, did not probably exceed seven or eight hundred men, consisting of 200 drawn from the 8th and 34th regiments, a regiment of New-Yorkers, lately raised by, and under the command of, Sir John Johnson, being mostly emigrants from his own country, adjoining to the intended scene of action, with some Hanau Chasseurs, a company of Canadians, and another of newly raised rangers. These were joined by a strong body of savages, in part conducted, or if it may be termed officered, by a number of British and Americans. The regular force left in Canada, including the Highland emigrants under that denomination, amounted to about 3700 men.

The army being at length arrived and encamped at the River Bouquet, on the west side of Lake Champlain, and at no very great distance to the northward of Crown Point, General Burgoyne, there met the Indians in congress, and afterwards, in compliance with the customs of those people, gave them a war feast. The speech which he made to the savages upon this occasion has been published. It was calculated

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lated in those powerful strains of elocution by which that gentleman is distinguished, to excite their ardour in the common cause, and at the same time to repress their barbarity. For this purpose he took pains in explaining to them the distinction, between a war carried on against a common enemy, in which the whole country and people were hostile, and the present, in which good and faithful subjects were largely, and of necessity, intermixed with rebels and traitors. Upon this principle he laid down several injunctions for the government of their conduct, particularly, that they should only kill those who were opposed to them in arms; that old men, women, children, and prisoners, should be held sacred from the knife or hatchet, even in the heat of actual conflict; that they should only scalp those whom they had slain in fair opposition; but that under no pretence, subtlety, or colour of prevarication, they should scalp the wounded, or even dying; much less kill persons in that condition, by way of evading the injunction. And they were promised a compensation for prisoners, but informed that they should be called to account for scalps. These endeavours did in some measure mitigate, but were not of force wholly to restrain their ferocity, of which some unhappy instances afterwards appeared.

The General soon after dispersed a manifesto, calculated to spread terror among the contumacious, and particularly to revive in their minds every latent impression of fear derived from knowledge or information of the cruel operations of the savages, whose numbers were accordingly magnified, and their eagerness to be let loose to their prey, described with uncommon energy. The force of that great power, which was now spread by sea and land, to embrace or to crush every part of America, was displayed in full, lofty, and expressive language. The rebellion, with its effects, and the conduct of the present governors and governments, were charged with the highest colouring, and exhibited a most hideous picture, of unparalleled injustice, cruelty, persecution and tyranny. Encouragement and employment were assured to those, who with a disposition and ability suited to the purpose, should actually assist in redeeming their country from slavery, and in the re-establishment of legal government. Protection and security, clogged with conditions, restricted by circumstances, and rather imperfectly or inexplicitly expressed, were held out to the peaceable and industrious, who continued in their habitations. And all the calamities and outrages of war, arrayed in their most terrific forms, were denounced against those who persevered in their hostility.

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The army having made a short stay at Crown Point, for the establishment of magazines, an hospital, and other necessary services, proceeded, in concert with the naval armament, to invest Ticonderoga, which was the first object of their destination. Although the rash and ill conducted attempt made upon that place in the year 1758, with the consequent repulse and heavy loss sustained by the British army, rendered it at that time an object of general attention, it may not at this distance of time be wholly unnecessary to take some notice of its situation, as well as of its state of defence.

Ticonderoga lies on the western shore, and only a few miles to the northward from the commencement of that narrow inlet, by which the water from Lake George is conveyed to Lake Champlain. Crown Point lies about a dozen miles farther north at the extremity of that inlet. The first of these places is situated on an angle of land, which is surrounded on three sides by water, and that covered by rocks. A great part of the fourth side was covered by a deep morass, and where that fails, the old French lines still continued as a defence on the north-west quarter. The Americans strengthened these lines with additional works and a block-house. They had other posts with works and blockhouses, on the left, towards Lake George. To the right of the French lines they had also two new blockhouses with other works.

On the eastern shore of the inlet, and opposite to Ticonderoga, the Americans had taken still more pains in fortifying a high circular hill to which they gave the name of Mount Independence. On the summit of this, which is Tableland, they had erected a star fort, enclosing a large square of barracks, well fortified and supplied with artillery. The foot of the mountain, which on the west side projected into the water, was strongly entrenched to its edge, and the entrenchment well lined with heavy artillery. A battery about half way up the mount, sustained and covered these lower works.

The Americans, with their usual industry, had joined these two posts by a bridge of communication thrown over the inlet. This was, like many other of their performances, a great and most laborious work. The bridge was supported on 22 funken piers of very large timber, placed at nearly equal distances; the spaces between these were filled with separate floats, each about fifty feet long and twelve feet wide, strongly fastened together with chains and rivets, and as effectually attached to the funken pillars. On the Lake Champlain side of the bridge, it was defended by a boom

1777. composed of very large pieces of timber, fastened together by rivetted bolts and double chains, made of iron an inch and half square. Thus not only a communication was maintained between these two posts, but all access by water from the northern side was totally cut off.

It is to be observed, that as the inlet immediately after passing Ticonderoga, assumes a new form, suddenly widening to a considerable breadth, and becoming navigable to vessels of burden, so from thence it also holds the name of Champlain, although it is not properly a part of the lake. On the other hand, the southern gut from Lake George, besides being narrow, is also rendered unnavigable by shallows and falls; but on its arrival at Ticonderoga, it is joined by a great body of water on the eastern side, called, in this part, South River, but higher up towards its source, before the junction of the elder branch with the younger, which runs from South Bay, it is known under the appellation of Wood Creek. The confluence of these waters at Ticonderoga, forms a small bay to the southward of the bridge of communication, and the point of land formed by their junction, is composed of a mountain called Sugar Hill.

Notwithstanding the apparent strength of Ticonderoga from what we have hitherto seen, it is entirely overlooked, and its works effectually commanded by Sugar Hill. This circumstance occasioned a consultation among the Americans as to the fortifying of that Mount; but their works were already far too extensive for their powers of defence, and would require ten or twelve thousand men to be effectually manned. It was likewise hoped, that the difficulty of access to the Sugar Mount, and the savage inequality of its surface, would prevent the enemy from attempting to profit of its situation.

It would be exceedingly difficult from the information before us, to form any authentic estimate of the number of Americans that were in the actual defence of these two posts. It appears by the commander in chief, General St. Clair's exculpatory letter to the congress, as well as by the resolutions of the council of war, which accompanies it, that his whole force, including 900 militia, who were to quit him in a few days, was only about 3000 men; that these were ill equipped, and worse armed; particularly in the article of bayonets, an arm so essential in the defence of lines, that they had not one to ten of their number. This account would seem not only satisfactory but conclusive, if it had not been contradicted by others. In a detail of the transactions of the campaign,

campaign, transmitted by the war office of Massachusetts Bay to the American deputies in France, and for the conveyance of which a light ship was sent out on purpose, they state St. Clair's force at near 5000 men well equipped and armed. It is, however, to be observed, that they talk with great bitterness of that General's conduct, as he had done in his first letter to congress, with respect to the behaviour of two of their regiments: It may also be supposed, that in a statement of their affairs, intended to operate upon the sentiments and conduct of a court, from which they already received essential benefits, and looked forward to much greater, they would rather increase the weight of blame upon an unfortunate officer, than detract from the public opinion of their own conduct and power, by attributing weakness to their councils, or inefficacy to their arms.

As the royal army approached to the object of its destination, it advanced with equal caution and order on both sides of the lake, the naval force keeping its station in the center, until the one had begun to enclose the enemy on the land side, and the frigates and gun-boats cast anchor just out of cannon shot from their works. Upon the near approach of the right wing on the Ticonderoga side, upon the 22d of July, the Americans immediately abandoned and set fire to their works, block-houses, and saw-mills, towards Lake George, and without sally, interruption, or the smallest motion of diversion, permitted Major General Phillips to take possession of the very advantageous post of Mount Hope, which besides commanding their lines in a great and dangerous degree, totally cut off their communication with that lake. The same supineness and total want of vigour appeared in every thing on their side, except in the keeping up of an ineffectual roar of cannon, which was so much contemned on the other as not to be once returned.

In the mean while, the royal army proceeded with such expedition in the construction of its works, the bringing up of artillery, stores and provisions, and the establishment of its posts and communications, that by the 5th, matters were so far advanced, as to require little more time for completely investing the posts on both sides of the lake. Sugar Hill was also examined, and the advantages it presented were so important, though attended with infinite labour and difficulty, from the necessity of making a road to its top through very rough ground, and constructing a level there for a battery, that this arduous task was undertaken, and already far ad-

1777. vanced towards its completion, through the spirit, judgment, and active industry of General Phillips.

Ticonde- In these circumstances, a hasty council was on that day held
roga eva- by the American Generals, to which their principal went, as
cuated by he informs us, already predetermined as to his conduct. It
by the was represented, that their whole effective numbers were not
Ameri- sufficient to man one half of the works; that as the whole
can army must consequently be upon constant duty, it would be impos-
sible for them to sustain the fatigue for any length of time; and that as the enemy's batteries were ready to open, and the place would be completely invested on all sides within 24 hours, nothing could save the troops, but an immediate evacuation of both posts. This determination was unanimously agreed to by the council, and the place was accordingly evacuated on that night.

However justly this representation of their condition and circumstances was founded, and however necessary the determination of the council was in the present state of their affairs, one apparently capital error on the side of the commanders, must strike every common observer. If their force was not sufficient for the defence of the works, why did they not form this resolution in time? Why did they not withdraw the troops, artillery, and stores, and demolish the works before the arrival of the enemy? Why did they want to be nearly surrounded, until their retreat was more ruinous than a surrender under any conditions that could be proposed, and little less destructive in the event, than if the works had been carried by storm?

These are questions that time and better information alone can answer, if ever they should clearly answer, in favour of the American Generals.

The baggage of the army, with such artillery, stores, and provisions, as the necessity of the time would permit, were embarked with a strong detachment on board, above 200 batteaux, and dispatched, under convoy of five armed galleys, up the south river, in their way to Skenesborough. The main army took its route by the way of Castletown, to reach the same place by land.

July 6th. The first light of the morning had no sooner discovered the flight of the enemy, than their main body was eagerly pursued by Brigadier General Frazer, at the head of his brigade, consisting of the light troops, grenadiers, and some other corps. Major General Reidesel was also ordered to join in the pursuit by land, with the greater part of the Brunswick troops, either to support the Brigadier, or to act separately,

as occasion might require, or circumstances direct. The enemy left a prodigious artillery behind them, which with those taken or destroyed in the armed vessels at Skenesborough, amounted to no less than 128 pieces, of all sorts, serviceable and unserviceable. They also left some military stores of different sorts, and no inconsiderable stock of provisions in the forts.

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General Burgoyne conducted the pursuit by water in person. That bridge and those works, which the Americans had laboured hard for ten months to render impenetrable, were cut through in less time by the British seamen and artificers, than it would have cost them to have described their structure. In a word, they did their business with such speed and effect, that not only the gun boats, but the Royal George and Inflexible frigates, had passed through the bridge by nine o'clock in the morning. Several regiments embarked on board the vessels, and the pursuit up the river was supported with such vigour, that by three o'clock in the afternoon, the foremost brigade of the gun-boats, was closely engaged with the enemies galleys near Skenesborough Falls. In the mean time, three regiments which had been landed at South Bay, ascended and passed a mountain, with great expedition, in order to attack the enemy's works at the falls, and thereby cut off their retreat. But their speedy flight prevented the execution of that design. Upon the approach of the frigates, the galleys, which were already overborne by the gun-boats, lost all spirit; two of them were accordingly taken, and three blown up. The rebels now giving way to their despair, set fire to their works, stockaded forts, mills, and batteaux, after which they escaped as well as they could up the Wood Creek. This stroke seemed to complete the ruin of their ill-fated army, for the batteaux were deeply loaded, besides their baggage, with ammunition, stores, and provisions; so that they were now left naked in the woods, destitute of provision, and without any other means of defence, than what they derived from the arms in their hands.

Confusion and dismay, equally attended their main body on the left. The soldiers had lost all respect for, and confidence in their commanders. It would be fruitless to expect resolution, where no order nor command could be maintained.

Brigadier Frazer continued and supported the chace through the vehement heat of a burning day, with his usual activity and vigour. Having received intelligence that the enemy's rear were at no great distance, and were command-

ed

1777. ed by Colonel Francis, one of their best and bravest officers, his troops lay that night on their arms. He came up with the enemy, at five in the morning, whom he found strongly posted, with great advantage of ground, and a still greater superiority in point of number. As he expected every moment to be joined by General Reidesel, and was apprehensive that the enemy might escape if he delayed, he did not hesitate to begin the attack. The advantages which they possessed in ground and number, and perhaps more than both, the goodness of their commander, induced them to make a better stand than might have been expected from their condition in other respects.

As Frazer's corps was not supported near so soon as had been expected, the engagement was long; and though the light infantry and grenadiers gave several striking proofs of their superiority, affairs were still undecided and critical. The arrival of the Germans was at length decisive. The enemy fled on all sides, leaving their brave commander, with many other officers, and above 200 private men, dead on the field: About the same number, besides a Colonel, seven Captains, and ten Subalterns, were taken prisoners. Above 600 were supposed to be wounded, many of whom perished miserably in the woods. The principal loss on the side of the royal army, was that of Major Grant, a brave officer, who was killed. St. Clair, with the van of the American army, was at this time at Castletown, about six miles farther on. Upon the account of this disaster, and of the more fatal stroke at Skensborough, and under the apprehension of being intercepted at Fort Anne, he struck on to the woods on his left, probably uncertain whether he should direct his course towards the New England provinces and the upper part of the Connecticut, or to Fort Edward.

During these advantages on the left, Colonel Hill was detached with the 9th regiment from Skensborough towards Fort Anne, in order to intercept the fugitives who fled along the Wood Creek, whilst another part of the army was employed in carrying batteaux over the falls, in order to facilitate their movement to dislodge the enemy from that post. In that expedition, the Colonel was attacked by a body of the enemy, consisting as he conceived, of six times the number of his detachment, who finding all their efforts in front totally ineffectual to force the judicious position which he had taken, attempted to surround the regiment. This alarming attempt, put him under a necessity of changing his ground in the heat of action.

Nothing

—Nothing less than the most perfect discipline, supported by the coolest intrepidity, could have enabled the regiment to execute so critical a movement in the face of the enemy, and in such circumstances. It was however performed with such steadiness and effect, that the enemy, after an attack of three hours, were so totally repulsed, and with such loss, that after setting fire to Fort Anne, they fled with the utmost precipitation towards Fort Edward, upon the Hudson's river.

The loss of the royal army, in all this service, and in so many different engagements, some of which were warm, and seemed liable to loss, was very small. The whole killed and wounded, not much exceeding two hundred men.

Such was the rapid torrent of success, which swept every thing away before the northern army in its outset. It is not to be wondered at, if both officers and private men were highly elated with their fortune, and deemed that their prowess to be irresistible; if they regarded their enemy with the greatest contempt, and considered their own toils to be nearly at an end. Albany to be already in their hands; and the reduction of the northern provinces to be rather a matter of some time, than an arduous task full of difficulty and danger.

Success
of the
northern
army under
Gen.
Burgoyne

At home, the joy and exultation was extreme; not only at court, but with all those who hoped or wished the unqualified subjugation, and unconditional submission of the colonies. The loss in reputation was greater to the Americans, and capable of more fatal consequences, than even that of ground, of posts, of artillery, or of men. All the contemptuous and most degrading charges which had been made by their enemies, of their wanting the resolution and abilities of men, even in the defence of whatever was dear to them, were now repeated and believed. Those who still regarded them as men, and who had not yet lost all affection to them as brethren; who also retained hopes that a happy reconciliation upon constitutional principles, without sacrificing the dignity or the just authority of government on the one side, or a dereliction of the rights of freemen on the other, was not even now impossible, notwithstanding their favourable dispositions in general, could not help feeling upon this occasion, that the Americans sunk not a little in their estimation. It was not difficult to diffuse an opinion, that the war in effect was over; and that any further resistance, would serve only to render the terms of their submission worse.

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worse. Such were some of the immediate effects of the loss of those grand keys of North America, Ticonderoga and the lakes.

General Burgoyne continued for some days, with the army partly at Skenesborough, and partly spread in the adjoining country. They were under the necessity of waiting for the arrival of tents, baggage, and provisions. In the mean time, no labour was spared in opening roads by the way of Fort Anne, for advancing against the enemy. Equal industry was used in clearing the Wood Creek from the obstacles of fallen trees, sunken stones, and other impediments which had been laid in the way by the enemy, in order to open a passage for batteaux, for the conveyance of artillery, stores, provisions, and camp equipage. Nor was less diligence used at Ticonderoga, in the carrying of gun-boats, provision vessels, and batteaux, over land into Lake George. These were all laborious works, but the spirit of the army was at that time superior to toil or danger.

General Schuyler was at Fort Edward upon the Hudson's river, where he was endeavouring to collect the militia, and had been joined by St. Clair, with the wretched remains of his army, who had taken a round about march of seven days through the woods, in which, from the exceeding badness of the weather, with the want of covering, provisions, and all manner of necessaries, they had suffered the most extreme misery. Many others of the fugitives had also arrived; but so totally broken down, that they were nearly as destitute of arms, ammunition, and all the materials of war, as they were of vigour, hope, spirit, to use them with effect.

Although the direct distance from Fort Anne, where the batteaux navigation on Wood Creek determined, or even from Skenesborough to Fort Edward, was no greater, than what in England would be considered as a moderate ride of exercise, yet such is the savage face and impracticable nature of the country, and such were the artificial difficulties which the industry of the enemy had thrown in the way, that the progress of the army thither, was a work of much preparation, time, and labour. It will scarcely be believed in after times, and may now be received with difficulty in any other part of the world, that it cost an active and spirited army, without any enemy in force to impede its progress, not many fewer days in passing from one part to another of a country, than the distance, in a direct line, would have measured miles. Yet such, however extraordinary, is the fact.

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fact. Besides that the country was a wilderness in almost every part of the passage, the enemy had cut large timber trees in such a manner, on both sides of the road, as to fall across and lengthways, with their branches interwoven; so that the troops had several layers of these frequently to remove, in places where they could not possibly take any other direction. The face of the country was likewise so broken with creeks and marshes, that in that short space, they had no less than forty bridges to construct, besides others to repair; and one of these was of log work, over a morass two miles in extent. All these toils and difficulties were encountered and overcome by the troops with their usual spirit and alacrity. The enemy were too weak, too much dispirited, and probably too much afraid of the Indians, to add very materially to these difficulties. Some skirmishing and firing there was, however, on every day's march, in which, as usual, they constantly came off losers.

It is true, that General Burgoyne might have adopted another route to Hudson's river, by which most of these particular difficulties would have been avoided. By returning down the South river to Ticonderoga, he might again have embarked the army on Lake George, and proceeded to the fort which takes its name, and lies at its head, from whence there is a waggon road to Fort Edward. To this it was objected, and probably with reason, that a retrograde motion in the height of victory, would tend greatly to abate that panic with which the enemy were confounded and overwhelmed; that it would even cool the ardour, and check the animation of the troops, to call them off from the prosecution of their success, to a cold and spiritless voyage; and that their expedition would undoubtedly be checked by the resistance and delay which they must expect at Fort George; whereas when the garrison perceived that the army was marching in a direction, which was likely to cut off their retreat, they would undoubtedly consult their safety in time, by abandoning the post.

The enemy abandoned Fort Edward, and retired to Saratoga, at the approach of the royal army, which, from the impediments we have seen in the march, was not until the end of July. The enthusiasm of the army, as well as of the General, upon their arrival on the Hudson's river, which had been so long the object of their hopes and wishes, may be better conceived than described. As the enemy, by previously abandoning Fort George, and burning their vessels had left the lake entirely open, a great embarkation of provisions,

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visions, stores, and necessaries was already arrived at that post from Ticonderoga. The army was accordingly fully and immediately employed, in transporting these articles, with artillery, batteaux, and such other matters as they judged necessary for the prosecution of their future measures, from Fort George to Hudson's river.

 CHAP. XV.

The loss of Ticonderoga, and the expected progress of the savages, excite great terror in the Americans. New-England governments notwithstanding, shew no appearance of submission. Arnold sent with reinforcements to the northern army. Ill effects from the cruelties of the Indians. Movements made down the North River, to Saratoga. Expedition to Bennington. Obstinate defence of Fort Stanwix. Savage cruelties. Siege raised. Arnold arrives. General Gates takes the command of the American army. General Burgoyne passes the North River at Saratoga, to attack the enemy at Still Water. Severe and heavy actions on the 19th Sept. and 7th of Oct. Distressed situation of the royal army. Retreat to Saratoga. Surrounded on all sides. Council of war. Terms of the convention. Expedition of Sir Henry Clinton and Gen Vaughan up the North River. Observations on the Campaign.

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NOTHING could exceed the astonishment and terror, which the loss of Ticonderoga and its immediate consequences, spread throughout the New England Provinces. The General's manifesto, in which he displayed the powers and numbers of the savages, added perhaps to the effect. It was remarkable, however, that in the midst of all these disasters, and consequent terrors, no sort of disposition to submit appeared in any quarter.

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The New England governments in particular, though most immediately menaced, did not sink under their apprehension of the common danger. They, as well as the congress, acted with vigour and firmness in their efforts to repel the enemy. Arnold, whom we have lately seen at the engagement at Danbury, was immediately sent to the reinforcement of the northern army, who carried with him a train of artillery which he received from Washington. On his arrival he drew the American troops back from Saratoga to Still Water, a central situation between that place, and the mouth of the Mohawk River, where it falls into Hudson's. This movement, was to be nearer at hand to check the progress of Colonel St. Leger, who was now advancing upon the former of these rivers. His forces were daily increased through the outrages of the savages, who, notwithstanding the regulations and endeavours of General Burgoyne, were too prone to the exercise of their usual cruelties, to be effectually restrained by any means. The friends of the royal cause, as well as its enemies, were equally victims to their indiscriminate rage. Among other instances of this nature, the murder of Miss Mc Crea, which happened some small time after, struck every breast with horror. Every circumstance of this horrid transaction served to render it more calamitous and afflicting. The young lady is represented to have been in all the innocence of youth, and bloom of beauty. Her father was said to be deeply interested in the royal cause; and to wind up the catastrophe of this odious tragedy, she was to have been married to a British officer on the very day that she was massacred.

Miss Mc
Crea in-
humanly
murder-
ed.

Occasion was thence taken to exasperate the people, and to blacken the royal party and army. People were too apt to jumble promiscuously, and to place in one point of view, the cruelties of these barbarians, and the cause in which they were exerted. They equally execrated both. Whilst they abhorred and detested that army, which submitted to accept of such an aid, they loudly condemned and reprobated that government, which could call such auxiliaries into a civil contest; thereby endeavouring, as they said, not to subdue but to exterminate, a people whom they affected to consider, and pretended to reclaim as subjects. General Gates, in the course of these transactions, was not wanting by several publications to aggravate and inflame the picture of these excesses; and with no small effect.

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By this means, the advantages expected from the terror excited by these savage auxiliaries were not only counteracted; but this terror rather, it may be thought, produced a directly contrary effect. The inhabitants of the open and frontier countries had no choice of acting; they had no means of security left, but by abandoning their habitations, and taking up arms. Every man saw the necessity of becoming a temporary soldier, not only for his own security, but for the protection and defence of those connections which are dearer than life itself. Thus an army was poured forth by the woods, mountains, and marshes, which in this part were thickly sown with plantations and villages. The Americans recalled their courage; and when their regular army seemed to be entirely wasted, the spirit of the country produced a much greater and more formidable force.

Difficulties under which G. Burgoyne's army laboured.

In the mean time, the army under General Burgoyne, in the neighbourhood of Fort Edward, began to experience those difficulties, which increased as it farther advanced, until they at length became insurmountable. From the 30th of July, to the 15th of August, the army was continually employed, and every possible measure used, for the bringing forward of batteaux, provisions and ammunition, from Fort George to the first navigable part of Hudson's River, a distance of about 18 miles. The toil was excessive in this service, and the effect in no degree equivalent to the expence of labour and time. The roads were in some parts steep, and in others required great repairs. Of the horses which had been supplied by contract in Canada, through the various delays and accidents attending so long and intricate a combination of passage by land and carriage by water, not more than one third were yet arrived. The industry of the General had been able to collect no more than 50 teams of oxen, in all the country through which he had marched, or this in which he at present sojourned. These resources were totally inadequate to the purposes of supplying the army with provisions for its current consumption, and to the establishment at the same time of such a magazine as would enable it to prosecute the further operations of the campaign. Exceeding heavy rains added to all these difficulties; and the impediments to the service were so various and stubborn, that after the utmost exertions for fifteen successive days, there was not above four days provision in store, nor above ten batteaux in the Hudson's River.

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In these embarrassing and distressing circumstances, the General received intelligence, that Colonel St. Leger had arrived before, and was conducting his operations against Fort Stanwix. He instantly and justly conceived, that a rapid movement forward at this critical juncture would be of the utmost importance. If the enemy proceeded up the Mohawk, and that St. Leger succeeded, he would be liable to get between two fires; or at any rate, General Burgoyne's army would get between him and Albany, so that he must either stand an action, or by passing the Hudson's river, endeavour to secure a retreat higher up to the New-England provinces. If, on the other hand, he abandoned Fort Stanwix to its fate, and fell back to Albany, the Mohawk country would of course be entirely laid open, the junction with St. Leger established, and the combined army at liberty and leisure to prescribe and chuse its future line of operation.

The propriety of the movement was evident; but the difficulty lay, and great indeed it was, in finding means to carry the design into execution. To maintain such a communication with Fort George during the whole time of so extensive a movement, as would afford a daily supply of provision to an army, whilst its distance was continually increasing, and its course liable to frequent variation, was obviously impracticable. The army was too weak to afford a chain of posts for such an extent; continual escorts for every separate supply would be a still greater drain; and in either case, the enemy had a body of militia within a night's march, at White Creek, sufficient to break the line of communication.

Some other source of supply was therefore to be sought, or the design to be dropped, and the prospect of advantage which it presented totally relinquished. The enemy received large supplies of live cattle from the New-England provinces, which passing the upper part of the Connecticut river, took the route to Manchester, Arlington, and other parts of the New Hampshire grants, a tract of land disputed between that province and New-York, until they were at length deposited at Bennington, from whence they were conveyed, as occasion required to the rebel army. Bennington lies between the forks of the Hofsick river, before their obtaining that name, and without being touched by either, and not 20 miles to the eastward of Hudson's, a place so obscure, and so incapable from situation of being other-

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wife, that nothing but the present troubles could have called it into notice. It was however at this time, besides being a store for cattle, a deposit for large quantities of corn and other necessaries; and what rendered it an object of particular attention to the royal army, a large number of wheel carriages, of which they were in particular want, were also laid up there. This place was guarded by a body of militia, which underwent such frequent changes that its number was necessarily uncertain.

The General saw that the possession of this deposit, would at once remove all the impediments that restrained the operations of the army, and enable him to proceed directly in the prosecution of his design. He accordingly laid a scheme to surprize the place, and entrusted the execution of it to the German Lieutenant-Colonel Beaum, who had been already selected, and was then preparing to conduct an expedition tending to similar purposes, towards the borders of the Connecticut River.

The force allotted to this service amounted to about 500 men, consisting of about 200 of Reidesel's dismounted German dragoons, Captain Frazer's marksmen, the Canada volunteers, a party of provincials who were perfectly acquainted with the country, and about a hundred Indians; the corps carried with them two light pieces of artillery.

In order to facilitate this operation, and to be ready to take advantage of its success, the army moved up the east shore of Hudson's River, where it encamped nearly opposite to Saratoga, having at the same time Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman's corps, consisting of the Brunswick grenadiers, light infantry, and Chasseurs, posted at Batten Kill, in order if necessary to support Beaum.

The latter in his march fell in with a party of the enemy who were escorting some cattle and provisions, both of which he took with little difficulty and sent back to the camp. The same fatal impediment which retarded all the operations of the army, viz. the want of horses and carriages, concurred with the badness of the roads in rendering Beaum's advance so tedious, that the enemy were well informed of his design, and had time to prepare for his reception. Upon his approach to the place, having received intelligence that the enemy were too strong to be attacked by his present force with any prospect of success, he took a tolerable good post near Santcoick Mills, on the nearer branch of what becomes afterwards the Hofick river, which

is there called Walloon Creek, and at about four miles distance from Bennington; dispatching at the same time an express to the General with an account of his situation.

Colonel Breyman was accordingly dispatched from Batten Kill to reinforce Beaum. That evil fortune now began to appear, which for some time continued to sweep every thing before it. Breyman was so overlaid by bad weather, so sunk and embarrassed in bad roads, and met with such delays from the weakness and tiring of horses, and the difficulty of passing the artillery carriages, through a country scarcely practicable at any time, and now rendered much worse by the continual rain, that he was from eight in the morning of the 15th of August, to four in the afternoon of the following day, notwithstanding every possible exertion of men and officers, in getting forward about twenty-four miles.

A General Starke, who commanded the militia at Ben-^{Aug. 16.}nington, determined not to wait for the junction of the two parties, advanced in the morning, whilst Breyman was yet struggling with the difficulties of his march, to attack Beaum in his post, which he had entrenched, and rendered as defensible as time and its nature would permit. The loyal provincials who were along with him, were so eager in their hopes to find what they wished to be real, that when the enemy were surrounding his post on all sides, Colonels they for some time persuaded him, that they were bodies of Beaum armed friends who were coming to his assistance. The co- and Brey- lonel soon discovered their error, and made a brave de- man de- fence. His small works being at length carried on every^{feated.} side, and his two pieces of cannon taken, most of the Indians, with several of the Provincials, Canadians, and British marksmen, escaped in the woods. The German dragoons, still kept together, and when their ammunition was expended, were bravely led by their Colonel to charge with their swords. They were soon overwhelmed, and the survivors, among whom was their wounded Colonel, were made prisoners.

Breyman, who had the hard fortune not to receive the smallest information of this engagement, arrived near the same ground about four in the afternoon, where instead of meeting his friends, he found his detachment attacked on all sides by the enemy. Notwithstanding the severe fatigue they had undergone, his troops behaved with great vigour and resolution, and drove the Americans in the beginning

1777. from two or three different hills on which they had posts. They were however at length overpowered, and their ammunition being unfortunately expended, although each soldier had brought out forty rounds in his pouch, they were obliged with great reluctance to abandon the two pieces of artillery they had brought with them, and to retreat in the best manner they could; a circumstance to which the lateness of the evening was very favourable.

The loss of men sustained by these two engagements could not be less than five or six hundred, of whom, however, the greater part were prisoners. But this was not the only or the greatest loss. The reputation and courage which it afforded to the militia, to find that they were able to defeat regular forces; that neither Englishmen nor Germans were invincible, nor invulnerable to their impression; and the hope and confidence excited by the artillery, and other trophies of victory, were of much greater consequence. This was the first turn which fortune had taken in favour of the Americans in the northern war, since some time before the death of Montgomery; misfortune had succeeded misfortune, and defeat had trod upon the heels of defeat, since that period. This was the first instance in the present campaign, in which she seemed even wavering, much less that she for a moment quitted the royal standard. The exultation was accordingly great on the one side; nor could the other avoid feeling some damp to that eagerness of hope, and receiving some check to that assured confidence of success, which an unmixed series of fortunate events must naturally excite.

St. Leger's attempt upon Fort Stanwix, (now named by the Americans Fort Schuyler) was soon after its commencement favoured by a success so signal, as would in other cases, and a more fortunate season, have been decisive, as to the fate of a stronger and much more important fortress. General Harkimer, a leading man of that country, was marching at the head of eight or nine hundred of the Tryon county militia, with a convoy of provisions, to the relief of the fort. St. Leger, well aware of the danger of being attacked in his trenches, and of withstanding the whole weight of the garrison in some particular, and probably weak point at the same instant, judiciously detached Sir John Johnson, with some regulars, the whole or part of his own regiment, and the savages, to lie in ambush in the woods, and intercept the enemy upon their march.

It should seem by the conduct of the militia and their leader, that they were not only totally ignorant of all military duties, but that they had even never heard by report of the nature of an Indian war, or of that peculiar service in the woods, to which from its nature and situation their country was at all times liable. Without examination of their ground, without a reconnoitring, or flanking party, they plunged blindly into the trap that was laid for their destruction. Being thrown into sudden and inevitable disorder, 1777. Aug. 16. by a near and heavy fire on almost all sides, it was completed by the Indians, who instantly pursuing their fire, rushed in upon their broken ranks, and made a most dreadful slaughter amongst them with their spears and hatchets. Notwithstanding their want of conduct, the militia shewed no want of courage in their deplorable situation. In the midst of such extreme danger, and so bloody an execution, rendered still more terrible by the horrid appearance and demeanour of the principal actors, they recollected themselves so far as to recover an advantageous ground, which enabled them after to maintain a sort of running fight, by which about one third of their number was preserved.

The loss was supposed to be on their side about 400 killed, and half that number prisoners. It was thought of the greater consequence, as almost all those who were considered as the principal leaders and instigators of rebellion in that country were now destroyed. The triumph and exultation were accordingly great, and all opposition from the militia in that country, was supposed to be at an end. The circumstance of old neighbourhood and personal knowledge between many of the parties, in the present rage and animosity of faction, could by no means be favourable to the extension of mercy; even supposing that it might have been otherwise practised with prudence and safety, at a time when the power of the Indians was rather prevalent, and that their rage was implacable. For according to their computation and ideas of loss, the savages had purchased this victory exceeding dearly, 33 of their number having been slain, and 29 wounded, among whom were several of their principal leaders, and of their most distinguished and favourite warriors. The loss accordingly rendered them so discontented, intractable, and ferocious, that the service was greatly affected by their ill disposition. The unhappy prisoners were however its first objects; most of whom they inhumanly butchered in cold blood. The

1777. New-Yorkers, rangers, and other troops, were not without loss in this action.

On the day, and probably during the time of this engagement, the garrison, having received intelligence of the approach of their friends, endeavoured to make a diversion in their favour, by a vigorous and well-conducted sally, under the direction of Colonel Willet, their second in command. Willet conducted his business with ability and spirit. He did considerable mischief in the camp, brought off some trophies, no inconsiderable spoil, some of which consisted in articles that were greatly wanted, a few prisoners, and returned with little or no loss. He afterwards undertook, in company with another officer, a much more perilous expedition. They passed by night through the besiegers works, and in contempt of the danger and cruelty of the savages, made their way for 50 miles through pathless woods and unexplored morasses, in order to raise the country, and bring relief to the fort. Such an action demands the praise even of an enemy.

Colonel St. Leger left no means untried to profit of his victory by intimidating the garrison. He sent verbal and written messages, stating their hopeless situation, the utter destruction of their friends, the impossibility of their obtaining relief, as General Burgoyne, after destroying every thing in his way, was now at Albany receiving the submission of all the adjoining countries, and by prodigiously magnifying his own force. He represented, that in this state of things, if, through an incorrigible obstinacy, they should continue a hopeless and fruitless defence, they would, according to the practice of the most civilized nations, be cut off from all conditions, and every hope of mercy. But he particularly dwelt upon the pains he had taken in softening the rage of the Indians for their late loss, and obtaining from them security, that in case of an immediate surrender of the fort, every man of the garrison should be spared: whilst on the other hand they declared with the utmost bitter execrations, that if they met with any further resistance, they would not only massacre the garrison, but that every man, woman and child in the Mohawk country would necessarily, and however against his will, fall sacrifices to the fury of the savages. This point he said he pressed entirely on the score of humanity; he promised on his part, in case of an immediate surrender, every attention which a humane and generous enemy could give,

The Governor, Colonel Gansevort, behaved with great firmness. He replied, that he had been entrusted with the charge of that garrison by the United States of America; that he would defend the trust committed to his care at every hazard, and to the utmost extremity; and that he neither thought himself accountable for, nor should he at all concern himself about any consequences that attended the discharge of his duty. It was shrewdly remarked in the fort, that half the pains would not have been taken, to display the force immediately without, or the success at a distance, if they bore any proportion at all to the magnitude in which they were represented.

The British commander was much disappointed in the state of the fort. It was stronger, in better condition, and much better defended than he expected. After great labour in his approaches, he found his artillery deficient, being insufficient in weight to make any considerable impression. The only remedy was to bring his approaches so near that they must take effect, which he set about with the greatest diligence. In the mean time, the Indians continued sullen and intractable. Their late losses might have been cured by certain advantages; but the misfortune was, they had yet got no plunder, and their prospect of getting any seemed to grow every day fainter. It is the peculiar characteristic of that people, to exhibit in certain instances degrees of courage and perseverance which shock reason and credibility, and to betray in others the greatest irresolution and timidity; with a total want of that constancy which might enable them for any length of time to struggle with difficulty.

Whilst the commander was carrying on his operations with the utmost industry, the Indians received a flying report that Arnold was coming with a thousand men to relieve the fort. The commander endeavoured to hearten them, by promising to lead them himself, to bring all his best troops into action, and by carrying their leaders out to mark a field of battle, and the flattery of consulting them upon the intended plan of operation. Whilst he was thus endeavouring to soothe their temper, and to revive their flagging spirits, other scouts arrived with intelligence, probably contrived in part by themselves, which first doubled, and afterwards trebled the number of the enemy, with the comfortable addition, that Burgoyne's army was entirely cut to pieces. The Colonel returned to camp, and called

Col. St. Leger obliged to retreat from Fort Stanwix.

1777. a council of their chiefs, hoping that by the influence which Sir John Johnson, and the superintendants Claus and Butler had over them, they might still be induced to make a stand. He was disappointed. A part of the Indians decamped whilst the council was sitting, and the remainder threatened peremptorily to abandon him if he did not immediately retreat.

Aug. 22. The retreat was of course precipitate; or it was rather, in plain terms, a flight, attended with disagreeable circumstances. The tents, with most of the artillery and stores, fell into the hands of the garrison. It appears by the Colonel's own account, that he was as apprehensive of danger from the fury of his savage allies, as he could be from the repentment of his declared American enemies. It also appears from the same authority, that the Messages, a nation of savages to the west, plundered several of the boats belonging to the army. By the American accounts, which are in part confirmed by others, it is said that they robbed the officers of their baggage, and of every other article to which they took any liking; and the army in general of their provisions. They also say, that at a few miles distance from the camp, they first stripped of their arms, and afterwards murdered with their own bayonets, all those British, German, and American soldiers, who from an inability to keep up, fear, or any other cause, were separated from the main body.

The state of the fact with respect to the intended relief of the fort is, that Arnold had advanced by the way of Half Moon up the Mohawk River with 2000 men for that purpose; and that for the greater expedition, he had quitted the main body, and arrived by forced marches through the woods, with a detachment of 900 at the fort, on the 24th in the evening, two days after the siege had been raised. So that upon the whole, the intractableness of the Indians, with their watchful apprehension of danger, probably saved them from a chastisement, which would not have been tenderly administered.

Nothing could have been more untoward in the present situation of affairs, than the unfortunate issue of this expedition. The Americans represented this and the affair at Bennington as great and glorious victories. Nothing could exceed their exultation and confidence. Gansevort and Willet, with General Starke and Colonel Warner, who had commanded at Bennington, were ranked amongst those
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who were considered as the saviours of their country. The northern militia began now to look high, and to forget all distinctions between themselves and regular troops. As this confidence, opinion and pride increased, the apprehension of General Burgoyne's army of course declined, until it soon became to be talked of with indifference and contempt, and even its fortune to be publicly prognosticated. In the mean time, General Gates, on whose conduct and ability it appears the Americans had placed much reliance, arrived to take the command of the army; an event which gave a new spur to their exertion, and afforded an additional support to their hopes. The arrival of Gates enabled Arnold, who still held the next place in every thing to the commander in chief, and between whom it appears the most perfect harmony prevailed, to set out on that expedition to Fort Stanwix, which has been just related.

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General
Gates
takes the
command
of the
American
army.

During this time, General Burgoyne continued in his camp on the eastern shore of the Hudson's River, nearly opposite to Saratoga, where he used the most unremitting industry and perseverance, in bringing stores and provisions forward from Fort George. As a swell of the water occasioned by great rains had carried away his bridge of rafts, he threw another of boats, over the river at the same place. Having at length by good management obtained and brought forward about thirty days provision, with other necessary stores, he took a resolution of passing the Hudson's River with the army, which he accordingly carried into execution towards the middle of September, and encamped on the heights and in the plain of Saratoga, the enemy being then in the neighbourhood of Still Water.

Gen. Bur-
goyne en-
camps at
Saratoga.

Though this measure of passing the Hudson's River, has not only been a subject of much discussion at home, but also of parliamentary enquiry; yet as it still lies open, without any decision on its merits, and that the General's instructions are not publicly known, nor perhaps all his motives thoroughly understood, we shall not presume to form any opinion upon the question. It will be sufficient to observe, that in his letter to the American Minister he says, That he thinks it a duty of justice to take upon himself the measure of having passed the Hudson's River, in order to force a passage to Albany. And that he did not think himself authorized to call any men into council, when the peremptory tenor of his orders, and the season of the year, admitted of no alternative. He also gives, in a subsequent

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part of the same letter, the following state of his reasoning, at a time when the army was in very critical and hazardous circumstances. “ The expedition I commanded was evidently meant at first to be *hazarded*. Circumstances might require it should be *devoted*; a critical junction of Mr. Gates’s force with Mr. Washington might possibly decide the fate of the war; the failure of my junction with Sir Harry Clinton, or the loss of my retreat to Canada, could only be a partial misfortune.” Whether his retreat was at this period quite practicable, even if his orders had not been to advance at all hazards, is uncertain.

Such it seems were the principles of the General’s conduct in some of the succeeding events. As the army advanced along the river towards the enemy, they found the country very impracticable, being covered with thick woods, and a continual repair of bridges necessary. Being at length arrived in the front of the enemy, some woods only of no great extent intervening, the General put himself at the head of the British line which composed the right wing. That wing was covered by General Frazer and Colonel Breyman, with the grenadiers and light infantry of the army, who kept along some high grounds which commanded its right flank, being themselves covered by the Indians, provincials, and Canadians, in the front and flanks. The left wing and artillery, under the Majors General Phillips and Reidesel, kept along the great road and meadows by the river side.

The enemy, being incapable from the nature of the country, of perceiving the different combinations of the march, issued from their camp in great force, with a design of turning the right wing, and taking the British line on the flank. Being unexpectedly checked in this design, by the strong position of General Frazer, they immediately counter-marched, and the same particularity of country which had occasioned their mistake, now operating as effectually to prevent the discovery, and consequently the taking any advantage of their subsequent movement, they directed their principal effort to the left of the same wing.

The British troops were not a little surprized, at the boldness with which they began the attack, and the vigour and obstinacy with which it was sustained, from three o’clock in the afternoon, till after sunset. Arnold led on the enemy, and fought danger with an eagerness and intrepidity, which though much in his character, was at no time more eminently

eminently distinguished. The enemy were, however, continually supplied with fresh troops, whilst the weight of the action lay principally for a long time upon the 20th, the 21st and 62d regiments. It will be needless to say, that they behaved with their usual firmness and gallantry, though it may not be totally superfluous to observe, that the greater part of these three regiments, were engaged for near four hours without intermission.

Most of the other corps of the army, bore also a good share in the business of the day. The 24th regiment which belonged to Frazer's brigade, with the grenadiers and a part of the light infantry, were for some time brought into action, and charged with their usual spirit and bravery. Breyman's riflemen, and some other parts of his corps, also did good service; but these troops only acted partially and occasionally, as the heights on which they had originally posted, were of too great importance to be totally evacuated.

Major General Phillips upon first hearing the firing, made his way with Major Williams and a party of the artillery through a very difficult part of the wood, and from that time rendered most essential service. It seems as if in one instance his presence of mind had nearly saved the army, when, in the most critical point of time, he restored the action by leading up the 20th regiment, the enemy having then obtained a great superiority of fire. Though every part of the artillery, performed, almost wonders, the brave Captain Johnes (who was unfortunately, though gloriously, killed) with his brigade, were particularly distinguished. Major-General Reidesel also exerted himself to bring up a part of the left wing, and arrived in time to charge the enemy with bravery and effect. Just as the light closed, the enemy retired; and left the royal army masters of the field of battle. The darkness equally prevented pursuit and prisoners.

Upon the whole, the royal army gained nothing but honour by this arduous struggle and hard fought battle. They had now grappled with such an enemy as they had never before encountered in America; and such as they were too apt to imagine it could not produce. The flattering ideas that the Americans could fight under the covert of walls, hedges, or entrenchments, and were incapable of sustaining a fair and open conflict in the field, were now at an end. This opinion had also been in some measure shaken

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1777. in the south. Here they met with a foe who seemed as eager for action, as careless of danger, and as indifferent with respect to ground or cover as themselves; and after a hard and close contest for four hours, hand to hand, when darkness put an end to the engagement, the royal forces but barely kept the field, and the Americans only returned to their camp.

We lost many brave men in this action, and it was not much matter of comfort that the Americans had lost a great number. The army lay all night on their arms in the field of battle, and in the morning took position nearly within cannon shot of the enemy's camp, fortifying their right wing, and extending their left so as to cover those meadows through which the river runs, and where their batteaux and Hospitals were placed. The 47th regiment, with that of Hesse Hanau, and a corps of provincials, were encamped in the meadows as an additional security. The enemy's right was incapable of approach, and their left was too strongly fortified to be insulted.

The zeal and alacrity of the Indians began from that time to slacken. Though the General complains in his dispatches of the ill effect of their desertion, he does not specify the particular time of their abandoning the army. This close and dangerous service was by no means suited to their disposition, and the prospects of plunder were principles for which they had no terms, and of which they could frame no ideas. Some letters had passed between Gates and General Burgoyne, in which bitter reproaches relative to the barbarities committed by the savages were thrown out by the one, and those charges were in general denied, and in part palliated by the other. The savages likewise received some check on account of the murder of Miss M'Crea. Upon some or all of these accounts they deserted the army in the season of its danger and distress, when their aid would have been most particularly useful; and afford a second instance within a short time of the little reliance that should be placed on such auxiliaries.

A great desertion also prevailed amongst the Canadians and British provincials, nor does it seem as if the fidelity or services of those who remained were much depended on or esteemed. General Burgoyne had from the beginning, nor did it entirely forsake him to this time, a firm hope of being powerfully succoured if wanted, or, at any rate of being met and joined at Albany, by a strong force from the army

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army at New-York. He now received with great difficulty a letter in cypher from Sir Harry Clinton, informing him of his intention to make a diversion on the North River, by attacking Fort Montgomery, and some other fortresses which the rebels had erected in the highlands, in order to guard the passage up that river to Albany. Though this diversion fell far short of the aid which the General expected, he however hoped that it might afford essential service by obliging Gates to divide his army. He accordingly returned the messenger, and afterwards dispatched two officers in disguise, and other confidential persons, all separately and by different routes, to acquaint Clinton with his exact state, situation and condition; to press him urgently to the prosecution of his design; and to inform him that he was enabled in point of provision, and fixed in his determination, to hold his present position, in the hopes of favourable events, until the 12th of the following month.

In the mean time every means were used for fortifying the camp, and strong redoubts were erected for the protection of the magazines and hospitals, not only to guard against any sudden attack, but for their security in any future movement which the army might make in order to turn the enemy's flank. The strictest watch on the motions of the enemy, and attention on every quarter to their own security, became every day more indispensable, as Gates's army was continually increasing in force by the accession of fresh bodies of the militia.

The spirit of exertion and enterprize which was now raised in the New-England provinces, was become too general, and too much animated by success to be easily withstood at once in all the different parts of its direction. Whilst General Burgoyne was fully engaged with Gates and Arnold, and found himself immediately involved in circumstances sufficiently perplexing, all his difficulties were increased, and his situation was rendered much more critical and precarious, by an unexpected enterprize of the militia from the upper part of New Hampshire and the head of the Connecticut, totally to cut off all means of communication with Canada, by recovering the forts of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and becoming again masters at least of Lake George.

The expedition was under the direction of General Lincoln, and the immediate execution was committed to the Colonels Brown, Johnston, and Woodbury, with detachments

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 ments of about 500 men each. They concluded their operations with such secrecy and address, that they effectually surprized all the out posts between the landing place at the north end of Lake George, and the body of the fortrefs of Ticonderoga. Mount Defiance, Mount Hope, the French lines, and a block-house, with 200 batteaux, an armed sloop, and several gun-boats, were almost instantly taken. Four companies of foot, with nearly an equal number of Canadians, and many of the officers and crews of the vessels, were made prisoners; whilst they afforded freedom to a number of their own people, who were confined in some of the works they had taken. In this heat of success, they brought the cannon out of the armed vessel they had taken, and after repeated summons to Brigadier Powel who commanded, and who gallantly rejected all their proposals, they for four days made reiterated attacks upon the works at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence; until finding that they were repulsed in every assault, and totally unequal to the service, they at length abandoned the design.

In the beginning of October General Burgoyne thought it expedient, from the uncertainty of his situation, to lessen the soldiers ration of provision; a measure which however disagreeable to an army, was now submitted to with a cheerfulness which merited the highest regards, and did the highest honour to the troops. Things continued in this state till the 7th of October, when there being no appearance or intelligence of the expected co-operation, and the time limited for the stay of the army in its present camp within four or five days of being expired, it was judged advisable to make a movement to the enemy's left, not only to discover whether there were any possible means of forcing a passage, should it be necessary to advance, or of dislodging them for the convenience of retreat, but also to cover a forage of the army, which was exceedingly distressed by the present scarcity.

A detachment of 1500 regular troops, with 2 twelve-pounders, 2 howitzers, and 6 six-pounders, were ordered to move, being commanded by the General in person, who was seconded by those excellent officers the Majors General Phillips and Reidesel, with Brigadier General Frazer. No equal number of men were ever better commanded, and it would have been difficult indeed, to have matched the men with an equal number. The guard of the camp upon the high

high grounds, was committed to the Brigadiers General Hamilton and Speigh ; that of the redoubts and the plain near the River, to Brigadier Goll. The force of the enemy immediately in the front of the line, was so much superior, that it was not thought fit to augment the detachment beyond the number we have stated. 1777.

The troops were formed within three quarters of a mile of the enemy's left, and the irregulars were pushed on through bye ways to appear as a check on their rear. But the further intended operations of the detachment were prevented, by a very sudden and most rapid attack of the enemy upon the British grenadiers, who were posted to support the left wing of the line. Major Ackland, at the head of the grenadiers, sustained this fierce attack with great resolution ; but the numbers of the enemy enabling them, in a few minutes, to extend the attack along the whole front of the Germans, who were posted immediately on the right of the grenadiers, it became impracticable to move any part of that body, for the purpose of forming a second line to support the flank, where the great weight of the fire still fell.

The right were still unengaged ; but it was soon perceived that the enemy were marching a strong body round their flank, in order to cut off their retreat. To oppose this bold and dangerous attempt, the light infantry, with a part of the 24th. regiment, which were joined with them at that post, were thrown into a second line, in order to cover the retreat of the troops into camp.

Whilst this motion was yet in its process, the enemy pushed a fresh and strong reinforcement to decide the action on the left, which being totally overpowered by so great a superiority, was compelled by dint of force to give way ; upon which the light infantry and 24th regiment were obliged by a very quick movement, to endeavour to save that wing from being totally ruined. It was in this movement that the brave brigadier General Frazer was mortally wounded. An officer whose loss would have been severely felt, and his place with difficulty supplied in a corps of the most accomplished officers. General Frazer killed.

The situation of the detachment was now exceedingly critical ; but the danger to which the lines were exposed was still more alarming and serious. Phillips and Reidesel were ordered to cover the retreat, and those troops which were nearest, or most disengaged, returned as fast as they could

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could for their defence. The troops in general retreated in good order, though very hard pressed. They were obliged to abandon six pieces of cannon; the horses not only being destroyed, but most of the brave artillery men, who had as usual, under the conduct of Major Williams, displayed the utmost skill and ability in their profession; along with the most undaunted resolution, being either killed, or dangerously wounded.

The enemy pursued this success with great eagerness. The troops had scarce entered the camp, when the Americans stormed it with uncommon fierceness; rushing to the lines through a severe fire of grape shot and small arms, with the utmost fury. Arnold led on the attack with his usual impetuosity, against a part of the entrenchments into which the light infantry under Lord Balcarras, with a part of the line, had thrown themselves by order. He there met with a brave and obstinate resistance. The action continued very warm for some time, each side seeming to vie with the other in ardour and perseverance. In this critical moment of glory and danger, Arnold was grievously wounded, just as he was forcing his way into, or had already entered the works. This could not fail to damp his party, who after long and repeated efforts were finally repulsed.

Colonel
Breyman
killed,
and the
royal ar-
my defeat-
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Affairs were not so fortunate in another quarter. Colonel Breyman, who commanded the German reserve, being killed, the entrenchments defended by that corps were carried sword in hand, and they were totally routed with the loss of their baggage, tents and artillery. This misfortune was not retrieved, although orders for the recovery of the post were dispatched by the General; and his relation seems to imply some blame to those who failed in the execution. By this means the enemy gained a dangerous opening on our right and rear. The night only put an end to the engagement.

It would seem that nothing could now exceed the distresses and calamity of the army. They bore it with that excellency of temper, and resolution, which are natural to, and were worthy of British soldiers. It was evidently impossible to continue in their present situation, without submitting to a certainty of destruction on the ensuing day. A total change of position was accordingly undertaken, and as it seems to have been conceived with great judgment, was carried into execution during the night with a degree of

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of coolness, silence, order and intrepidity, which has seldom been equalled, and will certainly be never exceeded. It was not the movement of a wing or a part, it was a general remove of the whole army, of the camp and artillery, from its late ground, to the heights above the hospital; thus by an entire change of front, to reduce the enemy to the necessity of forming an entire new disposition. All this was accomplished in the darkness, and under the doubt and apprehension of such a night, so fatally ushered in, and accompanied throughout with circumstances of such uncommon peril, as were sufficient to disturb the best formed mind, and to shake the firmest resolution without loss, and what was still more, without disorder.

Many brave men fell on this unfortunate day. The officers suffered exceedingly. Several who had been grievously wounded in the late action, and who disdained an absence from any danger in which their fellows were involved, were again wounded in this. Among those of greater note, or who were distinguished by higher rank, who fell, besides general Frazer, and Colonel Breyman, whom we have mentioned, Sir James Clarke, Aid de Camp to General Burgoyne, was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. Major Williams of the artillery, and Major Ackland of the grenadiers, were also taken, the latter being wounded. Upon the whole, the lists of killed and wounded, though avowedly imperfect, and not including the Germans, were long and melancholy.

On the next day, the army being sensible that nothing less than a successful and decisive action could extricate them from their present difficulties, continued without effect, during its course, to offer battle repeatedly in their new position, to the enemy. They were preparing with great coolness, the carrying of measures into execution, which were less dangerous, though not less effectual, than the attack of a brave and desperate enemy, in strong and fortified ground, a continued succession of skirmishes were, however, carried on, and these did not pass without loss on both sides.

In the mean time, the British General discovered, that the enemy had pushed a strong body forward to turn his right, which if effected, he would have been completely enclosed on every side. Nothing was left to prevent this fatal consequence, but an immediate retreat to Saratoga. The army accordingly began to move at nine o'clock at

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night; and tho' the movement was within musket shot of the enemy, and the army encumbered in its retreat with all its baggage, it was made without loss. A heavy rain which fell that night, and continued the ensuing day, though it impeded the progress of the army, and increased the difficulties of the march, served at the same time to retard, and in a great measure to prevent the pursuit of the enemy. In this unhappy necessity, the hospital with the sick and wounded, was of course, and must have been inevitably abandoned. In this instance, as well as in every other which occurred in the course of these transactions, General Gates behaved with an attention and humanity, to all those whom the fortune of war had thrown into his hands, which does honour to his character.

On the side of the Americans, the loss in killed and wounded was great; and is supposed exceeded that of the British. They, however, lost no officer of note; but the generals Lincoln, and Arnold were both dangerously wounded.

From the impediments in the march which we have mentioned the army did not cross the fords of the Fish Kill Creek, which lies a little to the northward of Saratoga, until the 10th in the morning. They found a body of the enemy already arrived, and throwing up entrenchments on the heights before them, who retired at their approach over a ford of the Hudson's river, and there joined a greater force, which was stationed to prevent the passage of the army. No hopes now remained but that of effecting a retreat, at least as far as fort George, on the way to Canada. For this purpose, a detachment of artificers under a strong escort, was sent forward to repair the bridges, and open the road to Fort Edward. But they were not long departed from the camp, when the sudden appearance of the enemy in great force, on the opposite heights, with their apparent preparation to pass the Fish Kill, and bring on an immediate engagement, rendered it necessary to recall the 47th regiment, and Frazer's marksmen, who with Mackay's provincials composed the escort. The workmen had only commenced the repair of the first bridge, when they were abandoned by their provincial guard, who ran away and left them to shift for themselves, only upon a very slight attack of an inconsiderable part of the enemy. All the force of discipline, and all the stubbornness derived from

from its most confirmed habits were now necessary to support even the appearance of resolution. 1777.

The farther shore of the Hudson's river, was now lined with detachments of the enemy, and the batteaux loaden with provisions and necessaries, which had attended the motions of the army up the river, since its departure from the neighbourhood of Still Water, were exposed, notwithstanding any protection which could possibly be afforded, to the continual fire and attacks of these detachments. Many boats were taken, some retaken, and a number of men lost in the skirmishes, upon these occasions. At length it was found the provisions could only be preserved by landing and bringing them up the hill to the camp; a labour which was accomplished under a heavy fire with difficulty and loss.

In these deplorable circumstances councils of war were held, to consider of the possibility of a further retreat. The only measure that carried even the appearance of practicability, hard, difficult, and dangerous as it was, was by a night march to gain Fort Edward, the troops carrying their provisions upon their backs. The impossibility of repairing the roads and bridges, and of conveying in their present situation the artillery and carriages, were too evident to admit of a question. It was proposed to force the fords at or near Fort Edward.

Whilst preparations were making for carrying this forlorn and desperate resolve into execution, intelligence was received, that the enemy had already with great foresight, provided for every possible measure that could be adopted for an escape, and that this final resort was accordingly cut off. Besides being strongly entrenched opposite to the fords which it was intended to pass, they had a camp in force, and provided with artillery, on the high and strong grounds, between Fort Edward and Fort George; whilst their party were every where spread along the opposite shore of the river, to watch or intercept the motions of the army, and on their own, the enemy's posts were so close, that they could scarcely make the smallest movement without discovery.

Nothing could be more deplorably calamitous, than the state and situation of the army. Worn down by a series of hard toil, incessant effort, and stubborn action; abandoned in their utmost necessity and distress by the Indians; weakened by the desertion, or disappointed and discouraged

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by the timidity and inefficacy of the Canadians and Provincials; and the regular troops reduced by repeated and heavy losses, of many of their best men and most distinguished officers, to the number of only 3,500 effective fighting men, of whom not quite 2,000 were British. In these circumstances, and in this state of weakness, without a possibility of retreat, and their provision just exhausted, they were invested by an army of four times their own number, whose position extended three parts in four of a circle round them; who refused to fight from a knowledge of their condition; and who from the nature of the ground could not be attacked in any part.

In this helpless condition, obliged to lie constantly on their arms, whilst a continued cannonade pervaded all the camp, and even rifle and grape shot fell in every part of the lines, the British troops retained their constancy, temper, and fortitude, in a wonderful and almost unparalleled manner. As true courage submits with great difficulty to despair, they still flattered themselves with the hope of succour from their friends on the New-York side, or, perhaps with not less fervent wishes, of an attack from the enemy; thereby to quit all scores at once, and either to have an opportunity of dying gallantly, or extricating themselves with honour. The enemy's force was continually increased by the pouring in of the militia from all parts, who were all eager to partake of the glory, the spoil, or the pleasure of beholding the degradation of those whom they had so long dreaded, and whom they unhappily considered as their most implacable enemies.

At length, no succour appearing, and no rational ground of hope of any kind remaining, an exact account of the provisions was taken on the evening of the 13th of October, when it was found that the whole stock in hand, would afford no more than three days bare subsistence for the army. A council was immediately called; and the General thinking it right and just, in a matter so momentous to individuals, as well as the whole, to obtain a general opinion and suffrage of the army, so far as it could with propriety be collected, invited, besides the Generals and field officers, all the Captains commanding corps or divisions, to assist at the council. The result was, an unanimous determination to open a treaty and enter into a convention with General Gates.

Gates shewed no marks of arrogance, nor betrayed any signs of being carried away by the present extraordinary torrent of success. The terms were moderate, considering the ruined state and irretrievable circumstances of the army; and that it was already in effect at the enemy's mercy, being equally incapable of subsisting where it was, and of making its way to a better situation. The principal difficulty related to a point of military honour, in which the British Generals and troops were peremptory, and Gates far from being rigid.

The principal articles of the convention, exclusive of those which related to the provision and accommodation of the army, in its way to Boston, and during its stay at that place, were, that the army should march out of the camp with all the honours of war, and its camp artillery, to a fixed place where they were to deposit their arms: To be allowed a free embarkation and passage to Europe from Boston, upon condition of their not serving again in America, during the present war; the army not to be separated, particularly the men from the officers; roll-calling, and other duties of regularity to be admitted; the officers to be admitted on parole, and to wear their side arms; all private property to be sacred, and the public delivered upon honour; no baggage to be searched or molested; all persons of whatsoever country, appertaining to, or following the camp, to be fully comprehended in the terms of capitulation; and the Canadians to be returned to their own country, liable to its conditions.

General Gates fulfilled all the conditions, so far as he was, or could be concerned in them, with the utmost punctuality and honour. His humanity and politeness, in every part of this business, have been much celebrated; without a single detraction, so far as we have heard, from the most favourable accounts that have been given of his conduct. This was the more praise-worthy, as some late, as well as former circumstances, had highly enraged the American militia; the army in its last movements, whether from military necessity, or the vexation and ill-temper incident to their situation, or the joint operation of both, having burnt and destroyed many houses, and some of them buildings of great value. The extraordinary and severe execution which now took place upon the North River, would also have afforded too much colour for a different mode of conduct. It is even said, and we do not find that

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Oct. 17.

Conventi-  
on of the  
royal army  
with Gen.  
Gates.

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it has been contradicted, that this General paid so nice and delicate an attention to the British military honour, and to the character and feelings of those brave troops, who now experienced so deplorable a reverse of fortune, that he kept his army close within their lines, and did not suffer an American soldier to be a witness to the degrading spectacle of piling their arms.

The Americans state the whole number who laid down their arms, including Canadians, Provincials, volunteers, regulars, and irregulars, of all sorts, at 5752 men. In this number is undoubtedly included, though not specified, all the artificers, labourers, and followers of the camp. They also state the number of sick and wounded left in the hospitals at the retreat from the camp near Still Water, to 528 men, and the loss besides in the army in killed, wounded, taken, or deserted, from the 6th of July downwards, to 2,933; the total amount of these numbers being 9,213 men. By another account, the number is carried about ten thousand. They also got a fine train of brass artillery, amounting to 35 pieces of different sorts and sizes.

During these unfortunate transactions, Lieutenant General Sir Henry Clinton, conducted his expedition up the North River with great success. He had embarked about 3000 men for that service, accompanied by a suitable naval force, consisting of ships of war, armed galleys, and smaller vessels, under the conduct of commodore Hotham. Their first object was the reduction of the fort Montgomery and Clinton, which tho' of considerable strength, being at that time in a very unguarded state, it was determined to attempt by a coup de main. They were situated on either side of a creek, which descended from the mountains to the North River, and their communications preserved by a bridge. Several necessary motions being made to mask the real design, the troops were landed in two divisions, at such a distance from their object, as occasioned a considerable and difficult march through the mountains; which was however calculated and conducted with such precision, that the two detachments arrived on the opposite sides of the creek, and began their separate attack on the forts, at nearly the same time. The surprize and terror of the garrisons was increased by the appearance of the ships of war, and the arrival and near fire of the galleys, which approached so close as to strike the walls with their oars. The assault on both sides of the creek was exceedingly vigorous, and the impetuosity

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tuosity of the troops so great, that notwithstanding a very considerable defence, both the forts were carried by storm. As the soldiers were much irritated, as well by the fatigue they had undergone, and the opposition they met, as by the loss of some brave and favourite officers, the slaughter of the enemy was considerable.

Upon the loss of the forts, the rebels set fire to two fine new frigates, and to some other vessels, which with their artillery and stores were all consumed. Another fort called Constitution, was in a day or two after, upon the approach of the combined land and naval force, precipitately set on fire and abandoned. General Tryon also, at the head of a detachment, destroyed a new and thriving settlement called Continental Village, which contained barracks for 1500 men, with considerable stores. The artillery taken in the three forts, amounted to 67 pieces of different sizes. A large quantity of artillery and other stores, with ammunition and provisions, were also taken. A large boom and chain, the making of which was supposed to have cost 70,000*l.* and the construction of which was considered as an extraordinary proof of American labour, industry, and skill, was in part destroyed, and in part carried away. Upon the whole, the American loss in value, was probably greater than upon any other occasion since the commencement of the war. Their strength and attention were drawn away to the northward, and other things must have been neglected, whilst they applied both to the principal object.

Our loss in killed and wounded was not great as to number, but some distinguished and much lamented officers fell. Of these, besides Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, who commanded the attack on Fort Montgomery, Major Sill, was from the general esteem he had acquired through his many excellent qualities, universally regretted. Major Grant of the New York volunteers, and Count Grabouski, a Polish nobleman, and Aid de Camp to General Clinton, were also slain in the assault on these forts.

The expedition did not end with this success. Sir James Wallace, with a flying squadron of light frigates, and General Vaughan, with a considerable detachment of troops, continued, for several days, their excursion up the river, carrying terror and destruction wherever they went. At the very time that General Burgoyne was receiving the most favourable conditions for himself and a ruined army, the fine village or town of Esopus, at no very great distance,

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was reduced to ashes, and not a house left standing. The extraordinary devastation which attended every part of this expedition, of the necessity of which we are not judges, was productive of a pathetic but severe letter, from General Gates, then in the height of victory, to General Vaughan.

On the approach of Gates, the troops and vessels retired to New York, having dismantled the forts, and for a time at least, having left the river defenceless. But that enterprise, though conducted with spirit and ability, was of little moment in the general account.

Such was the unfortunate issue of the northern campaign: The event of an expedition which was undertaken with the most confident hopes, and for some time pursued with very flattering appearances of success. It was supposed the principal means for the immediate reduction of the colonies; but it has only served, in conjunction with other operations, which in the first instance have succeeded better, to demonstrate the difficulties attending the subjugation of a numerous people at a great distance, in an extensive country marked with strong lines, and abounding in strong natural defences, if the resources of war are not exceedingly deficient, and that the spirit of the people is in any degree proportioned to their situation. It may now, whatever it was in the beginning, be a matter of doubt, whether any superiority of power, of wealth, and of discipline, will be found to over-balance such difficulties.

It would not be easy at present, as many things necessary to be known have not been fully explained, and improper, as the whole is still a subject of public investigation, to attempt forming any judgment upon the general plan or system of this campaign. The general conduct of the war this year has already undergone much censure; and undoubtedly, the sending of the grand army at such a distance to the southward, whilst the inferior was left struggling with insurmountable difficulties in the north, when it would seem that their junction or co-operation, would have rendered them greatly superior to any force which could have been possibly brought to oppose their progress, seems, in this view of things, not to be easily accounted for. It is, however, a subject, upon which no conclusive opinion can yet be formed.

## C H A P. XVII.

*Subsequent proceedings to General Burgoyne's surrender.—  
A few general reflections.—Reasons given by Congress,  
why the Convention made at Saratoga should not be fulfilled.—Cruelties complained of and enumerated.*

FROM the unfortunate issue of the northern campaign, and the surrender of General Burgoyne, despondency respecting American affairs, was, almost every where apparent: the public seemed in a great measure indifferent about subsequent intelligence from our commanders; the colonies were looked upon as lost, and a languor in military operations prevailed.

It must, however, be observed, that the capitulation at Saratoga, was as honourable as circumstances would permit, and the moderation of General Gates was conspicuous. Our army, when prisoners, were well used, and in due time marched to Boston, where they are supposed still to remain; tho' it is highly probable many of them will settle in America, and their services be for ever lost to Great Britain.

Mr. Burgoyne, and other officers, had permission from Congress, on their parole to return to England. It is not doubted, but when an impartial enquiry shall take place, this active gallant commander, will be honourably acquitted.

From Lord G. Germaine's letter of instructions to General Carleton at Quebec, it appears, that General Burgoyne with one army, was to force his way to Albany; and colonel St. Leger with another body of forces to make a diversion on the Mohawk river. The former was not joined by promised or expected assistance. The Indians had deserted; (which marks his justice and clemency)—Having, then, superior encreasing numbers, well supplied with every necessary, and *Famine* to encounter, his surrender was justifiable upon every principle of prudence, humanity, and military honour: He did not this, without the advice and consent of his officers. To have exposed

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exposed brave veterans, without even the possibility of success, had been wantonness, or the Quixotism of fortitude.

It may here be proper just to name the reasons given by Congress for detaining the troops at Boston, that by treaty should have been sent to England, viz. "that several military articles, included in the convention, had not been given up; that the refusal of General Burgoyne, to give descriptive lists of the non commissioned officers, and privates, subsequent to his declaration, was an infringement of the public faith, and is considered by Congress in an alarming point of view." For these and other reasons, the troops were detained: and very lately, Congress have refused even to answer General Clinton on this subject, on account of the supposed insolence of his letter.

The Indian cruelties, committed when General Burgoyne was commander, were before mentioned: but besides these, we find others named in a letter, from the Plenipotentiaries of the United States at Paris, addressed to Lord North, respecting the treatment of colonel Parker, colonel Ethan Allen, who had been dragged from country to country, in chains; of Mr. Lovel in Boston; of the prisoners made in Fort Washington; of numbers who had been sent to Africa, and there groaning in bondage!

The cruelties exercised by the royal army.

General Gates, likewise complained of cruelties which had marked the retreat of Burgoyne's army, in burning gentlemen and farmer's houses!—Such deeds, unbecoming human nature, and every idea of civilization, cannot but foment resentment, and in the end, produce retaliation.

The burning of Esopus by General Vaughan, not a little widened our breach with the Colonists, especially as Charlestown had before been laid in ashes. In the former place there were 326 houses, with many barns, filled with grain, all destroyed, with 12,000 barrels of flour!—Four pieces of cannon only, and 1150 stand of arms, graced the shining triumph of our successful general at Esopus!—We wish, for the honour of humanity, that all such sanguinary proceedings may ever cease; and that in civilized nations, the extremes of war may never more be known! General Gates's letter to General Vaughan does honour to his feelings as a man.\*

\* Letter from Gen. Gates to the Congress, dated Albany October 20.

S I R,

“ Inclosed is a copy of a letter I have this day sent to Major General Vaughan, who I am told commands the burning party in Hudson’s river: It goes by the boat that carries General Burgoyne’s officer to Sir William Howe.

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“ S I R,

“ With unexampled cruelty you have reduced the fine village of Kingston to ashes, and most of the wretched inhabitants to ruin. I am informed you also continue to ravage and burn all before you on both sides of the river. Is it thus your king’s generals think to make converts in the royal cause? It is no less surprizing than true, that the measures they adopt to serve their master have the quite contrary effect. Their cruelty establishes the glorious act of independency upon the broad basis of the general resentment of the people.

“ Able generals, and much older officers than you can pretend to be, are now, by the fortune of war, in my hands— Their fortune may one day be your’s, when, sir, it may not be in the power of any thing human to save you from the just revenge of an injured people.

“ I am, Sir, your most obedient,

“ Humble servant,

“ HORATIO GATES,”

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## C H A P. XVII.

—*General Howe at Philadelphia.—Resolutions on the war. —The conciliatory bills, with the principal heads of them. —Opinion of Congress concerning them.—English Commissioners sent to America: The powers with which they were invested.—Their first propositions to Congress. —Great concessions—Reply of Congress.—A stop being put to several Correspondences recommended.—Of Governor Johnstone.*

**W**E HAVE hastened from dismal scenes, and the horrors of war, in order to turn our thoughts to Gen. Howe at Philadelphia; who tho' he had been successful in several arduous conflicts, (which did honour to both the commanders and troops) yet they gained him little more than safe winter quarters.

The numerous hardships and dangers to which his men had been exposed; the nature of the service; the many resources and retreats that lay open to the enemy, with their knowledge of the country, and facility of receiving supplies of every sort,—all tended to baffle the most unanimous efforts. American courage is now no longer problematical: Their alliance with France, also, renders it highly probable, that a most expensive, ruinous war will be prolonged to the annihilation of our finances, trade, credit, and manufactures.—A conquest of the colonies would now seem to be out of most peoples view.

Feb. 17. Military movements and attacks having, in a great measure ceased during the winter season; the public attention was drawn by Lord North, who in a speech of great length, proposed, what are called “The Conciliatory Bills;” the principal heads of which respecting America were, first, the bill to enable his majesty to name commissioners, for the purpose of quieting and extinguishing divers jealousies in the Colonies, &c.—Secondly, the bill for declaring the intention of parliament, relative to the exercise for imposing taxes, recites, “That the exercise of the right for raising a revenue having occasioned great uneasiness and disorders among his Majesty’s subjects in America, who yet

yet acknowledge the justice of contributing to the common defence of the empire: In order to remove such uneasiness, and to quiet the minds of the persons who may be disposed to return to their allegiance, it is declared and enacted, that from the passing the act, the Parliament of Great Britain will not impose any duty, tax, or assessment whatsoever, payable within any of his Majesty's colonies, provinces or plantations in North America, except only such duties as it may be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce. The nett produce of such duties to be always paid, and applied to the use of the Colonies, &c. &c. in which the same may arise."

The American Congress having taken into consideration the particulars in the conciliatory bills, deemed them to be insidious, inadequate to the purposes proposed; and in part, designed to foment divisions and discontents in the Colonies. In fine, that they served to shew in the clearest point of view, the weakness and wickedness of their enemy. They therefore gave it as their opinion, "That the United States could not with propriety hold any conference with commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they should, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or else, in positive and express terms, acknowledge the Independence of said States."

Notwithstanding the temper and resolutions of Congress, ministry pursued their plan of reconciliation, and on the 18th of April, the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Howe, Sir William Howe, William Eden, Esq; and George Johnstone, Esq; were appointed Commissioners for quieting and extinguishing of divers jealousies and apprehensions of danger in the Americans.

Commissioners appointed to treat of reconciliation.

The Commissioners, or any three of them, were empowered to treat, consult, and agree with such body or bodies politic and corporate, or with such assembly or assemblies, as they should think meet and sufficient for that purpose, of, and concerning any grievances, or complaints of grievances existing, or supposed to exist, in the government of any of the Colonies, &c. &c. but then, no agreement was to be of force, till ratified by the parliament.

They had also a power to order a cessation of hostilities by sea and land, for such time, and under such conditions, as they, in their directions should think fit. Likewise to suspend the operation of a certain act of parliament passed, for prohibiting all trade and intercourse with certain colonies

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nies therein named, and for other purposes mentioned, &c. I would observe, previous to the negotiations that are to follow, that some of these commissioners were sent, contrary to the sense of the public, as being deficient in dignity, abilities, and liberality of principle, for a business of such moment.

June 9.

General Washington received a letter from General Sir Henry Clinton, informing him that the English Commissioners for restoring peace had arrived at Philadelphia, requesting a passport for Dr. Ferguson their secretary, with a letter from them to Congress.

The passport was not granted, till the pleasure of Congress was first known. It was even after some debate, that the commissioners letters were received and read. When the insidious interposition of the French King was heard, a motion was made to proceed no further, because of the offensive language against his most Christian Majesty!

The commissioners in their first proposals for peace, declared, they were disposed to concur in every just arrangement towards the following, among other purposes, viz. to consent to a cessation of hostilities both by sea and land;—to restore free intercourse;—to revive mutual affection, and restore the common benefits of naturalization through the several parts of the empire;—to extend every freedom to trade, that respective interests can require;—to agree that no military force shall be kept up in the different states of North America, without the consent of the general Congress, or particular assemblies;—to concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and raise the value and credit of paper circulation;—to perpetuate the union, by a reciprocal deputation of an agent, or agents from the different states, who shall have the privilege of a seat and voice in the parliament of Great Britain; or, if sent from Britain, to have, in that case, a seat and voice in the assemblies of such states to which they may be respectively deputed. In short, to establish the powers of the respective legislatures in each particular state, to settle its revenue, its civil and military establishment; and to exercise a perfect freedom of legislation and internal government; so that the British states through North America, acting with us in peace and war, under our common Sovereign, may have the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege that is short of a total separation of interest, or  
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consistent with that union of force, on which the safety of our common religion and liberties depends.

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They concluded thus,—“ If after the time that may be necessary to consider of this communication, and transmit your answer, the horrors of war should continue, we call God and the world to witness, that the evils which must follow, are not to be imputed to Great Britain; and we cannot, without the most real sorrow, anticipate the prospect of calamities, which we feel the most ardent desire to prevent.

These were, surely, great concessions from a power, which not long before, had refused even to receive the American petitions: They would also seem to be marked with candour and justice. But, alas! things had been carried to such a length, or resentments taken place, that obtaining the first great object of the war, would not then satisfy. Nothing less than an acknowledgment of their independency would be accepted.

After several meetings, Congress having resumed the consideration of the Commissioners letter and papers, they replied as follows, by Mr. Henry Lawrens, their president, viz. “ Nothing but an earnest desire to spare the farther effusion of human blood, could have induced them to read a paper, containing sentiments so disrespectful to his most Christian Majesty, the great and good ally of these states; or to consider propositions so derogatory to the honour of an independent nation.

“ The acts of the British parliament, the commission from your Sovereign, and your letter suppose the people of these states, to be subjects of the crown of Great Britain, and are founded on the idea of a dependence, which is utterly inadmissible. I am further directed to inform your Excellencies, that Congress is inclined to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claims from which this war originated, and the savage manner in which it hath been conducted: They will therefore be contented to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting; when the King of Great Britain shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose. The only solid proof of this disposition, will be an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of these states, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies.”

After this, Congress announced to the public, that many letters addressed to individuals of the United States, had lately

1778. lately been received from England, thro' the conveyance of the enemy; that some of them which had been under their inspection, were found to convey ideas, insidiously calculated, to divide and delude the people. They then recommended the most effectual measures for putting a stop to so dangerous and criminal a correspondence\*.

The vigilance of Congress respecting private correspondence was proper and laudable. Several of those that were sent by Governor Johnstone, do honour to his feelings and understanding: His address and public spirit were evinced by them. He even admitted, certain political transgressions of the mother country, and freely mentioned, "her hour of insolence!"—We shall hereafter see his supposed defection from the line of rectitude in some of his addresses; by which he lost the confidence of Congress and his proceedings as a commissioner were rendered of none effect.

But in order to connect events properly, and to have a full view of the subject; let us turn to the negotiations that had been going on between France and the Congress.

\* It appeared by a private letter, that through the means of the commander in chief, and a Mr. Galloway, Governor Johnstone had circulated several private introductory letters to American gentlemen in power: One to Mr. Morris, a leading member of the Congress; one to Mr. Johnson, Governor of Maryland; one to Mr. Carmichael, late Secretary to the Commissioners at Paris; besides that addressed to General Washington himself.

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## C H A P. XVIII.

*American Independence acknowledged by France.—Message from his Majesty to parliament.—Observations.—Treaty of alliance signed at Paris.—Letters of reprisal granted by France and England.—Reception of the Sieur Gerrard in America.—The unmolested departure of the Count D'Estaing from Toulon.*

**D**R. FRANKLIN'S and Mr. Dean's proceedings in Paris, had been long observed, and watched with a jealous eye: treaties were supposed to have been signed, and an alliance formed, some months before they were ascertained to the public.

The French ambassador delivered a rescript to lord Weymouth secretary of state, the principal parts of which are, viz. That the United States of North America, being in full possession of independence, as pronounced by them, on the 4th 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.

March.

His Majesty, determined to cultivate the good understanding subsisting between France and Great Britain, 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 Britannic 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 sub-

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jects, 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 (Le M. de Noailles) 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.

In consequence of this declaration, lord Weymouth delivered to the house of lords a message from his Majesty, informing them, that a treaty of amity and commerce has been signed between the court of France, and certain persons employed by his Majesty's revolted subjects in North America; a copy of which was ordered to be laid before the house.

That his Majesty is persuaded, the justice and good faith of his conduct towards foreign powers, will be acknowledged by all the world; and his Majesty trusts, that he shall not stand responsible for the disturbance of the general tranquility, if he should find himself called upon, to resent so unprovoked and so unjust an aggression on the honour of his crown, &c. contrary to the most solemn assurances, subversive of the law of nations, and injurious to the rights of every sovereign power in Europe.

That relying with the firmest confidence, on the zealous and affectionate support of his faithful people, he is determined to be prepared to exert, if it shall become necessary, all the force and resources of his kingdoms, which he trusts will be found adequate, to repel every insult and attack; to maintain and uphold the power and reputation of this country.

The answer from both houses of parliament to this message, was marked by zeal and affection, by a just resentment, and the strongest assurances of loyalty and support.

Tho' the rescript of the French King was not given to lord Weymouth, as secretary of state till March 1778; yet it was known, some months before, that an acknowledgment of American Independence, was determined on by the court of France, and that a treaty of amity and of commerce had been signed; nay it was affirmed, that a  
private

private treaty had been agreed upon, containing the most hostile designs against Great Britain. It is highly probable, as the humbling concessions that were made on our part, had no impression on Congress, that France and America will act with their united force against us. It is a principal part of the policy of the former, to weaken her rival Great Britain, by increasing her national debt and expences, or by lessening her strength and commerce. In such a situation, wisdom, vigilance, and activity should distinguish administration; a virtuous unanimity, and a fixed regard to their safety and liberties should mark the proceedings of the people.

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The treaty of alliance between France and the United States, was signed at Paris; and soon after Congress unanimously ratified it. By this treaty all that we enjoyed by the famous act of navigation, was lost. Feb. 6.

For several reasons, a declaration of war has been delayed, tho' hostilities have long since been commenced. On the 10th July, the French King's letter to the admiral of France, authorizing and empowering him to issue letters of reprisal against the ships of the subjects of Great Britain, was published:—On the 29th of the same month, his Majesty with the advice of the privy council ordered, that general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of the French King, &c.

Our success in seizing French property has been very great, both by our privateers, and ships of war. Their East India and their West India fleets have greatly suffered: The balance in this sort of business, (which tends to the ruin of private individuals) is vastly in our favour; bankruptcies and discontents pervade the Gallic commercial walks. A great deal of French property, was undoubtedly insured in England; but it is hoped, a practise so impolitic has ceased.

It were almost unnecessary to inform the public, of the reception which the Sieur Gerrard, sent from France, to Congress, met with. Their speeches to a man, who came from a court, whose religion and government are both inimical to theirs, are flattering in an high degree, or rather, mean and fulsome. The popularity of Congress, is not increased by this alliance. If concurring accounts may be depended upon, loyalty, in several of the Colonies, to those in power, sits but loose upon the people. It will, perhaps, be next to impossible, altogether to eradicate their feelings for their former friends, and mother country. Would I

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April.

could say, that the conduct of our ministers, had not given them cause of alienation; but a wanton, avaricious war, waged with resentment and instances of cruelty, will be difficult to have terminated, with honour and advantage.

The Count de Estaing, an enterprising officer, (but who had formerly broke his parole with us) sailed with 15 men of war and frigates from Toulon for America, in order, as was supposed, to destroy the fleet under lord Howe, seize our merchantmen, and to assist the operations of the Continental army, against that under general Howe, or Sir Henry Clinton. The proceedings of this fleet will, in their place be given. The sailing of it, unmolested from Europe, tho' intelligence was said to have been early enough received for preventing it, occasioned much discontent, and the minority in parliament reprobated ministry for their neglect in this matter. Nay, it was asserted, that the ships which should have gone on this important business, were detained at home, in order to parade in the royal review at Portsmouth.

The foregoing interesting transactions, were thrown into one connected view, that the reader may, with the more ease, have recourse to matters, on which the most important events may depend. The way being thus cleared, let us next proceed to Philadelphia, where, in December 1777, we left Sir William Howe in winter quarters.

1778.

## C H A P. XIX.

*Forage brought in. Languor in military operations. General Howe's intention of returning to England; reasons surmised. Part of the enemy's troops defeated. Success of an Expedition up the Delaware. Boats burned on Hickamament river. General Clinton commander in chief at Philadelphia. Evacuates that city; passes the Delaware; His celebrated march thro' Jersey, and repulse of General Washington. Colonel Monckton slain. Of general Lee.*

**F**OR several weeks nothing material happened; but on the 22d. of December, a considerable body of the army passed the Schuylkill, to take post on the heights of Derby, in order to cover the collecting and transporting by water, as well as by land a large quantity of forage which that county afforded: a great deal was brought in, and the detachment returned on the 28th of December, with the loss of two officers and thirty men, who had been decoyed into an ambuscade.

The continental army, excepting a detachment of 1200 at Wilmington, were huddled in the woods near Valley forge, twenty six miles from Philadelphia, in a strong position.

After the defeat of Saratoga, inactivity in military affairs, would seem to have taken place, and the eagerness of expectation in the public, was not to be seen as formerly. General Sir William Howe intimated the arrival of Sir Henry Clinton at Philadelphia, with his intention of returning home, after he had furnished his successor with the orders and instructions he had received. Neglect in administration, a dislike to the secretary for American affairs, and not having been properly attended to, and supported, are supposed to have been the reasons of Sir William's desiring permission to resign the command: But probably the causes of this, as well as of other resignations, will more fully be known by parliamentary enquiries that are soon to take place.

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From the earliest return of spring, a succession of detachments had ranged the country for several miles round Philadelphia, and the province of Jersey, to open a communication for bringing in supplies for the inhabitants, and to procure forage for the army. These detachments did considerable service; and Colonel Mawhood with three battalions, and a provincial corps, made a descent on the coast of Jersey, near Salem, with much success, and dispersed the forces collected in that part of the country.

May 4th.

By the activity of lieutenant Colonel Abercromby, a corps of 900 men under the command of a brigadier General, posted about seventeen miles from our head quarters, 100 light infantry, 300 rangers, and a party of light dragoons, were attacked and defeated: In killed, wounded and prisoners the enemy lost 150 men: and we had but nine wounded in the action. The rout would have been far more complete, had not the fatigue of a long march disabled the infantry from pursuing.

May 7th.

The good conduct of major Maitland who was detached with the second battalion of light infantry in flat boats, attended with three gallies and other armed vessels, under the command of Captain Henry, deserves particular notice. his orders were to proceed up the Delaware, to destroy all the ships, and vessels lying in the river between that and Trenton.

The provincials appeared in force, but were driven from their guns, after which, four store houses, with great quantities of provisions, a very large quantity of tobacco, some military stores and camp equipage were destroyed.

May 6th.

Our Admiral Lord Howe recites the judicious conduct of Captain Henry in the execution of the orders he had received. The Hussar, Cornwallis, Tenet and Philadelphia gallies, with the Viper, and Pembroke armed schooners &c. proceeded up the Delaware, till they were abreast of White Hill, where the gallies covered the landing of the troops. At this place the Washington and Effingham frigates, the former pierced for 32 guns, and the latter for 28 guns, were with a brig and sloop, set on fire, and consumed.

The troops then marched, and took possession of Burdettown, where they destroyed a battery of 3 six pounders; burnt two new ships, one privateer, with ten sail of brigs and

and schooners. They next proceeded up Croswell Creek ; and set fire to the Sturdy-beggar privateer, and eight sail of sloops and brigs. 1778.

The Huffer and Front gallies, gun-boats, &c. rode up also Biles Island Creek ; where they destroyed six different vessels, mostly armed. At Bristol were burnt likewise several vessels, the whole amounting to forty four sail. There was not a man lost in this expedition ; but some houses were unfortunately consumed by fire, contrary to the directions of the officers employed in this service.

A detachment of the garrison of Rhode Island, under the command of Colonel Campbell of the 22d. Regiment, May 25. embarked in flat boats, conducted by Captain Clayton ; and by a well concerted operation destroyed 125 boats collected by the Provincials in Hickamanent river, with a large galley, all designed to assist at the invasion of Rhode Island. Another galley of force was destroyed by Captain Reeve, at Warren's Creek. The saw-mills also near Taunton River, were destroyed by Lieutenant Christian, which was a service of importance.

During the summer there was a remarkable silence in administration, respecting American affairs, and the movement of our fleet and army. Tho' we had several successes, and did much damage to the enemy ; yet nothing either brilliant or decisive was effected. Perhaps the situation of our troops, the nature of the country, the difficulties and dangers that attended so severe, and unusual a service prevented it. The fortitude and conduct of our commanders, the alertness and bravery of the soldiery, are not to be called in question. Whether the support and instructions they received from ministry were inadequate to the arduous work they were engaged in, I shall not determine : The public will, no doubt be in due time satisfied in this matter.

Tho' our troops were in possession of Philadelphia, so early as the 10th of May, a report prevailed, that it would soon be evacuated ; and on the 30th an order was issued for the vessels to leave the town on the second of June. The 5th our peace Commissioners arrived in the Trident, and on the 10th sent a flag of truce to Congress.

General Clinton being chief in command at Philadelphia, evacuated that city on the 18th of June, at three o'clock in the morning, and proceeded to Gloucester point without being followed by the enemy. The army, through the ex-

1778. cellent disposition that had been made by the admiral, (Lord Howe) passed the Delaware, and at ten o'clock reached Hadden field. A strong corps of provincial forces, abandoned the difficult pass of Mount Holly, but they destroyed every bridge on the road. The excessive heat of the season rendered the repairing of these bridges, a work of much difficulty.

As this celebrated march, may be placed among the most distinguished events of the war, a circumstantial account of it, must prove acceptable to the public.

The advanced parties of our light troops arriving unexpectedly at Crosswicks on the 23d after a trifling skirmish, prevented the enemy from destroying a bridge over a large creek in that village; the army passed it next morning.

The march so far, pointed equally towards the Hudson's river, and Staten Island by the Rariton, but the juncture was arrived, when it became necessary to decide, ultimately, what course to pursue. Encumbered by an enormous provision train, the general was led to wish for a route the least liable to obstruction.

He had received intelligence that Generals Washington and Lee had passed the Delaware with their army; that a numerous militia was assembled from all the neighbouring provinces; and that General Gates with an army from the northward, was advancing to join them on the Rariton. From General Washington's having so frequently avoided coming to action, it was not then expected he would have given into it against every dictate of policy. This was our General's opinion, who believed his views would only be directed against the baggage, provisions, &c. in which parts, he was undoubtedly vulnerable.

The approach of the continental army, having been indicated by the frequent appearance of their light troops on the rear of ours, General Knyphausen was requested, to take the baggage of the whole army under charge of his division. Under the head of baggage was comprized, not only all the wheel carriages of every department, but also the bat horses; a train which as the country admitted but of one route for carriages, extended near twelve miles!

The indispensable necessity of securing these, was obvious; the difficulties in effecting this, against an army vastly superior, and in a woody country, were also apparent.

General Knyphausen was desired to move on the 28th at day break. Soon after, General Clinton followed with his division. Reconnoitering parties of the enemy quickly appeared on their left flank. The queen's rangers fell in with, and dispersed some detachments among the woods in the same quarter. 1778.

Our rear guards having descended from the heights above Freehold into a plain near three miles in length, and about one mile in breadth, several columns of the enemy appeared likewise descending into the plain; and at ten o'clock they began to cannonade our rear. General Clinton then was informed, that the provincial troops, were, undiscovered, marching in force on both flanks of his army. He was convinced the baggage was their object, but it being at that juncture engaged in defiles, which continued for some miles, no means occurred of parrying the blow, but attacking the corps which harrassed the rear, and pressing it so hard as to oblige the detachments to return from his flanks to its assistance.

He had authentic information, that General Washington was up with his whole army, estimated at about two thousand men. The enemy's cavalry commanded, as was said, by M. de la Fayette, having approached within reach, was charged with great spirit by the Queen's light dragoons: They did not wait the shock, but fell back in confusion upon their own infantry.

General Clinton thinking it possible, that the event might draw to a general action, sent for a brigade of British, and the 17th light dragoons. A disposition was made to attack in the plain; but before our troops could advance, the enemy fell back, and took a strong position upon the heights of Freehold court house. The heat of the weather was intense, and the men suffered much from the fatigues they had undergone, but a vigorous exertion was necessary.

The British grenadiers, and the guards on their right, began the attack with such spirit, that the enemy immediately gave way. But their second line stood with obstinacy; they were, however completely routed. They then took a third position, with a marshy hollow in front, over which it would have been scarcely possible to have attacked them; yet part of the second line made a movement to the front, occupied some ground on the enemy's left flank, and the

1778. the light infantry with the Queen's light dragoons turned their left.

By this time our troops were so overpowered with fatigue, that the affair could be pressed no farther, especially as general Clinton was confident, that the end was gained for which the attack had been made. He took the position from where the enemy had been driven, after they quitted the plain, and having reposed the troops, to avoid the heat of the day, took advantage of the moon light to rejoin general Knyphausen, who advanced to Nut Swamp near Middletown.

The baggage had been attempted by some of the enemy's light troops, who were repulsed by the good disposition of the last named general, Major Grant, and the firm stand of the 40th regiment, whose piquets alone were attacked, and one troop of the 17th light dragoons.

It would be sufficient honour to our troops, barely to say, that they had forced a corps of near 12000 men, from two strong positions; but it must be considered as highly honourable, when it is affirmed, that they did it under such disadvantages of heat and fatigue, that a great part of those who were lost, fell dead as they advanced, without a wound! The service here was peculiarly severe, or rather above human strength, but British courage is almost equal to every difficulty.

Had General Washington shewn himself next day, our army was ready to receive him handsomely. Our General waited two days in hopes that Mr. Washington might have been tempted to advance to the position near Middletown, where he might have been attacked to advantage. During this time the sick and wounded were embarked, and preparation made for passing to Sandy hook Island by a bridge, which by extraordinary efforts of the navy was soon compleated: The whole army passed over in two hours, the horses and cattle having been previously transported.

In the action fell lieutenant colonel Monckton, whose courage, conduct, and military accomplishments are universally acknowledged. In him the gentleman and soldier, were happily united; tenderness and humanity, were the attendants of eminent abilities and distinguished magnanimity.

It is observable, that in 1769 he purchased a majority from Mr. Gates, whose name has been since rendered famous

mous by his victory at Saratoga. It is also noticeable, that in 1776, Col. Monckton was shot through the body at Long Island, and afterwards wounded in the knee. But on the 28th of June, he gloriously fell leading on his battalion.

1778.  


Tho' General Washington claimed the victory on the 28th of June, and in his letter said, the enemy were finally obliged to give way, &c. yet it is plain, our baggage and provisions were saved, and a march performed, which will ever do honour to General Clinton, as well as to the officers and soldiers under his command.

General Lee's conduct had been blamed on this occasion, and tho' it received not public reprehension, yet some were dissatisfied with it. His bravery, however, stands unimpeached. In his letter respecting the above attack, instead of naming it as a victory, he speaks of it only as a very handsome check; yet General Washington received the thanks of Congress for a supposed victory, tho' the greatest design of his attack, was intirely frustrated.

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## C H A P. XX.

*De Eftaing's fleet anchor at the entrance of the Delaware; intercept some vessels, and sail to the southward. Privateers, and a great number of ships destroyed by Admiral Young. Expedition near Hickamuēt bridge. Rhode Island invested: The enemy repulsed. Efforts used in repairing Admiral Byron's fleet, and strengthening Lord Howe. Expedition to Bedford and Fair Haven. And to Egg harbour. Dominica taken. Reflections. The Islands of St. Pierre and Miquilon are surrendered.*

THE sailing of the French fleet, under the command of the Count de Eftaing was before mentioned. Our admiral, lord Howe, received intelligence, that his fleet had arrived on the coast of Virginia, the 5th July; but on the 8th, they anchored at the entrance of the Delaware: Instructions were immediately sent to admiral Byron by his lordship; who soon afterwards had notice, that the French squadron was advancing towards Sandy Hook, where he then was stationed.

The position they had taken near this port, enabled them to intercept ten small trading vessels, with the York armed floops, and one of our bomb tenders. But on the 22d July, the enemy weighed, and stood from before Sandy Hook to the Southward, followed by advice boats. On the 28th the Raifonnable, man of war joined lord Howe's small fleet, as did the Centurion and Cornwall, in three days after: The latter had parted from admiral Byron in a sudden gust of wind, whose ships were supposed to have suffered damage.

From admiral Young's letter dated the 12th Sept. from Spithead, it appears, that when on his station, at Leeward Islands, he had destroyed seventeen privateers and armed vessels, with 205 American trading ships, besides those that were published in the Gazette the 11th July.

May 27.

General Sullivan arrived at Providence, in order to command the Provincial forces in that place, as well as to be near Rhode Island, when a convenient opportunity should offer for making an attempt upon it.

General

1778.

General Pigot having received intelligence, that a great number of large boats, and a galley were on shore at the west side of the river below Hickamuct bridge, all under repair, with a number of cannon and stores, with only a guard of ten men upon the boats, and 250, on the whole Peninsula, from Warren to Bristol ferry, and that assistance could not come in time to save the boats; Lieutenant Col. Campbell of the 22d regiment, was ordered for the command, with about 500 men, and embarked on board flat boats under the direction of Captain Clayton and Lieut. Knowles of the navy.

This expedition was crowned with success; 125 boats, some of them 50 feet in length, were burned. A galley, several pieces of cannon, and some sloops were destroyed. In the town of Warren, an house, full of ammunition, combustibles and other warlike stores, was blown up; and a new privateer mounting 16 four pounders was burnt in Warren river.

The troops in their way to Bristol spiked several pieces of cannon, tho' their rear was fired upon by the enemy who had taken the alarm. The loss attending this essential service, was inconsiderable.

A few days after this expedition, General Pigot having been informed, that a large quantity of boards and planks lay at Trall river, and that the only saw mills the enemy had in that country were also there; he ordered Major Eyre with 100 men on this service. Two mills, with a large quantity of boards and planks were destroyed, tho' they were early discovered, and fired upon from a battery, and small arms. In returning to their boats, they burned a guard room, provision store, and nine cedar boats. Our loss was but two men killed, and Lieut. Goldsmith, and four men wounded.

About the middle of July, General Washington considerably reinforced General Sullivan's army, which left no room to doubt that an attack on Rhode Island was intended. The island, however, had been reinforced with Major General Prescott, and five battalions; and Major General Pigot, with the assistance he received from the navy, had time to strengthen the sea defences.

The French fleet under de Eſtaing appeared off Newport, but shewed no disposition to enter the harbour; but it was supposed they were waiting to assist the attack that should be made on the island by General Sullivan. Every effort was used to receive them properly.

July 29.

The

1778. The enemy landed their forces at Howland's ferry. Their military operations were actively continued for several days. Several redoubts were raised, and attacks made, but by the bravery of our troops, an army of Provincials supposed to be 12000 men, could make no impression. The weight of the principal action fell on Col. Campbell of the 22d regiment. Brigadier General Smith, likewise mentions with applause the spirited exertions of Lieut. Col. Marsh, and the 43d regiment; as also of Captains Coore and French who commanded the flank companies.

Aug. 9. But before these attacks, the French fleet under Monsieur de Eftaing, under a light sail entered the harbour, keeping up a warm fire on Brenton's point, Goat Island, and the North batteries, which were manned by seamen of our frigates that had been destroyed, and commanded by Capt. Christian, Lieutenants Forrest and Otway of the navy, who returned the fire with great spirit, and in good direction.

The next morning, Count de Eftaing repassed the batteries; (having as was supposed heard that Lord Howe's little fleet was near at hand.) The fire from both sides was continued briskly, as before. But the desertion of his station, not a little disappointed the hopes, and damped the ardour of the provincial army, as well as raised their resentment. Their operations against the garrison at Newport were in a short time discontinued; and the departure of the French squadron, was soon followed by an entire evacuation of the Island.

Aug. 11. Though Lord Howe had endeavoured, (after his having been reinforced) to prevent de Eftaing from getting to Boston, yet he arrived unmolested into that harbour. A storm had prevented the English and French fleets from engaging; but the *Isis* man of war, gained great honour by gallantly withstanding the force of a French ship, called the *Cæsar* of 74 guns, which after a warm contest, nobly supported by Captain Raynor, was obliged to sheer off: The *Isis*, in all probability, would have taken the *Cæsar*, had the contest been continued, but she was so disabled in her masts and rigging, as prevented a pursuit.

Thus it appears, that this great armament under de Eftaing, performed not those great things that were expected from it. He indeed made prizes of several of our ships; and at Rhode Island, we were under the necessity of destroying five frigates, and two armed galleys to prevent their getting into the hands of the enemy. But by Lord Howe's skilful disposition

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disposition at New York, the French fleet could make no impression; and at Philadelphia, our victualling fleet, a vast quantity of stores, and many merchantmen, fortunately escaped the Gallic squadron. Its great design, therefore, seems in some sort, to have been happily frustrated, and it is believed, that de Estaing not having adequately supported the attack at Rhode Island, has, at least, sown the seeds of jealousy and resentment in the Colonists.

Notwithstanding the violent storm which Admiral Byron met with in his passage from Plymouth Sound, on the 3d of July, every effort was quickly used to repair the damage he sustained; and from his own account it appears, that had the French squadron, which at the time was not far distant, attacked him, he was not without hope of success. The activity used in reinforcing Admiral Lord Howe's fleet, with those that had suffered in the storm, merits to be honourably mentioned.

In September, Major General Grey, performed very considerable service at Bedford and Fair Haven, by destroying several valuable stores, with 70 ships and privateers, almost ready for sailing. The battery of cannon on Fair Haven side, consisting of eleven pieces, were demolished by Captain Scott, commanding officer of the artillery, and the magazine blown up.

A requisition was made of the arms of the militia,—300 oxen, and 10,000 sheep, which was complied with.—The loss of men in this expedition was inconsiderable.

The very gallant behaviour of Captain Ranier of the Ostrich sloop, in his engagement with the Polly, an American privateer, vastly superior to him in force, merits much praise. The Captain of the American was killed; and Mr. Ranier was shot through the left breast. During this desperate contest, the Lowestoffe's prize fortunately came to the assistance of Captain Ranier, and gave him the victory.

Admiral Montague, having received his Majesty's commands, to take possession of the Islands of St. Pierre's and Miquelon, sent Commodore Evans, in September, to reduce them. He had under his command, the Romney, man of war, the Pallas, Surprise, Martin, and Bonavita armed sloop, with two field pieces, a party of Artillery, and 200 Marines, under Major Wemys.

As there are not adequate forces on these Islands to defend them, the Governor, Baron de l'Esperance surrendered upon honourable terms. The inhabitants were to be sent

1778. sent to France. The fishing stages were destroyed, as also the dwelling houses, store houses, several shallops, 165 canoes, and a great deal of fish, with 201 hogshheads of oil, and 244 hogshheads of salt. Besides these, 173 Musquets, 173 Bayonets, 172 Cartouch-boxes, 18 Swords, and 106 Belts were given up. Tho' these bare Islands are but of little significance to Great Britain, yet they were of very considerable importance to France, and the loss of them, must not a little affect her Newfoundland fishery.

In October, Sir Henry Clinton had moved into Jersey, partly to favour an expedition sent to Egg harbour: It was in several respects successful. The ships and detachment under some difficulty and opposition arrived there the 5th October, under the command of Captains Collins and Ferguson.

Three salt works, and several stores were destroyed. The Raleigh, a fine American frigate was taken, and brought to New York. They were informed by deserters, that Mr. Polaski, an active and cruel enemy had cantoned his corps, consisting of three companies of foot, three troops of horse, a detachment of artillery, and a brass field piece, within a mile of a bridge, which appeared easy to seize. Accordingly 250 men were embarked, and after rowing ten miles landed at four o'clock in the morning, within a mile of the defile, which was secured. They then pushed forward upon the Infantry of Polaski's Legion, cantoned in three different houses: They were almost entirely put to the sword. Among them, were a Lieutenant Colonel, a Captain, and an Adjutant. The enemy endeavoured to harass our men in their retreat; but with so much caution and modesty, as to do them little mischief. It seems, that Polaski, had given orders, that no quarter should be given to our troops. In this expedition ten vessels were destroyed, and a number of what is called craft; a large brig, likewise, laden with lumber was taken. This place having been a nest for privateers, the attacking of it was of considerable service, and saved many of our trading ships from being seized.

Sept. 7. The garrison of Dominica were alarmed by the appearance of several French ships of force coming round the port. They then discovered four frigates, ten armed sloops and schooners, with about twenty transports. They went ashore at Point Michael in great numbers. The landing was at least 2000 men in three divisions. The frigates afterwards

wards approached in different directions to cannonade Young's battery, and the town. 1778.

As the opposition, from the small force we had on that important island, had proved ineffectual, and if continued, must have destroyed men wantonly; Mr. Stewart, the governor, having been requested by the principal persons in Dominica to call a council of war, in so critical a situation, immediately complied.

It was soon resolved to send a flag of truce to the enemy, to know what terms would be granted. A parley for an hour was consented to by the Marquis de Bouille, who commanded the French troops, and was governor of Martinico. The articles of capitulation were, in every respect, most honourable; and the moderation of the French commander merits praise; but still French perfidy appeared, for during the parley, a French Frigate called the *Tourterelle* fired two broadsides on Young's battery, and the town, which nearly broke off the negotiation for a surrender. Our troops, &c. were embarked for Granada, and the inhabitants retained their former privileges.—That ministry have been reprobated, for having left a place of such moment in an exposed situation, is not to be wondered at.

Having carried our military and naval operations so far, without interruption, before we turn back to other proceedings, it may with propriety be observed, that tho' by so many attacks and efforts, we must have greatly injured the Colonists; yet we never have been able to make any effectual impression, or to advance into the country. Perhaps the nature of it, or its many resources, the extended theatre of the war, the inadequate number of troops employed in so arduous and severe a service, not to mention the magnanimity and spirit of the Colonists, prevented our effecting any thing decisive.

The operations of war there, differ from those in almost every other place: nor do I believe that greater bravery can be expected, than has appeared in the forces that have been sent thither. The Americans continue to reject every offer, unless accompanied by independency. Fabius like, their determined General prolongs the war to our unspeakable loss and disappointment. The noble perseverance of the Colonists, their fortitude under accumulated sufferings, their contempt of danger, and of death itself, when set in competition with the freedom and prosperity of

1778.



their country, strongly marks their love of liberty, and shews, that they deserve to be free.

We appear to have been strangers to their genius, strength and resources; but our want of wisdom was early apparent, in not having at first sent a sufficient force, along with equitable, liberal proposals, in order to have preserved both their allegiance and affection.

The sort of defeats they have sustained, serve only to weaken us, and to teach them military knowledge.

Since the unhappy contest commenced, tho' their small ships, privateers, stores, provisions, &c. have been destroyed in great numbers and quantities; yet from an accurate calculation, upon the whole, we have lost nineteen ships of war, great and small; the French and Americans only eleven.

By perseverance, the great object of the war is in their offer; they may now have their grievances redressed; but as independency is their aim, nothing less will procure for us the Olive Branch.

Tho' no doubt their alliance with France, hath fixed them in this resolution, yet the connection is highly unnatural between powers, whose religion and government are so diametrically opposite. That this alliance, has not a little loosened the loyalty of many of the Colonists to Congress is not to be controverted; and however we may admire American magnanimity, yet as they are now joined with the natural enemies of these nations, and probably every mischief intended us, sound policy will prompt us to take care of ourselves.

To withdraw our forces from America, would, in effect be, to acknowledge their independence. Nova Scotia might then be attacked, Newfoundland invaded, Florida over-run, and even Canada become subject to the Congress. Nay, the West India trade would be exposed to perpetual interruptions, and our islands to invasions.

These considerations, in some sort, lay a foundation for supporting the present contest, till it shall be brought to a desirable issue. But while this is suggested, it is hoped that a change of men and measures will take place. The present set of ministers seem not to be qualified (if we may judge of past proceedings) for so arduous an undertaking; nor is it probable, that the Colonists will ever give them their confidence.

At present, they would not seem to stand well with our best officers, admirals, and commanders. General Sir William Howe's reasons to the house of commons for having quitted his high station in America, are remarkable, and speak interesting language; viz. that he had not been treated with confidence by Lord G. G——ne, whom he charged with neglect of duty, in not co-operating in the plans he had formed, nor supplying him with the reinforcements he demanded; neither paying that attention to the requisitions which he made in favour of deserving officers, which the dignity of his station, and the nature of the service demanded. He concluded by saying, that the American war would never be carried on with effect, while that noble lord had the direction of it.

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Is the nation thus to be abused by venality, or ignorance, after the vast expence of blood and treasure we have been at? Wisdom and disinterestedness in government, ought alone to secure the support and allegiance of the people.

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## C H A P. XXI.

*Governor Johnstone's correspondence with certain Members of the Congress.—Resolutions of Congress.—The declaration and appeal of our Commissioners.—English and French naval preparations.—Two French frigates taken.—Sea fight near Brest, between Admiral Keppel and Count D'Orvilliers. French account of it.—Observations.*

SEVERAL of the proceedings of the Commissioners sent to the American Congress, have already been mentioned, particularly those of Governor Johnstone, who had opened an epistolary correspondence with certain individuals, respecting public affairs.

By the declaration of Congress, dated the 11th of August, it appears that Mr. Johnstone on the preceding April, had written a letter to Joseph Reed, Esq; one of the members of Congress; and on the 16th of June another letter to Robert Morris, Esq; besides these, Mr. Reed declared, that on the 21st of June he had also received a written message by a lady, in which it was insinuated, that it was particularly wished, Mr. Reed's interest might be obtained, to promote the object of Mr. Johnstone's commission, intimating that government should take a favourable notice of such a conduct; it could not be deemed improper; that in this instance Mr. Reed might have ten thousand pounds sterling, and any office in the Colonies in his Majesty's gift.

Mr. Reed's reply to this marked his integrity, as well as his sincerity in the cause in which he was engaged: He was not, he said, worth purchasing, but such as he was, the King of Great Britain was not rich enough to do it! —How happy would it be for us, did the political principles of our great men operate in the same manner! But the system of corruption now in force, and European refinements permit us not to hope for such instances of disinterestedness.

In consequence of this very offensive correspondence, Congress resolved, that it was a direct attempt to corrupt

rupt and bribe their members, and that they ought to demonstrate the most pointed indignation against such daring atrocious attempts to corrupt their integrity: Likewise, that it was incompatible with the honour of Congress, to hold any manner of intercourse with the said George Johnstone, especially upon affairs where the cause of liberty and virtue should be interested.

Our commissioner's embassy, could, after this, be of no farther use, and in some little time he departed from America. His information to government, and to parliament, will, it is hoped, prove useful.

Our other remaining commissioners, in a declaration they published, affirmed solemnly, that on their part, they had no knowledge, directly or indirectly of what had passed between Mr. Johnstone and the above named Mr. Morris and Mr. Reed; until they saw the correspondence published. They afterwards charged Congress with their duplicity, concerning the treaty with France, and insincere negotiations, when the pacific disposition of the mother country were known to them.

As it appeared evident to our Commissioners, that nothing more could be done by treaty, on the 3d of October, Lord Carlisle, Sir Henry Clinton, and William Eden, Esq; published, what may be termed a manifesto, or appeal to the public respecting the concessions that were made by Great Britain, and the conduct of Congress in the late negotiation. It is full, and distinguished in some parts, both by good sense and moderation\*.

But

\* For the satisfaction of the reader, the whole of this remarkable manifesto is published by the Editor.

#### MANIFESTO AND PROCLAMATION.

To, the Members of the Congress, the Members of the General Assemblies or Convention of the several Colonies, Plantations and Provinces of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Three Lower Counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, and all others, free inhabitants of said Colonies, of every rank and denomination.

By the Earl of Carlisle, Sir Henry Clinton, and William Eden, Esq; Commissioners appointed by his Majesty, in pursuance of an act of parliament, made and passed in the 18th year of

1778.

But it is time to turn to some other particulars, in which we were very intimately concerned, and on which our safety

his Majesty's reign, to enable his Majesty to appoint Commissioners to treat, consult and agree, upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the Colonies, Plantations, and Provinces of North America.

HAVING amply and repeatedly made known to the Congress, and having also proclaimed to the inhabitants of North-America in general, the benevolent overtures of Great Britain towards a re-union and coalition with her Colonies, we do not think it consistent either with the duty we owe to our country, or with a just regard to the characters we bear, to persist in holding out offers, which in our estimation required only to be known to be most gratefully accepted; and we have accordingly, excepting only the commander in chief, who will be detained by military duties resolved to go to England a few weeks after the publication of this manifesto and proclamation.

Previous however, to this decisive step, we are led by a just anxiety for the great objects of our mission to enlarge on some points which may not have been sufficiently understood, to recapitulate to our fellow subjects the blessings which we are empowered to confer, and to warn them of the continued train of evils to which they are at present blindly and obstinately exposing themselves.

To the members of the Congress we again declare that we are ready to concur in all satisfactory and just arrangements for securing to them and their respective constituents, the re-establishment of peace, with the exemption of any imposition of taxes by the parliament of Great Britain, and the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege consistent with that union of interests and force on which our mutual prosperity and the safety of our common religion and liberties depend. We again assert that the Members of the Congress were not authorised by their constitution, either to reject our offers without the previous consideration and consent of the several assemblies and conventions their constituents, or to refer us to pretended foreign treaties, which they know were delusively framed in the first instance, and which have never yet been ratified by the people of this Continent. And we once more remind the members of the Congress that they are responsible to their countrymen, to the world, and to God, for the continuance of this war, and for all the miseries with which it must be attended.

To the general assemblies and conventions of the different colonies, plantations and provinces above mentioned, we now separately

safety in a great measure depended. Though war had not been declared by Great Britain, on the acknowledgment of American

1778.

separately make the offers which we originally made to the Congress; and we hereby call upon and urge them to meet expressly for the purpose of considering whether every motive, political as well as moral, should not decide their resolution to embrace the occasion of cementing a free and firm coalition with Great-Britain. It has not been, nor is it, our wish, to seek the objects which we are commissioned to pursue by fomenting popular divisions and partial cabals; we think such conduct would be ill suited to the generous nature of the offers made, and unbecoming the dignity of the king and the states which make them. But it is both our wish and our duty to encourage any men or bodies of men in their return of loyalty to our sovereign and of affection to our fellow subjects.

To all others, free inhabitants of this once happy empire, we also address ourselves. Such of them as are actually in arms, of whatsoever rank or description, will do well to recollect, that the grievances, whether real or imposed, which led them into this rebellion have been for ever removed, and that the just occasion is arrived of their returning to the class of peaceful citizens. But if the honours of a military life are become their object, let them seek those honours under the banners of their rightful sovereign, and in fighting the battles of the united British empire against our late mutual and natural enemy.

To those whose profession it is to exercise the functions of religion on the Continent, it cannot surely be unknown, that the foreign power with which the Congress is endeavouring to connect them, has ever been averse to toleration and inveterately opposed to the interest and freedom of the places of worship which they serve; and that Great Britain from whom they are for the present separated, must both from the principles of her constitution and protestantism, be at all times the best guardian to religious liberty, and most disposed to promote and extend it.

To all those who can estimate the blessings of peace and its influence over agriculture, arts and commerce, who can feel a just anxiety for the education and establishment of their children, or who can place a just value on domestic security, we think it sufficient to observe, that they are made by their leaders to continue involved in all the calamities of war, without having either a just object to pursue, or a subsisting grievance which may not instantly be redressed.

But if there be any persons who, divested of mistaken resentments, and uninfluenced by selfish interests, really think that it

American independence by France; yet these powers made the most vigorous efforts to support a supremacy at sea.  
England

is for the benefit of the colonies to separate themselves from Great Britain, and that so separated they will find a constitution more mild, more free, and better calculated for their prosperity than that which they heretofore enjoyed and which we are disposed and empowered to renew and improve; with such persons we will not dispute a position which seems to be sufficiently contradicted by the experience they have had. But we think it right to leave them fully aware of the change which the maintaining of such a position must make in the whole nature and future conduct of this war; more especially when to this position is added the pretended alliance with the court of France.—The policy as well as the benignity of Great Britain have thus far checked the extremes of war when they tended to distress a people still considered as our fellow subjects, and to desolate a country shortly to become again a source of mutual advantage: But when that country professes the unnatural design, not only of estranging herself from us, but of mortgaging herself and her resources to our enemies; the whole contest is changed; and the question is, how far Great Britain may, by every means in her power destroy or render useless a connexion contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandizement of France. Under such circumstances the laws of self preservation must direct the conduct of Great Britain, and if the British colonies are to become an accession to France, will direct her to render that accession of as little avail as possible to her enemy.

If however there are any who think that notwithstanding these reasonings the independence of the colonies will in the result be acknowledged by Great Britain, to them we answer without reserve, that we neither possess nor expect powers for that purpose; and that if Great Britain could ever have sunk so low as to adopt such a measure, we should not have thought ourselves compellable to be the instrument in making a concession which would in our opinion be calamitous to the colonies for whom it is made, and disgraceful as well as calamitous to the country from which it is required. And we think proper to declare that in this spirit and sentiment we have regularly written from this continent to Great Britain.

It will now become the Colonies in general to call to mind their own solemn appeals to heaven in the beginning of this contest, that they took arms only for the redress of grievances, and that it would be their wish as well as their interest to remain forever connected with Great Britain. We again ask them whether

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England had long maintained the empire of the ocean; but with every exertion, the fleet for home defence, and designed

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all their grievances, real or supposed, have not been amply and fully redressed; and we insist that the offers we have made leave nothing to be wished in point of immediate liberty or permanent security: If those offers are now rejected, we withdraw from the exercise of a commission with which we have in vain been honoured; the same liberality will no longer be due from Great Britain, nor can it either in justice or policy be expected from her.

In fine, and for the fuller manifestation as well of the disposition we bear, and of the gracious and generous purposes of the commission under which we act, we hereby declare, that whereas his Majesty in pursuance of an act made and passed in the 18th session of parliament, entitled, “an act to enable his Majesty to appoint Commissioners with sufficient powers, to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the Colonies, Plantations and provinces of North America,” having been pleased to authorise and empower us to grant pardon or pardons to any number or description of persons, within the Colonies, Plantations and Provinces of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia; and whereas the good effects of the said authorities and powers towards the people at large, would long since have taken place, if a due use had been made of our first communications and overtures, and have thus far been frustrated only by the precipitate resolution of the members of the Congress not to treat with us, and by their declining to consult with their constituents: We now, in making our appeal to those constituents and to the free inhabitants of this continent in general, have determined to give to them what in our opinion should have been the first of those who appeared to have taken the management of their interests; and adopt this mode of carrying the said authorities and powers into execution. We, “accordingly hereby grant and proclaim a pardon or pardons of all, and all manner of treasons or misprision of treasons, by any person or persons, or by any number or description of persons within the said Colonies, Plantations or Provinces, counselled, countermanded, acted or done, on or before the date of this manifesto and proclamation.

And we further declare and proclaim, that if any person or persons, or any number or description of persons within the said Colonies, Plantations and Provinces, now actually serving in either

1778. designed to cope with the French navy, little exceeded 30 ships of the line: they were, in number, considerably inferior to those of the enemy.

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ther a civil or military capacity in this rebellion, shall at any time, during the continuance of this manifesto and proclamation, withdraw himself or themselves from such civil or military service, and shall continue from thenceforth peaceably as a good and faithful subject or subjects to his Majesty to demean himself or themselves, such person or persons, or such number and description of persons, shall become and be, fully entitled to, and hereby obtain all the benefit of the pardon or pardons hereby granted; excepting only from the said pardon or pardons every person, and every number and description of persons, who, after the date of this manifesto and proclamation, shall, under the pretext of authority, as judges, jurymen, ministers, or officers of civil justice, be instrumental in executing and putting to death any of his Majesty's subjects within the said colonies, Plantations and Provinces.

And we think proper farther to declare, that nothing herein contained is meant, or shall be construed to set at liberty any person or persons, now being a prisoner or prisoners, or who during the continuance of this rebellion shall become a prisoner or prisoners.

And we offer to the Colonies at large, or separately, a general or separate peace, with the revival of their antient governments secured against any future infringements, and protected for ever from taxation by Great Britain. And with respect to such farther regulations, whether civil, military, or commercial, as they may wish to be framed and established, we promise all the concurrence and assistance that his Majesty's commission authorises and enables us to give.

And we declare that this Manifesto and Proclamation shall continue, and be in force forty days from the date thereof, that is to say from the third day of October to the eleventh day of November, both inclusive.

And in order that the whole contents of this Manifesto and Proclamation may be more fully known, we shall direct copies thereof both in the English and German language to be transmitted by flags of truce to the Congress, the general assemblies or conventions of the Colonies, Plantations and Provinces. And for the further security in times to come of the several persons or numbers or descriptions of persons who are or may be the objects of this Manifesto and Proclamation, we have set our hands and seals to thirteen copies thereof, and have transmitted the same to the thirteen Colonies, Plantations, and Provinces above men-

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This fleet was stationed between Brest and Ushant. On the 17th two French ships, with two tenders, were observed reconnoitring; and Admiral Keppel directed his whole squadron to give chase. In the evening, the *Milford* had got close along side of a large French frigate, and brought her to. The other was pursued by the *Arethusa*, and *Alert* cutter, the *Valiant* and *Monarch* at some distance astern of them. This frigate for a short time, gave battle to the *Arethusa*. She was called the *Belle Poule*, and carried heavy metal. Her captain was requested to strike, but refused, and fired a whole broad side into the *Arethusa*: She was crippled, and lost her mainmast. Captain *Marshall*, her commander, could not get her head towards the frigate, which in the mean while set her fore-sail,

tioned, and we are willing to hope that the whole of this Manifesto and Proclamation will be fairly and freely published and circulated for the immediate, general, and most serious consideration and benefit of all his Majesty's subjects on this Continent. And we earnestly exhort all persons who by this instrument forthwith receive the benefit of the King's pardon, at the same time that they entertain a becoming sense of these lenient and affectionate measures, whereby they are now freed from many grievous charges which might have risen in judgment or have been brought in question against them, to make a wise improvement of the situation in which this Manifesto and Proclamation places them, and not only to recollect that a perseverance in the present rebellion, or any adherence to the treasonable connection attempted to be framed with a foreign power, will, after the present grace extended, be considered as crimes of the most aggravated kind, but to vie with each other in eager and cordial endeavours to secure their own peace and promote and establish the prosperity of their countrymen, and the general weal of the empire.

And pursuant to his Majesty's commission we hereby require all officers civil and military, and all others his Majesty's loving subjects whatsoever, to be aiding and assisting unto us in the Execution of this our Manifesto and Proclamation and of all the matters herein contained.

Given at New-York, this 3d day of October, 1778.

CARLISLE, (L. S)

H. CLINTON, (L. S)

WM. EDEN, (L. S)

By their Excellencies Command,  
ADAM FERGUSON, Secretary,

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fail, and stood into a small bay, where boats came, and towed her into safety. The *Arethusa* had eight men killed, and 36 wounded. In this action, captain Marshal's bravery and good conduct were conspicuous.

The wantonness of French perfidy was apparent in the commander of the frigate named the *Licorne*, which had been taken; she was observed going upon a tack, when one of our ships that attended her, fired a shot across, which was immediately followed by the frigate's discharging her whole broadside and musquetry into the *America*; after which, the French captain struck his colours. His behaviour merited the fire of the *America* man of war, but to the lasting honour of the gallant Lord Longford, his humanity and prudence prevailed over his resentment.

On the 18th of June, a French frigate of thirty-two guns, (called the *Pallas*) with 220 men was taken by our fleet, and likewise detained; but several French merchantmen were suffered to proceed unmolested.

Admiral Keppel on the 23d and 24th of July, had by letters informed the Lords of the Admiralty, that with the King's fleet under his command, he was in pursuit of a numerous fleet of French ships of war. From that time to the 27th, he had made use of every method to close with them, keeping our ships as close together as possible. At length, on the 27th of July, the wind admitted of the van of the King's fleet, leading up with, and closing with their center and rear.

The French began firing upon the headmost of the vice admiral Sir Robert Harland's division, and the ships with him, as they led up. This cannonade was quickly returned by our ships, as they could close up. The chace had occasioned their being extended; yet they were all soon in battle.

The fleets being upon different tacks, passed each other very close. The object of the French seemed to be the disabling of our ships in their masts and sails, in which they so far succeeded, as to prevent many ships in the fleet from being able to follow the admiral, when he wore to stand after the French. This obliged him to wear again, to join those ships, and thereby allowed of the French forming their fleet again, and to range it to a line to leeward of our fleet towards the close of the day: This, admiral Keppel did not discourage, but allowed, without firing upon them, thinking, (as he expressed it) that they meant *handsomely*

*boldly to try* their force with him next morning; but, said Mr. Keppel, "they had been so beat in the day, they took advantage of the night to go off." He acknowledged in his letter, that the spirited conduct of vice admiral Sir Robert Harland; vice admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, and the captains of the fleet, supported by their officers and men, deserved much commendation. In this engagement, we had 133 men killed, and 373 wounded; but it is, perhaps, the first sea fight between the English and French, in which there were no ships taken or destroyed.

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This affair was spoken of in very different terms, or probably, in a great measure, as the spirit of party prompted. The public was disappointed in their expectations from an admiral of acknowledged skill, and whose courage had been repeatedly tried. It were here absurd to pass a judgment on a matter depending on nice circumstances; and especially as a court martial is already appointed to try our admiral.

It is observable, that as usual, the vanity of the French caused them to boast a victory. In their account of this engagement, they say, that the King's fleet pursued that of England, and constantly offered them battle in the best order, from two in the afternoon till the next morning; but that the English admiral availed himself of the darkness of the night to effect his retreat, by carefully hiding his fires, while all the King's ships carried theirs, that their position might be clearly perceived by the English army.

Thus speaks French falsehood and vanity. The number of their killed and wounded hath not been ascertained, but it is supposed their loss far exceeded ours: Some have affirmed that they lost above 1200 men.

The respective fleets went into port to be refitted; but it is observable, that admiral Keppel appeared first at sea, and that the French did not again think fit to shew themselves in force against him.

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## C H A P. XXII.

*Complaints of the Dutch.*—*Manifesto published by Lord Carlisle, Sir Henry Clinton, and William Eden, Esq.*—*Protested against.*—*An extract from Governor Livingston's message to the General Assembly of New Jersey.*—*Governor Johnstone's last letter to Admiral Ferguson noticed.*—*Gen. Lee suspended.*—*Intention of the Editor.*—*Reflections.*—*Conclusion.*

AS several Dutch ships had been seized with military stores designed for the Colonists; the Burgomasters of Dort, on the 6th of Nov. assembled the committee of merchants; and on the 7th and 9th, those of Amsterdam and Rotterdam were summoned to meet, in order to communicate the resolutions of their High Mightinesses, to their petitions of redress against the English treatment of their flag, and of the violence committed against their property. The committee of all the towns came into the same resolutions on this measure.

Though it was the general opinion, that the Dutch had carried on the most unfriendly illicit commerce, respecting Great Britain; yet their demands were marked by rashness and arrogance, and in a style, which but a few years since, they would not have dared to use. The humbled state of Britain, induced ministry to return an answer, by Lord Suffolk, the mildness and equity of which, with some subsequent proceedings, cannot but secure that harmony which hath long subsisted between that tenacious, selfish republic, and Great Britain: I hasten from this humiliating subject.

We have already mentioned the manifesto, or appeal of our commissioners. That published in America, and signed Carlisle,—Eden,—and Clinton, has been reprobated in parliament, in the severest terms; as in it, the dreadful extremes of war, and terrors of devastation, are held out to the unhappy people of America, without discriminating between the innocent and the guilty.

The impolicy of it is evident, as it would not only foment lasting resentments, but provoke to retaliation; a measure so iniquitous, and disgraceful to civilization, that it ought to be avoided as the pestilence itself.

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The great object of a just war, is to obtain peace. Should the extremes of it be let loose, not to procure the olive branch, but as the manifesto expresses it, if America was to become an accession to France, to render that accession of as little avail as possible; this, surely, would be to ravage, or destroy an enemy, whom we had found ourselves unable to conquer.

It was moved in the upper house, that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to express the displeasure of the house at the aforesaid manifesto; humbly beseeching his Majesty that it may be disavowed. as containing matter inconsistent with the humanity and generous courage, which at all times have distinguished the British nation, &c.

This being objected to, by what is termed the court party, after an interesting debate, the question was put, and negatived by thirty four majority!—The bishops of St. Asaph, and Peterborough, to their great honour have uniformly opposed the present destructive contest: The former joined in the protest on this remarkable occasion. But the spiritual bench, or ministers of the gospel of peace supported by their suffrages the manifesto!—

It were wrong not to give those illustrious names which appeared under this truly noble, and spirited protest: They are as follow, viz.

|             |              |              |
|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| Camden      | Ferrers      | Grafton      |
| Abergavenny | Stanhope     | Craven       |
| Portland    | J. St. Asaph | De Ferrers   |
| Abingdon    | Richmond     | Devonshire   |
| Beaulieu    | Harcourt     | Cholmondeley |
| Scarborough | Effingham    | Derbey       |
| Rockingham  | Wycombe      | Foley        |
| Manchester  | Tankerville  | Radnor       |
| Bolton      | Ponsonby     | Spencer      |
| Fitzwilliam | Fortescue    | Egremont.    |

Such names!—with the forcible reasons given, render it a strong, and glorious protest.—For the satisfaction of the reader, it is subjoined in a note.\*

This,

Dissentient,

1st. Because the public law of nations, in affirmance of the dictates of nature, and the precept of revealed religion, forbids

1778.

This, as far as I know, is the first war in which the English name and arms have been tarnished by cruel deeds, and

us to resort to the extremities of war upon our own opinion of their expediency, or in any case to carry on war for the purpose of desolation. We know that the rights of war are odious, and instead of being extended upon loose constructions and speculations of danger, ought to be bound up and limited by all the restraints of the most rigorous construction. We are shocked to see the first law of nature, self-preservation, perverted and abused into a principle destructive of all other laws; and a rule laid down, by which our own safety is rendered incompatible with the property of mankind. Those objects of war which cannot be compassed by fair and honourable hostility, ought not to be compassed at all. An end that has no means, but such as are unlawful, is an unlawful end. The manifesto expressly founds the change it announces from a qualified and mitigated war, to a war of extremity and desolation, on the certainty that the provinces must be independent, and must become an accession to the strength of the enemy. In the midst of the calamities, by which our loss of empire has been preceded and accompanied; in the midst of our apprehensions for the farther calamities, which impend over us, it is a matter of fresh grief and accumulated shame, to see from a commission under the great seal of this kingdom, a declaration for desolating a vast continent, solely because we had not the wisdom to retain, or the power to subdue it.

2dly, Because the avowal of a deliberate purpose of violating the law of nations, must give an alarm to every state in Europe. All commonwealths have a concern in that law, and are its natural avengers. At this time, surrounded by enemies, and destitute of all allies, is it unnecessary to sharpen and embitter the hostility of declared foes, or to provoke the enmity of neutral states. We trust that by the natural strength of this kingdom, we are secured from a foreign conquest, but no nation is secure from the invasions and incursions of enemies. And it seems to us the height of frenzy, as well as wickedness, to expose this country to cruel depredations, and other outrages, too shocking to mention (but which are all contained in the idea of the extremes of war and desolation) by establishing a false, shameful, and pernicious maxim, that where we have no interest to preserve, we are called upon by necessity to destroy. This kingdom has long enjoyed a profound internal peace, and has flourished above all others in the arts and enjoyments of that happy state. It has been the admiration of the world for its cultivation and its plenty; for the comforts of the poor, the splendor of the rich, and the content and prosperity of all. This situation of safety may be attributed

*somely to try* their force with him next morning; but, said 1778.  
Mr. Keppel, "they had been so beat in the day, they  
took advantage of the night to go off." He acknow-  
ledged in his letter, that the spirited conduct of vice-admiral  
Sir Robert Harland, vice admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, and  
the captains of the fleet, supported by their officers and men,  
deserved much commendation. In this engagement, we  
had 133 men killed, and 373 wounded; but it is, perhaps,  
the first sea fight between the English and French, in which  
there were no ships taken or destroyed. The French in  
their account published by authority, confess they had a  
like number of killed and wounded.

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## C H A P. XXII.

*Complaints of the Dutch, and negotiations thereon—meeting of the Parliament—Debates on the Manifesto—Protest of Lords.*

THE States of Holland are bound by treaty to assist Great Britain in case her dominions should be attacked by a foreign enemy. In consequence of this, as soon as the news arrived in London, that Dominica was taken by the French, the British minister at the Hague was ordered to demand from their High Mightinesses the stipulated succours. To this requisition the same answer was received as when a like one had been made at the commencement of the late war, on the landing of Richelieu in Minorca, viz. The utter inability of the states to furnish the assistance required, and the certain ruin they should draw upon themselves, by provoking the resentment of the French. The English ministry however, expected no other answer, the requisition having been made only as a matter of course, but some transactions in Holland previous to this demand, shewed so unfavourable a disposition in the people there to England, as in times less critical or when affairs were less perplexing, would have produced, if not a spirited memorial from the British court, at least a parliamentary discussion. The facts were these:

Several Dutch vessels laden with naval stores for Brest and Rochfort, were seized by the English frigates in the channel; and a few with military ones for the rebellious Colonies, in the American seas.

The Hollanders would, it is probable, with their usual phlegm have received accounts of these captures, and perhaps in some months after have made a remonstrance by their minister; but on this occasion, the emissaries of France and America were indefatigable; every Coffee-house in Amsterdam resounded with the indignities the flag of the seven United Provinces daily suffered from the English, and what was an argument of still greater weight, that the Dutch trade was in danger, from the restless and im-

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immeasurable ambition of England, whose immoderate thirst of wealth and power, spurning every divine and human law, was glad of any pretence to fall upon her neighbours, to repay herself by piracy and plunder for the dominions in America her tyranny had lost her.\*

1778.

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They

\* The court of Versailles did not only employ private emissaries on this occasion, but their ambassador at the Hague after a great number of conferences with the States, delivered the following memorial to their High Mightinesses, which places in the strongest light the policy of that insidious court.

Memorial presented by his excellency the duke de Vauguyon, ambassador of France to the States General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries.

High and Puiſſant Senators,

“ THE opinion which the king, my Master, has entertained, that your high Mightinesses, animated with a desire of perpetuating the perfect harmony which subsists between France and the States General, will, in the present circumstances, scrupulously adhere to the principles of absolute neutrality, has induced his majesty to comprehend the United Provinces in the regulation which was made in the month of July last, concerning the commerce and navigation of neutral powers.

“ His majesty has still less reason to doubt the perseverance of your High Mightinesses in these principles, after so many assurances given in claiming their captures, which are the foundation and guarantee of the solid repose and prosperity of the republic. But his majesty, notwithstanding, wishes to procure on this head a more certain assurance, and it is with this view that his majesty has ordered me to demand of your High Mightinesses a clear and specific explanation of your ulterior determinations, and so to state them, that his majesty may be enabled to judge whether they tend to maintain or annul the reciprocal regulations which his majesty would wish to consolidate.

“ The better to explain his majesty's views and intentions to your High Mightinesses, I have the honour of notifying to you, that the King my master flatters himself, that your answer to this memorial will preserve the flag of the United provinces, all the liberty which of right belongs to them as an independent state, and to their commerce all the respect which is due by the law of nations, and the faith of treaties.

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They succeeded, several meetings of the merchants were called by the Burgomasters of Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Dort early in November; addresses to the States General from each of these places were presented; some of them in terms so injurious to England, that it was easy to discern who were the instigators. The States complied with the popular clamour, and though it is known the English interest preponderates in that assembly, the memorial presented by their ambassador at London was conceived in a tone and style so arrogant, as a few years before would have provoked the national resentment; but this was no time for engaging in further troubles: the secretary for the Northern department, [The Earl of Suffolk] therefore gave a mild and candid answer, promising that the strictest attention should be paid, to the observance of the neutrality between Great Britain and the States of Holland. He then proceeded to inform their High Mightinesses, with the conduct of France which had given occasion to the present hostilities, and spread the flame of war from the American coasts to the European seas: “ That his majesty, without any pro-  
 “ vocation on his part, and by a train of insidious, unjust  
 “ proceedings, on the part of the court of France, finds  
 “ himself actually engaged in hostilities against the most  
 “ Christian king; who, as all Europe ought to have seen  
 “ with astonishment and indignation, in the midst of the  
 “ most formal and often repeated assurances of the most  
 “ perfect amity, and most pacific dispositions, hath viola-  
 “ ted the publick faith, and the rights of Sovereigns, by  
 “ declaring the rebellious subjects of another power to  
 “ be independent States, merely because those subjects have  
 “ thought proper to call themselves such; and to invite the  
 powers

“ The least derogation from those principles of neutrality you have professed, will betray a partiality, the consequence of which will incur the necessity of putting an end to not only the advantages his majesty promises to your flag in case of a strict observance of this neutrality; but also the essential favours and benefits which the commerce of the United provinces enjoy in all the ports of this kingdom.

“ This memorial is presented without any other motive than to shew the good will and affection of his majesty for your High Mightinesses.”

Hague Dec. 8, 1778.

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“ powers disposed to profit by their rebellion, to join in  
 “ confederacy with them. This unjust aggression, repre-  
 “ sented by the court of France, as being a natural and ad-  
 “ vantageous advance towards the interest of her com-  
 “ merce, hath been followed by hostilities still more vio-  
 “ lent, still more public, namely by sending a fleet to  
 “ America, in support of his Majesty’s rebellious subjects,  
 “ and that too, before the king of Great Britain had taken  
 “ any other steps than that of recalling his ambassador from  
 “ Paris.”

The next article in this answer contains a concession on the part of the British court, that in any other circumstances, would have been looked upon, as highly derogatory to the majesty of the monarch, and shamefully humiliating to a nation, that holds so eminent a rank among the powers of Europe: “ His majesty, sensible of the extraordinary  
 “ manner in which he hath been suddenly engaged in an  
 “ actual war, and of the short notice which the subjects  
 “ of their High Mightinesses could have of this event as  
 “ it is alleged; is disposed, and ready to PURCHASE  
 “ at a fair valuation the naval stores which have been cap-  
 “ tured, and are actually in the different ports of Great  
 “ Britain, aboard vessels appertaining to the subjects of  
 “ the Republic; to pay the freight of the cargoes and to  
 “ INDEMNIFY the proprietors in all their just expences  
 “ and damages occasioned by the detention of their vessels;  
 “ and his majesty will give instructions to his ambassador  
 “ to enter upon a negotiation with the minister of the re-  
 “ public, to the end that an arrangement be made for the  
 “ future, upon the principles of equity and friendship,  
 “ such as is meet between such good and antient allies.”

While these matters were transacting, the session of Parliament was opened at Westminster November 25, with a speech from the Throne in which his majesty acquainted the Houses with the situation of affairs in the following words.

“ In the time of profound peace, without pretence of provocation or colour of complaint, the court of France hath not forborne to disturb the public tranquility, in violation of the faith of treaties, and the general rights of sovereigns, at first by the clandestine supply of arms and other aid to my revolted subjects in North America, afterwards by avowing openly their support, and entering into

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formal engagements with the leaders of the rebellion, and at length by committing open hostilities and depra-dations on my faithful subjects, and by an actual invasion of my dominions in America and the West Indies.

“It is, I trust, unnecessary for me to assure you, that the same care and concern for the happiness of my people, which induced me to endeavour to prevent the calamities of war, will make me desirous to see a restoration of the blessings of peace, whenever it can be effected with perfect honour, and with security to the rights of this country.

“In the mean time, I have not neglected to take the proper and necessary measures for disappointing the malignant designs of our enemies, and also for making general reprisals; and although my efforts have not been attended with all the success, which the justice of our cause and the vigour of our exertions seemed to promise, yet the extensive commerce of my subjects has been protected in most of its branches, and large reprisals has been made upon the injurious aggressors, by the vigilance of my fleets, and by the active and enterprising spirit of my people.

“The great armaments of other powers, however friendly and sincere their professions, however just and honourable their purposes, must necessarily engage our attention.

“It would have afforded me very great satisfaction to have informed you that the conciliatory measures planned by the wisdom and temper of parliament, had taken the desired effect, and brought the troubles in North America to a happy conclusion.

“In this situation of affairs, the national honour and security, call so loudly upon us for the most active exertions, that I cannot doubt of your heartiest concurrence and support. From the vigour of my councils, and the conduct and intrepidity of my officers and forces by sea and land, I hope under the blessing of God, to derive the means of vindicating and maintaining the honour of my crown, and the interests of my people, against all our enemies.”

Addresses as usual, echoing the speech, were moved for in both houses, and after much debate and the introduction of much extraneous matter, those of the king's friends were carried in the upper house, 67 to 35 and in the lower 226 to 107.

An adjournment succeeded the presenting of the addresses. When the houses met again [Dec. 4] the Marquis of Rockingham, in the Lord's, rose and holding a paper in his hand, said it was the proclamation or manifesto of the commissioners in America, a proclamation, he said, contrary to humanity, christianity and every idea of virtuous policy. He appologized for bringing a state-paper into the house in that unusual manner, but hoped in so urgent a matter as the present, when the proclamation was so universally allowed to be authentic, this form would be overlooked, and the consideration of it entered into. The Law-lords however differed from him on this subject, and after some short conversation his lordship submitted to their opinion and therefore moved "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to order the proper officers to lay before the house all papers printed by authority of the commissioners in America." which motion being agreed to, the papers demanded were on the 7th of December produced by Lord Weymouth.

The Marquis of Rockingham, after condemning in the severest terms the barbarity and dangerous policy that inspired this proclamation, which would inevitably provoke retaliation, not only from America but from her new ally, and establish a precedent of cruelty, whose effects we might feel at a future day from other beligerant powers; called upon the house also to consider that if even humanity was out of the question, our own coasts were too much exposed to attempt so dangerous an experiment: the alarm at Lord Selkirk's by Paul Jones was a proof that we were vulnerable. If no desolation was committed then, it was owing to the humanity of our enemy, not to the impossibility of effecting it. The latter alarm at Newcastle, though not of so serious a nature, evinced how easy it would be to waste and destroy our country. What if France and America were to adopt a similar system in the West-India islands? If they were to burn down and lay waste the Plantations in Jamaica, the wealth of England could not repair the injury. What would be an irreparable loss to us would be an invaluable acquisition to France: for by destroying our sugar-works, her islands would have the whole monopoly of the sugar-trade, the People of Jamaica were so sensible of their danger in this point, that when the buccaneers infested their coasts, a planter who cultivated sugar-canes within seven

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or eight miles of the sea was generally esteemed a madman, and no less than that space of wood-land was thought a sufficient defence against their devastations. The precaution ceased at the suppression of the Buccaneers, but the madness of administration seemed determined to revive those times of cruelty and plunder.

Such conduct, he continued, was calculated to estrange from this country the minds of our West-India subjects. How different the virtue or policy of France? see it in the capitulation of Dominica; that Island upon whose fortifications so much money had been expended, and for whose defence so small a number of men was provided! such a capitulation as was never heard of before! a capitulation which reserved to the inhabitants not only their property, laws, and religion, but even a right of appeal to the judicature of Great-Britain.

This bold and noble policy he said called to mind what happened during last war when we were about to attack Martinique. One of the officers asked the French agent at Guadaloupe, "Did he think the force we were sending against that place would be sufficient to do the business?" upon which the agent replied, there was no doubt of our success if the force was but just great enough to check the military power there, for as the inhabitants were held in so miserable a state of oppression, they would rejoice in the success of our arms."

After many other pointed observations the Marquis concluded his speech with a motion. "That an address be presented to his Majesty, stating the displeasure of the house at certain parts of the proclamation then before them; which were destructive of humanity, subversive of the christian religion, and dictated by an administration, the basis of whose conduct was corruption! and praying that his Majesty would graciously cause the same to be publicly disclaimed and contradicted; as the said proclamation was not warranted by parliament, and could not possibly be authorized, allowed and countenanced by his Majesty."

This motion was warmly supported by the lords of the minority: the bishop of Peterborough in particular, who observed "that there was but one principle on which a war of any species could be reconciled to a Christian mind: and that was, a view to obtain a just and honourable peace. The proclamation then in agitation had confessedly no such object.

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object. The devastations denounced by it, were to be the consequence of a failure in every hope of peace and reconciliation. The extremes of war were to be let loose, not to obtain peace; but as the manifesto expresses it, "if America was to become an accession to France, to render that accession of as little avail as possible." This was, in plain English, to ravage and destroy in mad and vengeful despair, the enemy, whom we found ourselves unable to conquer.

"The enemies of the name of Christ had hitherto been obliged to confess, that it was a peculiar excellence in the Christian religion to have set limits to the horrors of war, and confined the cruelties of military massacres within certain bounds. Was it then reserved for Great Britain to set the first example of returning to the primitive barbarities of war! If government persisted in the inhuman purpose, he advised them to stop the propagation of Christianity amongst the savages, and entreated them, if those poor unenlightened wretches were still to be employed in the works of blood and rapine. not to deprive them of their IGNORANCE—the only plea which they had now to urge for their barbarities at the throne of grace."

On the other hand the lords in administration contended; that the proclamation meant no more than that the war which had hitherto been carried on against America, and had been conducted in a mode very different from the rigours generally used against belligerent powers, should in future be carried on as if it were against the natural enemy with which she had allied herself.—That the Proclamation pointed out the blessings which America enjoyed, and might still enjoy under British Government, and the miseries she had suffered, and must yet suffer, if she persisted in rejecting our connection, and in such plain and obvious language, that nothing less than faction could put such odious constructions on it, for the purpose of deluding the vulgar, with idle suggestions and false apprehensions.—That if America was to become a place of arms, and resource of our natural enemy, it was but just and politic to dismantle her forts, destroy her harbours and render her in every respect unfit to give protection or shelter to the foe. Such severities were necessary even towards France, and by joining with that power in an offensive and defensive war, America could not expect less; that she deserved greater severities at our hands, for such an unnatural junction

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During this debate which lasted to a very late hour, lord Stormont, the late ambassador at the court of Versailles, being called upon to declare, if he had not given such timely intimation to the ministry of the designs of France as might have enabled them to prevent the sailing of the French fleet to America, he rose, and after observing the impropriety of calling upon him, who from the office he lately held was bound to secrecy, declared, that however he thought he might without any breach of his obligation, say this much on the occasion for the satisfaction of the house and in justice to himself; That he had early received and communicated intelligence of the designs of France, and her hostile views; that her treaty with America published at Versailles was not her only one, there was another whose subject is the total destruction of Great-Britain, for they have even apportioned the parts our dominions which are to belong to France and which are to belong to America.

The question on the motion being at last put there appeared

|                         |   |   |    |
|-------------------------|---|---|----|
| Contents [with proxies] | — | — | 37 |
| Not Contents, ditto     | — | — | 71 |

|                             |   |   |    |
|-----------------------------|---|---|----|
| Majority against the motion | — | — | 34 |
|-----------------------------|---|---|----|

The next day the following protest against the vote was entered on the Journals.

Dissentient,

1st. Because the public law of nations, in affirmation of the dictates of nature, and the precepts of revealed religion, forbids us to resort to the extremities of war upon our own opinion of their expediency, or in any case to carry on war for the purpose of desolation. We know that the rights of war are odious, and instead of being extended upon loose constructions and speculations of danger, ought to be bound up and limited by all the restraints of the most rigorous construction. We are shocked to  
see

see a principle destructive of all other laws; and a rule laid down, by which our own safety is rendered incompatible with the property of mankind. Those objects of war which cannot be compassed by fair and honourable hostility, ought not to be compassed at all. An end that has no means, but such as are unlawful, is an unlawful end. The manifesto expressly sounds the charge, it announces from a qualified and mitigated war, a war of extremity and desolation, on the certainty that the provinces must be independent, and must become an accession to the strength of the enemy. In the midst of the calamities, by which our loss of empire has been preceded and accompanied; in the midst of our apprehensions for the farther calamities, which impend over us, it is a matter of fresh grief and accumulated shame, to see from a commission under the great seal of this kingdom, a declaration for desolating a vast continent, solely because we had not the wisdom to retain, or the power to subdue it.

Secondly, Because the avowal of a deliberate purpose of violating the law of nations, must give an alarm to every state in Europe. All commonwealths have a concern in that law, and are its natural avengers. At this time, surrounded by enemies, and destitute of all allies, it is unnecessary to sharpen and embitter the hostility of declared foes, or to provoke the enmity of neutral states. We trust that by the natural strength of this kingdom, we are secured from a foreign conquest, but no nation is secure from the invasions and incursions of enemies. And it seems to us the height of frenzy, as well as wickedness, to expose this country to cruel depredations, and other outrages, too shocking to mention (but which are all contained in the idea of the extremes of war and desolation) by establishing a false, shameful, and pernicious maxim, that where we have no interest to preserve, we are called upon by necessity to destroy. This kingdom has long enjoyed a profound internal peace, and has flourished above all others in the arts and enjoyments of that happy state. It has been the admiration of the world for its cultivation and its plenty; for the comforts of the poor, the splendor of the rich, and the content and prosperity of all. This situation of safety may be attributed to the greatness of our power. It is more becoming, and more true, that we ought to attribute that safety, and the power which procured it, to the ancient justice, honour, humanity, and generosity of this kingdom, which brought down the blessing of Providence on a people who made their prosperity a benefit to the world, and interested all nations in their fortune; whose example of mildness and benignity at once humanized others, and rendered itself inviolable. In departing from these solid principles, and vainly trusting to the fragility of human force, and to the efficacy of arms, rendered impotent by their perversion, we lay down principles, and furnish examples of the most

1778. most atrocious barbarity. We are to dread that all our power, peace, and opulence, should vanish like a dream, and that the cruelties which we think safe to exercise, because their immediate object is remote, may be brought to the coasts, perhaps to the bosom of this kingdom.

3dly. Because, if the explanation given in debate, be expressive of the true sense of the article in the manifesto, such explanation ought to be made, and by as high authority as that under which the exceptionable article was originally published. The natural and obvious sense indicates, that the extremes of war had hitherto been checked; that his majesty's generals had hitherto foreborne (upon principles of benignity and policy) to desolate the country; but that the whole nature, and future conduct of the war, must be changed, in order to render the American accession of as little avail to France as possible. This, in our apprehensions, conveys a menace of carrying the war to extremes, and to desolation, or it means nothing. And as some speeches in the house (however palliated) and as some acts of singular cruelty, and perfectly conformable to the apparent ideas in the manifesto, have lately been exercised, it becomes the more necessary, for the honour and safety of this nation, that this explanation should be made. As it is refused, we have only to clear ourselves to our consciences, to our country, to our neighbours, and to every individual who may suffer in consequence of this atrocious menace, of all part in the guilt, or in the evils that may become its punishment. And we choose to draw ourselves out, and to distinguish ourselves to posterity, as not being the first to renew, to approve, or to tolerate the return of that ferocity and barbarism in war, which a beneficent religion, enlightened manners, and true military honour, had for a long time banished from the Christian world,

## Signed.

|             |              |              |
|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| Camden      | Ferrers      | Grafton      |
| Abergavenny | Stanhope     | Craven       |
| Portland    | J. St. Asaph | De Ferrers   |
| Abingdon    | Richmond     | Devonshire   |
| Beaulieu    | Harcourt     | Cholmondeley |
| Scarborough | Effingham    | Derbey       |
| Rockingham  | Wycombe      | Foley        |
| Manchester  | Tankerville  | Radnor       |
| Bolton      | Ponsonby     | Spencer      |
| Fitzwilliam | Fortescue    | Egremont.    |

A simi-

A similar motion for an address was made the same day in the house of commons; and a long debate much on the same ground ensued, after which there appeared on a division, 1778.

|                     |   |   |   |     |
|---------------------|---|---|---|-----|
| Ayes for the motion | — | — | — | 122 |
| Noes                | — | — | — | 209 |
|                     |   |   |   | —   |
| Majority against it | — | — |   | 87  |
|                     |   |   |   | —   |

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## C H A P. XXIII.

*Mortifications suffered by the Commissioners.—Marquis de la Fayette challenges lord Carlisle.—Manifesto.—Boston blocked by Byron.—Dreadful storm and loss of English ships.—D'Estaing sails from Boston.*

THE contempt with which every effort made by the British Commissioners to open a negotiation with the Congress and people of America, had been treated with, was not the only mortification they were designed to suffer. The reprobation of their commission was attended with many personal indignities and affronts; their letters to persons, formerly their intimate acquaintances, were returned to them unanswered, or if they received any, it was worded with such coldness and indifference, as, evinced, that every friendly disposition was absorpt in the temper of the times, and that the present contest, like that between brothers, was the more rancorous from their former connection.

Nor was it of their acquaintances alone they had reason to complain, there was not an action of their lives that could give colour to malignity, that was not aggravated in the American prints, to a magnitude of deformity. The attempt pretended to have been made by Mr. Johnstone to bribe one of the members of the Congress, as was mentioned in a former chapter, was published through the Continent, and his name held in detestation as one who endeavoured to introduce the system of corruption, that so fatally has sapped the fabric of the British Constitution, across the Atlantic.

Amid this public execration of the Commissioners, the french Marquis de la Fayette, whose military talents have justly raised him to a considerable rank in the American army, thought himself personally injured, by the reflections cast on his country, in the letter from the Commissioners to the Congress of the 26th of August: fired with the supposed indignity he wrote a challenge to lord Carlisle, which with his lordship's answer is here subjoined.

The

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The Marquis De La Fayette to the Earl of Carlisle.

“ I did not hitherto believe, my lord, that I ever should have occasion to meet you but on the footing of politeness, except at the head of the troops which we respectively command. Your letter of the 26th of August, to the Congress of the United States, and the insulting expression on my country, which you there have signed, could alone have given me cause to quarrel with you. I do not deign to refute the charge, my lord, but I desire to punish it. It is from you, as chief of the commission, that I demand a reparation as public as hath been the offence, and which must give the lie to the expression you have used. I should not have delayed this demand so long if your letter had reached me sooner. My occasions call me from hence for a few days, but on my return I hope to find your answer. Mr. Gimot, a French officer, will settle the time and place of our meeting to suit your conveniency. I do not doubt but that, for the honour of his compatriot, general Clinton will attend you to the field.

As to me, my lord, it is indifferent who attends you, provided that, to the glory of being a Frenchman, I join that of proving to a gentleman of your country, that no one dares to insult mine, unpunished.

(Signed)

LA FAYETTE.

To the Marquis de la FAYETTE.

“ SIR,

“ I have received your letter transmitted to me from M. Gimot, and I confess I find it difficult to return a serious answer to its contents. The only one that can be expected from me as the king's commissioner, and which you ought to have known, is, that I do, and ever shall consider myself solely responsible to my country and king, and not to any individual for my public conduct and language. As for any opinion or expressions contained in any publications issued under the commission, in which I have the honour to be named, unless they are retracted in public, you may be assured I shall never, in any change of situation, be disposed to give an account of them, much less recal them in private.

The injury alluded to in the correspondence of the king's commissioners to Congress, I must remind you is not of a  
private

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private nature, and I conceive all national disputes will be best decided by the meeting of admiral Byron and count d'Estaing.

(Signed),

CARLISLE.

New-York, Oct. 11, 1778.

The manifesto published by the commissioners the 3d of October at New York, as before recited; was immediately laid before Congress, and became the subject of disquisition, not whether any of the offers in it, should be accepted, no member being hardy enough even to propose the most distant motion that might lead to a consideration of them, but how any effect on the minds of the people which the concessions proposed, or the threats denounced therein should have, might be best counteracted. Some proposed that no notice should be taken of it, but that it should be treated with the same silent contempt with former overtures; on the other hand, it was contended, that weak minds might be alarmed at the extreme of war it threatened, and lukewarm individuals allured by the specious tender of peace and liberty it held out; that therefore it was proper and necessary that some counter-proclamation or manifesto should issue. The majority were of this opinion; in consequence of which the following Manifesto appeared:

By the Congress of the united States of America.

## M A N I F E S T O.

“ THESE United States having been driven to hostilities by the oppressive and tyrannous measures of Great Britain; having been compelled to commit the essential rights of man to the decision of arms; and having been at length forced to shake off a yoke which had grown too burthensome to bear, they declared themselves free and independent.

“ Confiding in the justice of their cause; confiding in Him who disposes of human events, although weak and unimproved, they set the power of their enemies at defiance.

“ In this confidence they have continued, through the various fortune of three bloody campaigns, unawed by the power, unsubdued by the barbarity of their foes. Their virtuous citizens have borne, without repining, the loss of many things which made life desirable. Their brave troops have patiently endured the hardships and dangers of a situation, fruitful in both, beyond example.

“ The

“ The Congress considering themselves bound to love their enemies, as children of that being who is equally the Father of all, and 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 insults.

“ Foiled in their vain attempt to subjugate the unconquerable spirit of freedom, they have meanly assailed the representatives of America with bribes, with deceit, and the servility of adulation. They have made a mock of humanity, by the wanton destruction of men; they have made a mock of religion, by impious appeals to God, whilst in violation of his sacred commands; they have made a mock even of reason itself, by endeavouring to prove, that the liberty and happiness of America could safely be entrusted to those who have *sold their own*, unawed by the sense of virtue, or of shame.

“ Treated with the contempt which such conduct deserved, they have applied to individuals; they have solicited them to break the bonds of allegiance, and imbrue their souls with the blackest of crimes: but fearing that none could be found through the United States, equal to the wickedness of their purpose, to influence weak minds, they have threatened more wide devastation.

“ While the shadow of hope remained, that our enemies could be taught by our example to respect laws which are held sacred among civilized nations, and to comply with the dictates of a religion which they pretend in common with us to believe and revere, they have been left to the influence of that religion, and that example. But since their incorrigible dispositions cannot be touched by kindness and compassion, it becomes our duty by other means to vindicate the rights of humanity.

“ We therefore the Congress of the United States in America, DO SOLEMNLY DECLARE AND PROCLAIM,  
That if our enemies presume to execute their threats, or

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“ We appeal to that God who searcheth the hearts of men, for the rectitude of our intentions. And in his holy presence we declare that as we are not moved by any light and hasty suggestions of anger or revenge, so through every possible change of fortune we will adhere to this our determination.

“ DONE in Congress by unanimous consent, the  
 “ thirteenth day of October, one thousand seven  
 “ hundred and seventy eight.

“ Attest.

“ CHARLES THOMPSON, *Secretary.*

Nov. 2. While those matters were transacting on shore, admiral Byron, now joined by his scattered ships, and four ships of the line of the fleet lately under the command of Lord Howe, remained off Boston; and though the winter was now setting in with its usual inclemency on that stormy and dangerous coast, yet this brave commander knowing what importance it was to the service, that the motions of so powerful an armament as the fleet under comte D’Estaing should be closely watched, resolved to keep his station as long as there was a possibility of doing it with safety: to this, he was still the more induced, by certain informations, that the French fleet were completely refitted and ready for sailing, accompanied by several American storeships, on a secret expedition.

Byron’s ships, though the repairs they had received since their arrival on the coast of America were but slight, and the crews much reduced by the incessant fatigues they had undergone, were yet in tolerable condition; and their number being superior to the French, there is little doubt but if the enemy had come out of Boston any time in October, the British flag would have triumphed, and an end have been put to the hostile operations of D’Estaing’s fleet in this part of the world. But on the second of November, the wind which at this season usually blows from the North-West, suddenly shifted to a violent and heavy gale from the East, blowing directly on the coast. Seamen alone can conceive the horror of such a situation, and the difficulty the best ships and most experienced sailors have to escape, when a ruthless tempest added to the mountainous swell of the vast Atlantic, urges their destruction: the Somersets of 64 guns, the Corn-

wal of 74 and Zebra sloop, were so entangled with the coast, that they could not clear it, and were in consequence driven on shore and beat to pieces; great part of the crews perished, the remainder got on land, where it is said, they were treated by the Americans with humanity.

The storm continued with unremitting fury all the next day, but on the following, which was the 4th the wind without abating much of its violence, after veering round the compass, settled at the west; of which circumstance the French Admiral availing himself, sailed out of Boston, and was descried on the 7th by the Culloden of 74 guns, one of Byron's fleet, steering to the southeast; but the wind was still so tempestuous that they passed close by the English ship without taking any notice of her; one of the American store ships however which lagged behind the fleet was fired upon by the Culloden, made a prize of and sent into New-York: After which, this ship of war for several days vainly attempted to regain the American coast; but the captain finding the vessel had suffered greatly in her rigging, and that her crew were sickly and dispirited; called his officers to consult with him, when it was unanimously resolved to bear away before the gale for Europe, which they did and, anchored the 13th of December in Milford Haven, at which time there were two hundred of the crew sick in their hammocks, and the remainder in a condition little better, from the variety of hardships they had undergone. Admiral Byron with the residue of his fleet got into Rhode Island.

There is great reason to believe that the British ministry had been early apprized of D'Estaing's further plan of operations, and the designs of the French against the English West-India Islands; for we find that early in October, and long before any dispatches from London, consequential to the taking of Dominica could have reached New-York, Sir Henry Clinton, on whom the command devolved after the return of the Howe's to Europe, prepared upwards of eighty transport-vessels and furnishing them with every necessary accommodation, the 24th of the same month, the 4th. 5th. 15th. 27th. 28th. 35th. 40th. 46th. 49th. 55th. regiments and a corps of Hessians went on board them; in four days after they fell down to Sandy-Hook, from whence they sailed for the West-Indies the 1st of November, under the convoy of a small Squadron of men of war, commanded by commodore Hotham; being just three days before the departure of D'Estaing from Boston. This

1778. force was designed to strengthen the garrisons of the West-India islands, these important places having been shamefully neglected, as has been before observed.

A few days after Hotham's departure from New-York, the merchants and traders of that city, presented a petition to the Commissioners; setting forth their acknowledgments for the indulgence to trade, granted them in the proclamation, published by their excellencies the 26th of September, by which they had been enabled to ship to the parent country, merchandize to the value of nearly one million, to the great advantage of commerce and credit: and praying, as the period of the indulgence granted them, was at hand, that they would renew and extend the term of the proclamation: That they would turn their attention to the precarious and restrained manner in which the trade they enjoyed was permitted them, and be pleased to allow a free importation from all the British ports, of such stores, provisions and merchandize, as are necessary for his majesty's army or navy, and the inhabitants under their protection. They then lamented the grievance they feared beyond redress, of the seizure and condemnation of several of the vessels intended for their port, with many articles necessary for the supplying his Majesty's forces and the inhabitants; which seizures they conceived, not authorized by the spirit of the prohibitory-law, which could be only intended to prevent supplies to the colonies in actual rebellion, but never meant to affect the property of loyal subjects under his majesty's immediate protection. They concluded with praying, that the same indulgences, might be extended to their fellow subjects of Rhode-Island.

To which the Commissioners made answer, "That they would readily comply with their wishes by continuing the benefit of that proclamation to a longer period: and should be glad, as well for the sake of the merchants as for the supply of the inhabitants under his majesty's protection, to afford every facility and security consistent with their powers, and what they might think right to the introduction of stores and provisions for the use of New-York and Rhode Island."

In consequence of which on the 18th of November the commissioners issued a proclamation, pursuant the prayer of the petition, including Rhode Island, and lengthening the term of suspension of the prohibitory law, to the first of June ensuing.

Shortly after the commencement of the American war, and pursuant to acts passed in the several States, prosecutions were

were carried on against the persons and property of the friends to British government. Would, that we could say, these proceedings were conducted with that temper, wisdom, and, at least seeming, candour that inspired the public acts of the American States in their congressional deliberations; it was far otherwise in this case, the rancour of party, personal animosity, and the pride of triumphant faction, were unfettered, and under the sanction of law, let loose to wreak their vengeance on the friendless delinquent: The state of Massachusetts-bay particularly distinguished itself by a great number of imprisonments and confiscations, and at last toward the close of this year published an act of proscription, which being the principal and best digested document that has appeared on this occasion, we shall present it to our readers:

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State of Massachussets Bay in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight.

An act to prevent the return to this state of certain persons, therein named, and others who have left this state, or either of the United States, and joined the enemies thereof.

**W**HEREAS Thomas Hutchinson. Esq; late governor of this State, &c. &c. &c. and many other persons, have left this State, or some other of the United States of America, and joined the enemies thereof, and of the United States of America thereby not only depriving these states of their personal services, at a time when they ought to have afforded their utmost aid in defending the States against the invasion of a cruel enemy, but manifesting an inimical disposition to the said States, and a design to aid and abet the enemies thereof in their wicked purposes: And whereas many dangers may accrue to this State, and the United States, if such persons should be again admitted to reside in this State:

“ Be it therefore enacted, by the council and house of representatives, in general court assembled, and by the authority of the same, That if the said Thomas Hutchinson, Francis Bernard, Thomas Oliver, &c. (*Here follow upwards of 300 names*) or any other person, though not specially named in this act, who have left this State, or either of the said states, and joined the enemies thereof as aforesaid, shall, after the passing this act, voluntarily return to

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this State, it shall be the duty of the sheriff of this county and of the select men, committees of correspondence, safety and inspection, grand juries, constables and tythingmen and other inhabitants of the town wherein such person or persons may presume to come, and they are hereby respectively empowered and directed, forthwith to apprehend and carry such person or persons before some justice of the peace within the county, who is thereby required to commit him or them to the common jail within the county, there in close custody, to remain until he shall be sent out of the state, as is herein after directed; and such justice is hereby directed to give immediate information thereof to the board of war in this State: and the said board of war are hereby empowered and directed to cause such person or persons, so committed, to be transported to some part or place within the dominions, or in the possession of the king of Great-Britain, as soon as may be after receiving such information, those who are able, at their own expence, and others at the expence of the State; and for this purpose to hire a vessel or vessels, if need be.

“ And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any person or persons, who shall be transported as aforesaid, shall voluntarily return into this state, without liberty first had and obtained from the general court, he shall on conviction thereof, before the superior court of judicature, court of Assize, and general jail delivery, suffer the pains of death, without benefit of clergy.

“ And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if the master of any ship or vessel shall, after the passing of this act, knowingly bring into any port within this state, any of the persons above named; or if any person, shall willingly or willfully harbour or conceal any of the above persons above named or described, after their return to this State, contrary to the design of this act, such master or person, so offending, shall on conviction thereof before the court of common pleas in the county wherethe offence shall be committed, or before the superior court of judicature, forfeit the sum of five hundred pounds, one half thereof to the use of this state, and the other half to the use of him or them who shall sue for the same.

“ And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the president of the council be, and he hereby is requested to write to the several legislative assemblies in the United States, inclosing a copy of this act, and desiring them to transmit this assembly a list of the names of all the persons who have left their respective states and joined the enemies of the Uni-

ted States, in order that such persons may be prevented from residing in this State.

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“ And the secretary is directed to cause this act to be published in the several Boston news-papers, and also in hand bills, and transmit five hundred copies thereof to the ministers of the United States at the court of France, who are desired to cause the same to be made public, as soon as may be, after they shall have received the same, that so the persons named and described herein, may be deterred from attempting to come within this state.”

The proclamation of the Commissioners for extending the suspension of the prohibitory law, was the last act we find they executed previous to their return to Europe from their fruitless embassy. It should however have been mentioned in its place, that when after every attempt to open a negotiation with the Congress had proved abortive, and they had published the Manifesto before recited, they requested Admiral Gambier, who then commanded the fleet at New-York, to provide small vessels bearing flags of truce, and commanded by naval Officers, to carry the Manifesto to the different colonies; the Admiral accordingly, provided the vessels as required; them sent to New-London and Elizabeth-Town, were received with their dispatches and dismissed in a decent manner; but the Hotham sloop commanded by Lieutenant Hale, addressed to the Congress and other assemblies at Philadelphia, was unfortunately wrecked in her passage up the Delaware; the crew after remaining three days on the wreck, during which two of them perished, were, with the commander, taken into custody by order of the Congress and confined in a miserable dungeon at Philadelphia.

This extraordinary transaction, so little consonant to the custom of civilized people, and the law of nations; though not an incident of prime magnitude, yet as it serves to shew the disposition and temper of the Congress, is worthy of particular notice; the reader will be best informed of circumstances, by presenting him with several letters which passed on the occasion, one of them inclosing the general resolution of Congress on seditious papers, and the particular resolve on this occasion. The first is a letter from Mr. Dick, commissary for the navy prisoners at New-York, to Mr. Beatty commissary for the Rebel prisoners. The second is an extract from a letter of Mr. Beatty's in answer

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thereto, enclosing the resolution of Congress, and lastly Admiral Gambier's letter of remonstrance addressed to the Congress.

SIR.

New-York, Oct. 17, 1778.

Admiral Gambier having been informed, that a pilot of the name of Welbank, lately employed in the Hotham Sloop, sent with a flag of truce to the Delaware, is now closely confined in a dungeon at Philadelphia, and intended to be immediately prosecuted to death, on the pretence of his being a deserter from the American service, I am commanded to demand in the most peremptory manner, that the said pilot may be immediately released, and sent hither, together with lieutenant Hale, and the crew of the late Hotham sloop, whose imprisonment and detention is contrary to all faith and confidence, and in direct breach of the sacred regard held and maintained by all nations in respect to vessels bearing flags of Truce.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant

Commissary Beatty.

JAMES DICK.

Extract of a letter from Mr. John Beatty, commissary general for the rebel prisoners, dated November 14, 1778, to Mr. James Dick, commissary for naval prisoners at New-York.

“ Herewith I transmit you two resolves of Congress, that passed the 9th of November, in consequence of your letter to me of the 29th ult. previously acquainting you I had referred to that body for answer; as it alludes to a former resolve of the 16th of October, I thought proper to inclose this also, both which you will be kind enough to lay before admiral Gambier, acquainting of him, that this is the whole of the answer I am directed to give him.”

Resolve of Congress relative to seditious papers.

In Congress, 16th Oct. 1778.

Whereas Congress, on the 22d of April, 1778, did resolve, that any man or body of men, who should presume to make any separate or partial convention or agreement with commissioners under the crown of Great-Britain, or any of them, ought to be considered and treated as open enemies to the United States; And whereas Congress have received intelligence, that the commissioners of the king of Great-Britain

Britain are about to send, under the sanction of a flag, certain seditious papers, under the name and title of manifestos, to be distributed throughout these United States, with a view to stir up dissensions, animosities, and rebellion, among the good people of these States; and whereas such practices are contrary to the law of nations, and utterly subversive of the confidence necessary for those means which have been invented among civilized nations to alleviate the horrors of war, and therefore the agents employed to distribute the said papers are not entitled to protection from a flag, while engaged in the prosecution of such nefarious purposes.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the executive powers of these United States, to take up and secure in safe and close custody, all and any person or persons who, under the sanction of flags or otherwise, may be concerned or engaged in the purposes aforesaid; and farther, that the papers aforesaid be printed in the several Gazettes, more fully to convince the good people of these states of the insidious designs of the said commissioners. [Extract from the minutes,]

CHA. THOMSON, Sec.

A true copy examined.

A. SKINNER, D. Com. Prisoners.

Resolve of Congress relative to the detention of admiral Gambier's pilot, lieutenant, &c.

In Congress, the 9th of November, 1778.

The committee, to whom we referred the letter of the 30th of October, of commissary Beatty, and the papers enclosed, brought in a report, whereupon,

Ordered, That the commissary Beatty be furnished with a copy of the resolutions of Congress on the subject of seditious papers circulated under the colour of flags; and informed, that in the opinion of Congress there was good reason for confining the pilot, lieutenant, and crew of the vessel mentioned in his letter; that if any objections are made to it on the part of the enemy, they must be discussed and settled on national grounds, and therefore that the peremptory requisition of admiral Gambier will not be complied with. [Extract from the minutes,]

(Signed)

CHA. THOMSON.

A. SKINNER, D. Com. Prisoners.

His

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His excellency Henry Laurens, Esq; and others, the members of the Congress, Philadelphia.

Ardent, off New York, Nov. 15, 1778.

Gentlemen,

When I made a requisition for the immediate release of an officer belonging to the king my master, shipwrecked in carrying a flag of truce, an act sacred not only among civilized nations, but held inviolable even among savages, it was no more peremptory than the singular conduct of your officer demanded, who under such circumstances (unauthorized, I was sure, by any liberal set of men, whatever my sentiments may be on other parts of their conduct) could dare to put an officer and his crew into a common prison.

1st. It was an undue advantage taken of the calamity of a wreck, and that wreck a flag of truce.

2dly. The resolution on which the Congress now wish to justify themselves, is subsequent in date to the fact of which they complain.

3dly. The manifesto in question was addressed in the first instance to the Congress themselves, and could not possibly be seditious.

This procedure being against the universal law of nations, and repugnant to the common dictates of reason and humanity, I rely on the most ample redress from the Congress, in compassionate consideration of those innocent individuals who must suffer from retaliation. I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant,

JAMES GAMBIER.

Among the persons who took their passage from Europe on board D'Estaing's fleet, was Mr. Silas Deane, a gentleman whose abilities, particularly as a negotiator, had been singularly useful to the Americans from the beginning of their contest with Great-Britain; consequence of which he was early nominated to the important office of Coadjutor to Doctor Franklin, in the great business of managing the affairs of Congress with the European powers. Whether in this employment Mr. Deane had not answered expectation, or that a spirit of party which prevades the deliberations of every assembly, had prevailed against him, does not appear, but some dissatisfaction at his conduct was evident, as we find he was recalled in order, as it was said, to lay before Congress an account of his mission.

Mr.

Mr. Deane thought himself, ill used, and after endeavouring to obtain a public approbation of his conduct from the Congress; as his last resource published a general address to the American people; which as it contains the only authentic account of the negotiations of the American states with the foreign courts the reader is presented with it entire.

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“ To the free and virtuous citizens of America.

Friends and Countrymen,

THE happiness or misfortunes, the benefits or injuries, of an individual have generally no claim to the public attention. I do not therefore address you on my own account, but yours. I do not wish to prejudice any man, but to serve my country. I was content, even while sacrificed for the aggrandizement of others, but I will not see an individual, or family, raised upon the ruins of the general weal. What I write to you, I would have said to your representatives; their ears have been shut against me by an attention to matters which my respect for them induces me to believe were of more importance. While it was safe to be silent, my lips were closed. Necessity hath opened them, and necessity must excuse this effort, to serve, by informing you.

“ What I have done, and what I have suffered, from the moment I left my native shore, until I was honoured with one colleague, and saddled with another, is needless now to repeat; I have told it substantially to Congress, and, as their servant, I leave it with them. In September, 1776, they appointed the honourable Benjamin Franklin, Arthur Lee, Esq; and myself, their commissioners at the court of Versailles, previous to which I had the honour to be the commercial and political agent of America in Europe. My venerable friend Doctor Franklin, arrived at Paris in December, 1776, and Arthur Lee, Esq; a few Days after him. This gentleman, by agreement among the commissioners, went to Spain in the month of February following, to negotiate your interests there; and having by a wanton display of his errand, given great and just cause of distrust to the court of Madrid, he returned in the beginning of April, not having gone further than the city of Burgos. The reasons of that court from restricting him to this place, with many other matters important for you to know, may perhaps appear in the course of these letters.

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“ While he was on that journey, Dr. Franklin received a commission to go thither, but his health, the season, and other circumstances prevented his departure, until he was superseded. Many reasons concurred to convince the commissioners, that Arthur Lee Esq; could no where be less serviceable than at Paris, and therefore in May 1777, he set out to make a tour of Germany, in order to arrive at Berlin in safety. At this place he was so unfortunate as to do nothing, unless we may give the name of business to the loss of his papers, by which a discovery was made of the secrets of his colleagues, and the British ministry enabled to counteract the measures taken for your benefit. In August he returned to Paris, and shortly after received his appointment as commissioner to the court of Madrid, with reservation, nevertheless, of his former commission to that of Versailles. Here I must leave him, to take notice of another gentleman of the same family.

“ In Feb. 1777, I received a notification of the appointment of William Lee, Esq; to be one of your commercial agents in Europe, of which I gave him notice. As your commercial affairs were at that time in such a state as to require much attention and care, I pressed this gentleman, then in England, to come over immediately and execute his office, but heard nothing from him till the month of June, when he arrived at Paris. At this place he continued until some time in August, when he went to Nantz; there he was loudly called on to regulate certain affairs, which he prudently declined, lest, as he observed, his property in England should be affected. In September, or October, he returned to Paris, and there received his appointment of commissioner to the courts of Vienna and Berlin. He continued nevertheless inactive at Paris until the month of December, carefully concealing his appointments, which might have militated against his office of Alderman of the city of London, which he did then and probably does still retain. When the news of Gen. Burgoyne's defeat and surrender had arrived, it produced a revolution in the minds of many, and among others inspired your commercial agent and political commissioner, the honourable William Lee, Esq; with some degree of activity in your favour.

“ That I may not be under the necessity of mentioning this gentleman again, I add here, that he hath since gone to Vienna, having first appointed sundry other commercial agents for

for you at the several ports, and in one instance removed the \* person who had faithfully done your business for two per cent. in favour of another who is to receive five per cent, of which as well as of the like commission at other places, Mr. Lee receives a share, for superintending at Vienna the business on your account, a thousand miles from his place of residence.

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“ My respect for the honourable the Congress, and of consequence for its members, will lead me to treat with all possible tenderness their friends, dependants, and connections; and therefore as the honourable Arthur and William Lee, Esqrs. have two brothers in that body. I shall make no further observations on the fruitful topic of their manners and deportment, than this, that, unfortunately for you, those gentlemen, so highly elevated, and so widely entrusted, gave universal disgust to the nation whose assistance we solicited.

“ Having thus introduced you to your great servants, I proceed to make you acquainted with some other personages, which is it of consequence for you to know. I am sorry to say that the hon. Arthur Lee, Esq; was suspected by some of the best friends you had abroad, and those in important characters and stations. This arose from his connection and acquaintance with Lord Shelburne, who had been his patron in England, and to whom it was from many circumstances, supposed he disclosed your secrets. These suspicions, whether well or ill founded, were frequently related and urged to Dr. Franklin and myself; and joined to his undisguised hatred of, and expressions of contempt for the French nation in general, embarrassed us exceedingly.

“ In the summer of 1777, a correspondence took place between a certain Dr. Berkenhout, and the hon. Arthur Lee, Esq; on political subjects. The doctor proposed, in general terms, an accommodation: and after all obstacles arising from our supposed want of confidence in him, and the like, were removed, the doctor went so far as to propose

\* Mr. Williams a native of Boston, a gentleman greatly esteemed in France for his knowledge and ingenuity in mercantile transactions, as well as for his engaging manners, who being well acquainted with the language and commercial rules and customs in that kingdom, had rendered very important services to his country, in his department.

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pose a meeting with Mr. Lee ; but these dispositions were deranged by the news of Gen. Howe's arrival in this city. Mr. Lee shewed to Dr. Franklin and myself a part of this correspondence, and, in order to give the greater weight to Dr. Berkenhout's remarks, gave us to understand, that the doctor was in the confidence of the British ministry.

“ Immediately on the arrival of the news of general Burgoyne's surrender, a treaty with France seemed to the British ministry more near and more probable; your commissioners, therefore were continually sounded, indirectly, as to their dispositions for reconciliation. About this time Mr. Lee's secretary went to and from London, charged with affairs, which were secret to your other commissioners. Conjectures were formed, it is true, and with the more reason, as Mr. Lee was dragged into the treaty with the utmost reluctance. It was agreed that this important matter should be kept a profound secret, yet a few days from the signing, it was pointedly declared in the house of commons, by hon. Charles Fox, Esq; the friend of lord Shelburne. This gave additional weight to other circumstances. Add to this, that the attention of Dr. Franklin and myself to your service, gave rise to many bickerings and disputes between Mr. Lee and us; the consequence was, that insinuations and misrepresentations, to my disadvantage were transmitted across the Atlantic, and stored up for purposes which will hereafter appear. On the fourth of March I received in a cover, from one of the committee of foreign correspondence, the following resolution :

In Congress, Dec. 8, 1777.

“ Whereas it is of the greatest importance that the Congress should at this critical juncture be well informed of the state of affairs in Europe. And whereas Congress have resolved that the hon. Silas Deane, Esq; be recalled from the court of France, and have appointed another commissioner to supply his place there. Ordered, that the committee for foreign correspondence write to the hon. Silas Deane, and direct him to embrace the first opportunity of returning to America, and upon his arrival to repair with all possible dispatch to Congress.”

“ And having placed my Papers and yours in safety, I left Paris the 30th, to embark for my native country, on board that fleet which your great and generous ally sent out for your assistance, in full confidence that I should not be de-

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tained for any considerable time in America on the business I was sent for;—just before my departure I was informed of a matter, which, as it may tend to throw light on other circumstances, I shall simply relate. A gentleman of character told me, that his correspondent in England had seen a letter from the hon. Arthur Lee, Esq; dated the very day on which the treaty was signed, (though it was not finished until near nine o'clock at night) in which were nearly these words: “This day the new partnership was signed and sealed, and the new house will begin to do business immediately; if the old house means to have anything to do further, and means honestly, they must make their proposals immediately.”

“When I arrived at this place, I solicited an audience of the Congress, which after many delays, which some circumstances rendered unavoidable, I obtained. I was twice heard before that honourable body, viz. on the 19th and on the 21st of August, when I gave them as good a general account of the matters entrusted to me, as the time would permit. It being my intent to deliver singly, and by itself, a history of those affairs, and then to mention, from time to time, for their consideration, such things as my duty to you should require. But after these two audiences I have been unable to obtain a third, although I have continually solicited it, and written several letters for that purpose, which together with the answers I have received, and the several intermediate transactions, as far as the public service requires it, shall in due time with the utmost candour on my part be laid before you; without deviating in the least from that respect, which I have always professed, and which I feel for that honourable body; and least any thing which I have said, or may say, should be misrepresented, I do hereby again repeat my veneration for your representatives, excepting always those (if any such there be) who with partial interested views and for sinister purposes, have endeavoured to sacrifice your interest, as well as my reputation. I now come to some things, without which I might perhaps have continued still longer silent. In September last I was informed, that the doctor Berkenhout, whom I have mentioned above, was in jail in this city. I confess I was surprized, considering what I have already related, that this man should have the audacity to appear in the capital of America. I immediately set myself about the measures, which I conceived necessary to investigate his plans and de-  
signs

1778. signs ; concluding he was like to continue in those quarters for some time. But what was my astonishment, when in a few days afterwards I was informed he was gone back to New York. There was in this something that was alarming, that a person who from every appearance was sent out as a spy, should be sent back with the knowledge he was able to collect, was, what I could not comprehend ; and therefore in order to set on foot an enquiry, I published the queries in Mr. Dunlap's paper of the 10th of October, which had lain by me some days in hopes that those in authority would have taken measures to prevent the necessity of it.

To these queries no satisfactory answer ever was, or probably ever will be given. At length that providence, in whom we put our trust, hath by a concurrence of incidents, unfolded the transaction, which was as follows ;— Doctor Berkenhout came from New-York, passed the lines, and came to this place, under the pretence of important business with Congress ; when he arrived in this place he made no application to that body, but to the hon. Richard Henry Lee Esq. Doctor Berkenhout hath since said, that he had letters to that honourable member of the Congress, from the hon. Arthur Lee, Esq ; joint commissioner of the United States, at the court of Versailles, and sole commissioner of those states at the court of Madrid. Be this as it may, it is certain that the doctor had several meetings with the hon. Richard Lee, Esq ; it is also certain that when the doctor returned to New York, he ventured to assure the British commissioners, that by the alliance with France, America was at liberty to make peace without consulting her ally, unless England declared war ; and it is equally certain, that the hon. Richard H. Lee, Esq ; constantly and pertinaciously maintained this doctrine.

After the doctor had been some days in this town he became suspected by the honourable executive council of this state, who determined to apprehend him. When this matter was mentioned to the honourable Richard H. Lee, Esq ; he declared the suspicions against him were base and groundless, and that he was a good friend to America ; he was nevertheless put into jail, and there notwithstanding the precautions supposed to have been taken. He did see sundry persons. He was permitted afterwards by the executive council to return to New York. I have been told that even when he was dismissed, some gentlemen of that board were

were of opinion that he was (as in fact he was) an emissary from the British ministry. When the doctor returned, he carried letters with him, among others one for governor Johnstone. He declared he had got what he wanted by his journey. He advised the sending other emissaries throughout these states, to discover the designs and dispositions of the people, and the like.—Governor Johnstone, on the doctor's complaining that this measure had not before been adopted, promised that he would urge it to the British ministry. He advised that lieut. col. Conolly should be by all means sent to the assistance of colonel Butler, and that they should call in all their prisoners, who were out on parole, which they have actually since done.

It may not be amiss to give you the following short account. The doctor on his return to New York fell in company with a person going into the city on private business; he mistook this person for a friend of government (as certain persons call themselves) and after landing at Staten Island, spoke his mind freely on the above subjects. This person afterwards lodged in the same house with the doctor, and heard his conversation with governor Johnstone. Particular circumstances forbid me mentioning the name of this person at present; it is sufficient that the information was voluntarily given, and before several persons of the first rank and character in the city. Now then, my countrymen, let me state in short my reasons for giving you those facts. I have thought ever since the violence and despotism of Great Britain first drove the dispute to the issue of arms, that our alliance with France was for your real interest and happiness.

I was as far as in me lay, a willful instrument to promote it; I now see, what I have for some time suspected, a design to lead you into a breach of your national faith and honour, solemnly pledged, and thereby most probably to the eventual loss of that liberty, which you have purchased at so great an expence of blood and treasure. I see also a design to lay waste your frontiers, by a most cruel and barbarous war, and at the same time to fix in the different capitals, emissaries to betray your secrets, and by every other means; which either a casual, or designed inattention to them, may put in their power to aid and bring about those designs, I think it therefore my duty to put you on your guard.

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When I mention that the hon. Arthur Lee, Esq; your commissioner at the court of Madrid, and one of your commissioners at Versailles, and the hon. Wm. Lee, Esq; your commissioner at the court of Vienna, and your commissioner at the court of Berlin (which courts are now actually at war with each other) and also that he is your commercial agent in Europe, and that they have two brothers in Congress, I do not speak from any pique against them; for although they are my personal and lately avowed enemies, yet their conduct on many occasions hath been such, that to honour them with the emotions of anger, would be degrading to that character, which I hope always to maintain. My objection is, merely to rescue your reputation. Foreigners are perhaps not so clear-sighted as they ought to be, and therefore cannot discern in those your commissioners, that degree of merit which hath led your representatives to confer on them such various and incompatible offices. And being equally ignorant of the wise and equitable manner in which your business is conducted, they rashly conclude, that appointments, of which they cannot discern the propriety, are to contribute to the influence of intrigue and cabal. I have also a farther view in writing this letter, it is to put those gentlemen who in some instances have carried not only their suspicions, but their aspersions against some of our firmest friends very far, upon their guard against those obligations and attachments which may ruin your affairs, and to be particularly careful whom they recommend and how. And would warn them from past experience against future danger, and intreat them not too hastily and rashly to impart our secrets to improper persons, particularly as Great Britain has not as yet acknowledged your independence, and offered a treaty, the cultivation of any interest at that court cannot compensate the sacrifices which must be made to acquire it. Lastly, my countrymen, whilst I reverence your unsuspecting confidence, I would inculcate on your minds the artifices of your foes and lead you to beware, and on your guard.

I am your friend and countryman, and I can say with pride your faithful servant,

Philadelphia, Nov. 1778

S. DEAN.

Besides Mr. Deane there arrived at Philadelphia a Monsieur Gerard who immediately on his landing, assumed the public character of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary

tentiary from his most Christian Majesty to the Congress of the American States; in consequence of which, after making his public entry and delivering his credentials in form, a Committee was appointed to settle the ratification of the treaties entered into with his master; one of these treaties has been published and is as follows:

1778.

TREATY of ALLIANCE, eventual and defensive, between his Most Christian Majesty, LOUIS the Sixteenth, king of FRANCE and NAVARRE, and the THIRTEEN UNITED STATES of AMERICA, concluded at Paris, the 6th of February, 1778.

L O U I S,

By the Grace of GOD, King of FRANCE and NAVARRE.

To ALL who shall see these presents, GREETING.

THE CONGRESS of the Thirteen United States of North America having, by their plenipotentiaries residing at Paris, notified to us their desire to establish with us a good understanding and perfect correspondence, and having for that purpose proposed to conclude with us, a treaty of amity and commerce: We having thought it our duty to give to the said States a sensible proof of our affection, determining us to accept their proposals: for these causes and other good considerations, us thereunto moving, we, reposing entire confidence in the abilities and experience, zeal and fidelity for our service, of our dear and beloved Conrad Alexander Gerard, royal syndic of the city of Strasbourg, and secretary of our council of state, have nominated, appointed, and commissioned, and by these presents signed with our hand, do nominate, appoint, and commission him our plenipotentiary, giving him power and special command for us, and in our name, to agree upon, conclude, and sign, with the plenipotentiaries of the United States, equally furnished in due form, with full powers, such treaty, convention, and articles of commerce and navigation, as he shall think proper; willing that he act with the same authority as we might or could act, if we were personally present, and even as though he had more special command than what is herein contained; promising in good faith, and on the word of a king, to agree to, confirm, and establish for ever, and to accomplish, and execute punctually, all that our said dear and beloved Conrad Alex-

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ander Gerard shall stipulate and sign, by virtue of the present power, without contravening it in any manner, or suffering it to be contravened for any cause or under any pretext whatsoever; and also to ratify the same in due form, and cause our ratification to be delivered and exchanged in the time that shall be agreed on. For such is our pleasure. In testimony whereof we have hereunto set our seal. Done at Versailles, this thirteenth Day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, and the fourth year of our reign.

(Signed)

(L. S.)  
(Underneath)

LOUIS.  
By the KING  
GRAVIER de VERGENNES.

### TREATY OF ALLIANCE.

The Most Christian King, and the United States of North America, to wit, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, having this day concluded a treaty of amity and commerce, for the reciprocal advantage of their subjects and citizens, have thought it necessary to take into consideration the means of strengthening those engagements and of rendering them useful to the safety and tranquillity of the two parties; particularly in case Great Britain, in resentment of that connection, and of the good correspondence which is the object of the said treaty, should break the peace with France, either by direct opposition, or by hindering her commerce and navigation, in a manner contrary to the rights of nations, and the peace subsisting between the two crowns.—And his majesty and the said United States having resolved in that case to join their councils and efforts against the enterprizes of their common enemy——

The respective plenipotentiaries empowered to concert the clauses and conditions proper to fulfil the said intentions, have, after the most mature deliberation, concluded and determined on the following articles:

Article 1. If war should break out between France and Great Britain, during the continuance of the present war between the United States and England, his majesty and the said United States shall make it a common cause, and

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aid each other mutually with their good offices, their counsels, and their forces, according to the exigency of conjunctures, as becomes good and faithful allies. 1778.

Art. 2. The essential and direct end of the present defensive alliance is, to maintain effectually the liberty, sovereignty, and independence, absolute and unlimited, of the said United States, as well in matters of government as of commerce.

Art. 3. The two contracting parties shall, each on its own part, and in the manner it may judge most proper, make all the efforts in his power against their common enemy, in order to attain the end proposed.

Art. 4. The contracting parties agree, that in case either of them should form any particular enterprize, in which the concurrence of the other may be desired, the party whose concurrence is desired shall readily, and with good faith, join to act in concert for that purpose, as far as circumstances and his own particular situation will permit; and in that case they shall regulate, by a particular convention, the quantity and kind of succour to be furnished and the time and manner of its being brought into action, as well as the advantages which are to be its compensation.

Art. 5. If the United States should think fit to attempt the reduction of the British power, remaining in the northern parts of America, or the islands of Bermudas, those countries or islands, in case of success, shall be confederated with and dependent upon the said United States.

Art. 6. The most Christian King renounces for ever the possession of the islands of Bermudas, as well as any part of the continent of North America, which before the treaty of Paris, in 1763, or in virtue of that treaty, were acknowledged to belong to the crown of Great Britain, or to the United States, heretofore called British Colonies, or which are at this time, or have lately been under the power of the King and crown of Great Britain.

Art. 7. If his most christian Majesty shall think proper to attack any of the islands situate in the Gulph of Mexico, or near the Gulph, which are at present under the power of Great Britain, all the said isles in case of success, shall appertain to the crown of France.

Art. 8. Neither of the two parties shall conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain, without the formal consent of the other first obtained; and they mutually engage not to lay down their arms, until the independence of the

1778. United States shall have been formally or tacitly assured by the treaty or treaties that shall determine the war.

Art. 9. The contracting parties declare, that, being resolved to fulfil, each on its own part, the clauses and conditions of the present treaty of alliance, according to its own power and circumstances, there shall be no after claims of compensation on one side or other, whatever may be the event of the war.

Art. 10. The most Christian King and the United States agree, to invite or admit other powers, who may have received injuries from England, to make a common cause with them, and accede to the present alliance, under such conditions as shall be freely agreed to, and settled between all the parties.

Art. 11. The two parties guarantee mutually from the present time, and for ever, against all other powers, to wit—The United States to his most Christian Majesty the present possessions of the crown of France in America, as well as those which it may acquire by the future treaty of peace; and his most christian Majesty guarantees on his part to the United States, their liberty, sovereignty, and independence; absolute and unlimited, as well in matters of government as commerce, and also their possessions, and the additions or conquests that their confederation may obtain during the war, from any of the dominions now or heretofore possessed by Great Britain in North America; conformable to the fifth and sixth articles above written, the whole as their possession shall be fixed and assured to the said States, at the moment of the cessation of their present war with England.

Art. 12. In order to fix more precisely the sense and application of the preceding article, the contracting parties declare, that in case of a rupture between France and England the reciprocal guarantee declared in the said article shall have its full force and effect the moment such war shall break out; and if such rupture shall not take place, the mutual obligations of the guarantees shall not commence until the moment of the cessation of the present war between the United States and England, shall have ascertained their possessions.

Art. 13. The present treaty shall be ratified on both sides, and the ratifications shall be exchanged, in the space of six months, or sooner if possible.

IN FAITH WHEREOF the respective plenipotentiaries, to wit, on the part of the Most Christian King, Conrad Alexander Gerard, Royal Syndic of the city of Strasbourg, and secretary of his majesty's council of state. And on the part of the United States, Benjamin Franklin, deputy of the General Congress, from the State of Pennsylvania, and president of the convention of the said State; Silas Dean, hitherto deputy from the State of Connecticut, and Arthur Lee, counsellor at law, have signed the above articles both in the French and English languages; declaring nevertheless, that the present treaty was originally composed and concluded in the French language, and they have hereunto affixed their seals.

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DONE at Paris the sixth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight.

(L. S.)

C. A. GERARD,

(L. S.)

B. FRANKLIN,

(L. S.)

SILAS DEAN,

(L. S.)

ARTHUR LEE.

On the 10th of December commodore Hotham's fleet arrived at Barbadoes, where they were joined by a small squadron under the command of Admiral Barrington. At this island they staid only two days, and proceeded to execute one of the intents of their expedition, which was, a descent on the island of Sainte Lucie, where by favour of the monsoon they arrived the day following and immediately landed the troops near the Carenage, while the fleet came to anchor in the grand Cul de Sac. General Grant who commanded the land forces made the best disposition, and having possessed himself of the Carenage, invested the principal fort. While these operations were going forward, D'Estaing with a corps of 5000 land forces on board sailed from Martinique, at which place he had arrived from Boston, on an expedition against the British islands of St Vincents and Grenada, but he was scarcely under way when positive intelligence was brought him, that Sainte Lucie was attacked. A place of such importance from its proximity to Martinique was not to be lost without making every attempt for its deliverance; there was reason to expect Byron would soon arrive in these seas; a coup de main was therefore a measure of necessity, which if it succeeded must inevitably be a decisive stroke against the English, as from

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the destruction of their army and fleet at Sainte Lucie, all their West India possessions if not taken by the French, must be reduced to such distress that its effects would be felt for many years. Thither they steered, and suddenly appeared off the grand Cul de Sac where the British fleet lay. They did not find the English unprepared, Barrington's fleet was disposed so as to defend the entrance of the harbour against any number that might attack it, beside which, the General had erected several batteries on shore. Two attempts were made by the French to force into the harbour, but English courage and conduct prevailed; the French were beat off with great loss: an attempt by land was all that now remained, but it was not more fortunate; The army destined for the conquest of the British islands was landed, consisting of 5000 infantry and commanded by the Count D'Estaing and the Marquis de Bouille; they advanced rapidly towards the English intrenchments, with all that confidence which superiority of number gives, their number being twice that of the English, but they had not the light holiday troops of a southern clime to deal with, it was an iron band of veterans, who inured to toil, joining their native courage to the hardening service of northern campaigns, were not to be subdued. The French advanced to the trenches in two divisions, the right led by D'Estaing and the left by Bouille, they advanced amidst their fire, but their fire was not returned until they mounted the trenches, then, a discharge from the first line of the English stop'd them for a moment, and before they could recover they were charged by the British bayonets; the slaughter was dreadful, they fell upon their rears in confusion, the English marched out and attacked in turn; and the victory was complete. The French generals with the shattered remains of their army with difficulty reached their ships, which soon after sailed off with them, and while they were yet in view the French governor despairing of any further succour, surrendered the island to his Britannic Majesty. The loss on the side of the British was inconsiderable, not exceeding two hundred killed and wounded, whereas that of the enemy exceeded one thousand.

In the mean time, two other expeditions were set on foot, one from New York with a body of troops under the command of lieutenant colonel Campbell, and another from St Augustine in Florida under the command of major general Prevost, to act in conjunction for the reduction of the province

vince of Georgia. As those expeditions are more immediately a part of this history, we cannot be too minute in the narrative; we shall therefore give it in the words of the several commanders, taken from their letters to lord George Germain, secretary for the American department, and Mr. Stephens secretary to the admiralty.

1778.

Copy of a letter from lieutenant-colonel Campbell, to lord George Germain,

MY LORD,

IN consequence of Sir H. Clinton's orders to proceed to Georgia, with his majesty's 71st regiment of foot, 2 battalions of Hessians, 4 battalions of Provincials, and a detachment of the royal artillery, I have the honour to acquaint your lordship of our having sailed from the Hook on the 27th of November, 1778, escorted by a squadron of his majesty's ships of war, under the command of commodore Parker, and of the arrival of the whole fleet off the island of Tybee, on the 23d of December thereafter, two horse sloops excepted.

On the 24th the commodore, with the greatest part of the transports, got over the bar, and anchored in the Savannah river, within the light-house of Tybee; on the 27th the rest of the fleet joined him.

During the time occupied in bringing the last division of the fleet over the Bar, I formed from the Provincial battalions two corps of light infantry, the one to be attached to Sir James Baird's light company of the 71st Highlanders, the other to capt. Cameron's company of the same regiment.

Having no intelligence that could be depended upon, with respect to the military force of Georgia, or the disposition formed for its defence, Sir James Baird's Highland company of light infantry, in two flat boats, with lieut. Clark of the navy, was dispatched in the night of the 25th, to seize any of the inhabitants they might find on the banks of Wilmington Creek. Two men were procured by this means, by whom we learnt the most satisfactory intelligence concerning the state of matters at Savannah, and which settled the commodore and I in the resolution of landing the troops the next evening, at the plantation of one Gerridoe, an important post, twelve miles farther up the river than the

1778. the light-house of Tybee, and two miles short, in a direct line, from the town of Savannah, although the distance was not less than three along the road, This post was the first practicable landing place on the Savannah river, the whole country between it and Tybee being a continued tract of deep marsh, intersected by the Creeks of St. Augustine and Tybee, of considerable extent, and other cuts of water impassable for troops at any time of the tide.

The Vigilant man of war, with the Comet galley, the Keppel armed brig, and the Greenwich armed sloop, followed by the transports in three divisions, in the order established for a descent, proceeded up the river with the tide at noon; about four o'clock in the evening the Vigilant opened the Reach to Gerridoe's plantation, and was cannonaded by two rebel galleys, who retired before any of their bullets had reached her; a single shot from the Vigilant quickened their retreat.

The tide and evening being too far spent, and many of the transports having grounded at the distance of five or six miles below Gerridoe's plantation, the descent was indispensably delayed till next morning. The first division of the troops, consisting of all the light infantry of the army, the New York volunteers, and 1st battalion of the 71st, under the command of lieut. col. Maitland, were landed at break of day on the river-dam in front of Gerridoe's plantation, from whence a narrow causeway, of 600 yards in length, with a ditch on each side, led through a rice swamp directly for Gerridoe's house, which stood upon a bluff of 30 feet in height, above the level of the rice swamps.

The light infantry under capt. Cameron, having first reached the shore, were formed and led briskly forward to the bluff, where a body of 50 rebels were posted, and from whom they received a smart fire of musquetry; but the Highlanders, rushing on with their usual impetuosity, gave them no time to repeat it: They drove them instantly to the woods, and happily secured a landing for the rest of the army. Capt. Cameron, a spirited and most valuable officer, with two Highlanders, were killed on this occasion, and five Highlanders wounded.

Upon reconnoitring the environs of Gerridoe's plantation, I discovered the rebel army, under major general Robert Howe, drawn up about a mile east of the town of Savannah, with several pieces of cannon in their front. The 1st divi-

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division of troops, together with one company of the 2d battalion of the 71st, the 1st battalion of Delancy's, the Wellworth, and part of Wissemback's regiment of Hessians, being landed, I thought it expedient, having the day before me, to go in quest of the enemy, rather than give them an opportunity of retiring unmolested.

A company of the 2d battalion of the 71st, together with the 1st battalion of Delancy's, were accordingly left to cover the landing-place, and the troops marched in the following order for the town of Savannah.

The light infantry, throwing off their packs, formed the advance, the New York volunteers followed to support the light infantry, the 1st battalion of the 71st with two six pounders followed the New York volunteers, and the Wellworth battalion of Hessians, with two three pounders, followed the 71st, part of Wissenbach battalion of Hessians closed the rear. On the troops having entered the great road leading to the town of Savannah, the division of Wissenbach's regiment was posted on the cross roads to secure the rear of the army; a thick impenetrable wooded swamp covered the left of the line of march; and the light infantry, with the flankers of each corps, effectually scoured the cultivated plantations on the right.

The troops reached the open country near Tatnal's plantation before three o'clock in the evening; and halted in the great road about 200 paces short of the gate leading to governor Wright's plantation, the light infantry excepted, who were ordered to form immediately upon our right of the road, along the rails leading to governor Wright's plantation.

The enemy were drawn up across the road, at the distance of 800 yards from this gateway; one half, consisting of Thompson's and Eugee's regiments of Carolina troops, were formed under colonel Eugee, with their left obliquely to the great road leading to Savannah, their right to a wooded swamp, covered by the houses of Tatnal's plantation, in which they had placed some Riflemen; the other half of their regular troops, consisting of part of the 1st, 2d, 3d, and 4th battalions of the Georgia brigade, was formed under colonel Elbert, with their right to the road, and their left to the rice swamps of governor Wright's plantation, with the fort of Savannah Bluff behind their left wing, in the stile of second flank; the town of Savannah, round which

1778. which they had the remains of an old line of intrenchments, covered their rear. One piece of cannon was planted on the right of their line, one upon the left, and two pieces occupied the traverse, across the great road, in the center of their line. About 100 paces in front of this traverse, at a critical spot between two swamps, a trench was cut across the road, and about 100 Yards in front of this trench, a marshy rivulet run almost parallel the whole extent of their front; the bridge of which was burned down, to interrupt the passage, and retard our progress.

I could discover from the movements of the enemy, that they wished and expected an attack upon their left, and I was desirous of cherishing that opinion.

Having accidentally fallen in with a negroe, who knew a private path through the wooded swamp, upon the enemy's right, I ordered the 1st battalion of the 71st to form on our right of the road, and move up to the rear of the light infantry, whilst I drew off that corps to the right, as if I meant to extend my front to that quarter, where a happy fall of ground favoured the concealment of this manœuvre, and increased the jealousy of the enemy with regard to their left. Sir James Baird had directions to convey the light infantry, in this hollow ground, quite to the rear, and penetrate the wooded swamp upon our left, with a view to get round by the new barracks into the rear of the enemy's right flank. The New York volunteers under colonel Tumbull was ordered to support him.

During the course of this movement our artillery were formed in a field on the left of the road, concealed from the enemy by a swell of Ground in front, to which I meant to run them up for action, when the signal was made to engage, and from whence I could either bear advantageously upon the right of the rebel line, as it was then formed, or cannonade any body of troops in flank which they might detach into the wood to retard the progress of the light infantry.

The regiment of Willworth was formed upon the left of the artillery, and the enemy continued to amuse themselves with their cannon, without any return upon our part, till it was visible that Sir James Baird and the light infantry had fairly got round upon their rear. On this occasion I commanded the line to move briskly forward. The well-directed artillery of the line, the rapid advance of the 71st regiment, and the forward countenance of  
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the Hessian regiment of Willworth, instantly dispersed the enemy. 1778.

A body of militia of Georgia that passed at the new barracks with some pieces of cannon to cover the road from Great Ogeeche, were at this juncture routed, with the loss of their artillery, by the light infantry under Sir James Baird, when the scattered troops of the Carolina and Georgia brigades run across the plain in his front. This officer with his usual gallantry, dashed the light infantry on their flank, and terminated the fate of the day with brilliant success.

Thirty eight officers of different distinctions, and 415 non-commissioned officers and privates, one stand of colours, 48 pieces of cannon, 23 mortars, 94 barrels of powder, the fort with all its stores agreeable to the inclosed return, and in short the capital of Georgia, the shipping in the harbour, with a large quantity of provisions, fell into our possession before it was dark, without any other loss on our side than that of captain Peter Campbell, a gallant officer of Skinner's light infantry, and two privates killed; one sergeant, and 9 privates, wounded: 83 of the enemy found dead on the common, and 11 wounded. By the accounts received from their prisoners, 30 lost their lives in the swamp, endeavouring to make their escape.

I have the pleasure to inform your lordship, although the rebels retreated through the town of Savannah, and many inhabitants were in the streets, none suffered in the pursuit but such as had arms in their hands, and were in actual resistance.

Every possible care was taken of the houses in town, and the whole was secured from being set on fire by the enemy, who, as I was informed, had it once in serious contemplation: The rebels had however removed most of their effects out of town; and except what their negroes might have practised during the course of the night, little or no depredation took place, and that even less than had ever happened to a town under circumstances of a similar nature.

Without a single horse to drag our artillery, or waggon to carry forward a sufficient quantity of provisions, your lordship might well conceive our difficulties in proceeding up the country as soon as could be wished; however by the indefatigable exertions of Major Fraser, our acting deputy quarter-master-general, the zeal and forward dispositions of the whole of the officers of the army for continuing the

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the pursuit, I was not only enabled to march to Cherokee-Hill on the evening of the 1st of January, but also to take possession of the town of Ebenezer on the 2d after securing all the intermediate posts between Savannah and it.

Twenty horses for dragoons, together with seven hundred head of cattle, were collected on the march; and on the 3d of January, the last scattered remains of general Howe's army retreated across to the two Sisters.

After establishing post at this ferry, I proceeded with the light infantry and cavalry to Mount Pleasant; and these corps have been constantly on the move, even fifty miles above the town of Savannah, without a single Rebel to oppose them.

Many respectable inhabitants joined the army on this occasion, with their rifles and horses, who are formed into a corps of rifle dragoons, for the purpose of patrolling the country between our advanced posts, and for ascertaining the earliest intelligence of the enemy's movements. A body of militia were also formed at Ebenezer, to patrol in the same manner, to the right and left of that quarter, by which means the country is effectually secured from depredations.

Having cleared this province of the rebel army, except two hundred men left in garrison at Sunbury fort, a number too insignificant to merit an early attention, and who, from a rapid movement of the British troops along the banks of the Savannah river, must have their communication with South Carolina cut off, and of course fall at discretion, commodore Parker and I think this period the best to issue a proclamation and oath to the inhabitants at large, founded on the instructions I received from his majesty's commissioners at New York; and this we did from a persuasion, that it would have the most salutary effects upon the inhabitants, after beating the united force of Carolina and Georgia out of their country.

The immediate consequences justified this persuasion; and I have now the honour to acquaint your lordship, that the inhabitants from all parts of the province flock with their arms to the standard, and cordially embrace the terms which have been offered.

To establish the public security, and check every attempt to disturb the peace of individuals, I issued another proclamation, setting forth a reward of ten guineas for every com-

committee and assembly man taken within the limits of Georgia; and two guineas for every lurking villain, who might be sent from Carolina to molest the inhabitants. A late fruitless attempt of a rebel party, sent across the Savannah to plunder the inhabitants on this side of the water, has inspired our rifle dragoons with double alacrity, and has pointed out the propriety and happy consequences resulting from their being ready to oppose every banditti of this kind.

All the rebel cattle within reach of our posts, have been ordered for slaughter, and to be salted up for the use of the the navy and army. We have also given such encouragement to the farmers to bring in their Bullocks, hogs, sheep, poultry, &c. as cannot fail of establishing a good and reasonable markets at each of our posts.

I am now preparing to march with all the light troops and a battalion of the 71st to Augusta, with a view to secure that important post.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Arch. Campbell, Lt. Col. 71st Reg.

Return of iron and brass ordnance, &c. taken at Savannah in Georgia.

94 barrels of powder. Iron ordnance 36, brass ditto 9: mortars and howitzers 23, shot 1759, shells, 249, muskets 637, small arms, 180, &c. &c.

R Wilson, Lieut. commandant of the artillery.

Total of the killed, wounded, and missing of the detachment of his majesty's forces under the command of lieutenant col Campbell, in the action of the 29th of Dec. 1778.

Two captains, 5 rank and file killed; one subaltern, 1 drummer, 17 rank and file wounded.

Names and rank of officers killed and wounded.

Capt. Cha. Cameron, 1st battalion, 71st regiment, and Capt. Campbell, 3d battalion Skinner's, killed; lieutenant French, Delancy's, wounded.

Arch. Campbell, Lieut. Col. 71st reg.

Total of prisoners of war taken in action, the 29th of Dec. 1778, by his majesty's forces under the command of lieutenant col. Archibald Campbell, of the 71st regiment.

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One colonel, 3 majors, 11 captains, 15 lieutenants, 1 chaplain, 1 quarter-master, 2 surgeons, 1 mate, a commissary, 1 muster-master, 33 sergeants, 7 drummers, 6 fifes, 370 rank and file.

Arch. Campbell, lieut. col. 71st reg.

Extract of a letter from major general Prevost to lord George Germain,

I think it my duty to acquaint your lordship that, pursuant to general Sir Henry Clinton's orders of the 20th October, received November 27th following, I collected all the troops of every kind, which could be possibly spared from the necessary number for the defence of the fort and garrison of St. Augustine.

Permit me, my lord, to mention to the praise of the troops now with me, the unexampled distress under which they have laboured for a number of weeks for want of provisions, their spirited excursions, at a very great distance, in a country extremely difficult of access, and the cheerfulness with which for many days together, under the most severe fatigues, they lived only on oysters; all resources of every kind being exhausted, notwithstanding all the industry and activity of lieutenant col. Prevost, who exerted every sinew to relieve our wants, not a word of complaint was heard in Georgia, and to promote the king's service, made every thing easy, and was patiently bore by the men, who saw that their officers had no better fare themselves; at last when the joyful news came, that the troops from the northward were arrived off the coast, these with me were soon ready to co-operate with them. Our artillery and ammunition coming by water in open boats, the only possible conveyance, as we were unassisted by any naval force, retarded us some time, as we were obliged to take a long circuit to avoid the enemies galleys; however the activity of lieutenant colonel Prevost, who had made a forced march in the night, and surrounded the town of Sunbury to prevent the enemy from escaping in case they designed to abandon the fort, afforded us some means of bringing a howitzer and some royals with which we soon obliged them to surrender the garrison and fort at discretion. The prisoners, including the officers, amounting to 212; they had a captain and two men killed and six wounded: on the side of his majesty's troops only one man was killed and three wound-

wounded, notwithstanding they had two galleys and an armed vessel firing on our trenches for three days, besides 21 pieces of cannon mounted in the fort. After settling a garrison in it, and ordering the necessary repairs, I proceeded to Savannah, to take the command of the army that came from the northward, hitherto commanded by lieutenant col. Campbell, to whom I beg leave to refer your lordship for the particulars of his success against the enemy, and the steps he has since taken to secure the country along Savannah river.

I have the honour to be, &c.

A. PREVOST.

Total of the garrison in Fort Morris; comanded by major Lane, the 9th of Jan. 1779.

One major, 4 captains, 9 lieutenants, 1 adjutant, 1 mate; 14 serjeants, 1 drummer, 172 rank and file.

Return of brass and iron ordnance stores, in fort Morris (now fort George) at Sunbury in Georgia, the 13th of Jan. 1779.

Brass ordnance 25, iron ditto 20, shot 925, muskets 236, shells and grenades 80.

J. Fairlamb, cap. lieut. to the royal artillery.

A letter from capt. Hyde Parker, of his majesty's ship Phoenix, to Mr. Stephens, dated in Savannah river.

SIR,

I am to request you will be pleased to acquaint their lordships, that pursuant to the orders from rear admiral Gambier, commander in chief in North America, I sailed from New-York the 27th of November, with the transports under convoy, and after a series of bad weather, arrived off Tybee the 23d of December; a strong southerly current having set the fleet to the southward, prevented my getting in until the 24th. The Vigilant and some transports not being able to get into the river before the 27th, prevented any operation from going on, excepting a company of light infantry, under the command of Sir James Baird, and conducted by lieut. Clark of the Phenix, sent to Willmington island, in order to secure some of the inhabitants, to gain intelligence of the state of the enemy; in this they succeed-

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1778. ed by bringing off two men, who informed us, that the rebels had two row galleys in the mouth of Augustine Creek; that the batteries, which had been erected for the defence of the river, were much out of repair, and very few troops in the town, but that a number was expected to arrive every day, in consequence of this information, it was determined by col. Campbell and myself, that no time was to be lost; therefore the moment the Vigilant was ready, which was the 28th, she was ordered to proceed up the river with the Greenwich armed sloop and Keppel armed brig, the transports following in the rear; the Comet galley at the same time went up the south channel. This disposition had the desired effect, by cutting off the enemy's row galleys from getting back into the inland navigation leading to Sunbury, and obliged them to retreat up the Savannah river, which they did, after firing some ill-directed shot at the armed vessels as they advanced.

Finding the battery upon Slater's island totally deserted, the Vigilant and armed vessels were ordered to proceed to Bruton's plantation, the place determined upon to make the landing; but the shallowness of the river did not admit of the Vigilant nearer than a random shot; the other vessels were arranged along the banks of the river, opposite to the landing, just at dark. The water having ebbed considerably, many of the transports grounded upon the flats about four or five miles below the armed vessels, and the others were obliged to anchor from the night coming on: This difficulty was in a great measure obviated by the alertness and activity of capt. Stanhope, charged with the command of the flat boats, &c. The first division of troops were embarked in the boats, and rendezvoused at the vigilant; but from the enemy's fires, they appeared to have taken post; it was therefore determined to defer the landing until day light, which was effected at the break of day, with the loss of one captain and three or four of the 71st killed and eight or ten wounded.

As soon as the remainder of the army and artillery could be landed, which was completed by two o'clock in the afternoon, colonel Campbell began to move forwards to the town of Savannah. The enemy appeared in force, but, by a judicious movement of the light infantry, every obstacle was removed, and in a great measure the retreat of the enemy cut off: A number were killed and about 400 made prisoners with the most of their artillery. As soon

as I could discover the troops had made an impression, I moved up with the small armed vessels to the town, and advanced to the comet galley above the town; but night and tide of the ebb coming on prevented her from proceeding high enough to oblige the rebels to desist from setting fire to the Hinchinbrook brig, which they had attempted to get up the river, but run aground about three miles above the town, as also a sloop which was taken next morning.

1778.

On the 30th of December, having received intelligence that the two rebel row galleys were above five miles above the town, with some other armed vessels, it was determined to surprize them by the troops on the banks of the river, and the boats supported by the armed vessels upon the river, but either from the intelligence being false, or that the enemy had moved during the night, we found by information of the negroes, that they were five miles farther up, however the boats took possession of a Spanish ship of sixteen guns, that was aground and deserted.

After the scattered remains of the rebel army had been forced to cross the Savannah river into south Carolina, it was judged by col. Campbell and myself the proper moment of holding out protections to such of the inhabitants of Georgia as retained allegiance to his majesty's person and government, by the proclamation and oath, and I have great satisfaction in acquainting their lordships, the effects have perfectly justified our most sanguine wishes, by a very large majority of the inhabitants of the province of Georgia having already subscribed to the oath.

Total of the killed and wounded on board his majesty's ships and vessels in the Savannah river, viz.

1 Seaman killed, 5 seamen wounded.

Total of prisoners taken by the squadron, 126.

Total of ships and vessels, seized as prizes by his majesty's ships and vessels under my command, viz.

Ships 3, brigs, 3, schooners 2 sloops 5, Polacre 1.



N. B. The 8 rank and file of the Hessian regiment of Trumbach, returned missing, were taken prisoners in Staten Island, the 15th of October.

In the attack of the 16th of November, when the Rebel lines and redoubts near Fort Washington were stormed, and that Fort surrendered, &c. with other casualties since the 29th of October, and preceding the 16th of November.

#### BRITISH.

17th regiment of dragoons; 1 rank and file, wounded.

2d battalion of light infantry; 1 serjeant, 3 rank and file, killed; 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 7 rank and file, missing.

4th regiment; 1 rank and file, missing.  
10th ditto; 1 captain, 3 rank and file, killed; 5 rank and file, wounded.

15th ditto; 1 rank and file killed; 1 rank and file, wounded.

23d ditto; 1 serjeant, wounded.

27th ditto; 3 rank and file, missing.

28th ditto; 1 rank and file, wounded.

28th ditto; 6 rank and file, wounded.

Hurn's regiment; lieutenant Justy, killed; ensign Wend, wounded.

*Return of prisoners taken during the campaign, 1776.*

August 27, Long-Island.  
Commissioned officers; 3 generals, 3 colonels, 4 lieutenant colonels, 3 majors, 18 captains, 43 lieutenants, 11 ensigns.

Staff; 1 adjutant, 3 sergeants, 2 volunteers.  
Privates 1006;—including 9 wounded officers, and 56 wounded privates.

September 15, 16, Island of New-York.  
Commission officers; 1 colonel, 2 lieutenant colonels, 3 majors, 4 captains, 7 lieutenants.  
Privates, 354.

October 12, White-Plains.  
Commissioned officers; 1 captain, 2 lieutenants.  
Staff; 1 quarter-master.

Privates, 35.

November 16, Fort-Washington.  
Commissioned officers, 4 colonels, 4 lieutenant-colonels, 5 majors, 46 captains, 107 lieutenants, 31 ensigns.

Staff; 1 chaplain, 2 adjutants, 2 quarter-

The first part of the history of the  
 world is the history of the  
 creation of the world, and the  
 history of the first ages of  
 the world. The second part  
 is the history of the  
 world from the beginning of  
 the Christian era to the  
 present time. The third part  
 is the history of the  
 world from the present time  
 to the end of the world.



15 rank  
 42d ditto; 1 serjeant, 8 rank and file, killed; 3 subalterns, 4 serjeants, 66 rank and file, wounded.  
 52d ditto; 1 rank and file, missing; 1 subaltern, 1 serjeant, wounded.  
 71st ditto; 1 rank and file, wounded; 1 serjeant, missing.  
 New-York company; 1 rank and file, missing.  
 Royal Artillery; 1 rank and file, killed; 1 rank and file, wounded.  
 Total; 1 captain, 2 serjeants, 17 rank and file, killed; 4 subalterns, 8 serjeants, 1 drummer, 89 rank and file, wounded; 1 serjeant, 5 rank and file, missing.

*Names of officers killed and wounded.*

10th regiment; captain M'Intosh, killed.  
 42d ditto; lieutenant Alexander Grant, lieutenant Patrick Graham, lieutenant Norman M'Leod, wounded.  
 52d ditto; lieutenant Collier, wounded.

neer, 1 waggon-master,  
 Privates, 2607.

November 20, Fort-Lee.  
 Commissioned officers; 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign.

Staff; 1 quarter-master, 3 surgeons,  
 Privates, 99.

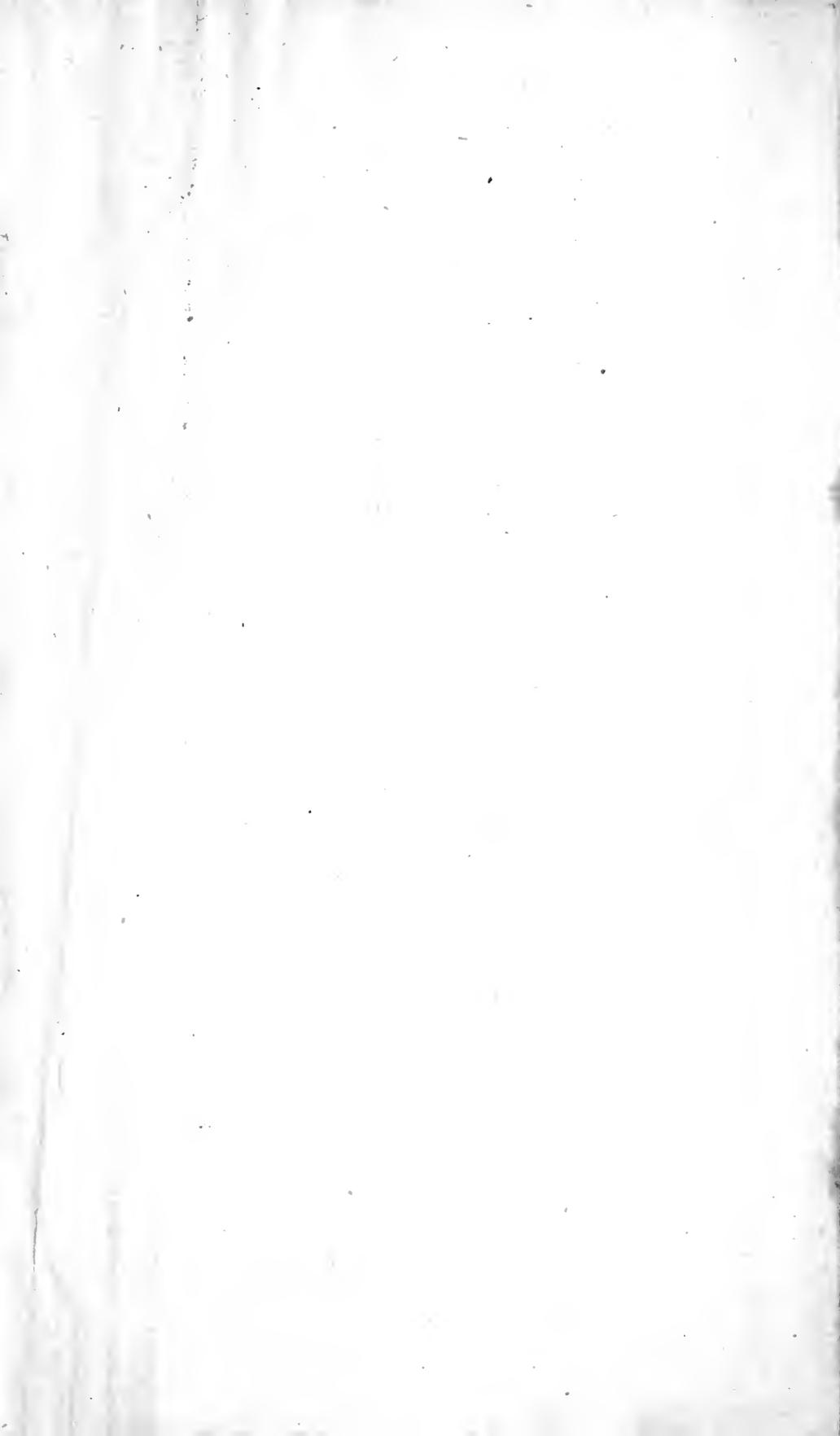
T O T A L.

Commissioned officers; 3 generals, 8 colonels, 10 lieutenant-colonels, 11 majors, 69 captains, 160 lieutenants, 43 ensigns.

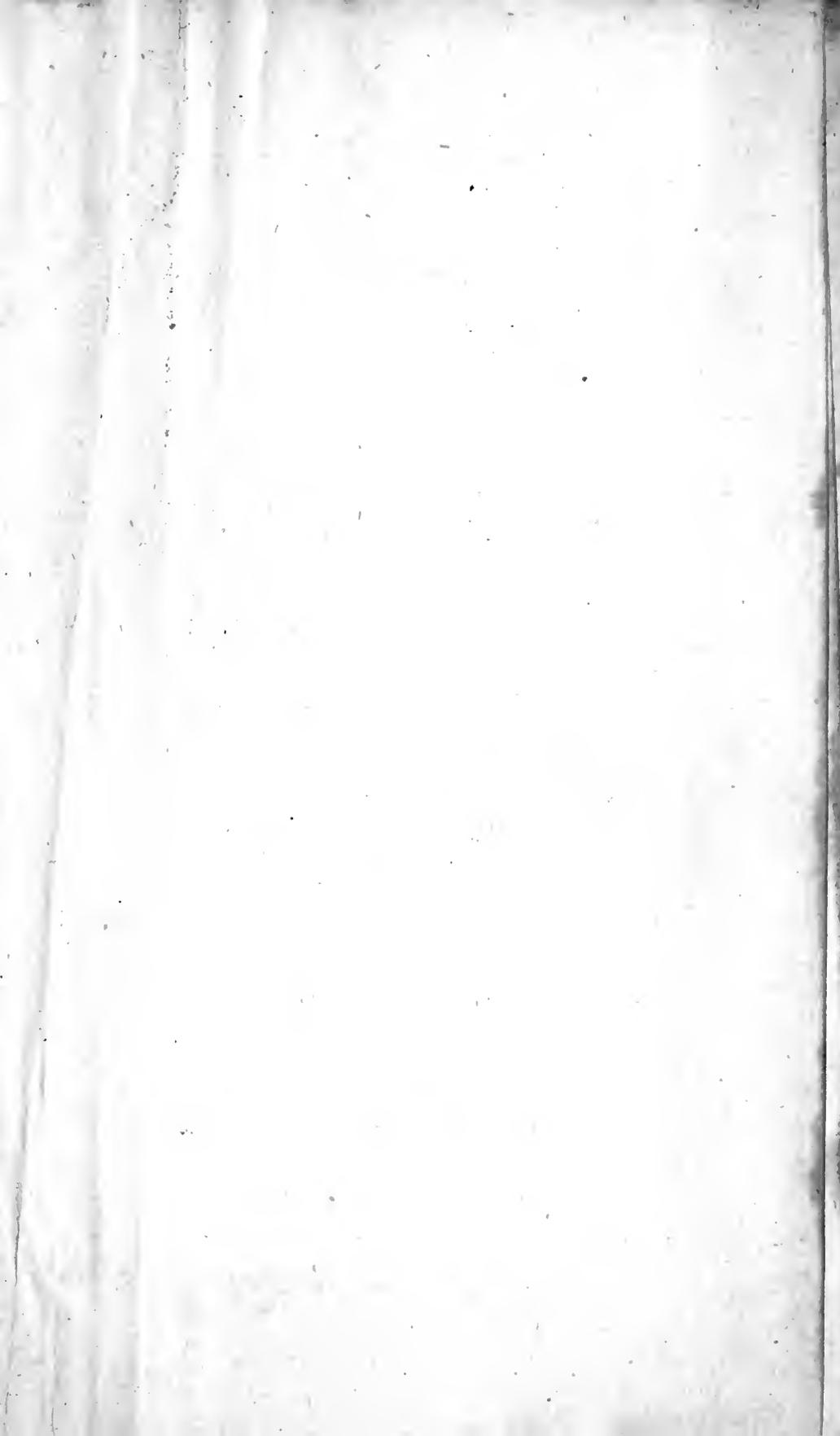
Staff; 1 chaplain, 3 adjutants, 4 quarter-masters, 11 surgeons, 2 commissaries, 1 engineer, 1 waggon-master, 2 volunteers.  
 Privates, 4101.

|                            |   |   |        |
|----------------------------|---|---|--------|
| Officers                   | — | — | 304    |
| Staff                      | — | — | 25     |
| Privates                   | — | — | 4101   |
| (Signed) <i>J. Lovins,</i> | } |   | Total. |
| Co. of prisoners           | } |   | 4430   |

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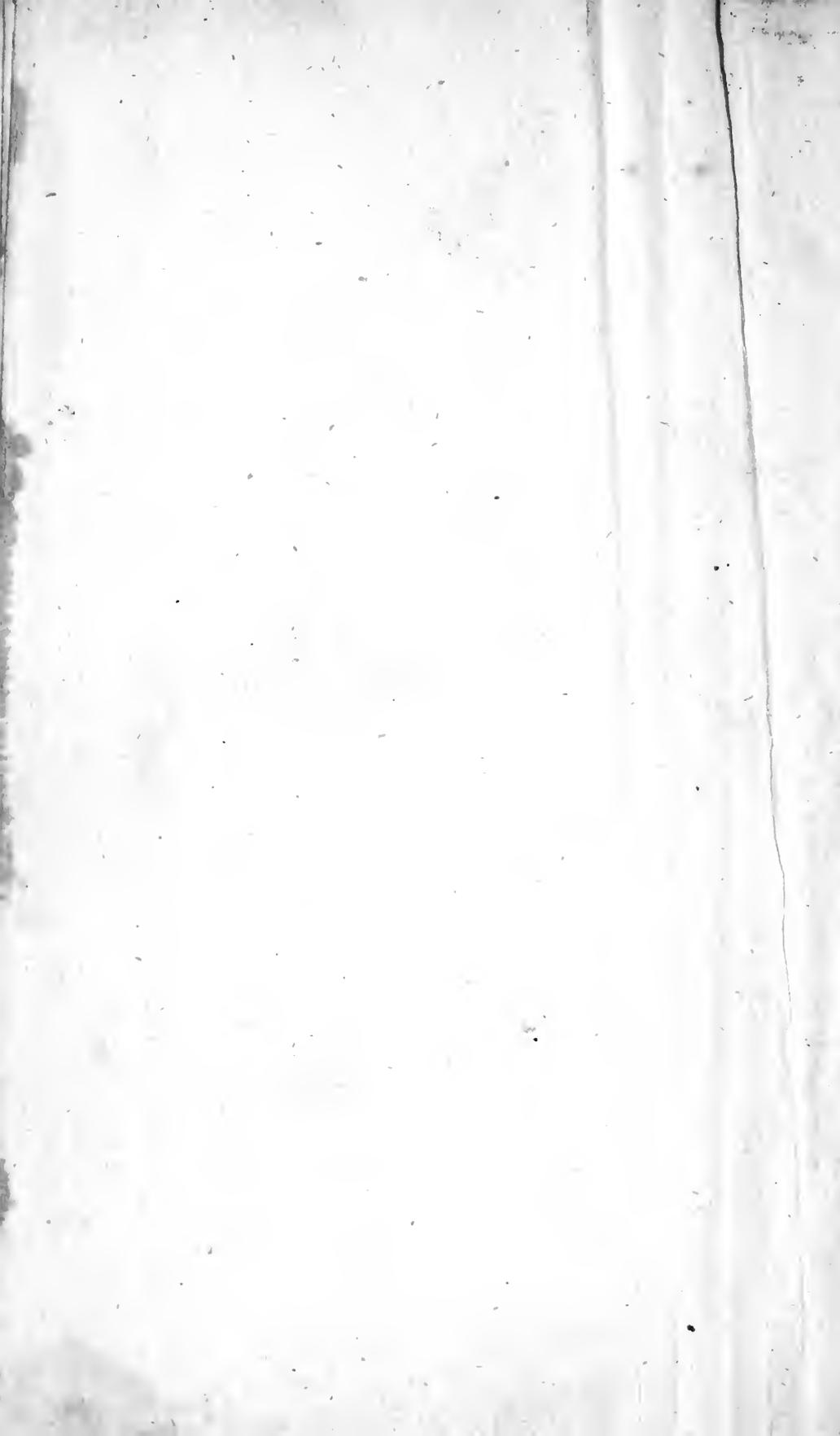












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