



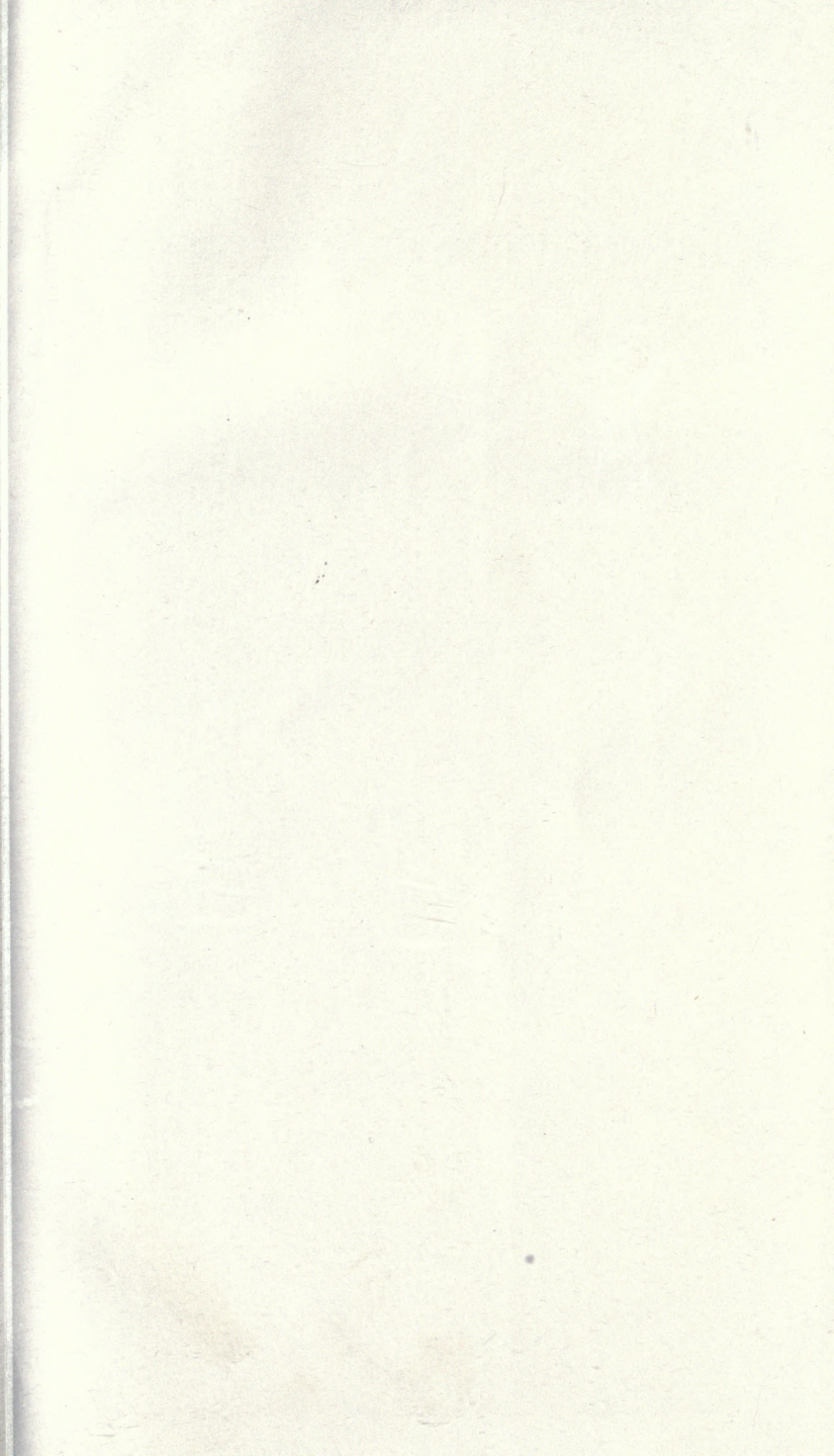
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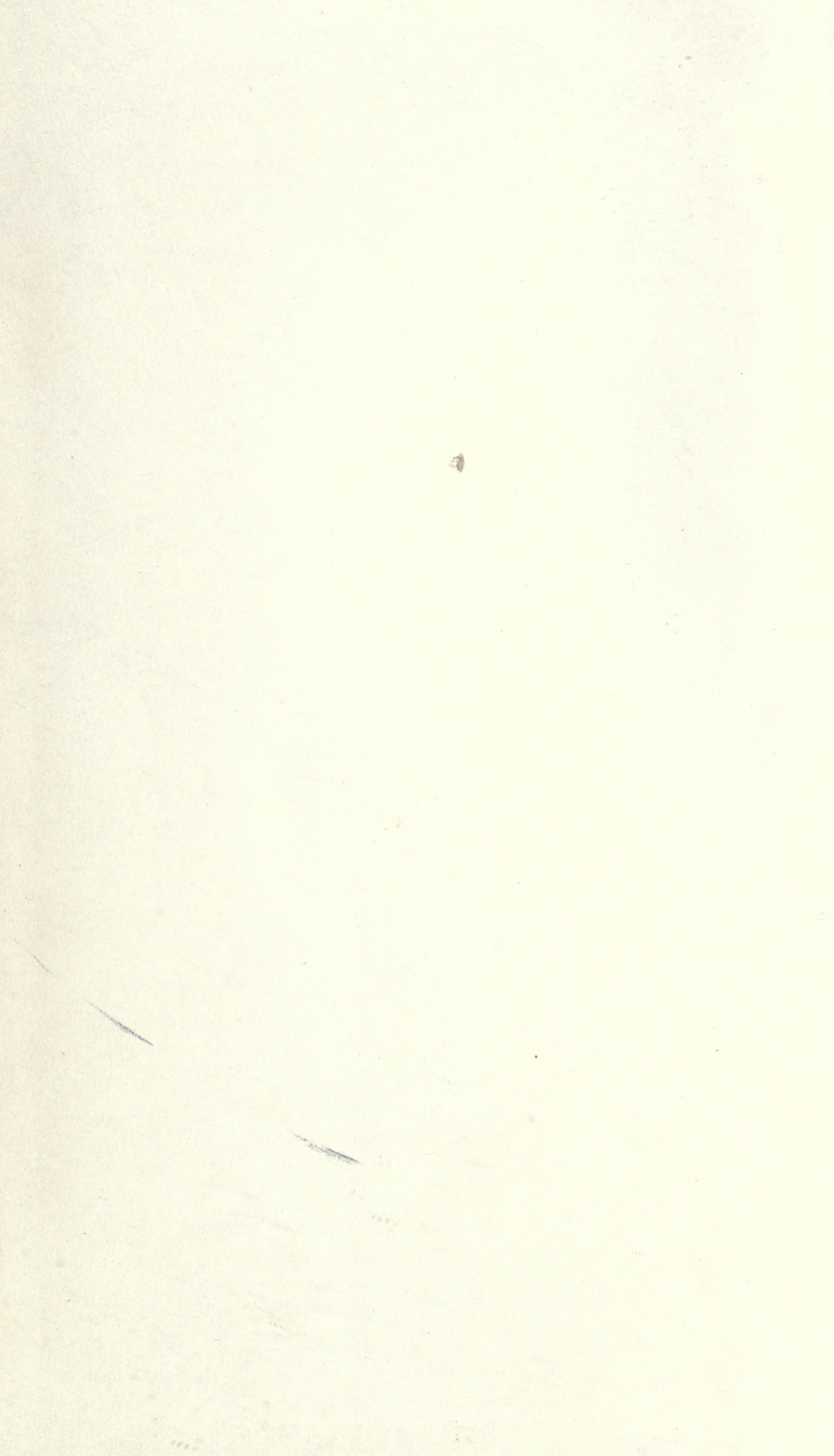














# HISTORY

OF THE

# WAR OF THE INDEPENDENCE

OF

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

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BY CHARLES BOTTA.

[Botta, Carlo Giuseppe Guglielmo]

VOL. I. + 2 together

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TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN,

BY GEORGE ALEXANDER OTIS. ESQ.

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SECOND EDITION, IN TWO VOLUMES, REVISED AND CORRECTED.

—◆—  
BOSTON :

PUBLISHED BY HARRISON GRAY.

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William L. Lewis, Printer.

1826.

DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, *to wit* :

*District Clerk's Office.*

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the sixth day of March, A. D. 1826, in the fiftieth year of the Independence of the United States of America, GEORGE ALEXANDER OTIS, Esq. of the said district, has deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit:

'History of the War of the Independence of the United States of America. By Charles Botta. Vol. I. Translated from the Italian, by George Alexander Otis, Esq. Second edition, in two volumes, revised and corrected.'

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, 'An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned,' and also to an act entitled, 'An act supplementary to an act entitled, an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned,' and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.

JNO. W. DAVIS,

*Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.*



## NOTICE OF THE AUTHOR.

There will be found, in the course of this history, several discourses of a certain length. Those I have put in the mouth of the different speakers have really been pronounced by them, and upon those very occasions which are treated of in the work. I should, however, mention that I have sometimes made a single orator say what has been said in substance by others of the same party. Sometimes, also, but rarely, using the liberty granted in all times to historians, I have ventured to add a small number of phrases, which appeared to me to coincide perfectly with the sense of the orator, and proper to enforce his opinion; this has happened especially in the two discourses pronounced before Congress, for and against independence, by Richard Henry Lee, and John Dickinson.

It will not escape attentive readers, that in some of these discourses are found predictions which time has accomplished. I affirm that these remarkable passages belong entirely to the authors cited. In order that these might not resemble those of the poets, always made after the fact, I have been so scrupulous as to translate them, word for word, from the original language.

## TRANSLATOR'S NOTICE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

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The translator of this history, in laying before his fellow-citizens a second edition of it, would offer them his sincere acknowledgments for their favorable reception of the first; a reception the more gratifying, as, notwithstanding his own high value of the work, it surpassed his most sanguine expectations. It evidently appeared that Botta, like all his great predecessors in the march of immortality, was greeted with the most enthusiasm and admiration by those who were, doubtless, the most conscious of being his fellow-travellers on the road to posterity. How warmly was he welcomed by the surviving patriots who had distinguished themselves the most eminently in the great scenes he describes! The venerable John Adams, on receiving the second volume of the translation, expressed himself in the words following; 'I unite with many other gentlemen in the opinion that the work has great merit, has raised a monument to your name, and performed a valuable service to your country. If it should not have a rapid sale at first, it will be, in the language of booksellers, good stock, and will be in demand as long as the American Revolution is an object of curiosity. It is indeed the most classical and methodical, the most particular and circumstantial, the most entertaining and interesting narration of the American War, that I have seen.' In like manner, the hand that penned the Declaration of American Independence, on receiving the first volume of the translation, having already for some years been possessed of the original, addressed the translator the words of encouragement which are here set down. 'I am glad to



find that the excellent history of Botta is at length translated. The merit of this work has been too long unknown with us. He has had the faculty of sifting the truth of facts from our own histories with great judgment, of suppressing details which do not make a part of the general history, and of enlivening the whole with the constant glow of his holy enthusiasm for the liberty and independence of nations. Neutral, as an historian should be, in the relation of facts, he is never neutral in his feelings, nor in the warm expression of them, on the triumphs and reverses of the conflicting parties, and of his honest sympathies with that engaged in the better cause. Another merit is in the accuracy of his narrative of those portions of the same war which passed in other quarters of the globe, and especially on the ocean. We must thank him, too, for having brought within the compass of three volumes every thing we wish to know of that war, and in a style so engaging, that we cannot lay the book down. He had been so kind as to send me a copy of his work, of which I shall manifest my acknowledgment by sending him your volumes, as they come out. My original being lent out, I have no means of collating it with the translation; but see no cause to doubt correctness.' On receipt of the second volume of the translation, Mr. Jefferson renews his eulogies of the history, in the expressions which follow; 'I join Mr. Adams, heartily, in good wishes for the success of your labors, and hope they will bring you both profit and fame. You have certainly rendered a good service to your country; and when the superiority of the work over every other on the same subject shall be more known, I think it will be the common manual of our Revolutionary History.' Mr. Madison is no less decisive in his approbation of the undertaking. He writes the translator on receiving his first volume;

‘The literary reputation of this author, with the philosophic spirit and classic taste allowed to this historical work, justly recommended the task in which you are engaged, of placing a translation of it before American readers; to whom the subject must always be deeply interesting, and who cannot but feel a curiosity to see the picture of it as presented to Europe by so able a hand. The author seems to have the merit of adding to his other qualifications much industry and care in his researches into the best sources of information, and it may readily be supposed that he did not fail to make the most of his access to those in France, not yet generally laid open?’ &c. Thus cotemporary witnesses, and the most prominent actors in some of the principal events recorded in these volumes, have authorised and sanctioned the unexpected indulgence with which they were received by the American people. Grateful for such high approbation, and content with having been the first to present his countrymen, at his own peril, with however imperfect a copy of so inimitable an original, the translator will always be happy to congratulate them on the appearance of a better.



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# HISTORY

OF

## THE AMERICAN WAR.



### BOOK FIRST.

AMERICA, and especially some parts of it, having been discovered by the genius and intrepidity of Italians, received, at various times, as into a place of asylum, the men whom political or religious disturbances had driven from their own countries in Europe. The security which these distant and desert regions presented to their minds, appeared to them preferable even to the endearments of country and of their natal air.

Here they exerted themselves with admirable industry and fortitude, according to the custom of those whom the fervor of opinion agitates and stimulates, in subduing the wild beasts, dispersing or destroying pernicious or importunate animals, repressing or subjecting the barbarous and savage nations that inhabited this New World, draining the marshes, controlling the course of rivers, clearing the forests, furrowing a virgin soil, and committing to its bosom new and unaccustomed seeds; and thus prepared themselves a climate less rude and hostile to human nature, more secure and more commodious habitations, more salubrious food, and a part of the conveniences and enjoyments proper to civilised life.

This multitude of emigrants, departing principally from England, in the time of the last Stuarts, landed in that part of North America which extends from the thirty-second to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; and there founded the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island, which took the general name of New England. To these colonies were afterwards joined those of Virginia, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, Maryland, the two Carolinas, and Georgia. Nor must it be understood, that in departing from the land in which they were born, to seek in foreign regions a better condition of life, they abandoned their country on terms of enmity, dissolving every tie of early attachment.



Far from this, besides the customs, the habits, the usages and manners of their common country, they took with them privileges, granted by the royal authority, whereby their laws were constituted upon the model of those of England, and more or less conformed to a free government, or to a more absolute system, according to the character or authority of the prince from whom they emanated. They were also modified by the influence which the people, by means of their organ, the parliament, were found to possess. For, it then being the epoch of those civil and religious dissensions which caused English blood to flow in torrents, the changes were extreme and rapid. Each province, each colony, had an elective assembly, which, under certain limitations, was invested with the authority of parliament; and a governor, who, representing the king to the eyes of the colonists, exercised also a certain portion of his power. To this was added the trial, which is called by jury, not only in criminal matters, but also in civil causes; an institution highly important, and corresponding entirely with the judicial system of England.

But, in point of religion, the colonists enjoyed even greater latitude than in their parent country itself: they had not preserved that ecclesiastical hierarchy, against which they had combated so strenuously, and which they did not cease to abhor, as the primary cause of the long and perilous expatriation to which they had been constrained to resort.

It can, therefore, excite no surprise, if this generation of men not only had their minds imbued with the principles that form the basis of the English constitution, but even if they aspired to a mode of government less rigid, and a liberty more entire; in a word, if they were inflamed with the fervor which is naturally kindled in the hearts of men by obstacles which oppose their religious and political opinions, and still increased by the privations and persecutions they have suffered on their account. And how should this ardor, this excitement of exasperated minds, have been appeased in the vast solitudes of America, where the amusements of Europe were unknown, where assiduity in manual toils must have hardened their bodies, and increased the asperity of their characters? If in England they had shown themselves averse to the prerogative of the crown, how, as to this, should their opinions have been changed in America, where scarcely a vestige was seen of the royal authority and splendor? where the same occupation being common to all, that of cultivating the earth, must have created in all the opinion and the love of a general equality? They had encountered exile, at the epoch when the war raged most fiercely in their native country, between the king and the people; at the epoch when the armed subjects contended for the right of resisting the will of the prince, when he usurps their liberty; and even, if the public good require it, of transferring the crown from one head to another. The colonists had supported these



principles ; and how should they have renounced them ? They who, out of the reach of royal authority, and, though still in the infancy of a scarcely yet organised society, enjoyed already, in their new country, a peaceful and happy life ? The laws observed, justice administered, the magistrates respected, offences rare or unknown ; persons, property and honor, protected from all violation ?

They believed it the unalienable right of every English subject, whether freeman or freeholder, not to give his property without his own consent ; that the house of commons only, as the representative of the English people, had the right to grant its money to the crown ; that taxes are free gifts of the people to those who govern ; and that princes are bound to exercise their authority, and employ the public treasure, for the sole benefit and use of the community. ‘ These privileges,’ said the colonists, ‘ we have brought with us ; distance, or change of climate, cannot have deprived us of English prerogatives ; we departed from the kingdom with the consent and under the guarantee of the sovereign authority ; the right not to contribute with our money without our own consent, has been solemnly recognised by the government in the charters it has granted to many of the colonies. It is for this purpose that assemblies or courts have been established in each colony, and that they have been invested with authority to investigate and superintend the employment of the public money.’ And how, in fact, should the colonists have relinquished such a right ; they who derived their subsistence from the American soil, not given or granted by others, but acquired and possessed by themselves ; which they had first occupied, and which their toils had rendered productive ? Every thing, on the contrary, in English America, tended to favor and develop civil liberty ; every thing appeared to lead towards national independence.

The Americans, for the most part, were not only Protestants, but Protestants against Protestantism itself, and sided with those who in England are called Dissenters ; for, besides, as Protestants, not acknowledging any authority in the affair of religion, whose decision, without other examination, is a rule of faith, claiming to be of themselves, by the light of natural reason alone, sufficient judges of religious dogmas, they had rejected the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and abolished even the names of its dignities ; they had, in short, divested themselves of all that deference which man, by his nature, has for the opinions of those who are constituted in eminent stations ; and whose dignities, wealth and magnificence, seem to command respect. The intellects of the Americans being therefore perfectly free upon this topic, they exercised the same liberty of thought upon other subjects unconnected with religion, and especially upon the affairs of government, which had been the habitual theme of their conversation, during their residence in the mother country. The colonies, more than any other country, abounded in lawyers, who, accustomed to

the most subtle and the most captious arguments, are commonly, in a country governed by an absolute prince, the most zealous advocates of his power, and in a free country the most ardent defenders of liberty. Thus had arisen, among the Americans, an almost universal familiarity with those sophistical discussions which appertain to the professions of theology and of law, the effect of which is often to generate obstinacy and presumption in the human mind; accordingly, however long their disquisitions upon political and civil liberty, they never seemed to think they had sifted these matters sufficiently. The study of polite literature and the liberal arts having already made a remarkable progress in America, these discussions were adorned with the graces of a florid elocution; the charms of eloquence fascinated and flattered on the one hand the defenders of bold opinions, as on the other, they imparted to their discourses greater attraction, and imprinted them more indelibly on the minds of their auditors.

The republican maxims became a common doctrine: and the memory of the Puritans, and of those who in the sanguinary contentions of England had supported the party of the people and perished for its cause, was immortalised. These were their apostles, these their martyrs: their names, their virtues, their achievements, their unhappy, but to the eyes of the colonists so honorable, death, formed the continual subject of the conversations of children with the authors of their days.

If, before the revolution, the portrait of the king was usually seen in every house, it was not rare to observe near it the images of those who, in the time of Charles I. sacrificed their lives in defence of what they termed English liberties. It is impossible to express with what exultation they had received the news of the victories of the republicans in England; with what grief they heard of the restoration of the monarchy, in the person of Charles II. Thus their inclinations and principles were equally contrary to the government, and to the church, which prevailed in Great Britain. Though naturally reserved and circumspect, yet expressions frequently escaped them which manifested a violent hatred for the political and religious establishments of the mother country. Whoever courted popular favor, gratified both himself and his hearers, by inveighing against them; the public hatred, on the contrary, was the portion of the feeble party of the hierarchists, and such as favored England. All things, particularly in New England, conspired to cherish the germs of these propensities and opinions. The colonists had few books; but the greater part of those, which were in the hands of all, only treated of political affairs, or transmitted the history of the persecutions sustained by the Puritans, their ancestors. They found in these narratives, that, tormented in their ancient country on account of their political and religious opinions, their ancestors had taken the intrepid resolution of abandoning it, of traversing an immense ocean,



of flying to the most distant, the most inhospitable regions, in order to preserve the liberty of professing openly these cherished principles; and that, to accomplish so generous a design, they had sacrificed all the accommodations and delights of the happy country where they had received birth and education. And what toils, what fatigues, what perils, had they not encountered, upon these unknown and savage shores? All had opposed them; their bodies had not been accustomed to the extremes of cold in winter, and of heat in summer, both intolerable in the climate of America; the land chiefly covered with forests, and little of it habitable, the soil reluctant, the air pestilential; an untimely death had carried off most of the first founders of the colony: those who had resisted the climate, and survived the famine, to secure their infant establishment, had been forced to combat the natives, a ferocious race, and become still more ferocious at seeing a foreign people, even whose existence they had never heard of, come to appropriate the country of which they had so long been the sole occupants and masters. The colonists, by their fortitude, and courage, had gradually surmounted all these obstacles; which result, if on the one hand it secured them greater tranquillity, and improved their condition, on the other it gave them a better opinion of themselves, and inspired them with an elevation of sentiments, not often paralleled.

As the prosperous or adverse events which men have shared together, and the recollections which attend them, have a singular tendency to unite their minds, their affections and their sympathies; the Americans were united not only by the ties which reciprocally attach individuals of the same nation, from the identity of language, of laws, of climate, and of customs, but also by those which result from a common participation in all the vicissitudes to which a people is liable. They offered to the world an image of those congregations of men, subject not only to the general laws of the society of which they are members, but also to particular statutes and regulations, to which they have voluntarily subscribed, and which usually produce, besides an uniformity of opinions, a common zeal and enthusiasm.

It should not be omitted, that even the composition of society in the English colonies, rendered the inhabitants averse to every species of superiority, and inclined them to liberty. Here was but one class of men; the mediocrity of their condition tempted not the rich and the powerful of Europe, to visit their shores; opulence, and hereditary honors, were unknown amongst them; whence no vestige remained of feudal servitude. From these causes resulted a general opinion that all men are by nature equal; and the inhabitants of America would have found it difficult to persuade themselves that they owed their lands and their civil rights to the munificence of princes. Few among them had heard mention of Magna Charta; and those who were not ignorant of the history of that important



period of the English revolution, in which this compact was confirmed, considered it rather a solemn recognition, by the king of England, of the rights of the people, than any concession. As they referred to heaven the protection which had conducted them through so many perils, to a land, where at length they had found that repose which in their ancient country they had sought in vain; and as they owed to its beneficence the harvests of their exuberant fields, the only and the genuine source of their riches; so not from the concessions of the king of Great Britain, but from the bounty and infinite clemency of the King of the universe, did they derive every right; these opinions, in the minds of a religious and thoughtful people, were likely to have deep and tenacious roots.

From the vast extent of the provinces occupied, and the abundance of vacant lands, every colonist was, or easily might have become, at the same time, a proprietor, farmer, and laborer.

Finding all his enjoyments in rural life, he saw spring up, grow, prosper, and arrive at maturity, under his own eyes, and often by the labor of his own hands, all things necessary to the life of man; he felt himself free from all subjection, from all dependence; and individual liberty is a powerful incentive to civil independence. Each might hunt, fowl and fish, at his pleasure, without fear of possible injury to others; poachers were consequently unknown in America. Their parks and reservoirs were boundless forests, vast and numerous lakes, immense rivers, and a sea unrestricted, inexhaustable in fish of every species. As they lived dispersed in the country, mutual affection was increased between the members of the same family, and finding happiness in the domestic circle, they had no temptation to seek diversion in the resorts of idleness, where men too often contract the vices which terminate in dependence and habits of servility.

The greater part of the colonists, being proprietors and cultivators of land, lived continually upon their farms; merchants, artificers, and mechanics, composed scarcely a fifth part of the total population. Cultivators of the earth depend only on Providence and their own industry, while the artisan, on the contrary, to render himself agreeable to the consumers, is obliged to pay a certain deference to their caprices. It resulted, from the great superiority of the first class, that the colonies abounded in men of independent minds, who, knowing no insurmountable obstacles but those presented by the very nature of things, could not fail to resent with animation, and oppose with indignant energy, every curb which human authority might attempt to impose.

The inhabitants of the colonies were exempt, and almost out of danger, from ministerial seductions, the seat of government being at such a distance, that far from having proved, they had never even heard of, its *secret baits*.

It was not therefore customary among them to corrupt, and be corrupted: the offices were few, and so little lucrative, that they were far from supplying the means of corruption to those who were invested with them.

The love of the sovereign, and their ancient country, which the first colonists might have retained in their new establishment, gradually diminished in the hearts of their descendants, as successive generations removed them further from their original stock; and when the revolution commenced, of which we purpose to write the history, the inhabitants of the English colonies were, in general, but the third, fourth, and even the fifth generation from the original colonists, who had left England to establish themselves in the new regions of America. At such a distance, the affections of consanguinity became feeble, or extinct; and the remembrance of their ancestors lived more in their memories, than in their hearts.

Commerce, which has power to unite and conciliate a sort of friendship between the inhabitants of the most distant countries, was not, in the early periods of the colonies, so active as to produce these effects between the inhabitants of England and America. The greater part of the colonists had heard nothing of Great Britain, excepting that it was a distant kingdom, from which their ancestors had been barbarously expelled, or hunted away, as they had been forced to take refuge in the deserts and forests of wild America, inhabited only by savage men, and prowling beasts, or venomous and horrible serpents.

The distance of government diminishes its force; either because, in the absence of the splendor and magnificence of the throne, men yield obedience only to its power, unsupported by the influence of illusion and respect; or, because the agents of authority in distant countries, exercising a larger discretion in the execution of the laws, inspire the people governed with greater hope of being able to escape their restraints.

What idea must we then form of the force which the British government could exercise in the new world, when it is considered, that the two countries being separated by an ocean three thousand miles in breadth, entire months sometimes transpired, between the date of an order, and its execution?

Let it be added, also, that except in cases of war, standing armies, this powerful engine of coercion, were very feeble in England, and much more feeble still in America; their existence even was contrary to law.

It follows, of necessity, that, as the means of constraint became almost illusory in the hands of the government, there must have arisen, and gradually increased, in the minds of the Americans, the hope, and with it the desire, to shake off the yoke of English superiority.



All these considerations apply, especially, to the condition of the eastern provinces of English America. As to the provinces of the south, the land being there more fertile, and the colonists consequently enjoying greater affluence, they could pretend to a more ample liberty, and discover less deference for opinions which differed from their own. Nor should it be imagined, that the happy fate they enjoyed, had enervated their minds, or impaired their courage. Living continually on their plantations, far from the luxury and seductions of cities, frugal and moderate in all their desires, it is certain, on the contrary, that the great abundance of things necessary to life rendered their bodies more vigorous, and their minds more impatient of all subjection.

In these provinces also, the slavery of the blacks, which was in use, seemed, however strange the assertion may appear, to have increased the love of liberty among the white population. Having continually before their eyes, the living picture of the miserable condition of man reduced to slavery, they could better appreciate the liberty they enjoyed. This liberty they considered not merely as a right, but as a franchise and privilege. As it is usual for men, when their own interests and passions are concerned, to judge partially and inconsiderately, the colonists supported impatiently the superiority of the British government. They considered its pretensions as tending to reduce them to a state little different from that of their own slaves; thus detesting, for themselves, what they found convenient to exercise upon others.

The inhabitants of the colonies, especially those of New England, enjoyed not only the shadow, but the substance itself, of the English constitution; for in this respect, little was wanting to their entire independence. They elected their own magistrates; they paid them; and decided all affairs relative to internal administration. The sole evidence of their dependence on the mother country, consisted in this: that they could not enact laws or statutes, contrary to the letter or spirit of the English laws; that the king had the prerogative to annul the deliberations of their assemblies; and that they were subject to such regulations and restrictions of commerce, as the parliament should judge necessary and conducive to the general good of the British empire. This dependence, however, was rather nominal than actual, for the king very rarely refused his sanction; and as to commercial restrictions, they knew how to elude them dexterously, by a contraband traffic.

The provincial assemblies were perfectly free, and more perhaps than the parliament of England itself; the ministers not being there, to diffuse corruption daily. The democratic ardor was under no restraint, or little less than none; for the governors who intervened, in the name of the king, had too little credit to control it, as they received their salaries, not from the crown, but from the province



itself; and in some, they were elected by the suffrages of the inhabitants. The religious zeal, or rather enthusiasm, which prevailed among the colonists, and chiefly among the inhabitants of New England, maintained the purity of their manners. Frugality, temperance, and chastity, were virtues peculiar to this people. There were no examples, among them, of wives devoted to luxury, husbands to debauch, and children to the haunts of pleasure. The ministers of a severe religion were respected and revered; for they gave themselves the example of the virtues they preached. Their time was divided between rural occupations, domestic parties, prayers, and thanksgivings, addressed to that God by whose bounty the seasons were made propitious, and the earth to smile on their labors with beauty and abundance, and who showered upon them so many blessings and so many treasures. If we add, further, that the inhabitants of New England, having surmounted the first obstacles, found themselves in a productive and healthful country, it will cease to astonish, that, in the course of a century, the population of the American colonies should have so increased, that from a few destitute families, thrown by misfortune upon this distant shore, should have sprung a great and powerful nation.

Another consideration presents itself here. The fathers of families, in America, were totally exempt from that anxiety, which in Europe torments them incessantly, concerning the subsistence and future establishment of their offspring. In the new world, the increase of families, however restricted their means, was not deemed a misfortune: on the contrary, it was not only for the father, but for all about him, that the birth of a son was a joyful event. In this immensity of uncultivated lands, the infant, when arrived at the age of labor, was assured of finding a resource for himself, and even the means of aiding his parents; thus, the more numerous were the children, the greater competence and ease were secured to the household.

It is therefore evident, that in America, the climate, the soil, the civil and religious institutions, even the interest of families, all concurred to people it with robust and virtuous fathers, with swarms of vigorous and spirited sons.

Industry, a spirit of enterprise, and an extreme love of gain, are characteristic qualities of those who are separated from other men, and can expect no support but from themselves; and the colonists being descended from a nation distinguished for its boldness and activity in the prosecution of traffic, it is easily conceived that the increase of commerce was in proportion to that of population. Positive facts confirm this assertion. In 1704, the sum total of the commercial exports of Great Britain, inclusive of the merchandise destined for her colonies, had been six millions five hundred and nine thousand pounds sterling; but from this year to 1772, these colonies had so increased in population and prosperity, that at this epoch

they of themselves imported from England to the value of six millions twenty-two thousand one hundred and thirty-two pounds sterling; that is to say, that in the year 1772, the colonies alone furnished the mother country with a market for a quantity of merchandise almost equal to that which, sixty-eight years before, sufficed for her commerce with all parts of the world.

Such was the state of the English colonies in America, such the opinions and dispositions of those who inhabited them, about the middle of the eighteenth century. Powerful in numbers and in force, abounding in riches of every kind, already far advanced in the career of useful arts and of liberal studies, engaged in commerce with all parts of the globe, it was impossible that they should have remained ignorant of what they were capable, and that the progressive development of national pride should not have rendered the British yoke more intolerable.

But this tendency towards a new order of things did not as yet menace a general combustion; and, without particular irritation, would still have kept within the bounds which had already so long sufficed to restrain it. During a century, the British government had prudently avoided to exasperate the minds of the colonists: with parental solicitude, it had protected and encouraged them, when in a state of infancy; regulating, afterwards, by judicious laws, their commerce with the mother country and with foreign nations, it had conducted them to their present prosperous and flourishing condition. In effect, in times immediately following the foundation of the colonies, England, as a tender mother, who defends her own children, had lent them the succour of her troops and her ships, against the attacks of the savage tribes, and against the encroachments of other powers; she granted immunities and privileges to Europeans who were disposed to establish themselves in these new countries; she supplied her colonists, at the most moderate prices, with cloths, stuffs, linens, and all necessary instruments as well for their defence against enemies as for the exercise of useful professions in time of peace, and especially such as were required for clearing the lands, and the labors of agriculture. The English merchants also assisted them with their rich capitals, in order to enable them to engage in enterprises of great importance, such as the construction of ships, the draining of marshes, the diking of rivers, the cutting of forests, the establishing of new plantations, and other similar works.

In exchange for so many advantages, and rather as a necessary consequence of the act of navigation, than as a fiscal restriction, and peculiar to commerce, England only required the colonists to furnish her with the things she wanted, on condition of receiving in return those in which she abounded, and of which they had need. The Americans were therefore obliged to carry to the English all the commodities and productions which their lands abundantly supplied,



and, besides, the fleeces of their flocks for the use of her manufacturers. It was also prohibited the colonists to purchase the manufactures of any other part of the world except England, and to buy the productions of lands appertaining to any European people whatever, unless these productions had been first introduced into the English ports. Such had been the constant scope and object of a great number of acts of parliament, from 1660 down to 1764; in effect, establishing a real commercial monopoly, at the expense of the colonies, and in favor of England: at which, however, the colonists discovered no resentment; either because they received in compensation a real protection on the part of the government, and numerous advantages on that of individuals, or because they considered the weight of this dependence as an equivalent for the taxes and assessments to which the inhabitants of Great Britain were subjected, by laws emanating from parliament.

In all this space of time, parliamentary taxes formed no part of the colonial system of government. In truth, in all the laws relative to the colonies, the expressions sanctioned by usage in the preambles of financial statutes, to designate taxes or duties to be raised for the use of government, were studiously avoided, and those only of free gifts, of grants, and aids lent to the crown, were employed. The parliament, it is true, had frequently imposed export duties upon many articles of commerce in the colonies; but these were considered rather as restrictions of commerce, than as branches of public revenue. Thus, until the year 1764, the affair of taxation by authority of parliament, slept in silence. England contented herself with the exercise of her supremacy, in regulating the general interests of her colonies, and causing them to concur with those of all the British empire. The Americans submitted to this system, if not without some repugnance, at least with filial obedience.

It appears evident that, though they were not subjected to parliamentary taxes, they were not useless subjects to the state, since they contributed essentially, on the contrary, to the prosperity of the mother country.

It cannot be asserted, however, that ill humors were not agitated, at intervals, between the people of the two countries, by attempts on the one part to maintain and even extend the superiority, and on the other to advance towards independence. A year after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, (1749,) a grant was made, near the river Ohio, of six hundred thousand acres of excellent land, to some merchants, whose association was called the Ohio Company. The governor of Canada, at that time a province of France, having had intelligence of this establishment, was apprehensive the English had the intention of interrupting the commerce of the Canadians with the Indians, called *Tuigtuis*, and of intercepting the direct communication between Canada and Louisiana. He therefore wrote to the governors of New

York and of Pennsylvania, to express his surprise that the English merchants had violated the French territory, in order to trade with the Indians: he threatened that he would cause them to be seized, wherever he could find them. This traffic, however, not having been discontinued, detachments of French and Indians made prisoners of the English traders, at the commencement of the year 1751.

The Indians friendly to England, indignant at the outrage their confederates had sustained, assembled, and, scouring the forests, fell upon the French traders, whom they transported to Philadelphia. Not content with this vengeance, the inhabitants of Virginia despatched to M. de Saint Pierre, commanding, for the king of France, a fort, situated upon the Ohio, major Washington, the same who commanded afterwards the American armies, with orders to demand an explanation of these acts of hostility, and summon him to draw off his troops. Saint Pierre answered, that he could not comply with the demands of the English; that the country appertained to the king of France, his master; that the English had no right to traffic upon those rivers; that, consequently, in execution of the orders he had received, he should cause to be seized and conducted to Canada, every Englishman who should attempt to trade upon the river Ohio, and its dependencies.

This proceeding of the French greatly incensed the ministers of Great Britain; they could not endure to see their friends and confederates oppressed. Their resolution was soon taken; they despatched instructions to America, that resistance should be made, by force of arms, to the usurpations of the French. This order arrived seasonably in Virginia; hostilities immediately followed, and blood flowed on both sides.

The Board, which in England superintends especially the interests of commerce and the plantations, perceiving that the colonists, divided among themselves, could not resist, without delay and disadvantage, the enterprises of an audacious and determined people, supported by a great number of Indians, recommended to the different provinces to choose deputies, to convene for the purpose of forming a general confederation, and a formal alliance with the Indians, in the name and under the protection of his Britannic majesty. It was agreed that the assembly of the governors and chief men of each colony should be convened at Albany, situated upon the Hudson river. This convention, after having conciliated the affection of the Indians of the Six Tribes, by suitable presents, proceeded to deliberate upon the most expedient means of defending themselves and their effects from the attacks of the enemy.

They came to the resolution, that it was of urgent importance to unite all the colonies, by a general league. The conditions of it were concluded on the 4th of July, 1754. They purposed, in substance, that a petition should be presented to parliament, to obtain



an act for the establishment of a general government in America ; that, under this government, each colony should preserve its internal constitution, with the exception of the changes introduced by the same act ; that the general government should be administered by a president-general, appointed and paid by the crown, and by a grand council, elected by the representatives of the people of the colonies ; that the president-general should be invested with the right of negative over the acts of the grand council, and authorised to put them in execution ; that with the advice of the grand council, he should have authority to conclude, and carry into effect, any treaties with the Indians, in which all the colonies should have a common interest, as also to make peace with them, or to declare war against the same ; and to take the measures he might judge suitable for regulating the traffic with these tribes ; that he should have power to purchase of the Indians, and for account of the crown, lands, situated without the territories of the particular colonies ; that he should have authority to establish new colonies upon the acquired lands, and to make laws for the regulation and government of these colonies ; that he should have power to levy and pay troops, to construct fortresses, and to equip a fleet for the defence of the coasts, and the protection of commerce ; and also, in order to accomplish these purposes, that he should have power to impose such duties, taxes, or excises, as he might deem most convenient ; that he should appoint a treasurer-general, and a particular treasurer for the provinces in which it might be thought necessary ; that the president-general should have the right to appoint all officers of the service, by land or sea ; and that the appointment of all civil officers should appertain to the grand council ; and finally, that the laws passed by these two authorities could not be contrary, but should even be conformable to the English laws, and transmitted to the king for approbation.

Such was the model of future government, proposed by the colonies, and sent to England for determination. The Americans attached great hopes to the success of their plan ; already every appearance announced an open rupture with France, and the colonists affirmed, that if the confederation was approved, they should be quite able to defend themselves against the French arms, without any other succour on the part of England.

It is not difficult to perceive how much an order of things, thus constituted, would have impaired the authority of the British government, and approached the colonies towards independence. By this establishment, they would have obtained a local power, which would have exercised all the rights appertaining to sovereignty, however dependent it might appear to be on the mother country. But this project was far from being agreeable to the English ministry, who saw with a jealous eye, that the confederation proposed, furnished a plausible pretext for a concert of intrigues in America, all tending to

the prejudice of British sovereignty : and, therefore, notwithstanding the imminent peril of a foreign war against a powerful enemy, the articles of the confederation were not approved.

But the ministers of England were not disposed to let this occasion escape them, of increasing, if it was possible, the authority of the government in America, and especially that of imposing taxes ; a thing most of all desired on the one side of the ocean, and detested on the other. Instead, therefore, of the plan proposed by the Americans, the ministers drew up another, which they addressed to the governors of the colonies, to be offered by them to the colonial assemblies. It was proposed by the ministers ; ‘ That the governors of all the colonies, assisted by one or two members of the councils, should assemble, to concert measures, for the organisation of a general system of defence, to construct fortresses, to levy troops, with authority to draw upon the British treasury for all sums that might be requisite ; the treasure to be reimbursed by way of a tax, which should be laid upon the colonies, by an act of parliament.’

The drift of this ministerial expedient is not difficult to be understood, if it be considered that the governors, and members of the council, were almost all appointed by the king. Accordingly, the scheme had no success in America ; its motives were ably developed, in a letter of Benjamin Franklin to governor Shirley, who had sent him the plan of the ministers. In this letter, the seeds of the discord which followed soon after, begin to make their appearance.\*

The general court of Massachusetts wrote to their agent in London, to oppose every measure which should have for its object the establishment of taxes in America, under any pretext of utility whatever. On the contrary, the governors, and particularly Shirley, insisted continually, in their letters to the ministers, that the thing was just, possible, and expedient.

These suspicions, this jealous inquietude, which agitated the minds of the Americans, ever apprehensive of a parliamentary tax, obtained with the more facility, as they found them already imbittered by ancient resentments. They had never been able to accustom themselves to certain laws of parliament, which, though not tending to impose contributions, yet greatly restricted the internal commerce of the colonies, impeded their manufactures, or wounded, in a thousand shapes, the self-love of the Americans, by treating them as if they were not men of the same nature with the English, or as if, by clipping the wings of American genius, it was intended to retain them in a state of inferiority and degradation. Such was the act prohibiting the felling of pitch and white pine trees, not comprehended within enclosures ; such was that which interdicted the exportation from the colonies, and also the introduction from one colony

\* See Note I.



into another, of hats, and woollens, of domestic manufacture, and forbade hatters to have at one time, more than two apprentices; also that passed to facilitate the collection of debts in the colonies, by which houses, lands, slaves, and other real effects, were made liable for the payment of debts; and finally, that which was passed in 1733, at the instance of the sugar colonies, which prohibited the importation of sugar, rum, and molasses, from the French and Dutch colonies in North America, without paying an exorbitant duty. To these should be added another act of parliament, passed in 1750, according to which, after the 24th of June of the same year, certain works in iron could not be executed in the American colonies; by a clause of the same act, the manufacture of steel was forbidden. Nor should we omit another, which regulated and restricted the bills of credit issued by the government of New England, and by which it was declared, that they should not have legal currency in the payment of debts, that English creditors might not be injured by the necessity of receiving a depreciated paper, instead of money. This regulation, though just, the Americans received with displeasure, as tending to discredit their currency. Hence originated the first discontents on the part of the colonists, and the first sentiments of distrust on the part of the English.

At the same time, it was pretended, in England, that if the colonists, on account of the commercial restrictions, so beneficial to the mother country, had merely demanded to be treated with tenderness and equity in the imposition of taxes, nothing would have been more just and reasonable; but that it could not be at all endured, that they should refuse the European country every species of ulterior succour; that England, in reserving to herself the commerce of her colonies, had acted according to the practice of all modern nations; that she had imitated the example of the Spaniards and of the Portuguese, and that she had done so with a moderation unknown to the governments of these nations. In founding these distant colonies, it was said, England had caused them to participate in all the rights and privileges that are enjoyed by English subjects themselves in their own country; leaving the colonists at liberty to govern themselves, according to such local laws as the wisdom and prudence of their assemblies had deemed expedient; in a word, she had granted the colonies the most ample authority to pursue their respective interests, only reserving to herself the benefit of their commerce, and a political connexion under the same sovereign. The French and Dutch colonies, and particularly those of Spain and Portugal, were far from being treated with the same indulgence; and also, notwithstanding these restrictions, the subject of so much complaint, the English colonies had immense capitals in their commerce, or in their funds; for besides the rich cargoes of the products of their lands, exported in British ships which came to trade in their ports, the

Americans had their own ships, which served to transport with an incredible profit, their productions and merchandise, not only to the mother country, but also, thanks to her maternal indulgence, to almost all parts of the world, and to carry home the commodities and luxuries of Europe, at will. And thus, in the English colonies, the enormous prices at which European merchandise is sold in the Spanish and Portuguese establishments, were not only unusual, but absolutely unheard of; it was even remarkable that many of these articles were sold in the American colonies at the same, or even at a lower price than in England itself. The restrictions imposed by Great Britain upon the American commerce, tended rather to a just and prudent distribution of this traffic, between all the parts of its vast dominions, than to a real prohibition; if English subjects were allowed to trade in all parts of the world, the same permission was granted to American subjects, with the exception of the north of Europe, and the East Indies. In Portugal, in Spain, in Italy, in all the Mediterranean, upon the coasts of Africa, in all the American hemisphere, the ships of the English colonies might freely carry on commerce. The English laws, for the protection of this commerce, were wise and well conceived, since they were calculated to increase the exportation of their own produce from the American ports, and to facilitate, for the colonists, the means of clearing their forests and cultivating their soil, by the certain vent of an immense quantity of timber, with which their country is covered. They could not, it was admitted, procure themselves certain articles, except in the ports of England; but it was just to consider, that the American lands, from their nature and vast extent, must offer sufficient occupation both for the minds and the hands of the inhabitants, without its being necessary that they should ramble abroad in search of gain, like the inhabitants of other countries, already cultivated to perfection.

Besides, if England reserved to herself an exclusive commerce, in certain kinds of merchandise, how did this concern, or how injure, the Americans? These objects appertaining for the most part to the refined luxury of social life, in what country could they procure them in greater perfection, or at a more moderate price, than in England? The affection and liberality of the British government towards its colonies, had gone so far, as not only to abstain from imposing duties upon English manufactures destined for their ports, but even had induced it to exempt foreign merchandise from all duties, when exported by England to America; thus causing it to become so common in some colonies, as to be sold at a lower price than in certain countries of Europe.

It should not be forgotten, that the most entire liberty was granted for the exchange of productions between North America and the islands of the West Indies, a trade from which the English colonists derived immense advantages. And in fact, notwithstanding the re-



restrictions laid upon the commerce of the Americans, did there not remain amply sufficient to render them a rich, happy, and enterprising people? Was not their prosperity known, and even envied, by the whole world? Assuredly, if there was any part of the globe where man enjoyed a sweet and pleasant life, it was especially in English America. Was not this an irrefragable proof, a striking example, of the maternal indulgence of England towards her colonies? Let the Americans compare their condition with that of foreign colonists, and they would soon confess, not without gratitude towards the mother country, both their real felicity, and the futility of their complaints.

But all these and other considerations that were alleged by England, had not the effect to satisfy the Americans, and many discontents remained. The French, animated by the spirit of rivalry, which has so long existed between their nation and the British, neglected no means of inflaming the wounds which the Americans had received, or thought they had received, from their fellow citizens in England. The flourishing state of the English colonies, was a spectacle which the French had long been unable to observe with indifference. They had at first the design of establishing others for themselves, in some part of this immense continent, hoping to reap from them the same benefits which the English derived from theirs; and to be able, at length, to give another direction to the commerce of America, and of Europe. They intended, by good laws, or by the employment of their arms, to repair the disadvantages of soil and of climate, observable in the countries which had fallen to their share. But the French government being more inclined for arms than for commerce, and the nation itself having a natural bias much stronger in favor of the one than towards the other of these professions, their resolutions were soon taken accordingly. And as their character, also, disposes them to form vast designs, and renders them impatient to enjoy without delay, they began immediately to fortify themselves, and to enlarge their limits. Bastions, redoubts, arsenals, and magazines, were established at every point, and in a short time a line of French posts was seen to extend from one extremity of the continent to the other; but military power can neither supply population nor commerce, nor develop the advantages of either. These fortresses, these arms, these garrisons, occupied desert or steril regions. An immense solitude, impenetrable forests, surrounded them on all sides.

The conduct of the English was very different; they advanced only step by step, restricting themselves to the cultivation of what they possessed, and not seeking to extend themselves, until urged by the exigencies of an increased population. Their progress was therefore slow, but sure; they occupied no new lands, until those they had occupied at first were carried to the highest degree of cul-

tivation, and inhabited by a sufficient number of individuals. A method so different, could not fail to produce effects totally contrary; and in effect, a century after the foundation of the English and French colonies, the former presented the image of fertility and abundance, while the latter exhibited but a steril and scarcely inhabited region.

Meanwhile the French reflecting that either from the rigor of the climate, or the sterility of the soil, or from defect of industry, or of suitable laws, they could not hope to direct towards their establishment the commerce of the English colonies, or at least to share its benefits; convinced, on the other hand, that these colonies were an inexhaustible source of riches and power for a rival nation, they resolved to resort to arms, and to obtain by force what they had failed to acquire by their industry. They hoped that the discontent of the Americans would manifest itself, and produce favorable events; or at least, that they would be less prompt to engage in the contest. They well knew that in the American arms, men, munitions, and treasure, must consist all the nerve and substance of the war.

Proceeding with their accustomed impatience, without waiting till their preparations were completed, they provoked the enemy, sometimes complaining that he had occupied lands appertaining to them, sometimes themselves invading or disturbing his possessions. This the British government deeply resented; and war between the two nations broke out, in the year 1755. But the effects little corresponded with such confident hopes; the councils of England being directed by William Pitt, afterwards earl of Chatham, a man, for the power of his genius, and the purity of his manners, rather single, than rare; the affairs of Great Britain succeeded so prosperously, and her arms acquired so decided a superiority, by land and sea, that her enemies, wearied, worsted, and having lost all hopes of victory, accepted the conditions of the peace of Paris, which was concluded in 1763. It guaranteed to the English the possession of the vast continent of North America, from the banks of the Mississippi to the shores of Greenland; but the most important point for them, was the cession made them, by France, of Canada.

England also gained, by this treaty, many valuable islands in the West Indies; and so greatly was her power extended in the east, and so solid were the foundations on which it reposed, that her commerce and her arms soon reigned there almost without a competitor.

The Americans, on their part, displayed so much zeal in sustaining, with their arms and resources, the efforts of the common country, that, besides the glory they acquired, they were deemed worthy to participate in the advantages which resulted to England from so many successes.



The French renouncing the hope of reaping any advantage from the chances of war, resorted to the means of address; emissaries traversed the American continent, saying to all that would hear them, 'To what end have the Americans lavished their blood, encountered so many dangers, and expended so much treasure, in the late war, if the English supremacy must continue to press upon them with so much harshness and arrogance? In recompense of such fidelity, of so much constancy, the English government, perhaps, has moderated its prohibitions, has enfranchised commerce from trammels so prejudicial to the interests of America? Perhaps the odious and so much lamented laws against manufactures, have been repealed? Perhaps the Americans no longer need toil upon their lands, or traverse the immensity of the seas, exclusively to fill the purses of English merchants? Perhaps the government of England had shown a disposition to abandon for ever the project of parliamentary taxes? Is it not, on the contrary, too evident, that, with its forces and power, have increased its thirst of gold, and the tyranny of its caprices? Was not this admitted by Pitt himself, when he declared, the war being terminated, he should be at no loss to find the means of drawing a public revenue from America, and of putting an end, once for all, to American resistance? Has not England, at present being mistress of Canada, a province recently French, and, as such, more patient of the yoke, has she not the means of imposing it on her colonists themselves, by the hand of her numerous soldiery? Is it not time that the Americans, no longer in a state of infancy, should, at length, consider themselves a nation, strong and formidable of itself? Is it only for the utility of England they have demonstrated, in the late war, what they were capable of achieving? And by what right should a distant island pretend to govern, by its caprices, an immense and populous continent? How long must the partialities and the avarice of England be tolerated? Did ever men, arms, riches, courage, climate, invite to a more glorious enterprise? Let the Americans, then, seize the occasion, with a mind worthy of themselves, now they have proved their arms, now that an enormous public debt overwhelms England, now that her name has become detestable to all! America can place her confidence in foreign succours. What could be objected to a resolution so generous? Consanguinity? But have not the English hitherto treated the colonists more as vassals, than as brothers? Gratitude? But have not the English strangled it, under the pretensions of that mercantile and avaricious spirit which animates them?'

The general state of Europe was eminently favorable to the secret designs of France. It is certain, that at this epoch, all the powers concurred in considering the enormous increase of the strength of the British nation, both upon land and sea, as imminently menacing to the repose and liberty of Europe; excessive pros-

perity but too rarely permitting men to know where to limit their enterprises. Supported with one hand upon her colonies of America, and with the other upon her possessions of the East Indies, England seemed to press the two extremities of the globe, and to aspire at the entire dominion of the ocean. From the day in which was concluded the peace of 1763, England was viewed with the same jealousy which France had inspired under Lewis XIV. She was the object of the same umbrage, of the same distrusts. All desired to see her power reduced; and the more she had shown herself formidable in the preceding war, the more ardently was it wished to take advantage of the present peace, to humble and reduce her. These wishes were much the most fervent with the maritime states, and especially in Holland, to whom England, in these late times, had caused immense losses. The English squadrons had often interrupted, and sometimes by the most outrageous proceedings, the commerce, in the munitions of war, which the Dutch carried on with France; and, on many occasions, the officers of the British navy made use of this pretext to detain ships, laden with articles that could not really be considered as munitions of war.

The kingdoms of the north reluctantly supported the prepotence of England, and openly complained that she had presumed to harass the commerce of neutrals, in time of war. It was evident they were prepared to seize the first occasion to give her a check. But France, more than any other power, being of a martial spirit, was inflamed with a desire to avenge her defeats, to repair her losses, and reconquer her glory, eclipsed by recent discomfiture; she was incessantly occupied with calculations which might lead to this object of all her wishes; and no means more efficacious could be offered her for attaining it, than to lacerate the bosom of her adversary, by separating from England the American colonies, so important a part of her power and resources.

Excited by so many suggestions, the inhabitants of English America conceived an aversion, still more intense, for the avaricious proceedings of the British government. Already, those who were the most zealous for liberty, or the most ambitious, had formed in the secret of their hearts, the resolution to shake off the yoke of England, whenever a favorable occasion should present. This design was encouraged by the recent cession of Canada: while that province continued a dependency of France, the vicinity of a restless and powerful nation kept the colonists in continual alarm; they were often constrained to solicit the succours of England, as those from which alone they could expect protection against the incursions of the enemy. But the French having abandoned Canada, the Americans necessarily became more their own protectors; they placed greater reliance upon their own strength, and had less need of recurring to others, for their particular security. It should be consi-



dered, besides, that in the late war a great number of the colonists had renounced the arts of peace, and assuming the sword instead of the spade, had learned the exercise of arms, inured their bodies to military fatigues, and their minds to the dangers of battle: they had, in a word, lost all the habits of agriculture and of commerce, and acquired those of the military profession. The being that has the consciousness of his force, becomes doubly strong, and the yoke he feels in a condition to break, is borne with reluctance: thus, the skill recently acquired in the use of arms, become general among the Americans, rendered obedience infinitely more intolerable to them. They considered it a shameful and outrageous thing, that a minister, residing at a distance of three thousand miles from their country, could oppress, by his agents, those who had combated with so much valor, and obtained frequent victories over the troops of a powerful, brave, and warlike nation. They often reflected, that this prosperity, in which England exulted, and which was the object of envy to so many nations, was in great part the work of their hands. They alleged that they had repaid with the fruit of their toils, and even with their blood, the fostering cares with which the mother country had protected and sustained them, in the infancy of their establishment: that now there was a greater parity between the two nations, and therefore they had claims to be treated on terms of greater equality. Thus the Americans habitually discoursed, and perhaps the less timid among them aspired to loftier things. The greater number, however, satisfied with the ancient terms of connexion with England, were reluctant to dissolve it, provided she would abandon all idea of ulterior usurpations. Even the most intrepid in the defence of their privileges, could not endure the thought of renouncing every species of dependence on their legitimate sovereign. This project they condemned the more decidedly, as they perceived that in its execution they must not only encounter all the forces of England, by so many victories become formidable to the universe, but also must resort to the assistance of a nation, in language, manners and customs, so different from themselves: of a nation they had so long been accustomed to hate, and to combat under the banners of their mother country.

Notwithstanding the suggestions of the French, and the new impulse which their military essays had given to the minds of the Americans, this state of things might have continued still for a long time, if, after the conclusion of the peace of 1763, England had not conceived the extravagant idea of new taxes, of new prohibitions, of new outrages. The English commerce, about the close of the war with France, having arrived at the highest point of prosperity, it would be difficult to estimate the immense number of vessels which brought the productions of all parts of the globe into the ports of Great Britain, and received, in exchange, the produce, and espe-

cially the manufactures, of the country, esteemed above all others in foreign markets; and, as these various commodities were subject, when introduced or exported, to duties, more or less considerable, this commerce had become a source of riches for the public treasury. But, it soon appeared that, to the great prejudice of this revenue, the increase of smuggling was in proportion to that of commerce. Government, desirous of arresting so pernicious a scourge, made a regulation, in 1764, by which it was enjoined the commanders of vessels stationed upon the coasts of England, and even those of ships that were destined for America, to perform the functions of revenue officers, and conform themselves to the rules established for the protection of the customs; a strange and pernicious measure, by which those brave officers, who had combated the enemy with so much glory, found themselves degraded into so many tide-waiters and bailiffs of the revenue. The most deplorable effects soon resulted from it; the naval commanders, little conversant with the regulations of the custom-house, seized and confiscated promiscuously the cargoes prohibited, and those that were not.

This confusion was the occasion of manifold abuses, which, if they were soon repaired in England, could not be remedied without extreme difficulty in America, from the distance of places, and the formalities required. Hence loud complaints were heard from all the colonies against the law. It produced, however, consequences still more pernicious. A commerce had been established, for a great length of time, between the English and Spanish colonies, extremely lucrative to both the parties, and, ultimately also to England. On the part of the British colonies, the principal objects of this traffic were the manufactures of England, which the Americans had acquired in exchange for their productions, and on the part of the Spanish, gold and silver, in specie or ingots, cochineal, medicinal drugs; besides live stock, especially mules, which the Americans transported to the islands of the West Indies, where they were demanded at great prices. This commerce procured for the Americans an abundance of these metals, and enabled them to make ample purchases of English merchandise; and furnished their own country, at the same time, with a sufficient quantity of gold and silver coin.

This traffic, if it was not prohibited by the commercial laws of England, was not expressly authorised. Accordingly, the new revenue officers believed it was their duty to interrupt its course, as if it had been contraband; and captured, without distinction, all vessels, whether English or foreign, laden with merchandise of this nature. Hence, in a short time, this commerce was destroyed, to the great prejudice, not only of the colonies upon the continent, but even of the English islands themselves, and particularly of Jamaica.



From the same cause proceeded the ruin of another very important commerce, which was exercised between the English colonies of America on the one part, and the islands appertaining to France on the other; and which had been productive of the greatest reciprocal utility. Its material consisted principally of such productions and commodities as were superfluous to the one, and totally wanting to the other. It is, therefore, not surprising, that the colonists, at the news of losses so disastrous, should have resolved not to purchase, in future, any English stuffs, with which they had been accustomed to clothe themselves; and, as far as possible, to use none but domestic manufactures. They determined, besides, to give every encouragement to those manufactories which wrought the materials abundantly produced by their lands and animals. But in Boston, particularly, a rich and populous city, where the luxury of British merchandise had been extensively introduced, it is difficult to express how extremely the public mind was exasperated, or with what promptitude all the inhabitants renounced superfluities, and adhered to the resolution of returning to the simplicity of early times: a remarkable example of which was soon observed in the celebration of funerals, which began to take place without habiliments of mourning, and without English gloves. This new economy became so general at Boston, that, in the year 1764, the consumption of British merchandise was diminished upwards of ten thousand pounds sterling. Other towns followed this example; and, in a short time, all the colonists concurred in abstaining from the use of all objects of luxury, produced by the manufactories, or by the soil, of England. Besides this, and even of necessity, from the scarcity of money, the merchants of the colonies, finding themselves debtors for large sums to the English, and having no reason to expect new advances, without new payments, which they were not in a situation to make, resorted also to the plan of non-consumption; they renounced all purchase and all expense, to the incredible prejudice of the manufacturers in England.

But the English government did not stop here: as if not satisfied with having excited the discontent of the colonists, it desired also to urge them to desperation. In the month of March, 1764, the parliament passed a regulation, by which, if on the one hand a traffic was permitted between the American colonies and the French islands of the West Indies, and others appertaining to other European powers; on the other, such enormous duties were imposed on the merchandise imported from the latter, as to create, as usual, an almost universal contraband, in every article, with immense disadvantage to the commerce itself, and equal prejudice to mercantile habits and probity. To crown so great an evil, it was ordered, by the same bill, that the sums proceeding from these duties should be paid, in specie, into the treasury of England. The execution of

this ordinance must have completely drained the colonies of the little money they had remaining, to be transported to Europe.

The secret exasperation redoubled, at the first intelligence of measures so extraordinary. They remarked, that they were even contradictory; that it was requiring a thing, and, at the same time time, withholding the means to perform it; since the government deprived them of all faculty of procuring specie, and yet would have them furnish it, to be transported to a distance of three thousand miles. But, as if the ministry were afraid the tempest of indignation, excited by these new laws, should be appeased too soon, they wrested from the parliament another act, which appeared fifteen days after. It purported, that bills of credit, which might be issued in future by the American colonies, should no longer have legal currency in payments; and that, as to those in circulation, they likewise could not be received as legal payment, after the term prefixed for their redemption and extinction. It is true, however, that all the money proceeding from the duties above mentioned, was directed, by other clauses of the bill, to be kept in reserve, and could only be employed for expenses relative to the colonies; it is true, also, that at the same time the act was framed concerning bills of credit, some others were passed, to promote and regulate the reciprocal commerce between the colonies and mother country, and between the colonies themselves. But these regulations failed to produce the expected effects: for they were necessarily slow in their operation; while those which restricted and attacked the external commerce of the colonies, or shackled their domestic trade, were immediately operative. Some also attempted to demonstrate, that the money carried off by these duties must infallibly flow back into the colonies, for the payment and support of the troops stationed there, to protect and defend them. But who would guaranty to the colonists, that the troops should be quartered among them so long as the law might continue in force? If such was the intention of the legislator, why cause this treasure to travel, with no little risk and expense, from America to England, and thence back to the place from whence it came; thus imposing the necessity of passing it through so many and so different hands? Perhaps, they said, in order that it might have the honor of visiting the British exchequer? And why was it not more expedient to employ it where it was found, without so many voyages and circuits? This plainly demonstrated, that it was but a pretext for the most pernicious designs. Besides, for what purpose, for what good, were so many troops maintained in America? External enemies at present there were none; and for the repression of the Indians, the colonies were, doubtless, sufficient of themselves. But the fact was, they continued, the ministers had formed a design to oppress their liberty; and for this purpose did they arm themselves with so many soldiers, and incur such vast expense, in the midst of a people abounding in loyalty and innocence.



All these new regulations, which succeeded each other with such precipitation, were indeed but too well calculated to surprise and alarm the inhabitants of North America. Such a proceeding on the part of the government appeared to them, and was in fact, both new and inauspicious. They felt it profoundly; and, by their remonstrances, demonstrated how unjustly they were aggrieved, and demanded incessantly to be restored to their former condition. But they did not stop at bare complaints. When they found that their remonstrances were ineffectual, they resolved to employ some more efficacious means to convince the ministers of the error they had committed. The resolutions taken against British manufactures, which at first had been merely individual, now became general, by combinations to this effect, contracted in the principal cities of America, which were observed with an astonishing constancy and punctuality. Great Britain experienced from these associations an immense detriment, and feared, not without reason, still greater; for, as they comprehended men of all conditions, they tended, by degrees, to conduct the manufactures of the country to a certain degree of perfection, the more probable, as the abundance of raw materials would permit their products to be sold at very moderate prices. Finally, it was to be expected, that, with the progressive increase of industry, the manufactures of the colonies might supply with their fabrics the neighboring colonies of Spain and Portugal. But, without anticipating the future, it is certain that the interruption alone of commerce between the American colonies and England, was extremely prejudicial to the latter; for it is known, that the colonies, without including the foreign merchandise they received from the hands of England, annually purchased to the value of three millions sterling, of English productions or manufactures. The public revenues suffered materially, from the effects of this new policy; the duties upon the exportation of merchandise destined for America, and those upon the importation of articles which foreign merchants sent in exchange for the productions of the English colonies, experienced a continual diminution. Henceforth began to germinate those fatal seeds, which the British government, instead of extirpating, seemed to take pleasure in cultivating, till they produced all the ruin which followed.

But, although these unusual duties had excited a general discontent in America, and although the inhabitants complained of them bitterly, as unjust and oppressive burdens, they considered them, nevertheless, not as taxes or imposts, but merely as regulations of commerce, which were within the competency of parliament. They believed, indeed, that in this instance it had departed from that parental benevolence which it had discovered towards them during more than a century; still they did not think it had transcended the limits of its authority. But the English ministers revolved in their

minds a design far more lucrative for the exchequer, and still more prejudicial to the interests and liberty of the colonists. This was to impose taxes or excises upon the colonies, by acts of parliament; and to create, in this way, a branch of public revenue, to be placed at the disposal of parliament itself. This project, far from being new, had long been fermenting in English heads. Some of those schemers, who are ever ruminating new plans and expedients to filch money from the pockets of the people, had already suggested, in 1739, during the Spanish war, to Robert Walpole, then prime minister, the idea of taxing the colonies; but this man, no less sagacious than profoundly versed in the science of government and commerce, answered, with an ironical smile, 'I will leave this operation to some one of my successors, who shall have more courage than me, and less regard for commerce. I have always, during my administration, thought it my duty to encourage the commerce of the American colonies; and I have done it. Nay, I have even chosen to wink at some irregularities in their traffic with Europe; for my opinion is, that if, by favoring their trade with foreign nations, they gain five hundred thousand pounds sterling, at the end of two years, full two hundred and fifty thousand of it will have entered the royal coffers; and that by the industry and productions of England, who sells them an immense quantity of her manufactures. The more they extend their foreign commerce, the more will they consume of our merchandise. This is a mode of taxing them, more conformable to their constitution, and to our own.'

But, at the epoch in question, the power of England had arrived at such a height, that it appeared impossible for the American colonies, though supported by all Europe, to resist her will. So much glory and greatness, however, had not been acquired without enormous sacrifices; and the public debt amounted to the prodigious sum of one hundred and forty-eight millions sterling, or about six hundred and fifty-seven millions five hundred thousand dollars. Thus it had become necessary to search out every object, and every occupation, susceptible of taxes or contributions. It was, therefore, thought expedient, and even necessary, to tax the colonies, for whose security and prosperity, principally, a war so terrible had been waged, such dangers encountered, so much blood and treasure expended. As to the species of the tax, it was decided for that of stamped paper, which was already established in England; and it was understood, so far as related to its nature, to be the least odious to the Americans, provided, however, it was established by the president and the grand council, according to the plan of colonial administration proposed by themselves, and not by authority of parliament. There were even found Americans, who, being then in London, not only favored, but perhaps first suggested, this new mode of taxing the colonies; and, among others, it appears that a certain Huske, a



native of Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, was one of its principal promoters.

This proposition was received with eagerness, as are, commonly, all the projects of those who are industrious to extort money from the people. English ears could hear no sound more grateful than this; for if the people of England groaned under the weight of taxes, both old and new, they were persuaded, from what had been told them, that in America there was a redundancy of all good things. 'Shall our colonists,' they said, 'enjoy the magnificence of princes, while we must drudge, and consume ourselves with efforts to procure a scanty subsistence?' The officers, who had served in the colonies, painted, on their return, in vivid colors, the American prosperity and affluence.

These details were not so much exaggerated as might be thought, at the time of their residence in America. Money was then very abundant in the colonies, the government necessarily remitting thither considerable sums, for the support of the troops, and expenses of the war. At that time, American productions were in great request, and their commerce very flourishing. The inhabitants, being naturally courteous and hospitable, expended generously, to render their houses agreeable to strangers, then very numerous. The war terminated, all dangers averted, the power of an inveterate enemy, hitherto intrenched in the heart of the country, extinguished, the colonists conceived it a duty to offer the most honorable reception in their power to those who had contributed so greatly to their present security and felicity.

The necessity of drawing a public revenue from the colonies, being therefore no longer doubted, and the willingness of the colonists to concur in it, by means of the duty upon stamped paper, being presumed, as well as their ability to support it, the house of commons, on the 10th of March, 1764, voted a resolution, purporting 'that it was proper to charge certain stamp duties, in the colonies and plantations.' This resolution, not being followed, this year, by any other to carry it into effect, existed merely as an intention to be executed the succeeding year.

If the stamp act had been carried into immediate execution in the colonies, they would perhaps have submitted to it, if not without murmuring, at least without that open opposition which was manifested afterwards; and it is known how much more easily the people are retained in quiet, than appeased when once excited. The principal colonists would not have had time to launch into discussions, in which they predicted to their fellow-citizens the evils which must result from their consent to this new tax; and as evils inspire more alarm at a distance than at approach, the colonists, not having experienced from this sudden imposition the prejudice apprehended in the uncertain future, would probably have become tranquil; they cer-

tainly would not have had so much scope to inflame each other against the duty, as they afterwards did. For no sooner was the news of the impost in question received in any place, than it was spread, as it were, in a moment, throughout the country, and produced such an impression upon the minds of all, and especially of the lower classes, that all orders of citizens, waiving their ancient rivalships, difference of habits, and diversity of opinions in political and religious matters, were unanimous in maintaining, that it was impossible to submit to a law enacted in a mode so contrary to ancient usages, to their privileges as colonists, and to their rights as English subjects. Thus, for having chosen to warn before the blow, the British government prepared in the colonies an unanimous and most determined concurrence of opinion against one of its solemn decrees; and deprived itself of that docility resulting among the people from their intestine divisions, and the diversity of their interests.

The prime minister, Grenville, had been the author of this delay, hoping the colonies, upon advice of the bill in agitation, if they disliked the stamp duty, would have proposed some other mode of raising the sum intended to be levied by it. Accordingly, when the agents of the colonies went to pay him their respects, he informed them that he was prepared to receive, on the part of the colonies, any other proposal of a tax which would raise the sum wanted; shrewdly insinuating, also, that it was now in their power, by consenting, to establish it as a principle, that they should be consulted before any tax whatever was imposed upon the colonies by authority of parliament. Many in England, and possibly the agents themselves, attributed this conduct of the minister to moderation; but beyond the Atlantic it found a quite different reception, all with one voice exclaiming that this was an interested charity. For they thought, that however civil his offers, the minister would nevertheless exact, to a penny, the entire sum he desired, which in substance was saying, that willingly or otherwise, they must submit to his good pleasure; and consequently, his complaisance was but that of an accomplished robber. It was known that he would not be satisfied with less than three hundred thousand pounds sterling a year, the sum considered necessary for the support of the army it was resolved to maintain in the colonies for their defence. Not one of the agents was authorised to comply. Two only alleged, they were commissioned to declare that their provinces were ready to bear their proportion of the duty upon stamps, when it should be established according to ancient usages. The minister, therefore, having heard no proposal that appeared to him acceptable, resolved to pursue the design of a stamp act. Meanwhile, the fermentation in America was violent, not only among private citizens, but also among the members of public and corporate bodies; and all were of one mind, in asserting that the parliament had no right to tax the colonies. In all



places, political circles and clubs were formed ; the subject of all conversations was the fatal tax. Every day, every hour, diminished the respect and affection of the Americans towards the British nation, and increased their disposition to resist. As it happens in all popular commotions, he that declaimed with the most vehemence was the most applauded, and deemed the best citizen. The benefits conferred by the mother country, during so long a period, were consigned to oblivion ; and it had become as frequent as it was grateful to the people, to read the list of British vexations. These outrages were represented in the most odious colors by the orators of the multitude, whose minds were continually exasperated by similar harangues. The assemblies of representatives, and particularly those of Massachusetts and Virginia, despatched instructions to their agents in London, to use all diligence, by all possible means, to prevent the intentional act from being passed into a law.

They also addressed remonstrances to the king, and to the two houses of parliament, all tending to the same end. But those of the province of Massachusetts were the most energetic and vehement. This province was particularly distinguished, for the warmth with which it had opposed the new and pernicious direction which the ministers had for some time given to American affairs. The colonists acquired a still more determined resolution, when they learned, that in the present contest they were not abandoned to themselves, but that many were found in the mother country itself, even persons illustrious by their rank, their merit, or their dignities, who, from conviction, from the desire of renown, or from a wish to supplant the ministers, were continually exclaiming, both in parliament and elsewhere, that ' Such was not the accustomed mode of conduct of the English government towards its subjects ; that it was a new tyranny, which, if tolerated, would one day rebound from the shores of America upon those of England ; the evil should be resisted in its principles ; that governments in prosperity were but too much disposed to arrogate an extension of power ; there was much appearance that the government of Great Britain inclined to imitate this usurpation ; that it was therefore essential to watch it with attention ; the desires and the arts of Scottish favorites were sufficiently notorious ; that America was the means or the instrument, but England the object. And what occasion was there for these new imposts ? To protect and defend America, or the conquered territories ? Was it to repress the Indian tribes ? The colonists, with their light arms, and divided into detachments, were more proper for this service than the heavy English infantry. The Americans had all the courage requisite to defend themselves, and to succour, if necessary, the advanced posts : they had given the proof of this, on numerous occasions. There no longer existed a powerful enemy upon the American continent : whence, therefore, these continual

apprehensions of an attack, when the vestige of an enemy is no where to be seen? And what necessity was there for maintaining an army in America, the expense of which must be extorted from the Americans? Precious fruits, truly, had already been gathered from this military parade! the minds of the colonists exasperated, affection converted into hatred, loyalty into a desire of innovation. In other times, had not the ministers obtained from the colonies, by legitimate means, and without such a display of troops, according to the exigency, all the succours at their disposal? Since they had been thought able to furnish subsidies to the mother country, they had never been demanded, except in the mode of requisitions on the part of the crown, addressed by the governors to the different assemblies. By adhering to this mode, the same subsidies might be obtained, without giving offence, and without danger of revolt. But they would exact a servile obedience, in order to introduce, in due time, into the very bosom of the kingdom, the principles and government of the Stuarts! Too certain indications had been remarked of this, the day George Grenville ventured to produce his project of a bill to authorise officers in the colonies to quarter their soldiers in the houses of the citizens; a thing expressly calculated to strike the people with terror, to degrade them by permitting themselves to be trampled upon, and thus prepare them to receive the intended taxes with submission. The murmurs which had arisen, from every quarter, against so shocking an enormity, had indeed alarmed the minister; but it was time to act more vigorously; for it was the duty of every good citizen to oppose these first attempts.'

But the ministers were not to be diverted from their plan; either because they were encouraged by the favorites concealed behind them, or from personal obstinacy, or because they believed, in defiance of all demonstration to the contrary, that the Americans would be intimidated by the confusion and dangerous uncertainty which would prevail in all their affairs, if, in their civil and commercial transactions, they did not make use of stamped paper, and thus pay the duty established. Hence the ministers were often heard to say, that the measure proposed should be a law which would execute itself. The memorials, the remonstrances, the petitions, the resolutions, of the American provinces, were rejected. The bill for imposing a stamp duty was therefore submitted to parliament, in its session of 1765. It is easy to imagine with what animation it was discussed. It may be doubted whether upon any other occasion, either in times past or present, there has been displayed more vigor or acuteness of intellect, more love of country, or spirit of party, or greater splendor of eloquence, than in these debates. Nor was the shock of opinions less violent, without the walls of Westminster. All Europe, it may be said, and especially the commercial countries, were attentive to the progress, and to the decision, of this important question.



The members of parliament who opposed the bill, discovered great energy. They cited the authority of the most celebrated political writers, such as Locke, Selden, Harrington, and Puffendorff, who establish it as an axiom, that the very foundation, and ultimate point in view, of all governments, is the good of society. Then, retracing their national history, they alleged ;

‘That it resulted from Magna Charta, and from all the writs of those times relative to the imposition of taxes for the benefit of the crown, and to the sending of representatives to parliament, as well as from the Declaration of Rights, and the whole history of the English constitution, that no English subject can be taxed, except, in their own phrase, ‘*per communem consensum parliamenti*,’ that is, by his own consent, or that of his representatives ; that such was the original and general right, which the inhabitants of the colonies, as English subjects, carried with them, when they left their native land, to establish themselves in these distant countries ; that therefore it must not be imagined their rights were derived from charters, which were granted them merely to regulate the external form of the constitution of the colonies ; but that the great interior foundation of their constitution was this general right of the British subject, which is the first principle of British liberty,—that is, that no man shall be taxed, but by himself, or by his representative.

‘The counties palatine of Chester, Durham and Lancaster,’ added these orators, ‘and the marches of Wales, were not taxed, except in their own assemblies or parliaments, until, at different times, they were called to participate in the national representation.

‘The clergy, until the late period, when they were admitted to a share in the general representation, always taxed themselves, and granted the king what they called *benevolences*, or free gifts.

‘There are some, who, extending the power of parliament beyond all limits, affect to believe that this body can do every thing, and is invested with all rights ; but this is not supported, and though true, could only be so in violation of the constitution ; for then there would exist in parliament, as might occur in the instance of a single individual, an arbitrary power. But the fact is, that many things are not within the power of parliament. It cannot, for example, make itself executive ; it cannot dispose of the offices that belong to the crown ; it cannot take the property of any man, not even in cases of enclosures, without his being heard. The Lords cannot reject a money bill, passed by the commons ; nor the commons erect themselves into a court of justice ; neither can the parliament of England tax Ireland.

‘It is the birthright of the colonists, as descendants of Englishmen, not to be taxed by any but their own representatives ; and so far from being represented in the parliament of Great Britain, they are not even virtually represented here, as the meanest inhabitants

of Great Britain are, in consequence of their intimate connexion with those who are actually represented.

‘And if laws made by the British parliament to tax all except its own members, or even all except such members and those actually represented by them, would be deemed tyrannical, how much more tyrannical and unconstitutional must not such laws appear to those who cannot be said to be either actually or virtually represented !

‘The people of Ireland are much more virtually represented in the parliament of Great Britain than the colonists, in consequence of the great number of Englishmen possessed of estates and places of trust and profit in Ireland, and their immediate descendants settled in that country, and of the great number of Irish noblemen and gentlemen in both houses of the British parliament, and the greater numbers still constantly residing in Great Britain. But, notwithstanding this, the British parliament has never claimed any right to tax the people of Ireland.

‘The first founders of the colonies were not only driven out of the mother country by persecution, but they left it at their own risk and expense. Being thus forsaken, if not worse treated, all ties, except those common to mankind, were dissolved between them. They absolved from all duty of obedience to her, as she dispensed herself from all duty of protection to them.

‘If they accepted of any royal charters on the occasion, it was done through mere necessity ; and, as this necessity was not of their own making, their charters cannot be binding upon them ; and even allowing these charters to be binding, they are only bound thereby to that allegiance which the supreme head of the realm may claim indiscriminately from all its subjects.

‘It is extremely absurd to affirm that the Americans owe any submission to the legislative power of Great Britain, which had not authority enough to shield them against the violences of the executive ; and more absurd still, to say that the people of Great Britain can exercise over them rights which that very people affirm they might justly oppose, if claimed over themselves by others ?

‘The English people combated long, and shed much blood, with a view of recovering those rights which the crown, it was believed, had usurped over themselves ; and how can they now, without becoming guilty of the same usurpation, pretend to exercise these rights over others ?

‘But, admitting that, by the charters granted to the Americans at the time of their emigration, and by them from necessity accepted, they are bound to make no laws but such as, allowing for the difference of circumstances, shall not clash with those of England, this no more subjects them to the parliament of England, than their having been laid under the same restraint with respect to the laws of Scotland, or any other country, would have subjected them to the parlia-



ment of Scotland, or the supreme authority of this other country; since, by these charters, they have a right to tax themselves, for their own support and defence.

‘Whatever assistance the people of Great Britain may have given to the people of the colonies, it must have been given either from motives of humanity and fraternal affection, or with a view of being one day repaid for it, and not as the price of their liberty; at least the colonies can never be presumed to have accepted it in that light. If it was given from motives of humanity and fraternal affection, as the people of the colonies have never given the mother country any room to complain of them, so they never will. If, finally, it was given with a view of being one day repaid for it, the colonists are willing to come to a fair account, which, allowing for the assistance they themselves have often given the mother country, for what they must have lost, and the mother country must have gained, by preventing their selling to others at higher prices than they could sell to her, and their buying from others at lower prices than they could buy from her, would, they apprehend, not turn out so much to her advantage as she imagines.’

‘Their having heretofore submitted to laws made by the British parliament, for their internal government, can no more be brought as a precedent against them, than against the English themselves their tameness under the dictates of a Henry, or the rod of a Star Chamber; the tyranny of many being as grievous to human nature as that of a few, and the tyranny of a few as that of a single person.

‘If liberty is the due of those who have sense enough to know the value of it, and courage enough to expose themselves to every danger and fatigue to acquire it, the American colonists are better entitled to possess it than even their brethren of Great Britain; since they not only renounced their native soil, the love of which is so congenial with the human mind, and all those tender charities inseparable from it, but exposed themselves to all the risks and hardships unavoidable in a long voyage; and, after escaping the danger of being swallowed up by the waves, encountered, upon those uninhabited and barbarous shores, the more cruel danger of perishing by a slow famine; which having combated, and surmounted, with infinite patience and constancy, they have, as if by a miracle of Divine Providence, at length arrived at this vigorous and prosperous state, so eminently profitable to those from whom they derive their original.

‘If, in the first years of their existence, some of the colonists discovered a turbulent humor, and all were exposed to the incursions of the neighboring tribes, a savage and hostile race, which condition required the interposition and assistance of the British parliament, they have now arrived to such a degree of maturity, in point of polity and strength, as no longer to need such interposition for the future; and therefore, since the proportions are changed which existed be-

tween the two nations, it is proper also to change the terms of their ancient connexion, and adopt others, more conformable to their present respective power and circumstances.

‘The present statutes, promulgated by parliament, do not bind the colonies, unless they are expressly named therein; which evidently demonstrates, that the English general laws do not embrace in their action the American colonies, but need to be sanctioned by special laws.

‘The colonies, therefore, stand in much the same relation towards England, as the barons with respect to the sovereigns, in the feudal system of Europe; the obedience of the one, and the submission of the other, are restricted within certain limits.

‘The history of colonies, both ancient and modern, comes to the support of these views. Thus the Carthagenians, the Greeks, and other celebrated nations of antiquity, allowed their colonies a very great liberty of internal government, contenting themselves with the advantages they derived from their commerce. Thus the barbarians of the north, who desolated the Roman empire, carried with them their laws, and introduced them among the vanquished, retaining but an extremely slender obedience and submission towards the sovereigns of their country.

‘Thus also, in more recent times, the House of Austria had acted, in regard to its colonies of the Low Countries, before the latter totally withdrew themselves from its domination.

‘Such examples ought to apprise the English of the conduct they should pursue, in respect to their colonies; and warn them of what they should avoid.’

‘The colonies are already sufficiently taxed, if the restrictions upon their commerce are taken into view. No other burden should, therefore, be laid upon the Americans, or they should be restored to an entire liberty of commerce; for otherwise they would be charged doubly, than which nothing can be deemed more tyrannical.

‘It is not argued, however, that the American colonies ought not to be subject to certain external duties, which the parliament has authority to establish in their ports, or to some other restrictions, which have been laid upon their commerce by the act of navigation, or other regulations.

‘They are in the same case as all other colonies, belonging to the rest of the maritime powers in Europe; from their first establishment, all commerce with foreign nations has been prohibited them.

‘What is spoken of are internal taxes, to be levied on the body of the people; and it is contended, that before they can be liable to such taxes, they must first be represented.

‘Even admitting, what is denied, that the British parliament has the right to make laws for the colonies, still more to tax them without their concurrence, there lie many objections against all the duties



lately imposed on the colonies, and more still, and weightier, against that of the stamps lately projected by the ministers, and now proposed for the sanction of parliament. For, whereas these stamp duties were laid gradually on the people of Great Britain, they are now to be saddled, all at once, with all their increased weight, on those of the colonies; and if these same duties were thought so grievous in England, on account of the great variety of occasions in which they were payable, and the great number of heavy penalties, which the best meaning persons might incur, they must be to the last degree oppressive in the colonies, where the people, in general, cannot be supposed so conversant in matters of this kind, and numbers do not even understand the language of these intricate laws, so foreign to their ordinary pursuits of agriculture and commerce.\*

‘It should be added, that these laws, which savor too much of their native soil, and bear too distinctly the character of that subtilty for which the English financial system is distinguished, must be viewed by foreigners as insidious snares, and tend to discourage them from emigrating, with their families, to the American shores. Need any one be told how prejudicial this would prove to their growing population, and, by rebound, to the interests of England herself?’

‘Finally, as the money produced by these duties, according to the terms of the bill proposed, is required to be paid into the English treasury, the colonies, already impoverished by commercial prohibitions, must, in a short time, be drained of all their specie, to the ruin of their commerce, both internal and external.’

On the part of the ministers, these objections were answered, as follows :

‘First of all, it is necessary to banish from the present question all this parade of science and erudition, so pompously displayed by our opponents, and which they have collected from the books of speculative men, who have written upon the subject of government. All these refinements and arguments of natural lawyers, such as Locke, Selden, Puffendorff, and others, are little to the purpose, in a question of constitutional law.

‘And nothing can be more absurd, than to hunt after antiquated charters, to argue from thence the present English constitution; because the constitution is no longer the same; and nobody knows what it was, at some of the times that are quoted; and there are things even in Magna Charta, which are not constitutional now. All these appeals, therefore, to the records of antiquity, prove nothing as to the constitution such as it now is.

‘This constitution has always been subject to continual changes and modifications, perpetually gaining or losing something; nor was the representation of the commons of Great Britain formed into any certain system, till the reign of Henry VII.

\* See Note II.

‘With regard to the modes of taxation, when we get beyond the reign of Edward I. or king John, we are all in doubt and obscurity ; the history of those times is full of uncertainty and confusion. As to the writs upon record, they were issued, some of them according to law, and some not according to law ; and such were those concerning ship money ; to call assemblies to tax themselves, or to compel benevolences ; other taxes were raised by escuage, or shield service, fees for knight’s service, and other means arising from the feudal system. Benevolences are contrary to law ; and it is well known how people resisted the demands of the crown, in the case of ship money ; and were prosecuted by the court.

‘With respect to the marches of Wales, this privilege of taxing themselves was but of short duration ; and was only granted these borderers, for assisting the king, in his wars against the Welsh in the mountains. It commenced and ended with the reign of Edward I. ; and when the prince of Wales came to be king, they were annexed to the crown, and became subject to taxes, like the rest of the dominions of England.

‘Henry VIII. was the first king of England who issued writs for it to return two members to parliament ; the crown exercised the right of issuing writs, or not, at pleasure ; from whence arises the inequality of representation, in our constitution of this day. Henry VIII. issued a writ to Calais, to send one burghess to parliament ; and one of the counties palatine was taxed fifty years to subsidies, before it sent members to parliament.

‘The clergy at no time were unrepresented in parliament. When they taxed themselves in their assemblies, it was done with the concurrence and consent of parliament.

‘The reasoning about the colonies of Great Britain, drawn from the colonies of antiquity, is a mere useless display of learning ; for it is well known the colonies of the Tyrians in Africa, and of the Greeks in Asia, were totally different from our system. No nation, before England, formed any regular system of colonisation, but the Romans ; and their colonial system was altogether military, by garrisons placed in the principal towns of the conquered provinces ; and the jurisdiction of the principal country was absolute and unlimited.

‘The provinces of Holland were not colonies ; but they were states subordinate to the House of Austria, in a feudal dependence. And, finally, nothing could be more different from the laws and customs of the English colonies, and that inundation of northern barbarians, who, at the fall of the Roman empire, invaded and occupied all Europe. Those emigrants renounced all laws, all protection, all connexion with their mother countries : they chose their leaders, and marched under their banners, to seek their fortunes, and establish new kingdoms upon the ruins of the Roman empire.



‘On the contrary, the founders of the English colonies emigrated under the sanction of the king and parliament; their constitutions were modelled gradually into their present forms, respectively by charters, grants and statutes; but they were never separated from the mother country, or so emancipated as to become independent, and *sui juris*.

‘The commonwealth parliament were very early jealous of the colonies separating themselves from them; and passed a resolution or act, and it is a question whether it is not now in force, to declare and establish the authority of England over her colonies. But if there was no express law, or reason founded upon any necessary inference from an express law, yet the usage alone would be sufficient to support that authority; for, have not the colonies submitted, ever since their first establishment, to the jurisdiction of the mother country? Have they not even invoked it in many instances? In all questions of property, have not the appeals of the colonies been made to the privy council here? And have not these causes been determined, not by the law of the colonies, but by the law of England? And have they not peaceably submitted to these decisions?

‘These cases of recourse, however, have been very frequent. New Hampshire and Connecticut have been in blood about their differences; Virginia and Maryland were in arms against each other. Does not this show the necessity of one superior decisive jurisdiction, to which all subordinate jurisdictions may recur? Nothing, at any time, could be more fatal to the peace and prosperity of the colonies, than the parliament giving up its superintending authority over them. From this moment, every bond between colony and colony would be dissolved, and a deplorable anarchy would ensue. The elements of discord and faction, already diffused amongst them, are too well known, not to apprehend an explosion of this sort.

‘From this to the total annihilation of the present colonial system, to the creation of new forms of government, and falling a prey to some foreign potentate, how inevitable is their career!

‘At present the several forms of their constitution are very various, having been established one after another, and dictated by the circumstances and events of the times; the forms of government in every colony, were adapted from time to time, according to the size of the colony, and so have been extended again from time to time, as the numbers of the inhabitants, and their commercial connexions, outgrew the first model. In some colonies, at first there was only a governor, assisted by two or three counsellors; then more were added; then courts of justice were erected, then assemblies were created.

‘As the constitutions of the colonies are made up of different principles, so they must, from the necessity of things, remain dependent upon the jurisdiction of the mother country; no one ever

thought the contrary, till this new doctrine was broached. Acts of parliament have been made, not only without a doubt of their legality, but accepted with universal applause, and willingly obeyed. Their ports have been made subject to customs and regulations, which cramped and diminished their trade; and duties have been laid, affecting the very inmost parts of their commerce, and among others, that of the post; and no one ever thought, except these new doctors, that the colonies are not to be taxed, regulated, and bound by parliament.

‘There can be no doubt, but that the inhabitants of the colonies are as much represented in parliament, as the greatest part of the people of England are, among nine millions of whom, there are eight who have no votes in electing members of parliament; and, therefore, all these arguments, brought to prove the colonies not dependent on parliament, upon the ground of representation, are vain; nay, they prove too much, since they directly attack the whole present constitution of Great Britain. But the thing is, that a member of parliament, chosen for any borough, represents not only the constituents and inhabitants of that particular place, but he represents the inhabitants of every other borough in Great Britain. He represents the city of London, and all other the commons of the land, and the inhabitants of all the colonies and dominions of Great Britain, and is in duty and conscience bound to take care of their interests.

‘The distinction of internal and external taxes, is false and groundless. It is granted, that restrictions upon trade, and duties upon the ports, are legal, at the same time that the right of the parliament of Great Britain, to lay internal taxes upon the colonies, is denied. What real difference can there be in this distinction? Is not a tax, laid in any place, like a pebble falling into and making a circle in a lake, till one circle produces and gives motion to another, and the whole circumference is agitated from the centre?

‘Nothing can be more clear, than that a tax of ten or twenty per cent. laid upon tobacco either in the ports of Virginia or London, is a real duty laid upon the inland plantations of Virginia itself, an hundred miles from the sea, wherever the tobacco grows.

‘Protection is the ground that gives the right of taxation. The obligation between the colonies and the mother country is natural and reciprocal, consisting of defence on the one side, and obedience on the other; and common sense tells, that the colonies must be dependent in all points upon the mother country, or else not belong to it at all. The question is not what was law, or what was the constitution? but the question is, what is law now, and what is the constitution now?

‘And is not this law, is not this the constitution, is not this right, which without contradiction, and for so long a time, and in numberless instances, as such has been exercised on the one part, and approved by obedience on the other?



‘No attention whatever is due to these subtle opinions and vain abstractions of speculative men; as remote from the common experience of human affairs, and but too well adapted to seduce and inflame the minds of those, who, having derived such signal advantages from their past submission, ought for the future also to obey the laws of their hitherto indulgent, but powerful mother.

‘Besides, is not the condition of the Americans, in many respects, preferable to that of the English themselves? The expenses of internal and civil administration, in England, are enormous; so inconsiderable, on the contrary, in the colonies, as almost to surpass belief.

‘The government of the church, productive of so heavy an expense in England, is of no importance in America; there tithes, there sinecure benefices, are unknown. Pauperism has no existence in the colonies; there, according to the language of Scripture, every one lives under his own fig tree; hunger and nakedness are banished from the land; and vagrants, or beggars, are never seen. Happy would it be for England, if as much could be affirmed of her subjects on this side of the ocean! But the contrary, as every body knows, is the truth.

‘What nation has ever shown such tenderness towards its colonies as England has demonstrated for hers? Have they, in their necessities, ever sought in vain the prompt succours of Great Britain? Was it for their own defence against the enemy, or to advance their domestic prosperity, have not the most ample subsidies been granted them without hesitation?

‘Independently of these benefits, what other state has ever extended to a part of its population this species of favor, which had been bestowed by England upon her colonies? She has opened them a credit without which they could never have arrived at this height of prosperity, which excites the astonishment of all that visit them; and this considered, the tax proposed must be deemed a very moderate interest for the immense sums which Great Britain has lent her colonies.

‘As to the scarcity of money, the declamations upon this head are equally futile: gold and silver can never be wanting in a country so fertile in excellent productions as North America. The stamp duty proposed being not only moderate, but even trivial, could never withdraw from the country so considerable a quantity of specie, as to drain its sources, especially as the product of this duty will be kept in reserve in the treasury, and being destined to defray the expenses of the protection and defence of the colonies, must therefore of necessity be totally reimbursed.

‘This supremacy of England, about which such a clamor has been raised, amounts then in reality, to nothing but a superiority of power and of efforts to guard and protect all her dependencies, and

all her dominions ; which she has done at a price that has brought her to the brink of ruin. Great Britain, it is true, has acquired in this struggle a glory which admits of no addition ; but all her colonies participate in this. The Americans are not only graced by the reflected splendor of their ancient country, but she has also lavished upon them the honors and benefits which belong to the members of the British empire, while England alone has paid the countless cost of so much glory.'

Such were the arguments advanced in parliament, with equal ability and warmth, on the one part, and on the other, in favor, and against, the American tax. While the question was in suspense, the merchants of London, interested in the commerce of America, tortured with the fear of losing or not having punctually remitted, the capitals they had placed in the hands of the Americans, presented a petition against the bill, on the day of its second reading ; for they plainly foresaw that among their debtors, some from necessity, and others with this pretext, would not fail to delay remittances. But it was alleged, that the usage of the house of commons is not to hear petitions directed against tax laws ; and this of the London merchants, was, accordingly, rejected.

Meanwhile, the ministers, and particularly George Grenville, exclaimed ;

'These Americans, our own children, planted by our cares, nourished by our indulgence, protected by our arms, until they are grown to a good degree of strength and opulence ; will they now turn their backs upon us, and grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy load which overwhelms us ?'

Colonel Barré caught the words, and with a vehemence becoming in a soldier, said ;

'*Planted by your cares !* No ! your oppression planted them in America ; they fled from your tyranny, into a then uncultivated land, where they were exposed to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable, and among others, to the savage cruelty of the enemy of the country, a people the most subtle, and, I take upon me to say, the most truly terrible, of any people that ever inhabited any part of God's earth ; and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all these hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their own country, from the hands of those that should have been their friends.'

'*They nourished up by your indulgence ?* They grew by your neglect ; as soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule over them, in one department and another, who were perhaps, the deputies of the deputies of some members of this house, sent to spy out their liberty, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them ; men, whose behavior, on many occasions, has caused the blood of these sons of liberty to recoil



within them ; men, promoted to the highest seats of justice, some of whom, to my knowledge, were glad, by going to foreign countries, to escape the vengeance of the laws in their own.

' *They protected by your arms ?* They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, have exerted their valor amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country, whose frontiers, while drenched in blood, its interior parts have yielded for your enlargement, the little savings of their frugality, and the fruits of their toils. And *believe me, remember*, I this day told you so, that the same spirit which actuated that people at first, will continue with them still ; but prudence forbids me to explain myself any further. God knows, I do not, at this time, speak from motives of party heat ; what I assert proceeds from the sentiments of my heart. However superior to me in general knowledge and experience, any one here may be, yet I claim to know more of America, having seen, and been more conversant in that country. The people there are as truly loyal, as any subjects the king has ; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them, if they should be violated ; but the subject is delicate ; I will say no more.'

This discourse was pronounced by the colonel without preparation, and with such a tone of energy, that all the house remained, as it were, petrified with surprise, and all viewed him with attention, without uttering a word.

But the pride of the ministers would not permit them to retreat, and the parliament could not hear, with patience, its authority to tax America, called in question. Accordingly, many voted in favor of the bill, because they believed it just and expedient ; others, because the ministers knew how to make it appear such ; others, finally, and perhaps the greater number, from jealousy of their contested authority. Thus, when the house divided on the 7th of February, 1765, the nays were not found to exceed fifty, and the yeas were two hundred and fifty. The bill was, therefore, passed, and was approved with great alacrity in the house of lords, on the 8th of March following, and sanctioned by the king the 22d of the same month.

Such was this famous scheme, invented by the most subtle, by the most sapient heads in England ; whether the spirit of sophistry in which it originated, or the moment selected for its promulgation, be the most deserving of admiration, is left for others to pronounce. Certain it is, that it gave occasion in America to those intestine commotions, that violent fermentation, which, after kindling a civil war, involving all Europe in its flames, terminated in the total disjunction from the British empire of one of its fairest possessions.

If in this great revolution, the arms of England suffered no diminution of splendor and glory, owing to the valor and gallantry displayed by her soldiers throughout the war, it cannot be disguised that

her power and influence were essentially impaired among all nations of the world.

The very night the act was passed, doctor Franklin, who was then in London, wrote to Charles Thomson, afterwards secretary of Congress, '*The sun of liberty is set; the Americans must light the lamps of industry and economy.*' To which Mr. Thomson answered; '*Be assured we shall light torches of quite another sort.*' Thus predicting the convulsions that were about to follow.

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END OF BOOK FIRST.



## NOTES TO BOOK I.



NOTE I.—PAGE 22.

### FRANKLIN'S LETTER.

‘EXCLUDING the people of the colonies from all share in the choice of the grand council, would probably give extreme dissatisfaction, as well as the taxing them by act of parliament, where they have no representation.

‘In matters of general concern to the people, and especially when burthens are to be laid upon them, it is of use to consider, as well what they will be apt to think and say, as what they ought to think; I shall, therefore, as your excellency requires it of me, briefly mention what of either kind occurs to me on this occasion.

‘First, they will say, and perhaps with justice, that the body of the people in the colonies are as loyal, and as firmly attached to the present constitution, and reigning family, as any subjects in the king's dominions.

‘That there is no reason to doubt the readiness and willingness of the representatives they may choose, to grant, from time to time, such supplies for the defence of the country, as shall be judged necessary, so far as their abilities allow.

‘That the people in the colonies, who are to feel the immediate mischiefs of invasion and conquest by an enemy, in the loss of their estates, lives, and liberties, are likely to be better judges of the quantity of forces necessary to be raised and maintained, forts to be built and supported, and of their own abilities to bear the expense, than the parliament of England, at so great a distance.

‘That governors often come to the colonies merely to make fortunes with which they intend to return to Britain; are not always men of the best abilities or integrity; have, many of them, no estates here, nor any natural connexions with us, that should make them heartily concerned for our welfare; and might, possibly, be fond of raising and keeping up more forces than necessary, from the profits accruing to themselves, and to make provision for their friends and dependants.

‘That the counsellors, in most of the colonies, being appointed by the crown, on the recommendation of governors, are often persons of small estates, frequently dependent on the governors for offices, and therefore too much under influence.

‘That there is, therefore, great reason to be jealous of a power in such governors and councils, to raise such sums as they shall judge necessary, by drafts on the lords of the treasury, to be afterwards laid on the colonies by act of parliament, and paid by the people here; since they might abuse it, by projecting useless expeditions, harassing the people, and taking them from their labor to execute such projects, merely to create offices and employments, and gratify their dependants, and divide profits.

‘That the parliament of England is at a great distance, subject to be misinformed and misled by such governors and councils, whose united interests might, probably, secure them against the effect of any complaint from hence.

‘That it is supposed an undoubted right of Englishmen, not to be taxed, but by their own consent, given through their representatives; that the colonies have no representatives in parliament.

‘That to propose taxing them by parliament, and refuse them the liberty of choosing a representative council, to meet in the colonies, and consider and judge of the necessity of any general tax, and the quantum, shows a suspicion of their loyalty to the crown, or of their regard for their country, or of their common sense and understanding; which they have not deserved.

'That compelling the colonies to pay money without their consent, would be rather like raising contributions in an enemy's country, than taxing of Englishmen for their own public benefit; that it would be treating them as a conquered people, and not as true British subjects.

'That a tax laid by the representatives of the colonies might be easily lessened as the occasions should lessen; but being once laid by parliament, under the influence of the representations made by governors, would probably be kept up and continued for the benefit of governors, to the grievous burthen and discontentment of the colonies, and prevention of their growth and increase.

'That a power in governors, to march the inhabitants from one end of the British and French colonies to the other, being a country of at least one thousand five hundred miles long, without the approbation or the consent of their representatives first obtained, to such expeditions, might be grievous and ruinous to the people, and would put them upon a footing with the subjects of France in Canada, that now groan under such oppression from their governor, who, for two years past, has harassed them with long and destructive marches to Ohio.

'That if the colonies, in a body, may be well governed by governors and councils appointed by the crown, without representatives, particular colonies may as well, or better, be so governed; a tax may be laid upon them all by act of parliament, for support of government; and their assemblies may be dismissed as an useless part of the constitution.

'That the powers proposed by the Albany plan of union, to be vested in a grand council representative of the people, even with regard to military matters, are not so great as those which the colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut are entrusted with by their charters, and have never abused; for by this plan, the president-general is appointed by the crown, and controls all by his negative; but in those governments, the people choose the governor, and yet allow him no negative.

'That the British colonies bordering on the French, are frontiers of the British empire; and the frontiers of an empire are properly defended at the joint expense of the body of the people in such empire; it would now be thought hard, by act of parliament, to oblige the Cinque Ports, or sea coasts of Britain, to maintain the whole navy, because they are more immediately defended by it, not allowing them, at the same time, a vote in choosing members of parliament; and as the frontiers of America bear the expense of their own defence, it seems hard to allow them no share in voting the money, judging of the necessity of the sum, or advising the measures.

'That besides the taxes necessary for the defence of the frontiers, the colonies pay yearly great sums to the mother country unnoticed; for,

1. Taxes paid in Britain by the land-holder, or artificer, must enter into and increase the price of the produce of land and manufactures made of it, and great part of this is paid by consumers in the colonies, who thereby pay a considerable part of the British taxes.

2. We are restrained in our trade with foreign nations; and where we could be supplied with any manufacture cheaper from them, but must buy the same dearer from Britain, the difference of price is a clear tax to Britain.

3. We are obliged to carry a part of our produce directly to Britain; and when the duties laid upon it lessen its price to the planter, or it sells for less than it would in foreign markets, the difference is a tax paid to Britain.

4. Some manufactures we could make, but are forbidden, and must take them of British merchants; *the whole price is a tax paid to Britain.*

5. By our greatly increasing demand and consumption of British manufactures, their price is considerably raised of late years; the advantage is clear profit to Britain, and enables its people better to pay great taxes; and much of it being paid by us, is clear tax to Britain.

6. In short, as we are not suffered to regulate our trade, and restrain the importation and consumption of British superfluities, as Britain can the consumption of foreign superfluities, our whole wealth centers finally amongst the merchants and inhabitants of Britain; and if we make them richer, and enable them better to pay their taxes, it is really the same as being taxed ourselves, and equally beneficial to the crown.

'These kind of secondary taxes, however, we do not complain of though we have no share in laying or disposing of them; but to pay immediate heavy taxes, in the laying, appropriation, and disposition of which, we have no part, and which, perhaps, we may know to be as unnecessary as grievous, must seem hard measures to Englishmen, who cannot conceive, that by hazarding their lives and fortunes in subduing and settling new countries, extending the dominion, and increasing the commerce of the mother



nation, they have forfeited the native rights of Britons, which they think ought rather to be given to them as due to such merit, if they had been before in a state of slavery.

'These, and such kinds of things as these, I apprehend, will be thought and said by the people, if the proposed alteration of the Albany plan should take place. Then the administration of the board of governors and council so appointed, not having the representative body of the people to approve and unite in its measures, and conciliate the minds of the people to them, will probably become suspected and odious; dangerous animosities and feuds will arise between the governors and governed, and every thing go into confusion.'

This was the letter of Franklin.

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NOTE II.—PAGE 43.

STAMP ACT.

WHEREAS, by an act made in the last session of Parliament, several duties were granted, continued, and appropriated towards defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the British colonies and plantations in America: and whereas it is first necessary, that provision be made for raising a further revenue within your majesty's dominions in America, towards defraying the said expenses; we, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the *Commons of Great Britain*, in parliament assembled, have therefore resolved to give and grant unto your majesty the several rites and duties hereinafter mentioned; and do most humbly beseech your majesty that it may be enacted, And be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advise and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That from and after the first day of November, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five, there shall be raised, levied, collected, and paid unto his majesty, his heirs, and successors, throughout the colonies and plantations in America, which now are, or hereafter may be, under the dominion of his majesty, his heirs and successors,

1. For every skin of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any declaration, plea, replication, rejoinder, demurrer, or other pleading, or any copy thereof, in any court of law within the British colonies and plantations in America, a stamp duty of three pence.

2. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written or printed, any special bail, and appearance upon such bail in any such court, a stamp duty of two shillings.

3. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which may be engrossed, written or printed, any petition, bill, or answer, claim, plea, replication, rejoinder, demurrer, or other pleading in any court of chancery or equity within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of one shilling and six pence.

4. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any copy of any petition, bill, answer, claim, plea, replication, rejoinder, demurrer, or other pleading, in any such court, a stamp duty of three pence.

5. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written or printed, any monition, libel, answer, allegation, inventory, or renunciation, in ecclesiastical matters, in any court of probate, court of the ordinary, or other court exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of one shilling.

6. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written or printed, any copy of any will, (other than the probate thereof,) monition, libel, answer, allegation, inventory, or renunciation, in ecclesiastical matters, in any such court, a stamp duty of six pence.

7. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written or printed, any donation, presentation, collation or institution, of or to any benefice, or any writ or instrument for the like purpose, or any register, entry, testimonial, or certificate of any degree taken in any university, academy, college, or seminary of learning, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of two pounds.

8. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any monition, libel, claim, answer, allegation, information, letter of request, execution, renunciation, inventory, or other pleading in any admiralty court within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *one shilling*.

9. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which any copy of any such monition, libel, claim, answer, allegation, information, letter of request, execution, renunciation, inventory, or other pleading shall be engrossed, written or printed, a stamp duty of *six pence*.

10. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any appeal, writ of error, writ of dower, *ad quad damnum*, certiorari, statute merchant, statute staple, attestation, or certificate, by any officer, or exemplification of any record or proceeding, in any court whatsoever within the said colonies and plantations, (except appeals, writs of error, certiorari, attestations, certificates, and exemplifications, for, or relating to the removal of any proceedings from before a single justice of the peace,) a stamp duty of *ten shillings*.

11. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any writ of covenant for levying fines, writ of entry for suffering a common recovery, or attachment issuing out of, or returnable into any court within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *five shillings*.

12. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written or printed, any judgment, decree, or sentence, or dismissal, or any record of *nisi prius* or *postea*, in any court within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *four shillings*.

13. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any affidavit, common bail, or appearance, interrogatory, deposition, rule, order or warrant of any court, or any *dedimus potestatem*, *capias subpœna*, summons, compulsory citation, commission, recognisance, or any other writ, process, or mandate, issuing out of, or returnable into, any court, or any office belonging thereto, or any other proceeding therein whatsoever, or any copy thereof, or of any record not herein before charged, within the said colonies and plantations, (except warrants relating to criminal matters, and proceedings thereon, or relating thereto) a stamp duty of *one shilling*.

14. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any note or bill of lading, which shall be signed for any kind of goods, wares, or merchandise, to be exported from, or any cocket or clearance granted within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *four pence*.

15. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written or printed, letters of mart or commission for private ships of war, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *twenty shillings*.

16. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any grant, appointment, or admission of or to any public beneficial office or employment, for the space of one year, or any lesser time, of or above *twenty pounds per annum* sterling money, in salary, fees, and perquisites, within the said colonies and plantations, (except commissions and appointments of officers of the army, navy, ordnance, or militia, of judges, and of justices of the peace) a stamp duty of *ten shillings*.

17. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which any grant of any liberty, privilege, or franchise, under the seal or sign manual, of any governor, proprietor, or public officer, alone, or in conjunction with any other person or persons, or with any council, or any council and assembly, or any exemplification of the same, shall be engrossed written, or printed, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *six pounds*.

18. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any license for retailing of spirituous liquors, to be granted to any person who shall take out the same, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *twenty shillings*.

19. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any license for retailing of wine, to be granted to any person who shall not take out a license for retailing of spirituous liquors, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *four pounds*.

20. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any license for retailing of wine, to be granted to any person who shall take out a license for retailing of spirituous liquors, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *three pounds*.



21. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any probate of will, letters of administration, or of guardianship for any estate above the value of twenty pounds sterling money, within the British colonies and plantations upon the continent of America, the islands belonging thereto, and the Bermuda and Bahama islands, a stamp duty of *five shillings*.

22. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such probate, letters of administration or of guardianship, within all other parts of the British dominions in America, a stamp duty of *ten shillings*.

23. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any bond for securing the payment of any sum of money, not exceeding the sum of ten pounds sterling money, within the British colonies and plantations upon the continent of America, the islands belonging thereto, and the Bermuda and Bahama islands, a stamp duty of *six pence*.

24. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any bond for securing the payment of any sum of money above ten pounds, and not exceeding twenty pounds sterling money, within such colonies, plantations, and islands, a stamp duty of *one shilling*.

25. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any bond for securing the payment of any sum of money above twenty pounds, and not exceeding forty pounds sterling money, within such colonies, plantations, and islands, a stamp duty of *one shilling and six pence*.

26. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any order or warrant for surveying or setting out any quantity of land, not exceeding one hundred acres, issued by any governor, proprietor, or any public officer, alone, or in conjunction with any other person or persons, or with any council, or any council and assembly, within the British colonies and plantations in America, a stamp duty of *six pence*.

27. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such order or warrant for surveying or setting out any quantity of land above one hundred and not exceeding two hundred acres, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *one shilling*.

28. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such order or warrant for surveying or setting out any quantity of land above two hundred and not exceeding three hundred and twenty acres, and in proportion for every such order or warrant for surveying or setting out every other three hundred and twenty acres, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *one shilling and six pence*.

29. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any original grant or any deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument whatsoever, by which any quantity of land, not exceeding one hundred acres, shall be granted, conveyed, or assigned, within the British colonies and plantations upon the continent of America, the islands belonging thereto, and the Bermuda and Bahama islands (except leases for any term not exceeding the term of twenty-one years) a stamp duty of *one shilling and six pence*.

30. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such original grant, or any such deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument whatsoever, by which any quantity of land, above one hundred and not exceeding two hundred acres, shall be granted, conveyed, or assigned, within such colonies, plantations and islands, a stamp duty of *two shillings*.

31. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such original grant, or any such deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument whatsoever, by which any quantity of land, above two hundred, and not exceeding three hundred and twenty acres, shall be granted, conveyed, or assigned, and in proportion for every such grant, deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument, granting, conveying, or assigning, every other three hundred and twenty acres, within such colonies, plantations and islands, a stamp duty of *two shillings and six pence*.

32. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such original grant, or any such deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument whatsoever, by which any quantity of land, not exceeding one hundred acres, shall be granted, conveyed, or assigned, within all other parts of the British dominions in America, a stamp duty of *three shillings*.

33. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such original grant, or any such deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument whatsoever, by which any quantity of land, above one hundred and not exceeding two hundred acres, shall be granted, conveyed, or assigned, within the same parts of the said dominions, a stamp duty of *four shillings*.

34. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such original grant, or any such deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument whatsoever, by which any quantity of land, above two hundred and not exceeding three hundred and twenty acres, shall be granted, conveyed, or assigned, and in proportion for every such grant, deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument, granting, conveying, or assigning every other three hundred and twenty acres, within the same parts of the said dominions, a stamp duty of *five shillings*.

35. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written or printed, any grant, appointment, or admission, of or to any beneficial office or employment, not herein before charged, above the value of twenty pounds per annum sterling money, in salary, fees, and perquisites, or any exemplification of the same, within the British colonies and plantations upon the continent of America, the islands belonging thereto, and the Bermuda and Bahama islands, (except commissions of officers of the army, navy, ordnance, or militia, and of justices of the peace) a stamp duty of *four pounds*.

36. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such grant, appointment, or admission, of or to any such public beneficial office or employment, or any exemplification of the same, within all other parts of the British dominions in America, a stamp duty of *six pounds*.

37. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any indenture, lease, conveyance, contract, stipulation, bill of sale, charter party, protest, articles of apprenticeship or covenant, (except for the hire of servants not apprentices, and also except such other matters as herein before charged) within the British colonies and plantations in America, a stamp duty of *two shillings and six pence*.

38. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which any warrant or order for auditing any public accounts, beneficial warrant, order, grant, or certificate, under any public seal, or under the seal or sign manual of any governor, proprietor, or public officer, alone, or in conjunction with any other person or persons, or with any council, or any council and assembly, not herein before charged, or any passport or letpass, surrender of office, or policy of assurance, shall be engrossed, written, or printed, within the said colonies and plantations, (except warrants or orders for the service of the army, navy, ordnance, or militia, and grants of offices under twenty pounds per annum, in salary, fees, and perquisites) a stamp duty of *five shillings*.

39. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any nocturnal act, bond, deed, letter of attorney, procuration, mortgage, release, or other obligatory instrument, not herein before charged, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *two shillings and three pence*.

40. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any register, entry, or enrolment of any grant, deed, or other instrument whatsoever, herein before charged, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *three pence*.

41. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any register, entry, or enrolment of any grant, deed, or other instrument whatsoever, not herein before charged, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *two shillings*.

42. And for and upon every pack of playing cards, and all dice, which shall be sold or used within the said colonies and plantations, the several stamp duties following; (that is to say)

43. For every pack of such cards, one shilling.

44. And for every pair of such dice, ten shillings.

45. And for and upon every paper called a *pamphlet*, and upon every newspaper, containing public news, or occurrences, which shall be printed, dispersed, and made public, within any of the said colonies and plantations, and for and upon such advertisements as are hereinafter mentioned, the respective duties following; (that is to say)



46. For every such pamphlet and paper, contained in a half sheet, or any lesser piece of paper, which shall be so printed, a stamp duty of one half-penny for every printed copy thereof.

47. For every such pamphlet and paper, (being larger than half a sheet, and not exceeding one whole sheet) which shall be so printed, a stamp duty of one penny for every printed copy thereof.

48. For every pamphlet and paper, being larger than one whole sheet, and not exceeding six sheets in octavo, or in a lesser page, or not exceeding twelve sheets in quarto, or twenty sheets in folio, which shall be so printed, a duty after the rate of one shilling for every sheet of any kind of paper which shall be contained in one printed copy thereof.

49. For every advertisement to be contained in any gazette, newspaper, or other paper, or any pamphlet which shall be so printed, a duty of two shillings.

50. For every *almanac*, or calendar, for any one particular year, or for any time less than a year, which shall be written or printed on one side only of any one sheet, skin, or piece of paper, parchment, or vellum, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *two pence*.

51. For every other *almanac*, or calendar, for any one particular year, which shall be written or printed within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *four pence*.

52. And for every *almanac* or calendar, written or printed in the said colonies and plantations, to serve for several years, duties to the same amount respectively shall be paid for every such year.

53. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which any instrument, proceeding, or other matter or thing aforesaid, shall be engrossed, written, or printed, within the said colonies and plantations, in any other than the English language, a stamp duty of double the amount of the respective duties before charged thereon.

54. And there shall be also paid, in the said colonies and plantations, a duty of six pence for every twenty shillings, in any sum not exceeding fifty pounds sterling money, which shall be given, paid, contracted, or agreed for, with or in relation to any clerk or apprentice, which shall be put or placed to or with any master or mistress, to learn any profession, trade, or employment. II. And also a duty of one shilling for every twenty shillings, in any sum exceeding fifty pounds, which shall be given, paid, contracted, or agreed for, with, or in relation to, any such clerk or apprentice.

55. Finally, the produce of all the aforementioned duties shall be paid into his majesty's treasury; and there held in reserve, to be used, from time to time, by the parliament, for the purpose of defraying the expenses necessary for the defence, protection, and security of the said colonies and plantations. [1765. *Statutes at Large*. *Pickering's edition*. 4, 5, *George III. Vol. XXVI. Chap. XII. page 179.*]

## BOOK SECOND.

1765. It is difficult to describe the effervescence excited in America, by the news that the stamp act had been adopted in parliament.

The minister, Grenville, knowing how odious it was to the Americans, and foreseeing the tumults it might cause, had endeavored to mitigate its severity, by strictly avoiding to employ, as collectors of the duty, any individuals born in England; but this precaution proved ineffectual to abate, in the least, the tempest of indignation with which it was received.

The American gazettes began to be filled with complaints of lost liberty; the most influential citizens declared openly, that this was a manifest violation of their rights, which proceeded from no transient error of the English government, but from a deliberate design to reduce the colonies to slavery; 'This,' they exclaimed, 'is but the commencement of a system of the most detestable tyranny.'

Such as opposed the schemes attributed to the government, either to contract a stricter union by a common name, or to render themselves more agreeable to the people, alluding to the words of colonel Barre in his speech before parliament, assumed the specious title of *sons of liberty*. They bound themselves mutually, among other things, to march at their own expense to any part of the continent, where it should be necessary to maintain the English constitution in America, and to use all their efforts to prevent the execution of the stamp act.

A committee of correspondence was organised, to address circular letters to the principal inhabitants of the country; exhorting them to adopt the same principles and the same resolutions. These measures gave a powerful activity to the opposition, and to the tumults which soon followed. The people were prepared for insurrection, the moment an occasion, or a signal, should be given them.

The Virginians, again at this time, were the first to give it. The 29th of May, 1765, the house of burgesses of Virginia, upon the motion of George Johnston and Patrick Henry, came to the following resolutions;

'Whereas the honorable house of commons in England, have of late drawn into question, how far the general assembly of this colony hath power to enact laws for laying taxes and imposing duties, payable by the people of this his majesty's most ancient colony; for settling and ascertaining the same to all future times, the house of burgesses of this present general assembly, have come to the several following resolutions';

'That the first adventurers and settlers of this his majesty's colony and dominion of Virginia, brought with them and transmitted to their



posterity, and all other his majesty's subjects since inhabiting in this his majesty's colony, all the privileges and immunities that have at any time been held, enjoyed and possessed by the people of Great Britain. That by the two royal charters granted by James I., the colonists aforesaid, are declared entitled to all privileges of faithful, liege and natural born subjects, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been abiding and born within the realm of England.

'That his majesty's liege people of this his most ancient colony, have enjoyed the right of being thus governed by their own assembly, in the article of taxes and internal police, and that the same have never been forfeited, or any other way yielded up, but have been constantly recognised by the king and people of Great Britain.

'That consequently the general assembly of this colony, together with his majesty, or his substitute, have in their representative capacity the only exclusive right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony; that every attempt to vest such a power in any person or persons whatsoever other than the general assembly aforesaid, is illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust, and has a manifest tendency to destroy British, as well as American freedom. That his majesty's liege people, the inhabitants of this colony, are not bound to yield obedience to any law or ordinance whatsoever, designed to impose any taxation whatsoever upon them, other than the laws and ordinances of this general assembly. That any person who shall by speaking or writing, maintain that any person or persons, other than the general assembly of this colony, have any right or power to impose or lay any taxation whatsoever upon this people, shall be deemed an enemy to this his majesty's colony.'

These resolutions were passed on this day, by an immense majority; but the day following, the assembly being more full, as many of the older and more prudent citizens attended, the subject was reconsidered; and by their influence and representations, the two last articles were retrenched. M. Fauquier, the lieutenant-governor, being informed of these debates, dissolved the assembly; but this measure had little success, for when the new elections took place, those who did not assent to the resolutions were excluded, and all those who did were re-elected. Meanwhile, the resolutions circulated from hand to hand, not as they had been modified, but in their original form.

The members of the confederacy, called the *sons of liberty*, were especially active in communicating them from one to another, and in a short time they were dispersed every where, and every where perused and reperused with equal avidity and enthusiasm.

But in New England, and particularly in the province of Massachusetts, the warm advocates of American privileges were not content with these marks of approbation, but to propagate them the more rapidly among all classes of people, caused them to be printed in the

public journals, which was the principal occasion of the tumults that shortly ensued.

Very early on Wednesday morning the 14th of August, and it is believed at the instigation of John Avery, Thomas Crafts, John Smith, Henry Welles, Thomas Chase, Stephen Cleverling, Henry Bass, and Benjamin Edes, all individuals extremely opposed to the pretensions of England, and zealous partisans of innovation, two effigies were discovered hanging on a branch of an old elm, near the southern entrance of Boston, one of which, according to the label that was attached to it, represented a stamp officer, the other a jack-boot, out of which rose a horned head, which appeared to look around. This spectacle attracted the curious multitude, not only from the city, but as the rumor spread, from all the adjacent country.

As the crowd increased, their minds, already but too much heated, were inspired with a spirit of enthusiasm by this strange exhibition, and the day was immediately devoted to recreation. About dusk, the images were detached from the tree, placed on a bier, and carried in procession with great solemnity. The people followed, stamping, and shouting from all quarters, 'liberty and property forever—no stamp.' Having passed through the town house, they proceeded with their pageantry down King street, and into Kilby street; when arrived in front of a house owned by one Oliver, which they supposed was designed for a stamp office, they halted, and without further ceremony, demolished it to the foundations. Bearing off, as it were in triumph, the wood of the ruined house, with continually increasing shouts and tumult, they proceeded to the dwelling of Oliver himself, and there having beheaded his effigy, broke all his windows in an instant. Continuing to support the two figures in procession, they ascended to the summit of Fort hill, where kindling with their trophies a bonfire, they burnt one of them, amidst peals of universal acclamation. Not satisfied with this, the populace returned to the house of Oliver with clubs and staves; the garden, fences, and all the dependencies of the edifice were destroyed. Oliver had fled, to avoid the popular fury, leaving only a few friends to use their discretion, for the prevention of further damage. But some imprudent words of theirs having exasperated the rage of the multitude, they broke open the doors, entered the lower part of the house, and destroyed the furniture of every description. At midnight they disbanded. The next day, Oliver finding himself thus the object of public detestation, and apprehensive of a second visit, notified the principal citizens that he had written to England, requesting the liberty of being excused from the office of distributor of stamps. In the evening, the people re-assembled, erected a pyramid, intending another bonfire, but upon hearing of Oliver's resignation, they desisted, and repaired to the front of his house, gave three cheers, and took their departure without damage.



Meanwhile, a rumor having got abroad, that Hutchinson, the lieutenant-governor, had written to England in favor of the stamp duties, the multitude immediately repaired to his house, and could not be persuaded to retire till they were assured, that this gentleman had even written to dissuade from the bill. Upon which their cries of rage were followed by shouts of acclamation; they kindled a bonfire, and quietly returned to their respective habitations. But far more serious were the disorders of the 26th of the same month. Some boys were playing around a fire they had kindled in King street; the fire ward coming to extinguish it, he was whispered, by a person unknown, to desist, which he not regarding, received a blow on his arm, and such other marks of displeasure, as obliged him to withdraw. Meanwhile, a particular whistle was heard from several quarters, which was followed by innumerable cries of 'Sirrah! Sirrah!' At this signal advanced a long train of persons disguised, armed with clubs and bludgeons, who proceeded to invest the house of Paxton, marshal of the court of admiralty, and superintendent of the port, who had time to escape; and, at the invitation of the steward,\* the assailants accompanied him to the tavern, were pacified, and the house was spared. But their repeated libations having renewed their frenzy, they sallied forth, and assaulted the house of William Story, register of the vice-admiralty, opposite the court-house, the lower part of which, being his office, they broke open, seized and committed to the flames the files and public records of that court, and then destroyed the furniture of the house. Nor did the riot end here. The mob, continually increasing in numbers and intoxication, stimulated by the havoc already committed, rushed onwards to the house of Benjamin Hallowell, collector of the customs, the furniture of which they soon destroyed. They renewed their potations, in the cellar; and what they were unable to drink, they wasted; they searched every corner, and carried off about thirty pounds sterling in money. They are joined by fresh bands. In a state bordering on madness, they proceed to the residence of Hutchinson, the lieutenant-governor, about ten o'clock at night; they invest it, and employ every means to enter it by violence. After having sent his children, as yet of tender age, to a place of safety, he barricaded his doors and windows, and seemed determined to remain; but, unable to resist the fury of the assailants, he was constrained to quit the place, and take refuge in another house, where he remained concealed till four in the morning. Meantime, his mansion, perhaps the most magnificent and the best furnished house in the colony, was devoted to ruin and pillage. The plate, the pictures, the furniture of every kind, even to the apparel of the governor, were carried off,

\* Paxton was only a tenant; the owner of the house, T. Palmer, Esq., gave the entertainment.

besides nine hundred pounds sterling in specie. Not content with this, they dispersed or destroyed all the manuscripts which the governor had been thirty years in collecting, as well as papers, relating to the public service, deposited in his house ; an immense, and irreparable loss.

It appears that Hutchinson had become the object of a hatred so universal, because he was accused of having been accessory in laying on the stamp duties ; which imputation, however, was absolutely false ; for it is ascertained, on the contrary, that he had always opposed that measure, in his letters to the government. Hence it is seen how erroneous are often popular opinions ; and that those who govern should propose to themselves a nobler object, in the performance of their duty, than that of pleasing the multitude, who are more often found to fawn upon their oppressors, than to applaud their benefactors.

The next morning was the time for holding the assize and the supreme court of judicature. Hutchinson, who was its president, was obliged to appear on the bench in the dress of a private citizen, while the other judges, and the gentlemen of the bar, were in their respective robes. This contrast was observed with grief and pity by the spectators. The court, to evince with what indignation they received the affront they had sustained in the person of their president, and how much they detested the scenes of anarchy which the preceding day had witnessed, resolved to abstain from all exercise of their functions, and adjourned to the 15th of October.

Some individuals, who had been apprehended, refusing to denounce the authors of the tumult, were committed to prison ; but one of them effected his escape, and the rest were released soon after ; for it was seen distinctly, that the people were not disposed to tolerate any further proceedings against the delinquents.

Meanwhile, the principal citizens, either from a real detestation of the excesses committed by the rioters, or perceiving that such outrages must infallibly injure a cause they considered just, were very strenuous to distinguish this tumultuous conduct from a truly noble opposition, as they called it, to the imposition of internal taxes by authority of parliament. They assembled, in consequence, at Faneuil Hall, a place destined for public meetings, in order to declare solemnly how much they abhorred the extraordinary and violent proceedings of unknown persons, the preceding night ; and voted, unanimously, that the selectmen and magistrates of the city be desired to use their utmost endeavors, agreeable to law, to suppress such disorders for the future ; and that the freeholders and other inhabitants, would do every thing in their power to assist them therein.

The next day, a proclamation was published by the governor, offering a reward of three hundred pounds for the discovery of any of the ringleaders, and one hundred pounds for any of the other per-



sons concerned in that tumult. The tranquillity of the city was restored, and preserved by a nightly military watch.

But the disorders were not confined to the limits of the city of Boston, or the province of Massachusetts. They also broke out in many other places, and almost at the same time; which renders it probable that they had been previously concerted between the inhabitants of the different provinces. On Tuesday, the 27th of August, about nine o'clock in the morning, the people of Newport, in Rhode Island, began to manifest their agitation, by bringing forth, in a cart, three images, intended as the effigies of Martin Howard, Thomas Moffatt, and Augustin Johnston, with halters about their necks, to a gallows placed near the town-house, where they were hung to public view, till near night, when they were cut down, and burnt, amidst the acclamations of the multitude.

The following day, having probably received the news of what had taken place in Boston, they assembled again, and beset the house of Martin Howard, a celebrated advocate, who had written with great zeal in favor of the rights of parliament. All was plundered or destroyed, except the walls. Thomas Moffatt, a physician, maintained the same opinions, in all societies; his house was pillaged, also, in a moment. Both fled, and took shelter on board an English ship of war, at anchor in the port; and soon after, believing it no longer safe to remain in the country, departed for Great Britain. The populace proceeded towards the house of Johnston, prepared to commit the same disorders; but were met, and parleyed with, by a gentleman, who persuaded them to desist and disperse.

At Providence, the principal city of Rhode Island, a gazette extraordinary was published, on the 24th of August, with 'VOX POPULI, VOX DEI,' in large letters, for the frontispiece; and underneath, 'Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. St. Paul.' It congratulated the people of New England, on the glorious accounts, from all parts, of the laudable commotions of the people in the cause of liberty; and on the lawful measures adopted to prevent the execution of the stamp act, not hesitating to treat as such these blameable excesses of the populace. The writers extolled to the skies the zeal of the Bostonians, who, they said, had not degenerated from their fathers, but had preserved entire that spirit of freedom which had already rendered them so celebrated throughout the world. Pasquinades, farces, satires, and popular railleries were not spared, in the public prints. The effigies of such as were the objects of popular displeasure, were dragged, with halters about their necks, through the streets, hung to gibbets, and afterwards burnt.

In Connecticut, Ingersoll, the principal stamp officer, having appointed for his deputy an inhabitant of Wyndham, wrote him to come and receive his commission at New Haven. The inhabitants of Wyndham, on hearing of this, demanded the letter of Ingersoll, and

warned him not to accept the office ; which, preferring the less evil, he consented to renounce. Ingersoll himself was reduced to the same extremity, at New Haven. He wrote a letter, which was afterwards published, in which he declared, that since the inhabitants had such an aversion to stamped paper, he would not compel them to use it. He hoped, however, that if they should change their minds on further consideration, or from a conviction of necessity, they would receive it from him. This declaration was much applauded ; but the people having conceived new suspicions of his sincerity, they surrounded his house, and he was informed that he must decide immediately, either for or against the resignation of his office. He answered, that this choice was not in his power. They next demanded, whether, when the stamped paper arrived, he would deliver it to them, to make a bonfire ? Or—have his house pulled down ? He then replied, and with evident reluctance, that when the stamps arrived he would either reship them to be sent back ; or when they were in his house, he would leave his doors open, that they might then act as they thought proper.

Similar tumults also took place in the town of Norwich, and that of Lebanon ; but in the latter, the ceremony of a mock trial was added, by which the effigies were condemned, in due form, to be hung and burnt.

The next morning the same scenes were repeated, with the exception of the trial ; but the deputy collector of the stamp duty had already resigned.

In New Hampshire, Messerve, another stamp officer, was compelled by the multitude to renounce the exercise of his functions. In Maryland, Flood, principal distributor of stamped paper, was menaced in his property if he refused to resign ; he fled for refuge first to New York, and afterwards to Long Island. But the multitude having unexpectedly crossed the strait, constrained him not only to renounce his employment, but to confirm his resignation upon oath, before a magistrate.

At New York, the stamp act was held in such contempt, that it was printed and cried through the country as the *Folly of England and Ruin of America*. The stamp officers in this quarter perceived they could not resign too promptly. Similar scenes took place in the other American provinces.

To foment the general excitement, and encourage the people to persevere in the opposition commenced, their leaders took care to multiply satirical pamphlets and pasquinades ; epigrams and popular jests were incessant in the public prints. At Boston, among others, a newspaper was published, under the following title ; ‘The Constitutional Courant ; containing matters interesting to Liberty, and no wise repugnant to Loyalty.’ The frontispiece represented a serpent, cut into eight pieces ; on the part of the head, were the initial letters of



New England ; and on that of the body, the initials of the other colonies, as far as South Carolina ; and over it 'JOIN OR DIE,' in large letters.

In many places, the advocates, attornies and notaries, held meetings, in which the query was proposed, Whether, when the stamps should arrive, and the day prefixed for using them, they would agree to purchase stamped paper for their legal writings ? The negative was decided unanimously : they protested, however, in strong terms, against all riotous and indecent behavior, and pledged themselves to discountenance it, by every means in their power ; their sole intention being, by the refusal of the stamps, and other quiet methods, to endeavor to procure the repeal of the law.

The justices of the peace for the district of Westmoreland, in Virginia, published, that, on account of the stamp act, they had discontinued their functions ; unwilling, they said, to become instruments of the destruction of the most essential rights, and of the liberty of their country.

Thus, while the frantic populace rushed headlong into the most odious excesses, men of reputation only testified their resistance by moderate acts, but not less, and perhaps even more, efficacious, to obtain the repeal of a law they abhorred, and to re-establish American liberty. Thus, the spirit of independence, originating at first in Virginia and Massachusetts, was progressively propagated in the other provinces ; and passed from the populace to the middle classes, and from these to the most eminent citizens.

Meanwhile, the time drew nigh, when the stamped paper destined for America was expected to arrive from England ; and the day was no longer distant, when, by the terms of the law, the stamp act was to go into effect : it was the first of November.

The Americans already viewed it as a day of sinister presage, and the harbinger of future calamities to their country. On the 5th of October, the ships which brought the stamps, appeared in sight of Philadelphia, near Gloucester Point. Immediately, all the vessels in the harbor hoisted their colors half-staff high ; the bells were muffled ; and tolled for the rest of the day ; and every thing appeared to denote the most profound and universal mourning. At four in the afternoon, several thousands of citizens met at the State-House, to consult on proper measures to prevent the execution of the stamp act. Upon the motion of William Allen, son of the president of the court of justice, it was agreed to send a deputation to John Hughes, principal officer of the stamps for the province, to request he would resign his office ; to which, after long resistance, and with extreme reluctance, he at length consented.

The tumult continued many days ; during which Hughes was active in barricading his house, and securing the succours of his friends, apprehensive, notwithstanding his resignation, of being attacked every

moment. Amidst this general effervescence, the quakers, who are very numerous in Philadelphia, maintained a perfect calm, and appeared disposed to submit to the stamp act. The same also was the conduct of the Episcopál clergy; but they were few in number.

The stamped paper arrived at Boston the 10th of September. The governor immediately wrote to the assembly of representatives, requesting their advice, Oliver having resigned his office. The assembly replied, that this affair was not within their competency; and therefore the governor, they hoped, would excuse them, if they could not see their way clear, to give him either advice or assistance. The representatives thus avoided the snare, and left the governor alone, to extricate himself as he could. He finally caused the bales of stamped paper to be lodged in the castle, where they could be defended, if necessary, by the artillery.

But on the first of November, at dawn of day, all the bells of Boston sounded the funeral knell. Two figures, of immense proportions, were found suspended on the elm, of which we have spoken before. This tree, since the date of the first tumults, had acquired the name of 'the tree of liberty.' Under its shade the patriots assembled to confer upon their affairs; and thence arose the custom of planting, in every town, or naming those already planted, trees of liberty. The Bostonians poured into the streets in throngs, and all was uproar. At three in the afternoon, the two effigies were detached from the tree, in the midst of universal acclamations, carried round the city, hung to a gallows, and afterwards cut in pieces, and thrown to the winds. This executed, the people withdrew to their habitations, and tranquillity seemed re-established. But the agitators, soon after, proceeded to a highly blameable excess. Oliver, who had long since resigned his employment, was dragged with violence to the foot of the tree of liberty, through the tumultuous crowd, and there compelled, a second time, to renounce upon oath; as if any importance could be attached to these oaths, extorted by coercion! They attest the tyranny of those who exact them, not the will of him that takes them.

In many places, over the doors of the public offices, was seen this inscription: 'Let him that shall first distribute or employ stamped paper, look well to his house, his person, and his furniture. Vox POPULI.' The people went armed; the friends of stamps were intimidated.

Nor less serious were the disorders in the city of New York. The stamped paper arrived there, about the last of October. Mac Ever, who had been appointed distributor, having resigned the office, the lieutenant-governor, Colden, a person little agreeable to the multitude, on account of his political opinions, caused the paper to be lodged in fort George; and having taken some precautions for its security, the people began to suspect some sinister intention on his part.



In consequence, on the 1st of November, towards evening, the populace assembled in great numbers, and rushed furiously to the citadel. The governor's stables were forced, his coach taken out, and drawn in triumph through the principal streets of the city. A gallows having been erected in the grand square, the effigy of the lieutenant-governor was there hung, with a sheet of stamped paper in the right hand, and the figure of a demon in the left. It was afterwards taken down, and carried in procession, the coach in the van, to the gates of the fortress, and finally to the counterscarp, under the very mouths of the cannon, where they made a grand bonfire of the whole, amidst the shouts and general exultation of many thousands of people. But this irritated multitude did not stop here. They soon repaired to the residence of major James. It was distinguished for its rich furniture, a library of great value, and a garden of singular beauty. In a moment all was ravaged and destroyed. They kindled also the accustomed bonfire; exclaiming, Such are the entertainments the people bestow on the friends of stamps!

The coffee-houses had become a species of public arena, and schools for political doctrines, where the popular orators, mounting the benches or tables, harangued the multitude, who commonly resorted to these places in great numbers. In a very crowded concourse of this sort, an honest citizen of New York arose and exhorted the people to a more regular and less blameable conduct. He entreated the inhabitants even to take arms, in order to be prepared to repress the factious on the first symptoms of tumult. His discourse was received with great approbation. But captain Isaac Sears, who had commanded a privateer, and was violently opposed to the stamps, urged the people not to give ear to these timid men, who take alarm at cobwebs; let them follow him, and he would soon put them in possession of the stamped paper.

He is joined at first by a few popular chiefs; all the rest follow their example. A deputation is sent to the lieutenant-governor, to inform him that he will do well to deliver up the stamped paper. He endeavored at first to gain time, alleging that the governor, Henry Moore, was expected shortly, and would determine what was proper in this conjuncture. The answer was by no means satisfactory. It was represented more imperiously to the lieutenant-governor, that peaceably or by force, the people must have the stamped paper; and that a moment's delay might cause the effusion of blood. To avoid, therefore, a greater evil, he consented to put it in their hands; and they, with great exultation, deposited the same in the City-Hall. Ten bales, however, which arrived afterwards, were seized by the populace and burnt.

Notwithstanding all the disorders committed in New York by the lower classes, citizens of a more quiet character abounded in this city; who, if, on the one hand, they were averse to the pretensions

of the British parliament, and especially to the stamp act, on the other, felt an equal abhorrence for these excesses of popular insolence; well knowing, that they are only excited by the worthless and desperate, who alone can be gainers by anarchy. Believing, therefore, it was no longer advisable to leave the headlong multitude without a check, but, on the contrary, that it was essential to direct their movements towards the object proposed by themselves, they convoked a general meeting of the people, in the fields adjacent to the city. It was there proposed to appoint a committee of persons of known patriotism, to correspond with the friends of liberty in other provinces, and communicate intelligence of all occurrences; in order to enable the people of the different provinces to move, if requisite, all at once, and as it were in a single body. This measure, however, was not without danger, since it inclined towards an open rebellion, if not even already of this character.

Many, therefore, who had been nominated members of the committee excused themselves upon various pretexts; but finally, Isaac Sears and four others of distinguished intrepidity, offered themselves, and were approved by the multitude. They commenced their labors immediately, subscribing the letters with all their names. They requested their correspondents of Philadelphia, to transmit their despatches to the more southern colonies; and the Bostonians, to those of the north. This produced, as it were, a second generation of the Sons of Liberty, who, by means of regular couriers, were enabled to reciprocate intelligence, and to form a league in opposition to parliamentary taxation. But if the utility of a regular correspondence was recognised by all the party, they were not long in perceiving that it was insufficient to accomplish their views. They saw that it was requisite to determine all the principles of the association, and cause them to be accepted by all its members, in order that each might know his duty, and the counsels to be pursued. The authors of this plan believed, also, that as the articles of confederation were to be solemnly subscribed, many even of the adverse party would not dare to oppose it, and would therefore give their signatures: they would thus have been rendered accessaries, and their future support consequently secured. The articles were soon drawn up, and accepted by the Sons of Liberty in the two provinces of New York and Connecticut: and afterwards, passing from hand to hand, by those of the other colonies.

In the preamble to this league, which was composed very ably, the confederates affirmed, that perverse men had formed a design to alienate the minds of the loyal and affectionate American subjects from his majesty's person and government, and therefore they professed and declared their fidelity and allegiance to the king to be immutable; that they would defend and support the crown with all their forces; that with the greatest promptitude they submitted to



its government, and this in conformity to the British constitution, founded upon the eternal principles of equity and justice ; that every violation of this constitution was at the same time a high offence against heaven, and an audacious contempt of the people, from whom, under God, all just government proceeds ; that they were therefore resolved to unite all their endeavors, their vigilance and their industry, to defeat these criminal designs. 'And since,' they added, '*a certain pamphlet*, (thus designating a law passed by the parliament of Great Britain,) has appeared in America, under the form of an act of parliament, and under the name of the stamp act, although it has not been legally published nor introduced ; by which the colonists would be divested of their dearest rights, and especially that of taxing themselves ; in order to preserve these rights entire, and to defend them as well as every other part of the British constitution, we bind ourselves, and promise to march with all our forces, and at our own expense, upon the first advice, to the succour of those who shall be menaced with any peril whatever, on account of any thing done in opposition to the stamp act. We will attentively watch all those, who, by commission or of their own accord, shall endeavor to introduce the use of stamped paper, which would be the total subversion of the English constitution, and of American liberty. We will reciprocally designate to each other all persons of this sort that we may discover, whatever shall be their rank or their names, and will endeavor, with all our power, by every lawful means, to bring these traitors to their country to condign punishment. We will defend the liberty of the press from all illegal violation, and from every impediment which may result from the stamp act ; the press being the only means, under Divine Providence, of preserving our lives, liberty, and property. We will also defend and protect the judges, advocates, attornies, notaries, and similar persons, against all penalties, fines or vexations, they may incur by not conforming to the act aforesaid, in the exercise of their respective avocations.'

Such was the league of New York, which increased the ardor and concert of the parties, then fermenting at every point of the American colonies.

Meanwhile, the seeds of the new doctrine, in respect to government, were rapidly propagated in the province of New York ; the public journals offered them to the daily consideration of their readers. It was every where asserted, that the colonies ought not to have any other connexion with Great Britain but that of living under the same sovereign ; and that all dependence ought to cease, as to legislative authority.

These opinions, supported with equal ardor and ingenuity, were daily acquiring new roots ; they were disseminated in the other colonies, and insensibly prepared the minds of the people for the new order of things, towards which the multitude advanced without sus-

pecting it, but its leaders, with deliberate purpose. A revolution, for which England, with quite opposite views, had herself paved the way, and prepared the most favorable circumstances.

The merchants of New York resorted to another mode of opposition, very efficacious, and well adapted to obtain the repeal of the act. They entered into reciprocal agreements, not only to order no more goods from Great Britain, until the act was repealed, and to withdraw all the orders already given, and which should not be executed previous to the 1st of January, 1766, but also, not even to permit the sale of any English merchandise, which should be shipped after this date. According to the ordinary progress of minds once agitated, which become continually more bold in their opinions, the merchants added, that they would persevere in these resolutions, until the acts relative to sugar, molasses, and bills of credit, were also revoked. The same resolutions were voluntarily adopted also by the retail traders, who agreed not to buy or sell any English merchandise, that should be introduced into the country in contravention of these stipulations.

The merchants and traders of Philadelphia also assembled, and entered into an agreement; but not with the same unanimity. The Quakers refused their concurrence. They thought it was prudent, however, to conform to circumstances; and wrote to England, requesting that no more goods might be sent them. The Philadelphians went still further, and prohibited any lawyer from instituting an action for monies due to an inhabitant of England; and no American was to make any payment for the benefit of a subject of that kingdom, until the acts should be repealed. At Boston, although a little later, similar associations were formed; and the example of these principal cities was imitated by nearly all the other cities and commercial towns of English America.

From these measures, England experienced, in her manufactures, an incalculable prejudice; while Ireland, on the contrary, derived an immense advantage from their effects; for the Americans resorted to the latter country, to obtain such articles of merchandise as they considered indispensably necessary, and carried, in exchange, immense quantities of the seed of flax and of hemp. But the colonists were desirous also to withdraw themselves from this necessity. A society of arts, manufactures and commerce, was formed at New York, after the model of that in London. Markets were opened, in different places, for the sale of articles manufactured in the country; to which were brought, in abundance, cloths and linens, stuffs of wool and of flax, works in iron, of a tolerable quality, though a little rough, spirits distilled from barley, paper stained for hangings, and other articles of general utility. That the first materials of fabrics in wool might sustain no diminution, it was resolved to abstain from eating the flesh of lambs, and also from buying meat, of any sort, of butchers who should kill or offer for sale any of these animals.



Every citizen, even the most opulent, the most ostentatious, conforming to the general mode, preferred to wear clothing made in the country, or their old clothes, to using English manufactures. Thus a general opinion obtained, that America could suffice to herself, without need of recourse to the industry and productions of England. And, as if these wounds, inflicted upon the commerce of the mother country, were not sufficiently severe, it was proposed, in Virginia and South Carolina, to suspend all exportation of tobacco to any part of Great Britain; from which the latter must have sustained a very serious detriment, not only by the diminution of public revenue, consequent to that of the duties upon importation, but by the diminution of commerce itself; for the English supplied foreign markets with great quantities of these tobaccos.

On the first of November, the day prefixed by the law for the emission of stamped paper, not a single sheet of it could have been found in all the colonies of New England, of New York, of New Jersey, of Pennsylvania, of Maryland, and of the two Carolinas. It had either been committed to the flames during the popular commotions, or sent back to England, or fallen into the hands of the party in opposition, who guarded it carefully. Hence originated a sudden suspension, or rather a total cessation, of all business that could not be transacted without stamped paper. The printers of newspapers only continued their occupation; alleging for excuse, that if they had done otherwise, the people would have given them such admonitions as they little coveted. None would receive the gazettes coming from Canada, as they were printed upon stamped paper. The courts of justice were closed; the ports were shut; even marriages, were no longer celebrated; and in a word, an absolute stagnation in all the relations of social life was established.

The governors of the provinces, though bound by their oaths, and the severest penalties, to cause the stamp act to be executed, considering, on the one hand, the obstinacy of the Americans, and, on the other, the impossibility of finding any stamped paper, in the greater part of the towns, considering also the incalculable detriment that must result, as well to the public as to individuals, from a total stagnation of all civil transactions, resolved to grant letters of dispensation to such as requested them, and particularly to ships about to sail from the ports; for the captains, without this precaution, would have been liable to heavy penalties, in other ports of the British dominions, for not having conformed to the stamp act. The lieutenant-governor of South Carolina, the governor being absent, alone obstinately persisted in exacting a strict execution of the law, and never consented to grant dispensations. Nor is it easy to conceive how great was the damage sustained, in all civil transactions, by the inhabitants of this opulent colony, in consequence of the obstinacy shown by the two parties.

But the province of Massachusetts, the most populous of all, and that in which the opposition to the designs of England was the most determined and the most universal, took another resolution, of extreme importance, which was soon adopted by all the others. The leading patriots of Massachusetts reflected that popular commotions are commonly of little duration; and that governments, to preserve their dignity, are more disposed to punish their authors, than to remove their causes; and consequently, that both reasons of state, and the wounded pride of those they had braved, would be united against them. They reflected, also, that the regular correspondence established between the Sons of Liberty in the different provinces, although of great importance to diffuse and uphold a common opinion, was still but a correspondence of private men, acting by no public authority; and that, although the assemblies of representatives of each province, had opposed the late laws by suitable deliberations, yet these acts were but the remonstrances of particular provinces, which did not represent the entire united body of the English colonies. They resolved, therefore, to take measures preliminary to the formation of a general congress, to which each of the provinces should send its deputies, for the purpose of concluding a general and public confederacy against the laws of which America complained. They hoped that England would pay more regard to the opposition and remonstrances of such a body than to those of private individuals, or of the provincial assemblies, separated one from another. Perhaps they also hoped, as they probably already meditated the design of independence, that, by means of this congress, the colonies would become accustomed to act in concert, and consider themselves as a single and united nation. The first authors of this deliberation were the Otises, father and son, and James Warren, who took a more active part than others in affairs of this nature.

The proposition having been submitted to the house of assembly, it was immediately adopted, by passing a resolution, that it was highly expedient to form a congress without delay, to be composed of all the deputies that should be sent by the houses of representatives or burgesses of the different colonies, to consult together respecting the present occurrences, and to form and transmit to England, the remonstrances which might be deemed proper. It was decided, that this congress should be convoked in the city of New York, on the first Tuesday of October.

This was the first general congress held in the colonies, since the commencement of the tumults; it served as a model to the other, which governed the affairs of America during the course of the war which broke out some time after. The other colonies addressed their acknowledgments to the province of Massachusetts, for its zeal in the common cause; and sent their deputies to the congress of New York. A memorable example! The same councils which



tended to establish a law by the divisions supposed to have resulted from the conflict of interests, produced, on the contrary, an universal combination against this law; and where it was expected to find general obedience, an unanimous resistance was encountered. A manifest proof, that where no powerful armies exist, to constrain the opinion of the people, all attempts to oppose it, are fraught with danger. The rulers of free states ought to show themselves their administrators, rather than masters; they should be capable of guiding, without frequent use of the curb, or of the spur.

On Monday, the 7th of October, 1765, the delegates of the American provinces convened in the city of New York. The ballot being taken, and the votes examined, Timothy Ruggles was elected president. The congress, after a long preamble, full of the ordinary protestations of affection and loyalty towards the person of the king, and the English government, inserted a series of fourteen articles, which were but a confirmation of the rights claimed by the Americans, both as men and as subjects of the British crown, of which we have already made frequent mention; concluding with complaints of the restraints and impediments to their commerce, created by the late laws.

They afterwards drew up three petitions, or remonstrances, addressed to the king, to the lords in parliament, and to the house of commons. They enlarged upon the merits of the Americans, in having converted vast deserts, and uncultivated lands, into populous cities and fertile fields; inhospitable shores into safe and commodious ports; tribes of ignorant and inhuman savages, into civilised and sociable nations, to whom they had communicated the knowledge of things, divine and human; and thus had greatly advanced the glory, power, and prosperity of the British nation.

‘We have always enjoyed,’ they said, ‘the privileges of English subjects; to these we are indebted for the happy life we have led for so long a time. We cannot, we ought not, to renounce them; none has the right to tax us but ourselves. We have been aggrieved and injured, beyond measure, by the late commercial restrictions; but especially by the new and extraordinary act for imposing stamp duties. The peculiar circumstances of the colonies render it impossible to pay these duties; and, though it were possible, the payment would soon drain them of all their specie. The execution of these laws would, by reaction, become extremely detrimental to the commercial interest of Great Britain. The colonies owe an immensely heavy debt, as well to England for British manufactures, as to their own inhabitants, for advances made by them, for the public service, in the late war. It is evident, the more the commerce of the colonies is favored, the more also that of England is promoted and increased. In such a country as America, where the lands are extremely divided, and transfers of property very frequent, where a

multiplicity of transactions take place every day, the stamp act is not only vexatious, but altogether insupportable; the house of commons cannot, at so great a distance, be acquainted with our wants or with our faculties; every one knows the distinction between the jurisdiction of parliament, in regulating the affairs of commerce in all parts of the empire, and colonial taxation; for the latter object, the provincial assemblies have been expressly instituted in the colonies, which would become altogether useless, if the parliament should arrogate the right of imposing taxes; the colonists have never obstructed, but have always promoted to the extent of their power, the interests of the crown; they bear a filial affection towards the government and people of England; they love their opinions, their manners, their customs, they cherish the ancient relations, which unite them; they hope, therefore, that their humble representations will be heard; that their deplorable situation will be taken into a just consideration; that the acts which have oppressed their commerce and their property, with such grievances, will be repealed, or that the British government will otherwise relieve the American people, as in its wisdom and goodness shall seem meet.'

But, as if they feared being called to participate in the general representation in parliament, by sending their delegates also, they inserted in their petitions, an assertion entirely new, which was, that considering the remote situation, and other circumstances of the colonies, it would be impracticable that they should be otherwise represented, than by their provincial assemblies. Another of their complaints was directed against the clauses of the late laws, by which the penalties and forfeitures, that might be incurred by the violation of the late regulations, and of the stamp act, were not to be decided as in England, by the ordinary tribunals, but, at the election of the informer, by one of the courts of admiralty. Thus, they affirmed, at the good pleasure of the first suborner, they were liable to be carried, for trial, from one end of the continent to the other; while at the same time, they would be deprived of the right, so dear to all, of being tried by a jury; their fortunes, their characters, would be in the hands of a single judge.

The 24th of October, it was determined by congress, that the petitions should be preferred in England, with the requisite solicitations, by special agents, to be appointed for this purpose by the several provinces, and indemnified for all their expenses. The day following, having accomplished the objects for which it was convened, the congress dissolved itself.

The news of the disturbances excited in America, by the stamp act, being arrived in England, the minds of all were deeply but differently affected, according to their various opinions and interests.

The merchants, foreseeing that the sums they had lent the Americans could not be reimbursed, censured, and detested the extraordi-



nary law which had interrupted the ancient course of things. The greater part of them did not blame, but even appeared to approve the resolution taken by the Americans, to discontinue all remittances to England, persuaded that the new duties had deprived them of the means. The manufacturers, finding their orders diminished, and their business rapidly declining, were reduced to the greatest straits, and many to ruin. Some abandoned themselves to dejection and despondency, others manifested a lofty indignation at the excesses committed by the Americans. Disputations and controversies, were without number. Pamphlets were daily published, written upon different, and even opposite principles. In some, the Americans were extravagantly extolled, and praised as the defenders of liberty, the destroyers of tyranny, the protectors and supporters of all that is dear to man upon earth; in others, they were acrimoniously accused of ingratitude, avarice, turbulence, suspicion, and finally, of rebellion.

Those who in parliament, or elsewhere, had promoted the late laws, were disposed to employ force, and constrain the obedience of the Americans at all hazards; and to inflict condign punishment upon the authors of such enormities. Those, on the contrary, who had opposed the act, declared for more lenient measures; they affirmed, that all other means should be tried before resorting to force; that an attempt should first be made to sooth the minds of the colonists, as it was never too late to employ coercion; that the signal of civil war once given, the first blood once shed, it was impossible to foresee the consequences, or the termination of the contest.

It was believed, at the time, that lord Bute, who had the king's entire confidence, and, concealed behind the scenes, was the prompter of all, had strongly advised to trample down all obstacles, and to use the promptest means to subdue all opposition. The gentlemen of the royal household, who in their ambrosial life are ignorant of human miseries, would have winged the despatches to America with fire and sword. The members of the Episcopal clergy itself, forgetting the clemency of their character, professed the same sentiments; perhaps they already imagined that the Americans, being reduced to submission, and the petulance, as they said, of their spirits brought under the curb, to prevent the return of similar disorders, it would be determined to introduce in the colonies, the English hierarchy. It was also known that the king was inclined to enforce the execution of the stamp act, but that if this could not be effected without bloodshed, he wished its repeal.

Meanwhile, the ministry, who had been the authors of the restraints imposed on American commerce, and of the stamp act, had received their dismissal. In appearance, and perhaps in reality, this change took place on account of the coldness with which they had proposed and supported the regency bill, before the two houses of parliament; such at least was the general opinion; but it is not improbable that

it was occasioned by the alarming commotions raised in England by the silk-weavers, who complained of the declension of their manufacture. The cause of which was imputed, by some, to the introduction of an unusual quantity of foreign silks, and particularly those of France; but, the real or principal cause, was the diminution of purchases for American account. Perhaps also, the government already suspected, or was apprised of the tumults in America. But it was given out and circulated with much industry, that the change of ministry ought to be attributed solely to the statute of regency. The government thus sheltered itself from the blame incurred by the new direction given to the affairs of America, and left the people at liberty to throw it upon the late ministry. For it is a salutary principle of the English constitution, that when in consequence of a false or unfortunate measure, the state is menaced with serious dangers, (as this measure could not, however, be renounced without prejudice to the dignity of government) some occasion of a nature quite foreign, is eagerly sought as a pretext for dismissing the ministers. Then, without other accusation, the censure attaches to them; the affair is again brought under deliberation, and the plan of conduct is entirely changed. Thus it is seen, that what, in other governments, where the sovereign is absolute, could only be obtained by his abdication, or otherwise would expose the state to the most disastrous events, and perhaps total ruin, is easily obtained in England, by a simple change of ministers. In this manner the wishes of the nation are gratified without impairing the dignity of the throne, or the security of the state. But, as in all human things evil is always mingled with good, this procedure has also its inconveniences, and the new ministers are placed in a situation full of embarrassment; for to march in a direction altogether opposite to that of their predecessors, would be giving a complete triumph to the factious, to insurgents, to enemies, domestic or foreign, and would tend to animate them with new audacity. On the other hand, to follow tamely the same track, would be continuing in evil, and doing precisely that which it is desired to avoid. It happens, therefore, too often, that the new ministers are obliged to pursue a certain middle course, which rarely leads to any desirable end. A remarkable example of which, is exhibited in the history of the events we retrace.

The marquis of Rockingham, one of the wealthiest noblemen of the kingdom, and much esteemed by all for the vigor of his genius, and especially for the sincerity of his character, was appointed first lord of the treasury, in the room of George Grenville, the other departments of the ministry passed from the friends of the latter to the friends of the former. The greater part were, or at least professed to be, friendly to the American cause. One of them, general Conway, had been appointed secretary of state for the colonies; and no choice could have been more agreeable to the Americans.



The new ministers soon turned their attention to the state of the colonies, which they resolved to meliorate, by procuring the abrogation of the laws which had caused such bitter complaints, and particularly of the stamp act. But this they could not do at present, without a great prejudice to the dignity of government; it was also necessary to wait for the regular meeting of parliament, which is usually convened at the close of the year; finally, it was requisite to take, at least in appearance, sufficient time to acquaint themselves thoroughly with the state of affairs in America, and to weigh them with much deliberation, in order to lay them before parliament with all due precision and illustrations. They endeavored, in the mean time, to sooth the minds of the Americans, and bring them back to reason, by pruning from the odious acts all the conditions that could be removed by an extreme laxity of interpretation; by speaking in their correspondence with the governors of the colonies, with great indulgence of the American disturbances; and by encouraging the colonists themselves to hope that their grievances would be redressed.

The board of treasury decided that all the produce of the American stamp duties should be paid, from time to time, to the deputy paymaster in America, to defray the subsistence of the troops, and any military expenses incurred in the colonies.

The members of the board of trade, having taken into consideration the energetic resolutions of the assembly of Virginia, were urgent in their representations to the king, that he should notice them, by a declaration of the royal disapprobation, and send instructions to the agents of the crown in Virginia, to enforce the strict execution of the stamp act, and all other laws proceeding from the legitimate authority of parliament. But all this was but a vain demonstration, for they well knew that their opinion would not be approved by the king's privy council. In effect, the council decided that the present matter could not be determined by the king in his privy council, but was within the competency of parliament.

The resolutions of the other colonial assemblies having been denounced to the king, the privy council made the same answer in respect to them. Thus it was apparent, that a disposition existed to discourage all deliberations directed against America.

The secretary of state, Conway, found himself in a very difficult situation. He could not but condemn the excesses to which the Americans had abandoned themselves; but, on the other hand, he detested the thought of procuring, by force, the execution of a law which had been the cause of such commotions, and was considered by the new ministers, and by himself, perhaps, more than any other, if not unjust, certainly at least, unseasonable and prejudicial. He, therefore, had recourse to temporising and subterfuges; and displayed in all his conduct a surprising address.

In the letters addressed to the lieutenant-governor of Virginia, and to the other colonial governors, he expressed a full persuasion of the attachment of the mass of the Virginians to the mother country; that the violent proceedings of some among them, had in no degree diminished the confidence his majesty had always placed in his good colony of Virginia; that neither the crown nor its servants had any intention to violate the real rights and liberties of any part of his majesty's dominions; that, on the other hand, the government would never endure that the dignity of parliament should be made a sacrifice to certain local and anticipated opinions. He therefore exhorted the governors to maintain, with all their power, but by all prudent measures, the just rights of the British government, (without, however, explaining what rights were intended.) He recommended to them, especially, to preserve the peace and tranquillity of the provinces committed to their care; then, adverting to the violences and outrages which had taken place in the colonies, he did not hesitate to attribute them to the lowest of the population, always fond of change; he was confident, the better and wiser part of the citizens had taken no part in them, who must know that submission and decency are more efficacious than violence and outrage, to obtain redress, indulgence and favor. 'If prudence and lenity should prove insufficient to calm the fermentation, it would be necessary to provide for the maintenance of peace and good order, by such a timely exertion of force as the occasion might require; for which purpose, they would make the proper applications to general Gage or lord Colvil, commanders of his majesty's land and naval forces in America.'

He praised, however, the patience and magnanimity of the governor of New York, in having abstained from firing the artillery of the fort on the infatuated populace, which so provokingly approached; and testified his joy, that amidst so many disorders no blood had been spilt. He remarked that the distance of places prevented him from giving them more precise instructions; and, finally, that he placed great reliance upon their wisdom, discretion and prudence.

These despatches of the secretary of state, sufficiently evince what was his mode of thinking, with respect to American affairs; for, although he recommends the employment of force, if requisite, for the repression of tumults, he no where speaks of constraining the Americans to submit to the stamp act.

In the midst of so many storms, the year 1765 approached its conclusion, when the parliament was convoked, on the 17th of December. Although the king, in his opening speech, had made mention of American affairs, this subject which held in suspense not only Great Britain and her colonies, but even all Europe, was adjourned till the meeting of parliament after the Christmas holidays. Accordingly, on the 14th of January, 1766, the king adverted again to



the events which had occurred in America, as matters of extreme importance, which would require the most serious attention of parliament during its present session. Things were on all sides brought to maturity. The new ministers had laid before parliament all the information relating to this subject; and, having previously arranged the system of measures they intended to pursue, they were fully prepared to answer the objections which they knew it must encounter from the opposite party. Likewise, those who from personal interest or from conviction, voluntarily or at the suggestion of others, proposed to support the ministers in their debates, had made all the dispositions they believed conducive to the object in view. On the other hand, the late ministers, and all their adherents, had strenuously exerted themselves, in making preparations to defend a law they had ushered into being, and the darling object of their solicitude; fully apprised, apart from partiality for their own opinion, what dishonor, or at least what diminution of credit, they must sustain from its abrogation. But, whatever might have been the motives deducible from reasons of state, for the maintainance of the law, the prejudice which must result from it to the commerce of Great Britain, was already but too evident.

Accordingly, as if all the merchants of the kingdom had leagued for the purpose, they presented themselves at the bar of parliament, with petitions, tending to cause the repeal of the act. They represented how much their commerce had been affected, in consequence of the new regulations and the new laws concerning America.

‘At this moment,’ they said, ‘we see accumulated or perishing in our warehouses, immense quantities of British manufactures, which heretofore have found a ready market in America; a very great number of artisans, manufacturers, and seamen, are without employment, and destitute of support. England is deprived of rice, indigo, tobacco, naval stores, oil, whale fins, furs, potash, and other commodities of American growth, that were brought by its inhabitants to our ports, in exchange for British manufactures. The merchants of Great Britain are frustrated of the remittances, in bills of exchange and bullion, which the Americans have hitherto procured them; and which they obtained in payment for articles of their produce, not required for the British market, and therefore exported to other places; already, many articles are wanting, heretofore procured by the Americans with their own funds, and with English manufactures, and which they brought eventually to the ports of England. From the nature of this trade, consisting of British manufactures exported, and of the import of raw materials from America, it must be deemed of the highest importance to the British nation; since, among other advantages, it tended to lessen its dependence on foreign states; but it is henceforth annihilated, without the immediate interposition of parliament. The merchants of Great Britain are in advance to the

colonists for the sum of several millions sterling, who are no longer able to make good their engagements, as they have heretofore done, so great is the damage they have sustained from the regulations of commerce recently introduced ; and many bankruptcies have actually occurred of late in the colonies, a thing almost without example in times past.' The petitioners added, that their situation was critical ; that without the immediate succours of parliament, they must be totally ruined ; that a multitude of manufacturers would likewise be reduced to the necessity of seeking subsistence in foreign countries, to the great prejudice of their own. They implored the parliament to preserve the strength of the nation entire, the prosperity of its commerce, the abundance of its revenues, the power of its navy, the immensity and wealth of its navigation, (the sources of the true glory of England, and her strongest bulwark) and finally, to maintain the colonies, from inclination, duty, and interest, firmly attached to the mother country.

The agent of Jamaica also presented a petition, in which were detailed the pernicious effects produced, in that Island by a stamp law, which had originated in the assembly of its own representatives. Other petitions were presented by the agents of Virginia and Georgia. All these were got up, at the suggestion of the ministers. The representations of the congress of New York were not admitted, because this assembly was unconstitutionally formed.

Not trusting to these preparatives, the ministers, passionately desirous of obtaining the revocation, resolved to employ the name and authority of Benjamin Franklin, a man who enjoyed at that time the greatest reputation. He was therefore interrogated, during the debates, in the presence of the house of commons. The celebrity of the person, the candor of his character, the recollection of all the services he had rendered his country, and the whole human race, by his physical discoveries, roused the attention of every mind. The galleries were crowded with spectators, eager to hear so distinguished an individual speak upon a subject of so much moment. He answered with gravity, and with extreme presence of mind. 'The Americans,' he said, 'already pay taxes on all estates, real and personal ; a poll tax ; a tax on all offices, professions, trades and businesses, according to their profits ; an excise on all wine, rum, and other spirits ; and a duty of ten pounds per head, on all negroes imported ; with some other duties. The assessments upon real and personal estates amount to eighteen pence in the pound ; and those upon the profits of employments to half a crown. The colonies could not in any way pay the stamp duty ; there is not gold and silver enough, in all the colonies, to pay the stamp duty even for one year. The Germans who inhabit Pennsylvania are more dissatisfied with this duty than the native colonists themselves. The Americans, since the new laws, have abated much of their affection for Great



Britain, and of their respect for parliament. There exists a great difference between internal and external duties; duties laid on commodities imported have no other effect than to raise the price of these articles in the American market; they make, in fact, a part of this price; but it is optional with the people either to buy them or not, and consequently to pay the duty or not. But an internal tax is forced from the people without their own consent, if not laid by their own representatives. The stamp act says, we shall have no commerce, make no exchange of property with each other, neither purchase nor grant, nor recover debts, we shall neither marry, nor make our wills, unless we pay such and such sums; and thus it is intended to extort our money from us, or ruin us by the consequences of refusing to pay it. The American colonists could, in a short time, find in their own manufactures the means of sufficing to themselves. The repeal of the stamp act would restore tranquillity, and things would resume their pristine course.'

Thus spoke Franklin; and his words were a powerful support to the ministers. But the advocates of the law were not inactive; and they marshalled all their strength to obstruct their repeal. The disquisitions and debates had continued with equal warmth on both sides, and the moment of decision approached; when George Grenville, the same who, being prime minister, had first proposed the stamp act in parliament, a man whose influence was extensive, and his adherents very numerous, arose in his place, and spoke in the following terms; 'If I could persuade myself that the pride of opinion, the spirit of party, or the affection which man usually bears to things done by himself, had so fascinated my intellectual sight and biassed the faculties of my mind, as to deprive me of all power to see and distinguish that which is manifest, I certainly, on this occasion, should have intrenched myself in silence, and thus displayed, if not my zeal for the public service, at least my prudence and discretion. But, as the affair now before us has been the subject of my most attentive consideration, and of my most deliberate reflection, at a period when the general tranquillity was uninterrupted by scandalous excesses; and as, from a contingency for which I claim no merit, it appears that to my honor and reputation the honor and dignity of this kingdom are attached, my prudence might be reputed coldness, and my discretion a base desertion.

'But where is the public, where is the private man, whatever may be his moderation, who is not roused at the present dangers which so imminently threaten the safety of our country?—who does not put forth all his strength to avert them? And who can help indulging the most sinister anticipations, in contemplating the new counsels and fatal inactivity of the present servants of the crown? A solemn law has been enacted in parliament, already a year since. It was, and still is, the duty of ministers to carry it into effect. The

constitution declares, that to suspend a law, or the execution of a law, by royal authority, and without consent of parliament, is felony; in defiance of which, this law has been suspended,—has been openly resisted,—but did I say resisted? Your delegates are insulted, their houses are pillaged; even their persons are not secure from violence; and, as if to provoke your patience, you are mocked and braved under the mouths of your artillery. Your ears are assailed from every quarter, with protestations that obedience cannot, shall not, ought not, to be rendered to your decrees. Perhaps other ministers, more old fashioned, would have thought it their duty, in such a case, to lend the law the aid of force; thus maintaining the dignity of the crown and the authority of your deliberations. But those young gentlemen who sit on the opposite benches, and no one knows how, look upon these principles as the antiquated maxims of our simple ancestors, and disdain to honor with their attention mere acts of riot, sedition, and open resistance. With a patience truly exemplary, they recommend to the governors lenity and moderation; they grant them permission to call in the aid of three or four soldiers from general Gage, and as many cock-boats from lord Colvil; they commend them for not having employed, to carry the law into effect, the means which had been placed in their hands.

‘Be prepared to see that the seditious are in the right, and that we only are in fault; such, assuredly, is the opinion of the ministers. And who could doubt it? They have declared it themselves, they incessantly repeat it, in your presence. It is but too apparent that, much against their will, they have at length laid before you the disorders and audacious enormities of the Americans; for they began in July, and now we are in the middle of January; lately, they were only *occurrences*—they are now grown to disturbances, tumults and riots. I doubt they border on open rebellion; and if the doctrine I have heard this day be confirmed, I fear they will lose that name, to take that of revolution. May heaven bless the admirable resignation of our ministers; but I much fear we shall gather no fruits from it of an agreeable relish. Occasion is fleeting, the danger is urgent; and this undisciplinable people, the amiable object of their fond solicitude, of their tender care, are forming leagues, are weaving conspiracies, are preparing to resist the orders of the king and of the parliament. Continue then, ye men of long suffering, to march in the way you have chosen; even repeal the law; and see how many agents you will find zealous in the discharge of their duty, in executing the laws of the kingdom, in augmenting the revenues and diminishing the burthens of your people; see, also, how many ministers you will find, who, for the public service, will oppose a noble and invincible firmness against the cabals of malignity, against the powerful combination of all private interests, against the clamors of the multitude, and the perversity of faction. In a word, if you would shiver all the springs of government, repeal the law.



‘I hear it asserted, from every quarter, by these defenders of the colonists, that they cannot be taxed by authority of parliament, because they are not there represented. But if so, why, and by what authority, do you legislate for them at all? If they are represented, they ought to obey all laws of parliament whatsoever, whether of the nature of taxes, or any other whatever. If they are not, they ought neither to submit to tax laws nor to any other. And if you believe the colonists ought not to be taxed by authority of parliament, from defect of representation, how will you maintain that nine tenths of the inhabitants of this kingdom, no better represented than the colonists, ought to submit to your taxation? The Americans have taken a hostile attitude towards the mother country; and you would not only forgive their errors, dissemble their outrages, remit the punishment due, but surrender at discretion, and acknowledge their victory complete! Is this preventing popular commotions? Is this repressing tumults and rebellion? Is it not rather to foment them, to encourage them to supply fresh fuel to the conflagration? Let any man, not blinded by the spirit of party, judge and pronounce. I would freely listen to the councils of clemency, I would even consent to the abrogation of the law, if the Americans had requested it in a decent mode; but their modes are outrages, derision, and the ways of force; pillage, plunder, arms and open resistance to the will of government. It is a thing truly inadmissible, and altogether new, that, at any moment, whenever the fancy may take them, or the the name of a law shall happen to displease them, these men should at once set about starving our manufacturers, and refuse to pay what they owe to the subjects of Great Britain. The officers of the crown, in America, have repeatedly solicited, and earnestly entreated, the ministers, to furnish them with proper means to carry the law into effect; but the latter have disregarded their instances; and, by this negligence, the American tumults have taken the alarming character we see. And shall we now suffer the ministers to come and allege the effects of their own neglect, to induce us to sacrifice the best interests of this kingdom, the majesty, the power, and even the reputation of the government, to an evil, overgrown indeed, but not past cure, the moment a suitable resolution is demonstrated to bring this infatuated multitude to a sense of duty? But, again, if the colonists are exempted, by their constitutions, from parliamentary taxes, as levies of seamen have been either prohibited or restricted in America, by different acts of parliament, it follows, of necessity, that they are not bound either to furnish men for the defence of the common country, or money to pay them; and that England alone must support the burthen of the maintainance and protection of these her ungrateful children. If such a partiality should be established, it must be at the hazard of depopulating this kingdom, and of dissolving that original compact upon which all human societies repose.

‘But I hear these subtle doctors attempting to inculcate a fantastical distinction between external and internal taxes, as if they were not the same as to the effect, that of taking money from the subjects for the public service. Wherefore, then, these new councils? When I proposed to tax America, I asked the house if any gentleman would object to the right? I repeatedly asked it; and no man would attempt to deny it. And tell me when the Americans were emancipated. When they want the protection of this kingdom, they are always very ready to ask it. This protection has always been afforded them in the most full and ample manner; and now they refuse to contribute their mite towards the public expenses. For, let not gentlemen deceive themselves, with regard to the rigor of the tax; it would not suffice even for the necessary expenses of the troops stationed in America; but a peppercorn, in acknowledgment of the right, is of more value than millions without. Yet, notwithstanding the slightness of the tax, and the urgency of our situation, the Americans grow sullen, and instead of concurring in expenses arising from themselves, they renounce your authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might almost say, into open rebellion.

‘There has been a time when they would not have proceeded thus; but they are now supported by ministers more American than English. Already, by the artifice of these young gentlemen, inflammatory petitions are handed about, against us, and in their favor. Even within this house, even in this sanctuary of the laws, sedition has found its defenders. Resistance to the laws is applauded, obstinacy encouraged, disobedience extolled, rebellion pronounced a virtue! Oh more than juvenile imprudence! Oh blind ambition of the human mind! But you give a fatal example; you will soon have ample cause to repent your own work.

‘And thou, ungrateful people of America, is this the return for the cares and fondness of thy ancient mother? When I had the honor of serving the crown, while you yourselves were loaded with an enormous debt, you have given bounties on their lumber, on their iron, their hemp, and many other articles. You have relaxed in their favor, the act of navigation, that palladium of the British commerce; and yet I have been abused, in all the public papers, as an enemy to the trade of America. I have been charged with giving orders and instructions to prevent the Spanish trade. I discouraged no trade but what was illicit, what was prohibited by act of parliament.

‘But it is meant first to columniate the man, and then destroy his work. Of myself I will speak no more; and the substance of my decided opinion, upon the subject of our debates, is briefly this; let the stamp act be maintained; and let the governors of the American provinces be provided with suitable means to repress disorders, and carry the law into complete effect.’



William Pitt, venerable for his age, and still more for the services he had rendered his country, rose to answer this discourse; 'I know not whether I ought most to rejoice, that the infirmities which have been wasting, for so long a time, a body already bowed by the weight of years, of late suspending their ordinary violence, should have allowed me, this day, to behold these walls, and to discuss, in the presence of this august assembly, a subject of such high importance, and which so nearly concerns the safety of our country; or to grieve at the rigor of destiny, in contemplating this country, which, within a few years had arrived at such a pinnacle of splendor and majesty, and become formidable to the universe from the immensity of its power, now wasted by an intestine evil, a prey to civil discords, and madly hastening to the brink of the abyss, into which the united force of the most powerful nations of Europe, struggled in vain to plunge it. Would to heaven that my health had permitted my attendance here, when it was first proposed to tax America! If my feeble voice should not have been able to avert the torrent of calamities which has fallen upon us, and the tempest which threatens us, at least my testimony would have attested that I had no part in them.

'It is now an act that has passed; I would speak with decency of every act of this house, but I must beg the indulgence of the house to speak of it with freedom. Assuredly, a more important subject never engaged your attention, that subject only excepted, when, near a century ago, it was the question whether you yourselves were to be bound or free. Those who have spoken before me, with so much vehemence, would maintain the act because our honor demands it. If gentlemen consider the subject in that light, they leave all measures of right and wrong to follow a delusion that may lead to destruction. But can the point of honor stand opposed against justice, against reason, against right? Wherein can honor better consist than in doing reasonable things? It is my opinion that England has no right to tax the colonies. At the same time, I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonies to be sovereign and supreme, in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. The colonists are the subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind, and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen. Equally bound by its laws, and equally participating of the constitution of this free country. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards, of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone. In legislation, the three estates of the realm are alike concerned; but the concurrence of the peers and the crown to a tax, is only necessary to close with the form of a law. The gift and grant is of the commons alone; now this house represents the commons, as they virtually represent the rest of the inhabitants; when, therefore in this house, we give and grant, we give and grant

what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, your majesty's commons of Great Britain, give and grant to your majesty, what? Our own property? No. We give and grant to your majesty, the property of your commons of America. It is an absurdity in terms. It was just now affirmed, that no difference exists between internal and external taxes, and that taxation is an essential part of legislation. Are not the crown and the peers equally legislative powers with the commons? If taxation be a part of simple legislation, the crown, the peers, have rights in taxation as well as yourselves; rights which they will claim, which they will exercise, whenever the principal can be supported by power.

'There is an idea in some, that the Americans are virtually represented in this house; but I would fain know by what province, county, city, or borough, they are represented here? No doubt by some province, county, city, or borough, never seen or known by them or their ancestors, and which they never will see or know.

'The commons of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of the exercise of this, their constitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it.

'I come not here armed at all points, with law cases, and acts of parliament, with the statute book doubled down in dog's ears, as my valiant adversary has done. But I know, at least, if we are to take example from ancient facts, that, even under the most arbitrary reigns, parliaments were ashamed of taxing a people without their consent, and allowed them representatives; and in our own times, even those who send no members to parliament, are all at least inhabitants of Great Britain. Many have it in their option to be actually represented. They have connexions with those that elect, and they have influence over them. Would to heaven that all were better represented than they are! It is the vice of our constitution; perhaps the day will arrive, and I rejoice in the hope, when the mode of representation, this essential part of our civil organisation, and principal safeguard of our liberty, will be carried to that perfection, which every good Englishman must desire.

'It has been asked, when were the Americans emancipated? But I desire to know when they were made slaves?

'It is said, that in this house the signal of resistance has been given, that the standard of rebellion has been erected; and thus it is attempted to stigmatise the fairest prerogative of British senators, that of speaking what they think, and freely discussing the interests of their country. They have spoken their sentiments with freedom, against this unhappy act; they have foreseen, they have predicted the perils that impend; and this frankness is imputed as a crime. Sorry I am to observe, that we can no longer express our opinions in this house, without being exposed to censure; we must prepare for



a disastrous futurity, if we do not oppose, courageously, with our tongues, our hearts, our hands, the tyranny with which we are menaced. I hear it said, that—America is obstinate, America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of ourselves. The honorable member has said also, for he is fluent in words of bitterness, that America is ungrateful; he boasts of his bounties towards her; but are not these bounties intended, finally, for the benefit of this kingdom? And how is it true that America is ungrateful? Does she not voluntarily hold a good correspondence with us? The profits to Great Britain, from her commerce with the colonies, are two millions a year. This is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the last war. The estates that were rented at two thousand pounds a year, seventy years ago, are at three thousand pounds at present. You owe this to America. This is the price she pays for your protection. I omit the increase of population in the colonies; the migration of new inhabitants from every part of Europe; and the ulterior progress of American commerce, should it be regulated by judicious laws. And shall we hear a miserable financier come with a boast that he can fetch a peppercorn into the exchequer, to the loss of millions to the nation? The gentleman complains that he has been misrepresented in the public prints. I can only say, it is a misfortune common to all that fill high stations, and take a leading part in public affairs. He says, also, that when he first asserted the right of parliament to tax America, he was not contradicted. I know not how it is, but there is a modesty in this house, which does not choose to contradict a minister. If gentlemen do not get the better of this modesty, perhaps the collective body may begin to abate of its respect for the representative. A great deal has been said without doors, and more than is discreet, of the power, of the strength, of America. But, in a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms; but on the ground of this tax, when it is wished to prosecute an evident injustice, I am one who will lift my hands and my voice against it.

‘In such a cause, your success would be deplorable, and victory hazardous.’ America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man. She would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her. Is this your boasted peace?—not to sheath the sword in its scabbard, but to sheath it in the bowels of your countrymen? Will you quarrel with yourselves, now the whole house of Bourbon is united against you?—while France disturbs your fisheries in Newfoundland, embarrasses your slave trade with Africa, and withholds from your subjects in Canada their pro-

perty stipulated by treaty?—while the ransom for the Manillas is denied by Spain, and its gallant conqueror traduced into a mean plunderer? The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence and temper. They have been wronged. They have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and benignity come first from the strongest side. Excuse their errors; learn to honor their virtues. Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the house what is really my opinion. I consider it most consistent with our dignity, most useful to our liberty, and in every respect the safest for this kingdom, that the stamp act be repealed, absolutely, totally, and immediately. At the same time, let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever; that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent.'

These words, pronounced in a firm and solemn tone, by a man of so great authority, acted with extreme force upon the minds of the hearers.

They still retained, however, a deep resentment, on account of the excesses committed by the Americans; and perhaps the repeal of the act would not have taken place, if, at the same time, the ministers had not accompanied it with the declaration of which we shall speak presently. Some also are of the opinion, that the affair was much facilitated by the promise of an early repeal of the cider tax, which was, in effect, afterwards debated, and pronounced in the month of April. The members from the counties where cider is made, all voted for the repeal of the stamp act. However the truth of this may be, the question being put, on the 22d of February, whether the act for the repeal of the stamp act should pass? it was carried in the affirmative; not, however, without a great number of contrary votes; two hundred and sixty-five voting in favor, and one hundred and sixty-seven against. It was approved in the house of peers; one hundred and fifty-five votes were in favor, sixty-one were contrary. At the same time was passed the declaratory act, purporting that the legislature of Great Britain has authority to make laws and statutes to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever. On the 19th of March, the king, having repaired to the house of peers, gave his assent to the act of repeal, and that of the dependence of the colonies towards Great Britain. The American merchants at that time in London, went, in a body, to testify their joy and gratitude upon this occasion. The ships which lay at anchor in the Thames, displayed their colors in token of felicitation. The houses were illuminated in all parts of the city; salutes were heard, and



bonfires were kindled, in all quarters. In a word, none of the public demonstrations, usual on similar occurrences, were omitted, to celebrate the goodness of the king, and the wisdom of parliament.

Couriers were immediately despatched to Falmouth, to spread throughout the kingdom, and transmit to America the tidings of a law, which, to appearance, must, on the one hand, by appeasing irritation, put a stop to all further tumults; and, on the other, dissipate the alarms produced by the losses the manufacturers had sustained.

END OF BOOK SECOND.

## BOOK THIRD.

THE Americans, generally, either weary of the present disorders, annoyed by the interruption of commerce, or terrified at the aspect of the future, which seemed to threaten the last extremities, received with great exultation the news of the revocation of the stamp act.

With infinite delight, they found themselves released from the necessity either of proceeding to the last resort, and to civil bloodshed, a thing horrible in itself, and accompanied with innumerable dangers, or of submitting their necks to a yoke equally detested, and which had become the more odious from the efforts they had already made in resistance. It is easy to imaginé, therefore, how great were, in every place, the demonstrations of public joy. Even the assembly of Massachusetts, either from a sentiment of gratitude, or to confirm itself in opposition, for among its members were many of the most distinguished citizens of the province, all firmly resolved to maintain the dependence of America towards Great Britain, unanimously voted thanks to be addressed to the duke of Grafton, to William Pitt, and to all those members of the house of peers, or of commons, who had defended the rights of the colonies, and procured the abrogation of the odious law. In like manner, the assembly of burgesses of Virginia resolved that a statue should be erected to the king, in acknowledgment and commemoration of the repeal of the stamp act; and an obelisk, in honor of those illustrious men who had so efficaciously espoused their cause. William Pitt, especially, had become the object of public veneration and boundless praises, for having said the Americans had done well in resisting; little heeding that he had recommended, in terms so strong and remarkable, the confirmation of the authority of parliament over the colonies, in all points of legislation and external taxation. But they saw the consequences of these measures only in the distance; and considered the assertion of certain rights of parliament merely as speculative principles thrown out to spare its dignity, to sooth British pride, and facilitate the digestion of so bitter a morsel. Besides, to justify past events, and perhaps also to authorise their future designs, the colonists were glad to have the shield of so great a name. They received with the same alacrity the declaratory act, which the secretary of state transmitted to America at the same time with that for the repeal of the stamp act.

Notwithstanding this expression of universal exultation, the public mind was not entirely appeased. Secret grudges, and profound resentments, still rankled under these brilliant appearances. The restraints recently laid upon commerce, had caused a disgust no less extreme than the stamp act itself, particularly in the northern provinces; and the success of the first resistance encouraged ulterior hopes.



During the late disturbances, men had become extremely conversant with political disquisitions; every charter, every right, had been the subject of the strictest investigation; and the Americans rarely, if ever, pronounced against themselves. From these discussions and debates, new opinions had resulted upon a great number of points, and some of them strangely exaggerated, respecting the rights of the Americans, and the nature of their relations with Great Britain. The irritation and inflexibility of their minds had increased in the same proportion. In this state of excitement, the shadow of an encroachment upon their political or civil liberty would have caused a sudden insurrection; and the attentive observer might easily have perceived, that the reconciliation between the colonies and the mother country was more apparent than real; and that the first occasion would be seized, to break out afresh in discord and revolt.

The occasion of new dissensions, and the elements of a new combustion, originated in the provinces of Massachusetts and of New York. The assembly of the former bore ill will to the governor, Sir Francis Bernard, for being, as they believed, a foe to the cause of America; and having chosen for their speaker James Otis, one of the warmest advocates of liberty existing in America at that period, the governor refused to confirm the choice; at which the representatives were highly exasperated. Otis, meanwhile, to retaliate, succeeded in causing to be excluded from the assembly the officers of the crown, and the members of the superior court of judicature, who were Hutchinson and Oliver. The governor, much incensed, pronounced, on his part, the exclusion of six of the proposed candidates for the speaker's chair. Thus the spirit of division was reciprocally fomented. But the patriots went further still; and procured a resolution of the assembly, that their debates should be public, and that galleries should be constructed, for the accommodation of such as might wish to attend them; this was promptly executed. The intervention of the public at their deliberations encouraged the partisans of liberty, and disheartened the friends of power; the former were sure of increasing their popularity, by warmly advocating the privileges of the colonies; the latter, of incurring greater aversion, and more universal hatred, in proportion to their zeal in supporting the cause of the government. Hence, numbers were deterred from taking part in the debates. The first had, besides, a powerful advantage over them; for it sufficed to render their adversaries odious to the people, to reproach them, true or false, with having favored the stamp act. The secretary of state, along with the act repealing the stamp act, had also sent the governors of the provinces, a resolution of the house of commons, purporting, 'That all persons, who, on account of the desire which they had manifested to comply with, or to assist in carrying into execution, any acts of

parliament, had suffered any injury or damage, ought to have full compensation made to them, by the respective colonies in which such injuries or damages were sustained.' The secretary had also recommended to the governors, to be particularly attentive that such persons should be effectually secured from any further insult or disgust; and that they might be treated with that respect and justice which their merits towards the crown, and their past sufferings, undoubtedly claimed.

It was principally in the province of Massachusetts, that these disorders had taken place; and the governor, Bernard, lost no time in communicating to the assembly the resolution of the house of commons; but this he did in such intemperate language as gave great offence to the representatives, and greatly imbittered, on both sides, the misunderstanding already existing between them. Much altercation ensued; in which the assembly armed itself sometimes with one excuse, and sometimes with another, for not granting the indemnifications required; till at length, resuming the further consideration of the subject, and reflecting, on the one hand, that in any event the parliament would have the power to raise the sum necessary for the compensations, by imposing some new duty on the maritime ports, and on the other, that this new resistance might render them odious in the eyes of prudent men, as the refractory spirit of Massachusetts had already been greatly censured, they resolved, that the indemnifications should be made, at the expense of the province; and accordingly passed an act for granting compensation to the sufferers, and general pardon, amnesty and oblivion, to the offenders; to which the king afterwards refused his sanction; denying the authority of the colonial assemblies to grant acts of general pardon. Meanwhile, the indemnifications were made; and the offenders were not prosecuted. The assembly of New York appeared to receive the act of compensation more favorably; and the greater part of the sufferers were indemnified. Colden, the lieutenant-governor, was alone refused compensation; the assembly alleging, that if the people had risen against him, he had brought it upon himself by his misconduct.

But, in the same province, another dispute soon arose, which manifested how imperfectly the seeds of discord were extinguished. General Gage was expected at New York with a considerable body of troops; in consequence of which, the governor addressed a message to the assembly, requesting it to put in execution the act of parliament called the mutiny act, which requires, that in the colonies where the royal troops are stationed, they shall be provided with barracks and other necessary articles. The assembly complied only in part with this requisition, and with evident repugnance. They passed a bill for providing barracks, fire-wood, candles, bedding, and utensils for the kitchen, as demanded; but they refused to grant salt, vinegar, and cider or beer; saying, it was not customary to



furnish these articles to soldiers when in quarters, but only when they are on the march.

The governor thought it prudent to acquiesce in this decision. And here is presented a striking example of the mildness of the British ministers at this epoch; for, instead of resenting and chastising, as some advised, this new disobedience, they contented themselves with procuring a law to be passed, by which it was enacted that the legislative power of the general assembly of New York should be totally suspended, until it fully complied with all the terms of the requisition. The assembly afterwards obeyed; and things were restored to their accustomed order.

The same disputes were renewed in Massachusetts. Towards the close of the year, some companies of artillery were driven, by stress of weather, into the port of Boston. The governor was requested to lodge them, and procure them the necessary supplies; the council gave their consent; and the money was drawn from the treasury, by the governor's order. Meanwhile, the assembly met; and, desirous of engaging in controversy, sent a message to the governor, to inquire if any provision had been made for his majesty's troops, and whether more were expected to arrive, to be quartered also in the town? The governor replied by sending them the minutes of the council, with an account of the expenses incurred; and added, that no other troops were expected. They had now ample matter for discussions. They exclaimed, that the governor, in giving orders for these supplies, upon the mere advice of his council, had acted, in an essential point, contrary to the statutes of the province. They added, however, some protestations of their readiness to obey the orders of the king, when requested according to established usages.

This obstinacy of two principal provinces of America, this disposition to seek new causes of contention, sensibly afflicted those persons in England who had shown themselves favorable to American privileges; and furnished a pretext for the bitter sarcasms of their adversaries, who repeated, every where, that such were the fruits of ministerial condescension,—such was the loyalty, such the gratitude of the colonists towards the mother country!

'Behold their attachment for public tranquillity! Behold the respect and deference they bear towards the British government! They have now thrown off the mask; they now rush, without restraint, towards their favorite object of separation and independence. It is quite time to impose a curb on these audacious spirits; they must be taught the danger of contending with their powerful progenitors, of resisting the will of Great Britain. Since they are thus insensible to the indulgence and bounty she has shown them in the repeal of the stamp duty, they must be made to pay another; both to maintain the right, and compel them to contribute directly to the common defence of the kingdom.'

These suggestions were greatly countenanced by the landholders of the British islands; who persuaded themselves, that the more could be raised by a tax laid upon the colonies, the more their own burthens would be lessened. These opinions were also flattering to British pride, which had been hurt to the quick by the revocation of the stamp act, and still more profoundly stung by the repugnance of the Americans to any submission. The king himself, who with extreme reluctance, had consented to the repeal of the act, manifested a violent indignation; and lord Bute, always his most intimate counsellor, and generally considered as the author of rigorous councils, appeared anew much disposed to lay a heavy hand upon the Americans. Hence, about the last of July, an unexpected change of ministry was effected. The duke of Grafton was appointed first secretary of the treasury, in the place of the marquis of Rockingham; the earl of Shelburne, secretary of state, instead of the duke of Richmond; Charles Townsend, a man of versatile character, but of brilliant genius, chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of William Dowdeswell; and finally, William Pitt, who had recently been created viscount Pincent, and earl of Chatham, was promoted (1767) to the charge of keeper of the seals. The new ministers, with the exception, however, of the earl of Chatham, who was prevented by his infirmities from taking part in the councils, resolved to impose certain duties on tea, glass, and paints, upon their introduction into the colonies of America. The bill was drawn up to be submitted to parliament. No sooner was it convened, than Charles Townsend began, vauntingly, to vociferate in the house of commons, that he knew a mode of drawing a revenue from the colonies, without violating their rights or opinions. Grenville caught at the words, and urged the minister to declare what it was, and to promise, that he would bring it before parliament without delay. A short time after, in effect, the chancellor of the exchequer moved in the house of commons, to impose duties on tea, glass and colors, imported from England into the American colonies; he proposed also, to suppress the duties on teas that should be shipped from England, intended for America; and impose a duty of three pence per pound, upon their introduction into the American ports. These two bills were passed without much opposition, and approved by the king.

In the preamble it was declared that the produce of the duties should be applied to defray the expenses of the government and administration of the colonies. In one article it was provided, that in each province of North America should be formed a general civil list, without any fixed limit; that is, that from the produce of the new duties, a public fund should be composed, of which the government might dispose immediately, even to the last shilling, for the salaries and pensions to be paid in America. The ministers were authorised to draw this money from the treasury, and employ it at



their discretion ; the surplus was to remain in the treasury, subject to the disposal of parliament. It was also enacted, that the government might, from the same funds, grant stipends and salaries to the governors and to the judges, in the colonies, and determine the amount of the same. These last measures were of much greater importance than the taxes themselves, since they were entirely subversive of the British constitution.

In effect, since the time of Charles II., the ministers had many times attempted, but always without success, to establish a civil list, or royal chamber, in America, independent of the colonial assemblies ; and yet Charles Townsend, with his shrewd and subtle genius, thus obtained, as it were, while sporting, this difficult point ; and obtained it, while the remembrance of American opposition, in a matter of much less importance, was still recent ; while the traces of so great a conflagration were still smoking ! These new measures produced another change of great importance ; the governors and the judges being able to obtain, through the ministers, their respective emoluments, from funds raised by an act of parliament, without the intervention, and perhaps against the will of the colonial assemblies, became entirely independent of the American nation, and of its assemblies ; and must found all their future hopes on the favor of the general government alone, that is, of the British ministers. The act imposing the new duties was to take effect on the 20th of November ; but as if it was apprehended in England that the new tax would be too well received by the colonists ; and purposely to irritate their minds, by placing before their eyes the impressive picture of the tax gatherers to be employed in the collection of these duties, another act was passed, creating a permanent administration of the customs in America. And, to crown such a measure, the city of Boston was selected for the seat of this new establishment ; for such a purpose, less proper than any other ; for no where were the inhabitants more restless or jealous of their privileges ; which they interpreted with a subtilty peculiar to themselves.

They were, besides, not accustomed to see among them an order of financiers, lavishing in the refinements of luxury, the large emoluments to be defrayed with the money of the colonies, while they were themselves constrained to observe the limits of an extremely narrow mediocrity. From these causes combined, it resulted that many commotions were excited anew among the Americans. The recent disturbances had given them a more decided inclination towards resistance ; and their political researches had increased the pretensions of rights, and the desire of a liberty more ample. As this was an external tax, if more tranquil times had been chosen for its introduction, and without the combination of so many circumstances, which wounded them in their dearest interests, the people, perhaps, would have submitted to it. But in such a state of things, what

could have been expected from a tax, the produce of which was destined to form a branch of the public revenue, and which exceeded the limits of a commercial regulation, a thing which had already furnished the subject of so much controversy? It was too manifest that the British government had resolved to renew its ancient pretensions, so long and firmly disputed, of establishing a public revenue in the colonies, by the authority of parliament.

Resistance, therefore, was every where promptly resolved; and as the passions, after being compressed for a time, when rekindled in the human breast, no longer respect their ancient limits, but commonly overleap them with impetuosity; so the political writers of Boston began to fill the columns of the public papers with new and bold opinions respecting the authority of parliament. Already intimations were thrown out, illusive to independence; and it was asserted, that freemen ought not to be taxed, any more than governed, without their consent, given by an actual or virtual representation.

The legislative power of the parliament over the colonies was not made the subject of doubt, but denied. Adopting the opinion of those who in the two houses had opposed the repeal of the stamp act, the patriots affirmed that all distinction between internal and external taxes was chimerical, and that parliament had no right to impose the one or the other; that it had no power to make laws to bind the colonies; and, finally, they went so far as to maintain, that not being represented in parliament, they were exempted from every sort of dependence towards it.

The rights which the colonists pretended to enjoy, were explained with great perspicuity, and a certain elegance of style, in a pamphlet entitled, *Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer, to the inhabitants of the English colonies*. They were received with great and universal favor; the author was John Dickenson.

The excitement soon became general. New associations were formed against the introduction of British manufactures, and in favor of those made at home. A paper to this effect was circulated in Boston, for such to subscribe as were disposed to become parties to the confederacy; they bound themselves by it not to purchase certain articles of commerce, after the last day of December.

But on the other hand, James Otis, from a motive unknown, whether from levity of character, or because the most ardent are frequently the least constant in their opinions, or because he really was apprehensive that the colony of Massachusetts would be left alone in the present controversy, passing from one extreme to the other, pronounced a long discourse in favor of government. Notwithstanding which, the league was approved at Providence, at Newport, and in all Connecticut. The affair of these combinations, however, advanced very slowly this time, in spite of all the efforts of the most zealous patriots.



1768. The assembly of Massachusetts opened their session at the commencement of the year 1768, and immediately took into consideration the subject of the new taxes; a very elaborate letter was addressed to Dennis de Berdt, their agent at London, instructing him to make remonstrances. They protested their affection towards Great Britain, and condemned all idea of independence, they gloried in the English name, and their participation in the British constitution. 'The design,' they observed, 'to draw a public revenue from the colonies, without their consent, is manifest; a thing absolutely contrary to the established laws, and to *our rights*. Though men are known sometimes to disregard life, and even to contemn liberty, they are always at least inviolably attached to their property; even those who ridicule the ideas of right and justice, who despise faith, truth and honor, and every law, divine and human, will put a high value upon money; the savages themselves, who inhabit the forests, know and admit the right of property; they are as strongly attached to the bow, the arrow, and the tomahawk, to their hunting and fishing ground, as other nations can be to gold or silver, and the most precious objects. The Utopian schemes of levelling, and a community of goods, are as visionary and impracticable, as those which vest all property in the crown, are arbitrary and despotic. Now, what property can the colonists be conceived to have, if their money may be granted away by others, without their consent?' They added a long enumeration of their rights, and of the commercial advantages accruing to Great Britain, from her colonies; they affirmed, that stipends and salaries, granted by the crown to governors and judges, were things of a nature to alarm the freemen of America; that a more solid foundation for tyranny could not be laid, since the judges in America hold their places, not as in England, during good behavior, but during pleasure; that the colonists were ready to supply the subsidies necessary for the public service, without the intervention of parliamentary authority; that a standing army was unnecessary in America; that the inhabitants had an aversion to these armies, as dangerous to their civil liberties; that England herself, considering the examples of ancient times, ought to fear lest these large bodies of mercenary troops, stationed in a country so remote, might occasion another Cæsar to arise, and usurp, at length, the authority of his sovereign. They also complained of the new board of customs, as tending to create a swarm of pensioners; a race ever obnoxious to the people, and prejudicial to the rectitude and purity of manners. 'Can any thing be more extraordinary than the suspension of the assembly of New York? Liberty has no longer an existence, and these assemblies are useless if, willing or not willing, they must conform to the mandates of parliament. And supposing also, what we deny, that the new laws are founded in right, it is not the less certain that a real prejudice to the two nations

will be their result, and that the confidence and affection which have hitherto united them, will experience, from their continuance, a signal diminution. These are points which merit the serious consideration of a good government. The colonists are not insensible that it has become fashionable in England, to speak with contempt of the colonial assemblies; an abuse from which the English have more to apprehend than the Americans themselves; for only a few reigns back, the habit also prevailed of contemning the parliament; and it was even an aphorism with king James I. that the lords and commons were two very bad copartners with a monarch, in allusion to the ancient proverb, that supreme power declines all participation; and these attacks, though at present aimed at the colonial assemblies, will one day be directed against the parliament itself.

They concluded by recommending to their agent to exert his utmost endeavors to defeat the projects of those who persisted with obstinacy in their attempts to sow dissensions, and foment jealousy and discord between the two parts of the realm; dispositions, which, if not promptly repressed, it was to be feared, would lead to irreparable mischief.

The assembly of Massachusetts wrote in similar terms to the earl of Shelburne, and to general Conway, secretaries of state; to the marquis of Rockingham, to lord Camden, to the earl of Chatham, and to the commissioners of the treasury. These letters, as usual, recapitulated the rights of the colonies, and their grievances; those to whom they were addressed, were styled the patrons of the colonies, the friends of the British constitution, the defenders of the human race. The assembly of Massachusetts also addressed a petition to the king, with many protestations of loyalty, and strenuous remonstrances against the grievances already mentioned. But not content with these steps, and wishing to unite all the provinces in one opinion, they took a very spirited resolution, that of writing to all the other assemblies, that it was now full time for all to take the same direction, and to march in concert towards the same object. This measure gave the ministers no little displeasure, and they censured it, in their letters to the governors, with extreme asperity.

The governor of Massachusetts, not without apprehensions from the refractory spirit of this assembly, dissolved it. Nor should it be omitted, that for a long time, there had existed an open breach between these two authorities, which proceeded from no defect of genius or experience in affairs, on the part of the governor, who possessed, on the contrary, an ample measure of both; but he was reputed a secret enemy to American privileges, and it was believed that in his letters to the earl of Hillsborough, he had prompted the government to acts of rigor, and exaggerated the colonial disturbances. On the other hand, the representatives were of a lofty spirit, and devotedly attached to their prerogatives. In this state of reci-



procal umbrage and jealousy, the smallest collision led to a dissension, and few were the affairs that could be concluded amicably. In effect, it cannot be doubted, that the animosity which subsisted between the assembly of so capital a province, and governor Bernard, was one of the principal causes of the first commotions, and eventually, of the American revolution.

The government of Great Britain, continually stimulated by the exhortations of the governor,—dissatisfied with the Bostonians, and the inhabitants generally of the province of Massachusetts, was apprehensive of new tumults; and resolved to provide effectually for the execution of the laws. Orders were despatched to general Gage, to send a regiment, and even a more considerable force, if he should deem it expedient, to form the garrison of Boston. It was also determined, that a frigate, two brigs, and two sloops of war, should be stationed in the waters of Boston, to aid the officers of the customs in the execution of their functions.

At this same epoch, a violent tumult had occurred in this city. The Bostonians, wishing to protect a vessel suspected of illicit traffic, had riotously assailed and repulsed the officers of the revenue.

Informed of this event, general Gage detached two regiments instead of one, to take up their quarters in Boston. At this news, the inhabitants assembled, and sent a deputation to the governor, praying him to inform them, if the reports in circulation, relative to a garrison extraordinary, were true; and to convoke another assembly. He answered, that he had indeed received some private intimation of the expected arrival of troops, but no official notice; that as to the convocation of an assembly, he could take no resolution without the orders of his majesty.

He flattered himself, that the people would become more submissive, when, left to themselves, they should no longer have a rallying point for sedition in the colonial assembly. He endeavored, therefore, to gain time; inventing, every day, new motives for delaying the session of the assembly. But this conduct produced an effect directly contrary to his anticipations. The inhabitants of Boston, having received the answer of the governor, immediately took an unanimous resolution, sufficiently demonstrative of the real nature of the spirit by which they were animated; it was resolved, that, as there was some probability of an approaching war with France, all the inhabitants should provide themselves with a complete military equipment, according to law; and that, as the governor had not thought proper to convene the general assembly, a convention should be convoked of the whole province. These resolutions were transmitted, by circulars, to every part of Massachusetts; and such was the consent of opinions, that out of ninety-seven townships, ninety-six sent their deputies to the convention of Boston.

They met on the 22d of September. Wishing to proceed with moderation, they sent a message to the governor, assuring him that they were, and considered themselves, as private and loyal individuals; but no less averse to standing armies, than to tumults and sedition. They complained, but in measured terms, of the new laws, and the imputations of disloyalty with which they had been traduced in England. Finally, they entreated the governor to convoke the general assembly, as the only constitutional remedy that could be resorted to in the present calamities. The governor answered haughtily, as the troops already approached. The convention, after having communicated what had occurred to De Berdt, the agent at London, dissolved itself.

The day preceding their separation, the soldiers destined for the garrison, arrived, on board a great number of vessels, in the bay of Nantasket, not far from Boston. The governor requested the council to furnish quarters in the city. The council refused; alleging that castle William, situated on a small island in the harbor, was sufficiently roomy to receive the troops. But the commanders of the corps had orders to take their quarters in the town. Meanwhile, it was given out, that the Bostonians would not suffer the soldiers to land. This menace, and especially the resolution of a general armament, inspired the commanders of the royal troops with much distrust. Consequently, general Gage, whose intention, it appears, had been at first to land one regiment only, gave orders to colonel Dalrymple to disembark the two, and to keep a strict guard in the city. Accordingly, on the first of October, every preparation having been made, the squadron, consisting of fourteen ships of war, began to move, and took such a position as to command the whole city; the ships presented their broadsides, and the artillery was in readiness to fire upon the town, in case of any resistance. The troops began to disembark at one o'clock in the afternoon, without receiving any molestation; they immediately entered the town, with their arms loaded, a suitable train of artillery, and all the military parade usually displayed in such circumstances. The selectmen of Boston being requested, in the evening, to provide quarters for the soldiers, peremptorily refused. The governor ordered the soldiers to enter and occupy the State House. Thus stationed, the main guard was posted in front of this edifice, with two field pieces pointed towards it. The Bostonians were naturally much shocked at these arrangements. They could not see, without extreme indignation, the palace of the public counsels, the ordinary seat of their general assemblies, and the courts of judicature, occupied by so many troops, and on all sides surrounded by such a display of arms. The streets were full of tents, and of soldiers, continually coming and going to relieve the posts; who challenged at every moment the citizens as they passed. The divine services were interrupted by the



continual beating of drums and the sound of fifes ; and all things presented the image of a camp. The inhabitants experienced the most insupportable constraint from a state of things not only extraordinary, but even without example, in the province of Massachusetts. Cries of displeasure resounded from every quarter against these new orders of the governor. The soldiers beheld the citizens with an evil eye, believing them to be rebels ; the citizens detested the soldiers, whom they looked upon as the instruments of an odious project to abolish their rights, and sent to impose on them the yoke of an unheard of tyranny. The most irritating language frequently passed between them, and thus exasperated their reciprocal animosity.

It is true, however, that this display of military force so repressed the multitude, that for a considerable space of time tranquillity was preserved.

1769. But in England, the parliament having been convoked about the close of the year 1768, the obstinacy of the Americans, in refusing obedience to its new laws, determined the government to adopt rigorous measures against the colonies, and especially against the province of Massachusetts, where sedition had acquired the profoundest roots. The parliament condemned, in the severest terms, all the resolutions taken by this province. They approved that the king should employ force of arms for the repression of the disobedient ; and declared, that he had the right to cause the chief authors of the disorders to be arrested, and brought to England for trial, according to the statute of the 35th year of the reign of Henry VIII.

But these new measures of the English encountered a very ill reception in America. The assembly of Virginia immediately took, in the strongest terms that could be devised, the resolutions they believed the most proper to secure their rights. They also drew up a supplication to be presented to the king, with a view of exciting his compassion towards an unfortunate people. He was conjured as the father of his subjects, and as a clement king, to interpose his royal intercession, and avert the evils which menaced and already oppressed them ; his pity was implored, that he would not suffer the colonists, who had no powerful protection, to be forced from their firesides, wrested from the embraces of their families, and thrust into dungeons, among robbers and felons, at the distance of three thousand miles from their country, to linger until judges whom they knew not should have pronounced their fate. A condition so deplorable would leave them no other wish, no other prayer, but that relenting death might soon deliver them from so many miseries. These proceedings incurred the displeasure of the governor, who dissolved them, with a severe reprimand. But they assembled in another place, as private individuals ; and having chosen for their

moderator Peyton Randolph, a man of great influence in the province, they resorted, more strenuously than ever, to the ordinary remedy of associations against the introduction of British manufactures. The articles of the league having been circulated for the purpose, were soon invested with all the signatures, not only of the assembly, but of the entire province. The other colonies followed the example, and adhered to the confederacy upon oath. The inhabitants of Charleston, the capital of South Carolina, even discontinued all commerce with those of Rhode Island and of Georgia, as well because they had refused to join this combination, or the preceding, as because they had exercised an extensive contraband traffic. But at length these provinces also concurred with the others; Georgia in September, Providence and Rhode Island a month later.

In order to prevent the contraventions which avarice, or a secret opposition, might have produced, committees of inspectors were created, to examine the cargoes of all vessels arriving from England, and to stigmatise with the censure specified in their regulations, those who should violate their compact, by publishing their names in the public papers, and declaring them enemies to the country; and, as the people were always ready to take those in hand who should be thus denounced, the decrees of these committees were received with general obedience, as if they had proceeded from the authority of government. All were emulous to make use of the manufactures of the country; even the women, hitherto so decided in their taste for English merchandise, not only renounced it, but took a laudable pride in adorning themselves with objects of domestic manufacture.

It is not to be understood, however, that in the midst of this general zeal and enthusiasm, there were no examples of persons, who, governed by interest and a thirst of gain, these powerful motives of the human breast, sought to make their profit of circumstances; extolling, in public, the magnanimity of the American people, but deriding it in their hearts, they addicted themselves to a secret commerce in the merchandise proscribed. Even among those who preached liberty, and affected to be called by its name, even among those who with the most forwardness had embraced the league, there was more than one individual who clandestinely bought and sold. The patriots had declared with so much violence against tea, that, in several provinces, nearly all the inhabitants abstained from the use of it; but this first ardor having abated with time, many, either in secret, or even openly, regaled themselves with this beverage, giving it some other name. The British officers themselves, affecting a military contempt for the civil laws, but not less than others mindful of private interest, ordered merchandise from England in their own names, as if destined for the use of their troops, which they secretly introduced into the country.



Notwithstanding these infringements of the general compact, men of integrity, as always happens, faithful to their public professions, persisted in the retrenchments exacted by their pledge, from which there eventually resulted an incalculable prejudice to the English commerce.

The assembly of Massachusetts, having met, about the last of May, immediately resumed the ancient controversy, and sent a message to the governor, purporting that whereas the capital of the province was invested with an armed force by land and sea, and the gates of the State House occupied with cannon by a military guard, the assembly could not deliberate with that freedom and dignity which became them; that they hoped, therefore, this hostile apparatus would be removed from the city and port. The governor answered, briefly, that he had no authority over his majesty's ships that were moored in the port, or over the troops which occupied the city. The assembly replied, that this display of armed force was contrary to law; and, no power being superior to that of arms, they asked, what privilege, or what security, was left to the house? that, where arms prevail, the civil laws are silent; that, therefore, the assembly had resolved to abstain from all deliberation whatever, until it should be re-established in all its authority. The governor adjourned it to Cambridge, a town at a short distance from Boston; and addressed it a requisition for a supply of money for the troops. Without noticing this demand, the assembly answered with new resolutions, which discovered the extreme exasperation of their minds. They represented that the discontent which had been excited in the province by the tax laws, the expectation of more troops, the apprehension that they were to be quartered in private houses, and the people reduced to desperation, were things which demonstrated the necessity of new conventions; that the presence of a standing army in the province in time of peace was a violation of their natural rights, and imminently perilous to public liberty; that governor Bernard, in his letters to the earl of Hillsborough, had recommended new modes of tyranny; that general Gage, in writing that there was no longer a government at Boston, had written the truth; but that this ought not to be attributed to an innocent and loyal people, but, in justice, to those who had violated the laws, and subverted the foundations of the constitution. At length, the governor having returned to the charge for subsidies to subsist the troops, the assembly declared, that, for their own honor, and the interest of the province, they could not consent to grant them. South Carolina, Maryland, Delaware, and New York, following the example of the provinces of Massachusetts and Virginia, took the same resolutions, and refused obedience to the mutiny act.

Meanwhile, the English government, willing to give some indication of a better spirit towards its colonies, announced to them its

determination to propose, at the next session of parliament, the repeal of the duties upon glass, paper, and colors; thus maintaining only the duty on tea. This new mildness did not satisfy the Americans; the exception of tea, and the declaration that the law should be abrogated as contrary to the regulations of commerce, persuaded them that it was intended to maintain the right; and this in reality was the truth. They were apprehensive that the affair might be revived when the present heats were dissipated; and that the government, then proceeding with more address and vigor, might renew its attempts to establish the authority of taxation forever. The assembly of Virginia protested in stronger terms than at first. Combinations were again formed, as well in this province as in Massachusetts and the greater part of the others; but they were this time upon the point of being dissolved, by the defection of New York; this province authorised the importation of every species of English merchandise, excepting such as were charged with some duty.

Governor Bernard was at length succeeded. He departed, without leaving any regret; which should be attributed to circumstances. He was a man of excellent judgment, sincerely attached to the interests of the province, and of an irreproachable character; but he was also a defender of the prerogatives of the crown, and wanted the pliancy necessary in these difficult times; ardent, and totally devoid of dissimulation, he could never abstain from declaring his sentiments; qualities, none of which, however laudable, can fail to prove unprofitable, or rather pernicious, as well to him that possesses them, as to others, in the political revolutions of states; for the multitude is either indulged without profit, or opposed with detriment.

Meanwhile, at Boston, things assumed the most serious aspect. The inhabitants supported with extreme repugnance the presence of the soldiers; and these detested the Bostonians. Hence, mutual insults and provocations occurred.

1770. Finally, on the morning of the 2d of March, as a soldier was passing by the premises of John Gray, a ropemaker, he was assailed with abusive words, and afterwards beaten severely. He soon returned, accompanied by some of his comrades. An affray ensued between the soldiers and the ropemakers, in which the latter had the worst.

The people became greatly exasperated; and, on the 5th of the same month, between seven and eight o'clock in the evening, a violent tumult broke out. The multitude, armed with clubs, ran towards King street, crying, '*Let us drive out these ribalds; they have no business here.*' The soldiers who were lodged in the barracks of Murray, were eager to fall upon the populace; and their officers had the greatest difficulty in restraining them. Meanwhile, it was cried that the town had been set on fire; the bells pealed alarm, and the crowd increased from all parts. The rioters



deceived the ministers, as he used to say, by telling them the truth. So corrupt, he added, were the men in power, that they reputed his sincerity artifice, and the truth deception. Hence they blindly abandoned themselves to illusions, that made them see things different from what they were in reality, and with a bandage over their eyes, they trod incessantly upon the brink of a precipice.

The 5th of March, lord North, who had been appointed by the king, prime minister, proposed, in a speech to the house of commons, the repeal of taxes, excepting that upon tea. Notwithstanding the opposition of many members, who insisted that the Americans would not be satisfied with this partial repeal, the proposition was finally approved by a great majority. The predictions of the minority were but too well verified in America; the continuance of the duty on tea had the effect to keep alive the same discontents. The combinations were dissolved, however, so far as related to the importation of merchandise not taxed; the article of tea alone continued to be prohibited. The fermentation maintained itself principally in the province of Massachusetts, the local authorities of which were incessantly engaged in altercations with the officers of the crown.

On the whole, how many motives combined to create in America an insurmountable resistance to the designs of the government! On the one hand, the obstinacy inherent to man, rendered still more inflexible by obstacles, and the blood which had flowed; as also by the love of liberty; on the other, the species of triumph already obtained by perseverance, and the opinion resulting from it, that not from any spirit of indulgence, but a consciousness of inferior force, the government had consented to revocations. The Americans were, besides, persuaded that the rumors which daily increased, of a war with France, would lay the British ministers under the necessity of conceding all their demands; and finally, they well knew they had powerful protectors, both within and without the walls of parliament. Such were the public occurrences in the colonies, during the year 1770.

1771. In the course of the following year there happened few that are worthy of memory; only the ordinary altercations continued between the assembly of Massachusetts and Hutchinson, who had been appointed governor. All the provinces persisted in open resistance to laws of taxation and of commerce; smuggling was no longer secretly but openly transacted. The officers of the customs had fallen into utter contempt. In Boston, a tidesman of the customs, having attempted to detain a vessel for breach of the acts of trade, was seized by the people, stripped, and carted through the principal streets of the city, besmeared with tar, and then covered with feathers. There was some tumult, also, at Providence; the inhabitants having plundered and burnt the king's ship Wasp.

1772. The government then reflected, that in such a distempered state of minds, it could not hope to repress the boldness of the Americans, and secure the observation of the laws, without resorting to some more effectual means. It resolved, among others, to render the officers of the crown totally independent of the colonial assemblies; to effect this, it decided that the salaries and stipends of the governors, judges, and other principal officers of the colonies, should, in future, be fixed by the crown, and paid without the intervention of the colonial assemblies. Immediately new commotions broke out in America, and particularly in the province of Massachusetts, where it was declared that those who should consent to be paid by the crown, independently of the general assembly, should be deemed enemies to the constitution, and supporters of arbitrary government. Thus, all measures taken in England, to vanquish resistance, and reestablish submission in America, not being sustained by an armed force sufficient to coerce, tended to a result absolutely contrary.

And if the government meditated the display of greater vigor, the Americans were occupied with the same thoughts. They were not ignorant, that in popular agitations, nothing tends more directly to the desired object, than having chiefs to direct the movements, ascertain the opinions of all the members of the confederacy, and act with concert in their respective operations. Accordingly, the inhabitants of Massachusetts, following the suggestion of Samuel Adams and James Warren, of Plymouth, formed a council of the partisans of a new order of things, and established a species of political hierarchy, by creating committees of correspondence in all the cities and towns of the province; all referring to the central committee of Boston. The chiefs were six in number, each of whom commanded a division; the chiefs of a division, in like manner, commanded a subdivision, and a movement being given by the first, was communicated progressively, and without delay, to the whole province. These committees, or clubs, were composed of individuals of different characters; some entered them mechanically, and because they saw others do it; some from attachment to the public cause; others to acquire authority, to gratify their ambition, or their avarice; others, finally, because they believed the general good is the supreme law, and that all the maxims of private morals should bend to this sovereign rule. All were resolved, or said they were resolved, to secure the liberty of their country, or part with life in the glorious attempt.

The governor affirmed, that the greater part of them were Atheists, and contemners of all religion; which made him wonder, he said, to see *deacons*, and other members of the church, who professed a scrupulous devotion, in league with characters of such a description.



This new political order, instituted by the few, was soon adopted by the whole province; and every city, village, or town, had its committee, which corresponded with the others. Their deliberations and decrees were considered as the will and voice of the people.

The minds of the inhabitants were thus regularly inflamed and prepared for a general explosion. The other provinces imitated this example.

The first occasion to act was offered to the committee of Boston, by the determination of the government, to charge itself with the salaries of the judges. Very spirited resolutions were framed, and distributed profusely throughout the provinces. The committee accompanied them with a vehement letter, in which they exhorted the inhabitants to rouse from their long slumber, to stand erect, and shake off indolence; '*now, whilst,*' as it was said in the turgid style of that epoch, '*the iron hand of oppression is daily tearing the choicest fruits from the fair tree of liberty.*' The effervescence became as extreme as universal.

1773. Meanwhile, an event occurred, which supplied fresh fuel to this fire, which already menaced a general conflagration. Doctor Franklin, agent at London of several colonies, and particularly of Massachusetts, had found means, it is not known how, to obtain, from the office of state, the letters of governor Hutchinson, of lieutenant-governor Oliver, and of some others adhering to the party of government in America. In these despatches, they acquainted the ministers with all that passed in the colonies; and delivered their opinions with great freedom. They represented, that the members of the American opposition were generally persons of little weight, audacious and turbulent, but few in number; that they were even without influence with the multitude; that the mildness and forbearance of the government had been the sole cause of their boldness; that if it should take vigorous measures, all would return to their duty; they recommended, especially, that the public officers should receive their stipends from the crown. Franklin transmitted these letters to Massachusetts; they were printed and distributed copiously in all parts of the province. It is easy to imagine the ebullition they produced.

While the inhabitants of the colonies were thus exquisitely sensible to whatever they deemed hostile to their rights, resenting with equal indignation the most trivial as the most serious attack, a resolution was taken in England, which, if it had been executed, would have given the victory to the government, and reduced the Americans to the condition for which they demonstrated such an extreme repugnance. Their obstinacy, in refusing to pay the duty on tea, rendered the smuggling of it very frequent; and their resolutions against using it, although observed by many with little fidelity, had greatly diminished the importation into the colonies of this commo-

dity. Meanwhile, an immense quantity of it was accumulated in the warehouses of the East India company in England. This company petitioned the king to suppress the duty of three pence per pound upon its introduction into America, and to continue the six pence upon its exportation from the ports of England; a measure which would have given the government an advantage of three pence the pound, and relieved the Americans from a law they abhorred. The government, more solicitous about the right than the revenue, would not consent. The company, however, received permission to transport tea, free of all duty, from Great Britain to America; and to introduce it there, on paying a duty of three pence.

Here it was no longer the small vessels of private merchants, who went to vend tea, for their own account, in the ports of the colonies; but, on the contrary, ships of an enormous burthen, that transported immense quantities of this commodity, which, by the aid of the public authority, might easily be landed, and amassed in suitable magazines. Accordingly, the company sent to its agents at Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, six hundred chests of tea, and a proportionate number to Charleston, and other maritime cities of the American continent.

The colonists were now arrived at the decisive moment, when they must cast the die, and determine their cause in regard to parliamentary taxes; for if the tea was permitted to be landed, it would be sold, and the duty consequently paid. It was therefore resolved to exert every effort to prevent the landing. Even in England, individuals were not wanting who fanned this fire; some from a desire to baffle the government, others from motives of private interest, and jealousy at the opportunity offered the East India company to make immense profits to their prejudice. They wrote, therefore, to America, encouraging a strenuous resistance. They represented to the colonists, that this would prove their last trial; and if they should triumph now, their liberty was secured forever; if they should yield, they must bow their necks to the yoke of slavery! The materials were too well prepared and disposed, not to kindle. At Philadelphia, those to whom the teas of the company were intended to be consigned, were induced by persuasion, or constrained by menaces, to promise not in any mode to accept the proffered consignment. At New York, captain Sears and Macdougall, daring and enterprising men, effected a concert of will between the smugglers, the merchants and the Sons of Liberty. Pamphlets, suited to the conjuncture, were daily distributed; and nothing was left unattempted, by the popular leaders, to obtain their purpose. The factors of the company were obliged to resign their agency, and return to England. In Boston, the general voice declared the time was come to face the storm. 'Why do we wait?' they exclaimed; 'soon or late, we must engage in conflict with England. Hundreds of years may roll away, before



the ministers can have perpetrated as many violations of our rights as they have committed within a few years. The opposition is formed ; it is general ; it remains for us to seize the occasion. The more we delay, the more strength is acquired by the ministers. Do you not see how many arrogant youths they send us, to exercise the offices of the revenue, to receive enormous salaries, and to infect us with their luxury and corruption ? They will take American wives, and will become powerful instruments of ministerial tyranny. This is the moment to strike a decisive blow, while our cause is strong in hope ; now is the time to prove our courage, or be disgraced with our brethren of the other colonies, who have their eyes fixed upon us, and will be prompt in their succours, if we show ourselves faithful and firm.'

The factors were urged to renounce their agency ; but they refused, and took refuge in the fortress. Immediately after, captain Hall arrived in port, with a cargo of more than an hundred chests of tea. The people instantly assembled, in great fury, and sent notice to Rotch, the consignee of this cargo, that if he valued his safety and interest, he must abstain from receiving the tea, and caution captain Hall against attempting to land it. They also placed a guard on Griffin's wharf, near which the ship was moored. It was agreed, that a strict watch should be kept ; that, in case of any insult during the night, the bell should be rung immediately ; that some persons should be always in readiness to bear the intelligence of what might occur to the neighboring towns, and to call in the assistance of the country people.

The committees of correspondence performed their duty with activity. Captains Bruce and Coffin having arrived, with other cargoes of tea, they were ordered to cast anchor near captain Hall. The people from the country arrived in great numbers ; the inhabitants of the town assembled. Rotch was requested to demand a certificate of clearance, that captain Hall might put back to sea with his ship.

Things appeared hastening to a disastrous issue. In this conjuncture, Josiah Quincy, a man of great influence in the colony, of a vigorous and cultivated genius, and strenuously opposed to ministerial enterprises, wishing to apprise his fellow citizens of the importance of the crisis, and direct their attention to results, demanded silence, and said, ' This ardor, and this impetuosity, which are manifested within these walls, are not those that are requisite to conduct us to the object we have in view ; these may cool, may abate, may vanish, like a flitting shade. Quite other spirits, quite other efforts, are essential to our salvation. Greatly will he deceive himself, who shall think, that with cries, with exclamations, with popular resolutions, we can hope to triumph, in this conflict, and vanquish our inveterate foes. Their malignity is implacable,—their thirst of vengeance insatiable. They have their allies, their accomplices, even in the midst of us,—

even in the bosom of this innocent country; and who is ignorant of the power of those who have conspired our ruin?—who knows not their artifices? Imagine not, therefore, that you can bring this controversy to a happy conclusion, without the most strenuous, the most arduous, the most terrible conflict. Consider attentively the difficulty of the enterprise, and the uncertainty of the issue. Reflect and ponder, even ponder well, before you embrace the measures which are to involve this country in the most perilous enterprise the world has witnessed.'

The question was put, whether the landing of the tea should be opposed? and carried in the affirmative unanimously, Rotch was then requested to demand of the governor a permit to pass the castle. The latter answered, haughtily, that for the honor of the laws, and from duty towards the king, he could not grant the permit until the vessel was regularly cleared. A violent commotion immediately ensued. A person disguised after the manner of the Indians, who was in the gallery, shouted, at this juncture, the cry of war; the meeting was dissolved in the twinkling of an eye. The multitude rushed in mass to Griffin's wharf. About twenty persons, also disguised as Indians, then made their appearance; all either masters of ships, carpenters or caulkers. They went on board the ships laden with tea. In less than two hours, three hundred and forty chests were staved, and emptied in the sea. They were not interrupted; the surrounding multitude on shore served them as a safe guard. The affair was conducted without tumult; no damage was done to the ships, or to any other effects whatever. When the operation was terminated, every one repaired to his own habitation, either in the city or in the country.

In New York and in Philadelphia, as no person could be found that would venture to receive the tea, the ships of the company, which had arrived in these ports, returned, with their cargoes, to England. In the former city, however, captain Chamber having on board his ship some chests of tea for account of a private merchant, they were thrown into the sea. At Charleston, the tea was permitted to be landed; but, having been deposited in certain humid cellars, it perished.

1774. The news of these events having come to the ears of the ministers, they determined to take more vigorous measures. The province of Massachusetts, and especially the city of Boston, had always stood foremost in resistance, had been the scene of the greatest disorders, and appeared the head-quarters of sedition. The ministers therefore resolved to distinguish them by the first marks of their displeasure. They hoped that the principal agitators being thus repressed, the rest would voluntarily return to submission. Considering, also, that the city of Boston was very flourishing; that it was accounted not only one of the most commercial cities of the conti-



ment, but even considered as the emporium of all the provinces of New England; it is not surprising that they should have taken the resolution to deprive it entirely of its commerce, by means of a rigorous interdict, and turn it all towards some other maritime city of this coast. It was thought, likewise, that the civil magistrates, who, according to the statutes of the province, were chosen by the people, ought, for the future, to be appointed by the government; that, placed thus entirely under its influence, they might no longer be inclined to favor the popular tumults, but become, from duty as well as inclination, interested to suppress them, by requiring the necessary assistance from the military authorities; for it was seen that the late tumults owed their origin and alarming increase to the inactivity of the military, which, according to the established laws, could not interfere without the requisition of the civil magistrates, from which they had purposely abstained. It was also in deliberation to pass a law for enabling the soldiers to execute with perfect security the orders they might receive for the suppression of tumults, without any fear of consequences. The ministers expected thus to create divisions, to render the civil magistrates absolutely dependent on the government, and to reestablish the soldiery in that independence which is essential to the complete exertion and efficacy of their force. But whoever has a competent share of natural capacity, and a slight acquaintance with political affairs, will readily see how wide were these resolutions of the British ministers from corresponding with the urgency of circumstances. Is it not surprising, that a government like that of England, which at all times had exhibited the evidences of an extreme ability, and of singular energy, having before its eyes the example of the revolutions of Switzerland and of Holland, well knowing the inflexible pertinacity inherent to the American people, and the astonishing unity of sentiments they had recently manifested in all their movements, is it not even astonishing, that this government could have brought itself to believe, that the blocking up a port and change of some old statutes, things that tended more to irritate than coerce, would suffice to curb such headlong fury, vanquish such unyielding obstinacy, dissolve a league so formidable, and reestablish obedience where rebellion had already commenced its impetuous career? The display of a formidable force, and not the reforms of charters, presented the only mode of promptly terminating the contest, maintaining the ancient order of things, and restoring tranquillity in America.

The ministers ought to have been the more prompt in their military preparations, as they should not have been ignorant that France secretly encouraged these commotions, and was no stranger to their ultimate object. Arms were not wanting; they abounded. Due forecast, or the requisite vigor, were indeed wanting in the British councils. Twenty or thirty thousand men, sent to America immedi-

ately after the commencement of the disorders, would indubitably have surmounted all resistance, and reestablished obedience ; which it was idle to expect from a few modifications of the laws. England, in this instance, appeared to have forgotten the familiar aphorism, that wars, to be short, must be vigorous and terrible.

Nor could it be alleged, that the principles of the British constitution would not have permitted the sending of a regular army into a British province, and in time of peace ; for, if the parliament subverted the fundamental statutes of the province of Massachusetts, and destroyed the most essential bases of the constitution itself, by the laws it was about to enact, it could also have authorised the presence of an efficient standing army. But lord Bute, the favorite counsellor of the king, and author of most of the secret resolutions, was a man whose passions were more remarkable than his sagacity ; and lord North, the prime minister, was rather an accurate and laborious financier, than a statesman. He had formed about him a council of the most celebrated lawyers of the kingdom, to have their advice upon the present state of affairs ; and too many examples attest, what is to be expected from these doctors, when, with their schemes, and sophistical refinements, they undertake to interfere in the government of states, and to direct the revolutions of nations. Good armies, large and vigorous measures, are the only means of success in such circumstances. In critical moments, the direction of affairs should be confided to men of firmness and decision, not to those whose cautious timidity can venture only half measures ; and who are incapable of embracing a magnanimous policy.

Lord North, on the 14th of March, proposed in the house of commons a bill, of the following purport ; that, dating from the 1st of June, 1774, it should be prohibited to land or discharge, lade or embark, any goods, wares, or merchandise, whatsoever, at the town or within the harbor of Boston ; and that the officers of the customs should be transferred immediately to the port of Salem. The minister remarked, that this law was no less necessary than just ; as from this city had issued all the mischief which disturbed the colonies, and all the venom that infected America.

‘Thrice already have the officers of the customs been prevented from discharging their duty. At the epoch of the disorders, the inhabitants, instead of interfering to appease them, maintained regular guards, day and night, to prevent the landing of tea and other British merchandise. Nay, more ; still fearing it might be landed, with an excess of popular insolence, absolutely unheard of, they have thrown into the sea the tea of the East India company. The measure proposed is more severe in appearance than in reality ; for the Bostonians may cause it to cease, by yielding due respect to the laws. A few frigates stationed at the entrance of the harbor, will be sufficient to carry it into effect, without calling in the aid of the military.



It is now quite time to assume a firm attitude, and to take such vigorous steps as shall intimately persuade the Americans that England has not only the power, but also the will, to maintain them in obedience. In a word, that she is unalterably determined to protect her laws, her commerce, her magistrates and her own dignity.'

The project of the minister was opposed by the agent of Massachusetts, named Bollan, and by several orators of the house of commons, among whom Burke and Dowdeswell appeared the most animated ;

'It is wished, then, to condemn the accused without a hearing,—to punish indiscriminately the innocent with the guilty ! You will thus irrevocably alienate the hearts of the colonists from the mother country. Before the adoption of so violent a measure, the principal merchants of the kingdom should at least be consulted. The bill is unjust ; since it bears only upon the city of Boston, whilst it is notorious that all America is in flames ; that the cities of Philadelphia, of New York, and all the maritime towns of the continent, have exhibited the same disorders. You are contending for a matter which the Bostonians will not give up quietly. They cannot, by such means, be made to bow to the authority of ministers ; on the contrary, you will find their obstinacy confirmed, and their fury exasperated. The acts of resistance in their city have not been confined to the populace alone ; but men of the first rank and opulent fortune, in the place, have openly countenanced them. One city in proscription, and the rest in rebellion, can never be a remedial measure for general disturbances. Have you considered whether you have troops and ships sufficient to reduce the people of the whole American continent to your devotion ? It was the duty of your governor, and not of men without arms, to suppress the tumults. If this officer has not demanded the proper assistance from the military commanders, why punish the innocent for the fault and the negligence of the officers of the crown ? Who is ignorant that certain foreign powers wait only for an occasion to move against England ? And will England now offer them this object of their desires ? The resistance is general in all parts of America ; you must therefore let it govern itself by its own internal policy, or make it subservient to all your laws, by an exertion of all the forces of the kingdom. These partial counsels are well suited to irritate, not to subjugate.'

Notwithstanding all these arguments, the ministers obtained an immense majority of the suffrages ; and the bill passed, almost without opposition.

A few days after, lord North proposed another law, which went to subvert entirely the fundamental statutes of Massachusetts, by investing the crown with the power to appoint the counsellors, judges and magistrates of all denominations ; with the clause that each should hold his office during the pleasure of the king. Thus the people of Mas-

sachusetts no longer had authority to interfere, either directly or by their representatives, in the administration of the province, which became, therefore, completely dependent on the government; as the latter controlled, at will, the measures of all the civil authorities.

The ministers alleged, that in doing this, no more was attempted than to place that province on the same footing as several others; that the government did not, at present, possess a sufficient share of power,—too much being lodged in the hands of the people;

‘If such a state of things be suffered to continue, it will no longer be possible to repress the seditious, and prevent the repetition of disorders. The magistrates, so long as they are chosen by the people, will never attempt to resist them; but, on the contrary, will endeavor to flatter their caprices, than which nothing can be imagined more fatal, or more contrary to the public repose. In this province, all is confusion and uproar. In desperate cases, the most active remedies are necessary. Such is the crisis of the moment, that we must either renounce all supremacy over America, or curb with more effectual means these unruly spirits; and, in such an extremity, what is the use of cavils and subtile distinctions?’

But the members of the opposition, and the agents of Massachusetts, represented, on their part, that the measure proposed was flagrantly tyrannical; that this alone, setting aside the affair of taxation, was more than sufficient to excite the greatest commotions in America.

‘What can the Americans believe, but that England wishes to despoil them of all liberty, of all franchises; and, by the destruction of their charters, to reduce them to a state of the most abject slavery? It is a thing of no little peril, however, to undertake the reformation of charters. The princes of the house of Stuart found it so; who lost the crown in attempting to gratify so fatal an ambition. Great Britain has always held similar proceedings in just abhorrence; and how can she now herself pretend to imitate them? Hitherto the Americans have only complained of the loss of one of their immunities; but, at present it is proposed to usurp them all. The other colonies will believe, that what is commenced in Massachusetts, will soon be introduced in each of them; and thus, it cannot be doubted, they will all combine to oppose such attempts in the outset. As the Americans are no less ardently attached to liberty than the English themselves, can it even be hoped they will submit to such exorbitant usurpations,—to such portentous resolutions?’

These, with other considerations were advanced, by those who advocated the American cause; but all was in vain. The bill was passed, by an immense majority.

Lord North then proposed a third, by which it was provided, that in case any individual should be questioned, in the province of Massachusetts, for homicide, or other capital offence, and it should ap-



pear to the governor, that the act was done in the execution of the law, or in assisting any magistrate to suppress tumults, and that a just and impartial trial was not to be expected in the province, the same governor should have authority to send the accused to take his trial in another colony, or, if expedient, even in Great Britain. This act was to be in force, for the term of four years.

The minister insisted in his discourse, that, without the measure proposed, those whose office it was to enforce the execution of the laws, would be very remiss in the discharge of this duty, having no hope to find, in case of need, an impartial tribunal to judge them. 'It is impossible, without inconsistency, to commit the trial of such persons to those against whom, in obedience to the laws, they may have acted. The bill now submitted will crown the resolutions taken with respect to the colonies; your work, without this, would remain unfinished and defective. We must consider, that every thing we have, that is valuable to us, is at stake; and the question at issue is very shortly this, Whether the Americans shall continue the subjects of Great Britain or not? I feel assured of a good result, when all these new arrangements shall be carried properly into execution.'

But colonel Barre, and Edmund Burke, opposed the minister with great warmth; and spoke, in substance, as follows; 'This is indeed the most extraordinary resolution that was ever heard in the parliament of England. It offers new encouragement to military insolence, already so insupportable; which is the more odious, in the present case, as the soldiers are expected to act against their own fellow citizens! By this law, the Americans are deprived of a right which belongs to every human creature,—that of demanding justice before a tribunal composed of impartial judges. Even captain Preston, who, in their own city of Boston had shed the blood of citizens, found among them a fair trial, and equitable judges. It is an idea so extravagant, this of taking the trial over the Atlantic seas, three thousand miles, to Great Britain, where the prisoner may call upon and subpoena as many witnesses as he pleases, that it is hard to conceive how it could have entered the brain of any man in his senses. Instead of stimulating the audacity of regular troops, on the contrary, the provincial militia should be encouraged, that they may serve as a shield and a bulwark against them in favor of civil liberty. To approve this law is equivalent to a declaration of war against the colonies. Let us but look a little into our behavior. When we are insulted by Spain, we negotiate; when we dispute with our brethren of America, we prepare our ships and our troops to attack them. In the one house of parliament, '*we have passed the Rubicon*;' in the other, '*delenda est Carthago*.' But I see nothing in the present measures, but inhumanity, injustice, and wickedness; and I fear that the hand of heaven will fall down on this unhappy country, with the same degree of vengeance we desire to wreak on our brethren of

America. And what is the unpardonable offence the Americans have been guilty of? Of no other but that of refusing their consent to an act that was contrary to the written laws, and to the unalterable principles of the British constitution. And if England herself, in certain ancient times, had not resisted such arbitrary laws, should we have enjoyed our present free government, or should we have existed as a house of commons here this day?

Lord Germaine, having risen, spoke thus on the side of ministers; 'If I believed that the measure in question could be deemed unjust and tyrannical, I certainly should not undertake to support it against such vehement attacks. But as I think it, on the contrary, not only just, but seasonable and necessary, I shall freely defend it, even at the risk, in so doing, of wounding the delicate ears of the orators seated opposite. The trial of the military on this side of the water has been much objected to. What is it, sir, but a protection of innocence? Can any thing be more desirable to generous minds, than that? America, at this instant is nothing but anarchy and confusion. Have they any one measure, but what depends upon the will of a lawless multitude? Where are the courts of justice? Shut up. Where are your council? Where is your governor? All of them intimidated by the infuriate rabble. Can you expect, in the midst of such tumults, in the midst of such ferocious anarchy, that these men could have a fair trial? No; assuredly not. It has been observed, that we negotiated, however, with Spain. But the Spaniards disavowed the fact, and acknowledged our right with respect to the Falkland Islands; whereas, the contumacious Americans continue to resist and deride us! It is objected, that these proceedings are to deprive persons of their natural right. Let me ask, of what natural right? Whether that of smuggling, or of throwing tea overboard?—or of another natural right, which is not paying their debts? But surely this bill does not destroy any of their civil rights. You have given the innocent man a fair trial. It is not a military government that is established; but the alteration of a civil one, by which it is made conformable to existing circumstances. If peace, if obedience to the laws and legitimate authorities, are still to be reestablished in the province of Massachusetts, this is the only measure that can conduct us to a result so desirable.

The question being put, it was resolved in the affirmative; an hundred and twenty-seven voted in favor of the bill, and only twenty-four against.

Notwithstanding the resolutions recently taken, which were to produce such salutary effects in the colonies, the government reflected that the Americans might possibly proceed to the last extremities, and thus render it necessary to use open force to reduce them; the ministers therefore thought it might be well to secure a place near the colonies, where they could make the necessary preparations, and



disembark, upon occasion, their troops and munitions of war, without obstacles, without discontent on the part of the inhabitants, and, especially, without these eternal complaints of the violation of rights and of statutes. For such a purpose, no province appeared more suitable than Canada, which, from its situation, was well adapted to overawe the colonies where the late tumults had arisen. But, to facilitate this design, it was requisite to satisfy the Canadians, who, till very lately, having been French, were not yet accustomed to the laws of their new masters, and were even much inclined to detest them. The Canadian nobility, heretofore possessed of great authority in their province, complained that they had no longer so considerable a part in public affairs, as they had enjoyed under the French domination. The people, professing generally the Catholic religion, were dissatisfied because they were not permitted to partake of all the privileges and civil advantages enjoyed by Protestant subjects.

These motives determined the government to extend the authority of the nobility, and establish a perfect equality of rights between the Catholics and Protestants. Accordingly, upon the motion of lord North, the parliament passed an act, establishing, in the province of Canada, a legislative council, invested with all powers, except that of imposing taxes. It was provided, that its members should be appointed by the crown, and continue in authority during its pleasure; that the Canadian subjects professing the Catholic faith, might be called to sit in this council; that the Catholic clergy, with the exception of the regular orders, should be secured in the enjoyment of their possessions, and of their tithes towards all those who professed the same religion; that the French laws, without jury, should be reestablished, preserving, however, the English laws, with trial by jury, in criminal cases. It was also added, in order to furnish the ministers with a larger scope for their designs, that the limits of Canada should be extended so as to embrace the territory situated between the lakes, the river Ohio and the Mississippi. Thus, it was hoped, that, being flanked by a province reduced to a state of absolute dependence on the government, and with this bridle, as it were, in the mouth, the Americans would no longer dare to renew their accustomed sallies.

In the last place, a bill was proposed and passed, which authorised, in case of exigency, the quartering of soldiers in the houses of citizens.

These new laws were received in England with universal applause; as a general and violent indignation had been excited there, by the insolence and enormities of the Americans. The bill of Quebec, however, as that of Canada was called, found a much less cordial reception. It even occasioned much murmuring among the English people. 'The other laws,' it was said, 'are just and proper, because

they tend to establish English authority over the seditious ; but this is an attempt against the national liberty and religion.'

Governor Hutchinson, become odious to the Americans, was succeeded by general Gage, a man much known, and highly respected, in America. He was invested with the most ample authority, to pardon and remit, at discretion, all treason or felony, and even all murders or crimes, of whatever denomination, as also all forfeitures and penalties whatsoever, which the inhabitants of Massachusetts might have incurred.

An universal curiosity prevailed, to know the result of the new measures taken by the English ministers, and what would be the issue of a contest, in which all the authority of a most ancient and powerful kingdom, formidable even from the terror of its name, and the recent glory of its arms, combatted against the obstinacy of a people naturally headstrong, and attached to their privileges almost to infatuation. Nor did the course of events remain long in doubt. For, upon the arrival in Boston of the news of the port bill, a meeting of the inhabitants was immediately called ; in which, the act was declared to be unjust and cruel ; they made their appeal to God and to the world. A vast number of copies of the act were printed and dispersed throughout the colonies ; and, to make the deeper impression on the multitude, the copies were printed on mourning paper, bordered with black lines ; and they were cried through the country, as the '*barbarous, cruel, sanguinary and inhuman murder.*' In many places, it was burnt with great solemnity by the assembled multitude.

In the midst of this effervescence, general Gage arrived at Boston ; where, notwithstanding the general agitation, he was received with distinction.

The committee of correspondence perceived all the importance of uniting in a common sentiment the committees of the other colonies ; but they also felt the constraint of their present position, since the particular interests of Boston were now especially concerned. They wrote, therefore, with a modest reserve, and their letters merely expressed a hope, that the city of Boston would be considered as suffering for the common cause.

The flames of this combustion were soon communicated to all parts of the continent ; there was not a place that did not convene its assembly, that did not despatch its letters, animated with the same spirit ; the praises, the congratulations, the encouragements, addressed to the Bostonians, were without end. The province of Virginia was also on this occasion prompt to give the signal and the example ; its assembly was in session when the news arrived of the Boston port bill. It was immediately resolved, that the first of June, the time prefixed for the law to take effect, should be observed by all as a day of fasting, prayer and humiliation ; that on this day, the divine mercy should be supplicated, that it would deign to avert the



calamities which threatened the Americans with the loss of their rights, and a civil war; that it would inspire all hearts and all minds with the same affections and with the same thoughts, that they might effectually concur in the defence of their liberty. The other cities followed this example. The popular orators in the public halls, and the ministers of religion in the churches, pronounced discourses adapted to inflame the people against the authors of the usurpations, and all the evils of which the Bostonians were the victims. The governor thought it prudent to dissolve the assembly of Virginia. But prior to their separation, they contracted a league, by which they declared, that the attempt by coercion, to induce one of the colonies to consent to an arbitrary tax, was to be considered as an outrage common to all; that in such a case, it was just and necessary that all should unite, with one consent, to oppose such pernicious, such detestable counsels. Not content with this, they adopted a resolution, which was the most important of all; it purported that all the colonies should be invited to choose deputies, to convene every year, in a general congress, to deliberate in common upon the general interests of America.

In Boston, the general assembly of the province having met, the new governor informed the house, that on the first of June, in conformity to the port bill, their sittings must be transferred to Salem. But perceiving, that, to avoid this translation, they hastened to terminate the affairs in deliberation, he adjourned them himself to Salem, for the 7th of June. When reassembled in this place, the house immediately took into consideration the events of the day. The leaders, among whom Samuel Adams was the most active, had prepared the resolutions. The assembly decreed that a general congress should be convoked; they elected the deputies that were to represent the province in the same, and made provision for their expenses.

Maryland held its assembly at Annapolis; South Carolina, at Charleston; Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia; Connecticut, at New London; Rhode Island, at Newport; and, in a word, all the provinces, from New Hampshire to South Carolina, pursued one course; all adhered to the measure of holding a general congress, and elected their deputies accordingly. No province sent less than two, or more than seven representatives. The city of Philadelphia being rich, flourishing and populous, and forming a central point between the provinces of the north and those of the south, was chosen for the seat of the general congress.

The associations against British commerce were also resumed with great spirit; the provincial assemblies, the town meetings, and the committees of correspondence, all cooperated, with admirable effect, in promoting the same object. Had it been possible to increase the animosity and indignation already kindled by the Boston port bill, they must have redoubled at the news of the two other acts, con-

cerning the civil administration of Massachusetts, and that of Quebec. The Boston committee of correspondence originated a motion, upon this occasion of great moment; it was to form a general combination, which should be called '*The League and Covenant*' in imitation of the leagues and covenants made in the times of civil wars in England. The covenanters were required to obligate themselves, in the presence of God, and promise in the most solemn and religious manner, to cease all commerce with England, dating from the last of the ensuing month of August, until the late detestable acts should be repealed, and the colony reinstated in all its rights, franchises, liberty and privileges; not to purchase or use, after this term, any British goods, wares or merchandise whatsoever; and to abstain from all commerce or traffic whatever with those who should use or introduce them, or refuse to enter into the solemn league. Finally, a menace was added, which, in a period of such universal excitement, was sufficient to intimidate, that the names of those should be published who should refuse to give this authentic proof of their attachment to the rights and liberty of their country. If the resolution was bold, its execution was not tardy. The articles of the league were transmitted, by circulars, to the other provinces, with invitation to the inhabitants to annex their names. Either voluntarily or out of fear, an infinite number subscribed in all the provinces, and particularly in those of New England. The citizens of Philadelphia alone discovered a repugnance to the measure; not that they felt less abhorrence for the proceedings of England, or were less attached to their privileges; but a total suspension of commerce with Great Britain, appeared to them a thing of so great importance, and so prejudicial to many industrious inhabitants of their city, that they could not but hesitate as to its adoption. They desired, therefore, to leave it for the determination of the general congress; promising to execute scrupulously, whatever might be the resolutions of that assembly.

General Gage, astonished and inflamed at the very name of league, a name so full of dread for the ears of an officer of the crown of England, issued a proclamation, declaring it to be an illegal and criminal combination, and contrary to the allegiance due to the king. But these were mere words. The people of Massachusetts published, on their part, that the declaration of the governor was of itself tyrannical; they contended, that no authority could prevent the subjects from consulting together, and forming conventions for the maintainance of their rights, in cases of oppression.

Thus the laws upon which the British ministers had rested their hopes of dividing the counsels, appeasing the tumults, securing obedience, and reestablishing tranquillity in America, were those which originated more union, greater commotions, more open revolt, and a more determined spirit of resistance. Nor should it be ima-



gined, that so much agitation was excited only by men of obscure condition, or a few party leaders; on the contrary, men of all ranks engaged in the work; and among the foremost, numbers remarkable for their opulence, their authority or their talents. The landholders, especially, were exasperated more than all others, and manifested a more vehement desire to triumph over the ministers; whom they called wicked, and whom they detested so mortally.

Meanwhile, on the first of June, at mid-day, all business ceased in the custom house of Boston, and the port was shut against every vessel that offered to enter; and, on the 14th, permission to depart was refused to all that had entered before. This day was observed as a day of calamity at Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia; and as a day of general mourning in all the other cities of the continent. At Philadelphia, all business ceased, and all tradesmen, excepting the Quakers, closed their shops; the bells sounded the funeral knell. But the Bostonians excited pity; their city, lately so rich, so prosperous, so distinguished for the number and courteous character of its inhabitants, now presented, in every part, only the images of desolation and despair. The rich, in having lost the rents of their buildings, were becoming poor; the poor, deprived of employment, had fallen into indigence. Each sustained his share of the general calamity. A malignant soldiery, parading through the city, seemed also inclined to insult their miseries.

The inhabitants of the province of Massachusetts, and of all the others, came, indeed, to their succour; subscriptions went round, in Philadelphia, to procure some relief for those Bostonians, who, by the effect of the new law, were deprived of subsistence. But how inadequate were these succours, to satisfy the exigencies of such distress! Many of these unfortunate sufferers were reduced to the last extreme of penury. If the miseries, however, they experienced, were extreme, so also were the resignation and the fortitude with which they supported them. It may well be supposed, they perused with singular attention the pages of ancient and modern story, which have recorded the sufferings of the apostles of liberty, either to publish them, as they did, in a style often of virulence, and more often of emphasis, in the public journals, or to repeat them in popular assemblies, and paragon with such illustrious examples, the tribulations of the Bostonians, whose constancy they magnified with boundless encomium. They were styled the living martyrs of liberty,—the generous defenders of the rights of man; they were pronounced the worthy descendants of their virtuous and heroic ancestors.

The government had persuaded itself, that, the port of Boston being shut up, the inhabitants of the neighboring towns would endeavor to avail themselves of it by drawing to their own ports the commerce hitherto transacted in that city. But things took a direction very wide of its expectations. The inhabitants of Marblehead,

a small seaport, at a few miles distance from Boston, and even those of Salem, offered the Bostonians their ports, wharves, and warehouses, free of all expense or remuneration.

During these occurrences, most of the civil magistrates had suspended the exercise of their functions; for those who had been appointed under the new laws, had either declined acceptance, or were prevented by the people from acting in their several offices. The council only which assisted the governor, was permitted to despatch some affairs, as, out of thirty-six new counsellors, who had been appointed, only two had declined; but the others, having been denounced to the public as enemies to the country, and the multitude collecting in fury about their houses, the greater part resigned. The courts of justice were suspended, because their members refused to take the oath prescribed by the laws, or to conform, in any shape, to its provisions. The attorneys who had issued writs of citation, were compelled to ask pardon in the public journals, and promise not to expedite others, until the laws should be revoked, and the charters reestablished. The people rushed in a throng to occupy the seat of justice, that no room might be left for the judges; when invited to withdraw, they answered, that they recognised no other tribunals, and no other magistrates, but such as were established according to ancient laws and usages.

The greater part of the inhabitants, persuaded that things must, finally, terminate in open war, diligently provided themselves with arms, and exercised daily, in handling them. They succeeded in this with extreme facility, being naturally active, accustomed to fatigue, and experienced huntsmen. They excelled particularly in the use of the rifle, which they levelled with unerring aim. In all places, nothing was heard but the din of arms, or the sound of fifes and of drums; nothing was seen but multitudes intent upon learning the military exercise and evolutions; young and old, fathers and sons, and even the gentle sex, all bent their steps towards these martial scenes; some to acquire instruction, others to animate and encourage. The casting of balls, and making of cartridges, were become ordinary occupations. All things offered the image of an approaching war.

The arrival of general Gage, at Boston, had been followed by that of two regiments of infantry, with several pieces of cannon. These troops had been quartered in the city; they were reenforced by several regiments, coming from Ireland, from New York, from Halifax, and from Quebec; all directed upon this point, to smother the kindling conflagration. The inhabitants beheld this with incredible jealousy, which was still increased by an order of the general, to place a guard upon the isthmus, which connects the peninsula, where Boston is situated, with the main land. The pretext assigned was, to prevent the desertion of the soldiers, but the real motive of this step was to intimidate the inhabitants, that they might not, so



freely as they had done heretofore, transport arms from the city into the country. Every day gave birth to new causes of contention between the soldiers and the citizens. Popular rumors were circulated rapidly, and heard with avidity; at every moment the people collected as if ripe for revolt.

The governor, attentive to this agitation, and fearing some unhappy accident, resolved to fortify the isthmus, and proceeded in the works with great activity. The inhabitants of Boston, as well as those of the country, were extremely exasperated by it; they exclaimed, that this was an act of hostility on the part of the general, and a manifest proof that it was resolved to make every thing bend to military authority. Many conjectures were in circulation among the people, and violent menaces were thrown out. General Gage, apprehensive of an explosion, detached two companies of soldiers to seize the powder that was deposited in the magazine at Charlestown, near Boston. He considered this the more prudent, as the time was now approaching for the annual review of the militia; when, if any hostile designs were in agitation, they might probably be put in execution.

The rage of the people had now reached its acme. They assembled from all quarters, and hastened, with arms, to Cambridge. The more prudent had great difficulty to prevent them from marching furiously to Boston to demand the restitution of the powder, or in case of refusal, to fall immediately upon the garrison.

But soon after, and probably by a secret device of the patriot chiefs, to let the British soldiers perceive, that, if they should venture to offer the shadow of violence, a signal to the inhabitants of the province would suffice to make them repent of it, a report was circulated among this exasperated multitude, that the fleet and garrison had commenced hostilities, that their artillery was firing upon the town, and that the Bostonians were hard pressed to defend themselves. The rumor was spread with incredible rapidity through the whole province; in a few hours, above thirty thousand men were under arms; they proceeded towards Boston with the utmost speed, and made no halt till they had full certainty that the alarm was premature.

This movement gave origin to many others; and it became an almost daily custom to attack the houses of such as either had accepted the new offices, or in any way had shown themselves favorable to English pretensions, or opposed to American privileges. No longer, therefore, able to find safety except within the city itself, the commissioners of the customs, and those under their authority, as well as all other public officers, who had removed to Salem for the exercise of their functions, went back to Boston. Thus, in the space of a few months, the regulations were annihilated, which the ministers had designed to introduce by means of the port bill.

The province of Massachusetts was not the only theatre of popular commotions; all had a part in this general convulsion. The inhabitants, at many points, fearing the governor might get the start of them in respect to seizing the powder, as he had done at Charlestown, flew to possess themselves of what lay in the forts and powder magazines of the king. Thus it happened at Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, where the provincials stormed the fort, and carried off the powder and artillery. The inhabitants of Rhode Island did the same; the people of Newport rose, and took possession of forty pieces of cannon, which defended the harbor.

The removal of the powder at Charlestown, and the fortifications carrying on at Boston, together with the popular agitations, occasioned a meeting of delegates from the different towns and boroughs of the county of Suffolk, of which Boston is the capital. They took very spirited resolutions; purporting, that no obedience was due to the late acts of parliament, but, on the contrary, hatred and execration, since they were attempts to enslave America; that the appointment of public officers by virtue of these acts, was contrary to constitutional statutes and principles; that the country would indemnify the subordinate officers, who should refuse to execute the orders of their superiors, appointed under the new laws; that the collectors of the public money should retain it in their hands, and make no payment, until the ancient laws of the colony should be reestablished, or until it should be ordered otherwise by the provincial congress; that those who had accepted the new offices must resign them before the 20th of September; and if not, they should be declared enemies to the country; that officers of the militia should be chosen in every town, selecting for this purpose, individuals skilful in arms, and inflexibly attached to the rights of the people; that, as it had been reported it was in contemplation to apprehend certain persons of the county, if this menace should be executed, the royal officers should be immediately seized, and detained as hostages; that the people should be exhorted to maintain tranquillity, and merit, by their moderation, by their steady, uniform and persevering resistance, in a contest so important, in a cause so solemn, the approbation of the wise, and the admiration of the brave, of every country, and of every age.

Another assembly, but of the entire province of Massachusetts, was held at Salem. The governor not choosing to sanction it by his presence, they formed themselves into a provincial congress, and elected Hancock president. After having addressed their complaints to the governor, of the fortifications of the isthmus, they took extraordinary measures for the defence of the province. They prepared munitions of war, they filled magazines with provisions, they enrolled twelve thousand of the militia, whom they called *minute men*; that is, soldiers that must hold themselves in readiness to march at a



minute's notice. The decrees and recommendations of the provincial congress were executed with the same exactness as if they had emanated from a legitimate authority.

Thus, the plans of the British ministers produced, in America, effects contrary to their intentions. Already, every appearance announced the approach of civil war.

In the midst of this agitation, and of apprehensions inspired by the future, the general congress assembled at Philadelphia; it was composed of delegates from all the American colonies.

END OF BOOK THIRD.

## BOOK FOURTH.

1774. THE deputies of the different colonies arrived in Philadelphia on the 4th of September, except those of North Carolina, who delayed their appearance until the 14th of the same month. All were men of note, and distinguished by the public favor. Far from being persons destitute of the goods of fortune, they were all landed proprietors, and some possessed even great opulence. Several had been instructed by their constituents, to exert their utmost endeavors to secure the liberty of America, by the most suitable means, and to restore the ancient course of things with England; others, to vote for resolutions relative to the exercise of commerce, calculated to induce the English government to embrace milder counsels towards the colonies; others, finally, were invested with unlimited authority to do whatsoever, in the present circumstances, they should judge most conducive to the public good.

Having met on the 5th, they resolved that their deliberations should be kept secret, until the majority should direct them to be published; and that, in determining questions, each colony should have but one vote, whatever might be the number of its deputies. They elected for president, Peyton Randolph, of Virginia; and for secretary, Charles Thomson. They were in number fifty-five.\*

For a long time, no spectacle had been offered to the attention of mankind, of so powerful an interest as this of the present American congress. It was indeed a novel thing, and as it were miraculous, that a nation, hitherto almost unknown to the people of Europe, or only known by the commerce it occasionally exercised in their ports, should, all at once, step forth from this state of oblivion, and, rousing as from a long slumber, should seize the reins to govern itself; that the various parts of this nation, hitherto disjoined, and almost in opposition to each other, should now be united in one body, and moved by a single will; that their long and habitual obedience should be suddenly changed for the intrepid counsels of resistance, and of open defiance, to the formidable nation whence they derived their origin and laws.

There had been observed, at intervals, it is true, in the vast dominions of Spain in America, some popular agitations; but they were easily repressed by the government. In the colonies of Portugal, the public repose had never been interrupted. France, in like manner, had always found her American subjects inclined to a willing submission. It was reserved for the English colonies, to afford the first example of resistance, and of a struggle to separate themselves from

\* See Note I.



the parent state. Such, however, was the necessary consequence of the constitution of England, and of her colonies; of the opinions which prevailed in the latter; of the memory of ancient revolutions; and of the discontents which, from time to time, had manifested themselves in America, but which now, for the first time, menaced an inevitable, and not distant explosion; for the congress of Albany had presented nothing illegal in its character, since it had been convoked by the legitimate authorities. It had manifested no tendency towards a new order of things; though perhaps the secret counsels of those who composed it eventually aspired at independence; but, in effect, nothing was regulated by that assembly, except the interests of the English colonies with regard to the Indian nations of the vicinity. When the congress of New York was convened, the excitement of men's minds was not yet so extreme, the popular disorders had not taken so alarming a character, nor had the government then displayed so much rigor, nor prostrated so many colonial statutes. On the other hand, the members of this congress, though possessed of much, had not so entire an influence with the American people as those of the congress of Philadelphia; nor did they excite such public expectation of future events as the latter assembly. The colonists looked upon it as a convention of men who, in some mode or other, were to deliver their country from the perils that menaced it. The greater part believed that their ability, their prudence and their immense influence with the people, would enable them to obtain from the government the removal of the evils that oppressed them, and the re-establishment of the ancient order of things. Some others cherished the belief, that they would find means to conduct the American nation to that independence which was the first and most ardent of their aspirations, or rather the sole object of that intense passion which stung and tormented them, night and day. The confidence they had placed in the congress, was equal to the aversion they had conceived to the new laws. The generality of people, usually ignorant what obstacles must be encountered in great enterprises, deem their grievances already removed, when they have confided to a few the interests of all; the colonists, accordingly, attributing to their new delegates greater power than they in reality possessed, were generally elated with the most flattering hopes. They knew that a union of minds is the most efficacious instrument of success; and their concord was prodigious; all were ready to sacrifice their lives and their fortunes to the triumph of their cause. Not that there existed none of another mind, who would gladly have held a quite different course; but they were few, in this first impulse, and they were reduced to silence by the consent and enthusiasm of all the others. No other government, however consolidated by the lapse of ages or the force of arms, ever experienced so much promptness and punctuality of obedience as the American congress. The colonists were disposed

to receive its deliberations, not only as the useful and salutary laws of a good government, but as the revered precepts and oracles of men consecrated and generously devoted to the salvation of their country.

Such was the posture of affairs in America at the epoch of the convocation of congress. But in Europe, the novelty of circumstances had excited strong emotions in the minds of all; in some, creating fear,—in others hope,—in all, astonishment. In England, the ministerial party declaimed with vehemence against the audacity of the Americans, who were called rebels; and the most rigorous counsels were already proposed. They could not comprehend how a people like that of America, divided, as they had always been, by a sectarian spirit, into various schisms and parties, should now be capable of a concord so entire, as to present but one only sentiment, and but one same will;—how, laying aside the mutual rancor resulting from the diversity of their opinions and interests, they should all, at the present moment, have concurred in a resolution to defend and maintain what they considered their rights, against England.

‘Is it conceivable, that a nation which subsists by its commerce, that has no naval armament, and whose principal cities are exposed to the vengeance of a maritime enemy, that is unprovided with regular and veteran troops, should have the hardihood to dispute the will of the British nation, powerful in arms, radiant with the glory of its recent achievements, inexhaustible in public and private resources, strong in a government cemented by the hand of time, formidable for the prodigious number of its ships, and abounding in experienced commanders, both of land and sea?’

But it was answered on the other side;

‘Wherefore this astonishment at the resolution of the Americans? Even though it were true, that, as to the means of sustaining war, they were thus inferior to Great Britain, who is ignorant that men inflamed by the zeal of political opinions do not descend to nice calculations, or spend time in weighing the probabilities of the future? And has not England herself many difficulties to surmount? Is she not divided, even upon this question of America, by the spirit of party? Opinions are so much at variance on this subject, that a great number, it is clear, would march against the colonists with extreme repugnance. A vast ocean separates from us the countries in which the war must be carried on; this circumstance alone will, of necessity, cause an incalculable expense, an enormous waste of military stores, an affrightful sacrifice of men, the most fatal delays, and a frequent defect of correspondence between measures and exigencies. The finances of England are exhausted by the exorbitant debt contracted in times past, and especially during the late war; the revenue falls far short of meeting the ordinary expenditure; and so ponderous an increase of burthen as the disbursements of this new war must involve, would absolutely crush the resources of the state. Be-



sides, what country is better adapted than America for a long defence ? It is covered with trackless forests, fortified by lakes, rivers, and mountains ; it has few passable roads ; and abounds in strong defiles, and fords, which are only known to the inhabitants.'

Nor should it be omitted, that the recollection of past events must have acted with great force upon the minds of those who directed the counsels of England. They were abandoned to doubt and uncertainty ; for this was the same cause which in the preceding century had been contested in England, and which, after so many efforts, and so much blood, had produced a total revolution, and placed the British sceptre in the hands of a new line of princes. But even this reflection was calculated to excite, in the members of the government, a certain indignation, but too proper to pervert their reason, and alienate them from the counsels of moderation and prudence. Assuredly, since the epoch of this revolution, the British cabinet never had a more difficult enterprise to conduct ; it had never witnessed a crisis of such fatal augury, or that menaced, with a wound so deadly, the very heart of the state. Nor was it possible to dissemble, that the Americans would not be destitute of foreign succours ; for, although the European powers, who possessed colonies in America, could not, but with certain solicitude, contemplate these commotions in the British provinces, viewing them as a dangerous example for their own subjects, who, if success should attend the designs of the Americans, might, they apprehended, indulge pernicious thoughts, and contrary to their allegiance ; yet they were greatly reassured, by reflecting that their colonists were far from cherishing the same political opinions that prevailed among the inhabitants of the English colonies. And, on the other hand, their vehement desire to see the power of England reduced, prevented them from perceiving the danger, or caused them to despise it ; for this danger was remote and uncertain ; whereas the advantage of the humiliation of England, which was expected to result from the American war, was near at hand, and, if not certain, at least extremely probable.

But, among the various nations of Europe, all more or less favorable to the cause of the Americans, and equally detesting the tyranny of England, none signalised themselves more than the French. The desire of vengeance, the hope of retrieving its losses, the remembrance of ancient splendor, the anguish of recent wounds, all stimulated the French government to side with the Americans. It waited only for the maturity of events, and a propitious occasion, to declare itself. These dispositions of the ministry were not unknown to the nation ; and, as no people are more susceptible of impressions from those in power than the French, the cause of the Americans found among them the most ardent and the most ingenious advocates. Many other causes, no less evident, concurred to the same effect. The people of France, though accustomed to live under a very

absolute system of government, have uniformly testified a particular esteem for such men, and for such nations, as have valiantly defended their liberty against the usurpations of tyranny; for, when they are not led astray, and as it were transported out of themselves, by their exorbitant imagination, their character is naturally benevolent and gentle; they are always disposed to succour the oppressed, especially when they support their ill fortune with constancy, and contend, with courage, to surmount it; in a word, when their enterprise presents an aspect of glory and of greatness. Such was, or appeared to be, the cause of the Americans; and such were the general sentiments of the French towards them.

It should also be added, that, at this epoch, the writers who had treated political subjects, in all countries, and especially in France, had manifested themselves the advocates of a more liberal mode of government; and thus the opinions which prevailed, at that time, were extremely propitious to civil liberty. These writings were in more eager request, and these opinions were still more rapidly disseminated, at the news of the commotions which agitated America; than which nothing could more evidently prove what was the spirit of that epoch. In all social circles, as well as in numerous publications which daily appeared in France, the Americans were the object of boundless praises; their cause was defended by the most specious arguments, and justified by a multitude of illustrious examples. And if, at the epoch when France, after the cession made by the republic of Genoa, had undertaken the conquest of Corsica, many were found, among the French, who professed themselves the apologists of those islanders, and ventured openly to condemn the determination of their own government to subdue them, it may well be thought, the partisans of the Americans were far more numerous, and demonstrated an enthusiasm still more ardent. It would be difficult to express what joy and what hopes were excited by the intelligence of the convocation of the American congress. The names of the deputies were extolled to the skies; 'Let them hasten,' it was said, every where, 'to shake off the yoke of English despotism, to sever these bonds of servitude; let them establish civil liberty in their country; and let them serve as a perpetual example, that princes cannot, without peril, violate the fundamental laws of their states, nor attack with impunity the privileges and immunities of their subjects.' Thus the French excited continually by new motives and plausible arguments, the already exasperated minds of the Americans; and irritated those wounds which had already the appearance of canceration, in order to render them absolutely incurable.

Thus the congress saw united in its favor, not only the opinions of the American people, but also those of all the European nations, and even of their governments; as likewise of no small part of the inhabitants of Great Britain itself. So great was, at this epoch, either



the spirit of innovation, or the love of liberty, or the desire to shake off the restraints of all authority whatsoever! Meanwhile, all minds were suspended with expectation, for the issue of so important a contest; and all eyes were attentive to see what measures the American convention would first adopt to sustain it.

It was natural, that the first thoughts of congress should have turned towards the province of Massachusetts, and the city of Boston. The resolutions of the assembly of Suffolk, having been the most vigorous, and the most important, it was determined to confirm them. They accordingly resolved, that they deeply felt the suffering of their countrymen, of the province of Massachusetts, under the operation of the late unjust and cruel acts of the British parliament; that they much approved the wisdom and fortitude which the people of Massachusetts had displayed, in opposing such wicked measures; they exhorted them to perseverance, and recommended the complete execution of the resolutions taken by the assembly of Suffolk; they expressed their confident hopes that the united efforts of North America, would so persuade the British nation of the imprudence, injustice, and danger of the policy of the present ministers, as quickly to introduce better men, and wiser measures; and, finally, they recommended, that the contributions which had been commenced, in all the colonies, should continue to be collected, for the relief and support of the Bostonians. And as those who are inclined to war, generally affect the most earnest desire of peace, congress addressed a letter to general Gage, praying him to put a stop to the hostile preparations, which might provoke a pacific people to have recourse to arms, and thus prevent the endeavors of the congress, to restore a good understanding with the parent state, and involve the nation in all the horrors of a civil war. He was especially requested to discontinue the fortifications of Boston, to repress military license, and to restore a free communication between the city and country.

Although the congress was not, constitutionally, a legitimate assembly, general Gage, desirous of testifying his disposition to preserve peace, answered, that no troops had ever given less cause for complaint, than those that were then stationed in Boston, notwithstanding the insults and provocations daily given to both officers and soldiers; that the communication between the city and country had been always free, and should remain so, unless the inhabitants should constrain him to take other measures. The congress also decreed that if it should be attempted to carry into execution, by force, the late acts of parliament, in such case, all America ought to support the inhabitants of Massachusetts in their opposition; that in case it should be judged necessary to remove the citizens of Boston into the country, the injury they might thereby sustain, should be repaired at the public expense; and that every person whomsoever, who should accept of any commission, or authority, emanating from the new laws, should be held in universal detestation and abhorrence.

The congress also deemed it useful and necessary to resort to the accustomed confederacies against English commerce; the merchants of the colonies were therefore requested to suspend all importation of merchandise from Great Britain, until the congress should have published its intentions, touching the course to be pursued for the preservation of the liberties of America. The agreement was promptly and universally contracted, according to its desires; and it was further stipulated, that all exportation of merchandise to Great Britain, Ireland and the West Indies, should cease after the 10th of September, 1775, unless the wrongs of which the Americans complained, were redressed prior to that period. The league was observed, this time, with an astonishing consent.

There still remained an affair of the last importance; that of determining what were the pretensions of America, and the terms upon which she would consent to resume her ancient relations of amity with Great Britain. To this effect the congress published an elaborate declaration, entitled, a Declaration of Rights. This paper commenced with very bitter complaints, that the parliament had, of late years, undertaken to tax the colonies; to establish an extraordinary board of customs; to extend the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty; to grant salaries to the judges, without the concurrence of the colonial assemblies; to maintain a standing army in times of peace; to ordain that persons charged with offences, affecting the state, should be transported to England for trial; to annul the regulations of the government of Massachusetts, respecting the prosecution of those who should be questioned for acts committed in the execution of the laws, and in opposition to tumults; and, finally, to abolish the English laws in Canada, and to grant in that province extraordinary favor to the Catholic religion. Which acts of the parliament were pronounced impolitic, unjust, cruel, contrary to the constitution, most dangerous and destructive of American rights. They continued with saying, that whereas the legal assemblies of America, which had peaceably convened to deliberate on grievances, and remonstrate against unjust and oppressive laws, had been frequently dissolved, and their petitions and supplications treated with contempt by the ministers of the king; the Americans had, therefore, determined to convoke this congress, in order to vindicate and secure their rights and liberties.

Then followed the enumeration of these rights, such as life, liberty and property; which, they affirmed, no power could dispose of without their consent. To these were added the rights peculiar to English subjects, as for example, to participate in the legislative council; and as the inhabitants of the colonies were not, and from local and other circumstances, could not be represented in the British parliament, they were entitled, it was asserted, to enjoy this right of legislation in their respective assemblies, consenting cheerfully, however, to the



operation of such acts of parliament as were, *bona fide*, restrained to the regulation of commerce, excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external. They claimed, in like manner, the right of being tried by their peers of the vicinage, and that of peaceably assembling and addressing their petitions to the king. It was also declared, that the keeping a standing army in the colonies, in times of peace, without the consent of the respective colonial assemblies, was altogether contrary to law. The congress here recapitulated the acts of parliament which had violated the foregoing rights, affirming that the Americans could not submit to such grievous acts and measures, nor in any mode return to the former state of things, without their revocation.

It was hoped, that their fellowcitizens of Great Britain, would, on a revision of these laws, see the necessity of repealing them, and thus restore the Americans to that state of happiness and prosperity, which they had enjoyed in times past; that, in the meantime, and for the present, they were resolved to enter into a nonimportation, nonconsumption, and nonexportation agreement, in respect to all articles of commerce with Great Britain. They determined also, to prepare an address to the people of Great Britain, and a memorial to the inhabitants of British America, as also another to the king, in conformity to resolutions already taken.

By the first, their design was to conciliate the English people, and to appease the resentment which they apprehended would be excited by the effect of the American combinations against their commerce. This they executed with singular address; on the one hand, flattering the self love of the British, and on the other, averring that it was with repugnance, and compelled, as it were, by invincible necessity, they were induced to embrace these prejudicial associations. They were ready, they added, to dissolve them the moment the government should have restored them to their original condition.

We transcribe a part of this address of the American congress to the English people, as it is peculiarly proper to demonstrate what were the prevailing opinions at this epoch; with what ardor and inflexible resolution the Americans supported their cause; and the great progress they had made in the art of writing with that eloquence which acts so irresistibly upon the minds of men. The three members of congress who composed it, were, Lee, Livingston, and Jay; the last, it is generally believed, was the author. It was conceived in the following terms;

‘When a nation, led to greatness by the hand of liberty, and possessed of all the glory that heroism, munificence and humanity can bestow, descends to the ungrateful task of forging chains for her friends and children, and instead of giving support to freedom, turns advocate for slavery and oppression, there is reason to suspect she has either ceased to be virtuous, or been extremely negligent in the appointment of her rulers.

‘In almost every age, in repeated conflicts, in long and bloody wars, as well civil as foreign, against many and powerful nations, against the open assaults of enemies, and the more dangerous treachery of friends, have the inhabitants of your island, your great and glorious ancestors, maintained their independence, and transmitted the rights of men, and the blessings of liberty, to you their posterity. Be not surprised, therefore, that we, who are descended from the same common ancestors; that we, whose forefathers participated in all the rights, the liberties, and the constitution, you so justly boast of, and who have carefully conveyed the same fair inheritance to us, guaranteed by the plighted faith of government, and the most solemn compacts with British sovereigns, should refuse to surrender them to men, who found their claims on no principles of reason, and who prosecute them with a design, that by having *our* lives and property in their power, they may, with the greater facility, enslave *you*. The cause of America is now the object of universal attention; it has, at length, become very serious. This unhappy country has not only been oppressed, but abused and misrepresented; and the duty we owe to ourselves and posterity, to your interest, and the general welfare of the British empire, lead us to address you on this very important subject.

‘Know, then, that we consider ourselves, and do insist that we are, and ought to be, as free as our fellow subjects in Britain, and that no power on earth has a right to take our property from us without our consent. That we claim all the benefits secured to the subject by the English constitution, and particularly, that inestimable one of trial by jury. That we hold it essential to English liberty, that no man be condemned unheard, or punished for supposed offences, without having an opportunity of making his defence. That we think the legislature of Great Britain is not authorised by the constitution, to establish a religion, fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets, or to erect an arbitrary form of government, in any quarter of the globe.

‘These rights, we, as well as you, deem sacred. And yet, sacred as they are, they have, with many others, been repeatedly and flagrantly violated. Are not the proprietors of the soil of Great Britain lords of their own property? can it be taken from them without their consent? will they yield it to the arbitrary disposal of any man or number of men whatever? You know they will not. Why then are the proprietors of the soil of America less lords of their property than you are of yours; or why should they submit it to the disposal of your parliament, or any other parliament, or council in the world, not of their election? Can the intervention of the sea that divides us cause disparity in rights? or can any reason be given why English subjects, who live three thousand miles from the royal palace, should enjoy less liberty than those who are three hundred miles distant from it? Reason looks with indignation on such distinctions, and



freemen can never perceive their propriety. And yet, however chimerical and unjust such discriminations are, the parliament assert, that they have a right to bind us in all cases without exception, whether we consent or not; that they may take and use our property, when, and in what manner they please; that we are pensioners on their bounty for all that we possess, and can hold it no longer than they vouchsafe to permit. Such declarations we consider as heresies in English politics, and which can no more operate to deprive us of our property, than the interdicts of the pope can divest kings of sceptres, which the laws of the land and the voice of the people have placed in their hands.

‘At the conclusion of the late war—a war rendered glorious by the ability and integrity of a minister, to whose efforts the British empire owes its safety and its fame; at the conclusion of this war, which was succeeded by an inglorious peace, formed under the auspices of a minister, of principles and of a family unfriendly to the protestant cause, and inimical to liberty. We say, at this period, and under the influence of that man, a plan for enslaving your fellow subjects in America was concerted, and has ever since been pertinaciously carrying into execution.

‘Prior to this era, you were content with drawing from us the wealth produced by our commerce. You restrained our trade in every way that could conduce to your emolument. You exercised unbounded sovereignty over the sea. You named the ports and nations to which, alone, our merchandise should be carried, and with whom, alone, we should trade; and though some of these restrictions were grievous, we, nevertheless, did not complain; we looked up to you as to our parent state, to which we were bound by the strongest ties; and were happy in being instrumental to your prosperity and your grandeur. We call upon you yourselves to witness our loyalty and attachment to the common interest of the whole empire; did we not, in the last war, add all the strength of this vast continent to the force which repelled our common enemy? Did we not leave our native shores, and meet disease and death, to promote the success of British arms in foreign climates? Did you not thank us for our zeal, and even reimburse us large sums of money, which, you confessed, we had advanced beyond our proportion, and far beyond our abilities? You did. To what causes, then, are we to attribute the sudden change of treatment, and that system of slavery which was prepared for us at the restoration of peace?’

After having gone through a recital of the present disturbances, and specified all the laws of which they complained, they continued thus;

‘This being a true state of facts, let us beseech you to consider to what end they lead. Admit that the ministry, by the powers of Britain, and the aid of our Roman Catholic neighbors, should be able to carry

the point of taxation, and reduce us to a state of perfect humiliation and slavery; such an enterprise would doubtless make some addition to your national debt, which already presses down your liberties, and fills you with pensioners and placemen. We presume, also, that your commerce will somewhat be diminished. However, suppose you should prove victorious, in what condition will you then be? what advantages, or what laurels, will you reap from such a conquest? May not a ministry, with the same armies enslave you? It may be said, you will cease to pay them; but, remember, the taxes from America, the wealth, and we may add the men, and particularly the Roman Catholics, of this vast continent, will then be in the power of your enemies; nor will you have any reason to expect, after making slaves of us, many among us should refuse to assist in reducing you to the same abject state.

‘We believe there is yet much virtue, much justice, and much public spirit, in the English nation. To that justice we now appeal. You have been told, that we are seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independency; but these are mere calumnies. Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory, and our greatest happiness. But if you are determined that your ministers shall wantonly sport with the liberties of mankind; if neither the voice of justice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the constitution, or the suggestions of humanity, can restrain your hands from shedding human blood in such an impious cause, we must then tell you, that we shall never submit to be hewers of wood or drawers of water for any minister or nation in the world.

‘Place us in the same situation that we were at the close of the war, and our former harmony will be restored. But lest the same supineness, and the same inattention to our common interest, which you have for several years shown, should continue, we think it prudent to anticipate the consequences. By the destruction of the trade of Boston, the ministry have endeavored to induce submission to their measures. The like fate may befall us all. We will endeavor therefore, to live without trade, and 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. We have suspended our importation from Great Britain and Ireland; and, in less than a year’s time, unless our grievances should be redressed, shall discontinue our exports to those kingdoms and the West Indies. It is with the utmost regret, however, that we find ourselves compelled, by the overruling principles of self preservation, to adopt measures detrimental in their consequences to numbers of our fellow subjects in Great Britain and Ireland. But we hope that the magnanimity and justice of the British nation will furnish a parliament of such wisdom, independence 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 ; and thereby restore that harmony, friendship and fraternal affection, between all the inhabitants of his majesty's kingdoms and territories, so ardently wished for by every true and honest American.'

The scope of their address to the inhabitants of America, was to manifest the justice of their cause, by an exact enumeration of the offensive laws ; to confirm them in resistance ; and to prepare their minds for the worst. They observed, that the designs of the ministers to enslave America, had been conducted with such constancy, as to render it prudent to expect mournful events, and be prepared, in all respects, for every contingency.

In the petition addressed to the king, they made protestations of their attachment towards the crown and the royal family ; they affirmed, that nothing short of the usurpations which wicked counsellors, deceiving the paternal heart of his majesty, had attempted, could have induced them to depart from that submission of which they had given, in happier times, such signal examples ; that it was with extreme reluctance, and urged by imperious necessity, they had entered into resolutions detrimental to the commerce of their European fellow subjects ; and after having recapitulated all their grievances, they proceeded ;

'From this destructive system of colonial administration, adopted since the conclusion of the last war, have flowed those distresses, dangers, fears, and jealousies, that overwhelm your majesty's dutiful colonists with affliction ; and we defy our most subtle and inveterate enemies, to trace the unhappy differences between Great Britain and these colonies, from an earlier period, or from other causes than we have assigned. Had they proceeded, on our part, from a restless levity of temper, unjust impulses of ambition, or artful suggestions of seditious persons, we should merit the opprobrious terms frequently bestowed upon us by those we revere. But, so far from promoting innovations, we have only opposed them ; and can be charged with no offence, unless it be one to receive injuries and be sensible of them.

'Had our Creator been pleased to give us existence in a land of slavery, the sense of our condition might have been mitigated by ignorance and habit. But, thanks be to his adorable goodness, we were born the heirs of freedom, and ever enjoyed our rights under the auspices of your royal ancestors, whose family was seated on the British throne to rescue and secure a pious and gallant nation from the popery and despotism of a superstitious and inexorable tyrant.

'Your majesty, we are confident, justly rejoices that your title to the crown is thus founded on the title of your people to liberty ; and therefore we doubt not but your royal wisdom must approve the sensibility that teaches your subjects anxiously to guard the blessing they

received from Divine Providence, and thereby to prove the performance of that compact which elevated the illustrious House of Brunswick to the imperial dignity it now possesses. The apprehension of being degraded into a state of servitude, from the preëminent rank of freemen, while our minds retain the strongest love of liberty, and clearly foresee the miseries preparing for us and for our posterity, excites emotions in our breasts, which, though we cannot describe, we should not wish to conceal. Feeling as men, and thinking as subjects, in the manner we do, silence would be disloyalty. By giving this faithful information, we do all in our power to promote the great objects of your royal cares, the tranquillity of your government, and the welfare of your people; and, as your majesty enjoys the signal distinction of reigning over freemen, we apprehend the language of freemen cannot be displeasing. Your royal indignation, we hope, will rather fall on those dangerous and designing men, who, daringly interposing themselves between your royal person and your faithful subjects, and for several years past incessantly employed to dissolve the bonds of society, by abusing your majesty's authority, misrepresenting your American subjects, and prosecuting the most desperate and irritating projects of oppression, have at length compelled us, by the force of accumulated injuries, too severe to be any longer tolerable, to disturb your majesty's repose by our complaints.'

The congress having, by these different writings, endeavored to mollify the breast of the sovereign, to conciliate the favor of the English people, to dispose and prepare the colonists to brave all the terrors of the crisis, and, generally, to propitiate the favor of the European nations, turned their attention towards the inhabitants of Canada, whose benevolence it was desirable to cultivate, in order to secure, if not their adherence, at least their neutrality, in the grand struggle that was approaching; for, omitting the increase of force which must have resulted to one or other of the belligerent parties, from the alliance of the brave and warlike Canadians, it was of the greatest importance to the colonists, to be secure of the friendly disposition of a country, which, from its position alone, appeared to menace their provinces. This negotiation, however, required a very delicate management; for the Canadians were not accustomed to English liberty; and had been long contented with their condition under the government of France. The difference of religion was also an obstacle of great moment. How was it possible to persuade them to undertake the defence of rights they scarcely knew, or which they esteemed of little value? And how hopeless must have appeared the attempt to induce them to complain of the act of Quebec, which favored, protected, and placed in a condition even better than at first, a religion they held so much at heart! The congress, however, in their address to the Canadian people, eluded these embarrassments with singular dexterity.



They commenced with a declaration that the Canadians were entitled to possess all the rights enjoyed by English subjects; they accused the ministers of a design to deprive them thereof, and to enslave them totally. They endeavored to explain, in the most insinuating style, what these rights were; how extreme their importance, and how conducive they were to the happiness of every human being. They sufficed, it was affirmed, to defend the poor from the rich, the feeble from the powerful, the industrious from the rapacious, the peaceable from the violent, the tenants from the lords, and all from their superiors. 'These are the rights without which a people cannot be free and happy, and to whose protection and encouraging influence, the English colonies are indebted for their present prosperity, and numerous population. Of these rights, the act of Quebec has completely divested the Canadians! It has not left the people even a shadow of authority, but has placed it all in the hands of those who are themselves absolutely dependent on the crown. Can any government be imagined more arbitrary or tyrannical? Whatever may have been the rigors of the French domination, your present condition is infinitely worse; for then they were Frenchmen, who ruled other Frenchmen; and that benignity which the mode of government appeared to exclude, resulted, nevertheless, from the community of language, manners, opinions, and the bonds of national fraternity. But since they are Englishmen who now govern a French people, the latter can no longer expect from the sympathy of their rulers, but only from the protection of laws, a refuge from the abuses of authority, and the rapacious passions of foreign ministers, always disposed to suspect them of pernicious designs. Seize, then, the occasion which is offered, by joining with us, to acquire that liberty and those privileges which the colonists have always enjoyed; and which they are, with one mind, resolved never to resign, but with their lives.'

As to religion, in order to quiet their minds upon this subject, it was observed, that the tolerant opinions which prevailed, at the present epoch, among the French people, would doubtless remove all obstacles to a sincere amity between them. They cited the example of the Swiss, who, notwithstanding the difference of their religion, lived with one another in the utmost concord, and were thus enabled to defy and defeat every tyrant that had invaded them.

'Let the inhabitants of Canada, therefore, take advantage of circumstances. Let them form a provincial convention; let them elect their delegates to congress, and attach themselves to the common cause of North America. Has not the present congress already resolved unanimously, that they considered the violation of the rights of the Canadians, by the act for altering the government of their province, as a violation of the rights of the colonists themselves?'

Letters of a similar style, and tending to the same object, were addressed to the colonies of St. John's, Nova Scotia, Georgia, and the Floridas.

At the same time, the congress passed a resolution, declaring, that the arrest of any person in America, in order to transport such person beyond the sea, for trial of offences committed in America, being against law, authorised resistance and reprisal.

Having concluded these transactions, and appointed the 10th of the ensuing May for the convocation of another general congress, the present dissolved itself.

No one will deny, that this assembly knew how to appreciate the circumstances of the time, and demonstrated a rare sagacity, in leading them to cooperate in their designs. They not only found means to invigorate the opinions which then prevailed in America, but also to diffuse and propagate them surprisingly; applauding the ardent, stimulating the torpid, and conciliating the adverse. They were lavish in protestations of loyalty to the king; which could not fail to answer the end they proposed—that of finding a pretext and excuse for ulterior resolutions, in case their remonstrances should prove ineffectual. With the same apt policy, they flattered the pride of the British nation, with the view of engaging it to favor their cause. They manifested equal dexterity in fomenting the political opinions that were beginning to prevail in this century. Originating at first in England, they had been diffused, by degrees, among the neighboring nations, and particularly in France, where they had been introduced, and defended with a fascinating eloquence, by the most celebrated writers of that period. Accordingly, in every place and circle, the Americans, and especially the members of congress, were considered as the generous champions of these favorite principles; for, as to the object they had in view, there no longer existed a doubt. Though it was possible, however, to excuse, and even applaud this resolution of the Americans, to defend, by force of arms, the rights for which they contended, it was difficult, it must be acknowledged, to reconcile with the loyalty they so frequently professed, their insinuating writings to draw into their confederacy other subjects of the crown of England, as the Canadians, for example, who had not, or who made no pretensions to have, the same rights. But in affairs of state, utility is often mistaken for justice; and, in truth, no event could have happened more useful to the colonists than the adhesion of the Canadians to their cause.

1775. The resolutions of congress were received in America with universal consent. They were approved not only by the people, but also by the authorities, whether established or provisional. The assembly of Pennsylvania, convened about the close of the year, was the first constitutional authority which ratified formally all the acts of congress, and elected deputies for the ensuing. A convention



having soon after been formed in this province, it was therein declared, that, if the petition of congress was rejected, and the government should persist in attempting to execute by force the late arbitrary acts of parliament, it would then be requisite to resist also with open force, and defend, at all hazards, the rights and liberties of America. Not content with words, this assembly recommended that provision should be made of salt, gunpowder, saltpetre, iron, steel, and other munitions of war. Charles Thomson and Thomas Mifflin, afterwards general, both men of great influence in the province, and much distinguished for their intellectual endowments, were very active on this occasion; and, by their exertions, the resolutions of the convention were executed with singular promptitude and vigor.

The inhabitants of Maryland displayed an equal ardor; all within their province was in movement. Meetings were convoked, in every place; associations were formed; men were chosen, for the purpose of seeing that the resolutions of congress were punctually observed and executed. The provincial convention voted funds for the purchase of arms and ammunition; they declared enemies to the country those who should refuse to provide themselves with a military equipment. The most distinguished citizens made it their glory to appear armed in the cause of liberty; the militia was daily assembled and exercised; it was withdrawn from the authority of the governor, and placed under that of the province; they held themselves in readiness to march to the assistance of Massachusetts.

The same precautions were taken in the lower counties of Delaware, and in New Hampshire. The legal assembly of the latter was convoked. They approved the proceedings of congress, and wrote to congratulate the Marylanders upon their patriotism and public spirit; promising to stand prepared to defend this liberty, so dear to every heart. The inhabitants, not content with this, formed a convention at Exeter, which ratified the doings of congress, and elected delegates for the new session.

But in South Carolina, so important a province, things went forward with great animation. A convention was formed of the representatives of the whole province. Their first decree was to render immortal thanks to the members of congress, to approve its resolutions, and to ordain their strict execution. The manufacturers of the country received encouragement; and ample liberalities were granted to the indigent inhabitants of the city of Boston. The same enthusiasm inspired every breast. And, to prevent the infractions which the love of gain, or private interest, might occasion, inspectors were appointed, to watch, with rigorous diligence, over the execution of these public resolutions.

In Massachusetts and Virginia the ardor of the people was astonishing. All places equally presented the images of war, and the

semblance of combats. The inhabitants of Marblehead, of Salem, and of other seaports, finding their accustomed maritime occupations interrupted by the present occurrences, turned their efforts towards the land service, and engaged in it with incredible zeal. They soon organised several regiments of men well trained to the exercise of arms, and prepared to enter the field, if things should come to that fatal extremity. The officers of the Virginia militia being assembled at fort Gower, after protesting their loyalty towards the king, declared, that the love of liberty, attachment to country, and devotion to its just rights, were paramount to every other consideration; that, to fulfil these sacred duties, they were resolved to exert all the efforts which the unanimous voice of their fellowcitizens should exact.

The provinces of New England presented a peculiar character. Their inhabitants being extremely attached to religion, and more easily influenced by this than any other motive, the preachers exercised over their minds an authority scarcely conceivable. They often insisted, and always with new vehemence, that the cause of the Americans was the cause of heaven; that God loves and protects freemen, and holds the authors of tyranny in abhorrence; that the schemes of the English ministers against America were, beyond measure, unjust and tyrannical, and consequently it was their most rigorous duty, not only as men and citizens, but also as Christians; to oppose these attempts; and to unite under their chiefs, in defence of what man has the most precious, religion the most sacred. The inhabitants of New England thus took the field, stimulated by the fervor of their religious opinions, and fully persuaded that heaven witnessed their efforts with complacency. The two most powerful springs of human action, religious and political enthusiasm, were blended in their breasts. It is therefore not surprising that, in the events which followed, they exhibited frequent examples of singular courage and invincible resolution.

Amidst a concord so general, the province of New York alone hesitated to declare itself. This colony, and principally the capital, was the scene of much party division. Its assembly having taken into consideration the regulations of congress for the interruption of commerce with Great Britain, refused to adopt them; whereat the inhabitants of the other provinces testified an extreme indignation. This unexpected resolution must be attributed principally to ministerial intrigues, very successful in this province, on account of the great number of loyalists that inhabited it; and who, from the name of one of the parties that prevailed in England at the time of the revolution, were called *Tories*. To this cause should be added the very flourishing commerce of the city of New York, which it was unwilling to lose, and perhaps, also, the hope that the remonstrances of congress would dispose the British ministers to milder counsels, if they were not accompanied by such rigorous determinations in regard



to commerce. Some also believed, that this conduct of New York was only a wily subterfuge, to be able, afterwards, according to circumstances, to use it as a ground of justification.

The first of February was the destined term for suspending the introduction of British merchandise into the American ports, according to the resolutions of congress. Though it was known every where, yet several vessels made their appearance, even after this period, laden with the prohibited articles; which the masters hoped to introduce either in a clandestine mode or even by consent of the Americans, weary of their obstinacy, or yielding to necessity and the love of gain. But their hopes were frustrated in the greater part, or rather in all the provinces except that of New York. Their cargoes were thrown into the sea, or sent back.

Thus, while the forms of the ancient government still subsisted in America, new laws were established, which obtained more respect and obedience on the part of the people. The assemblies of the provinces, districts and towns, had concentrated in their hands the authority which belonged to the magistrates of the former system, who had either wanted the will or the power to prevent it. And thus it was no longer the governors and the ordinary assemblies, but the conventions, the committees of correspondence and of inspection, that had the management of state affairs. Where these were wanting, the people supplied the deficiency, by assemblages and tumultuary movements. The greater number were impressed with a belief, that, by the effect of the leagues against British commerce, this time strictly observed, and by the unanimous firmness of the colonists, the effusion of blood would be avoided. They hoped the British government would apply itself in earnest to give another direction to American affairs; and that public tranquillity would thus, without effort, be reestablished. The popular leaders, on the contrary, were aware of the necessity of an appeal to arms; some feared, others desired, this result.

Such was the situation of the English colonies, towards the close of the year 1774, and at the commencement of 1775. Meanwhile, whatever was the ardor with which the Americans pursued their designs, the interest excited by this controversy in England had materially abated. The inhabitants of that kingdom, as if wearied by the long and frequent discussions which had taken place on either side, betrayed an extreme repugnance to hear any thing further on the subject. They had therefore abandoned themselves to an indifference approaching to apathy. As this contest was already of ten years' date, and though often on the point of issuing in an open rupture, had, however, never yet come to this fatal extremity, the prevailing opinion was, that, sooner or later, a definitive arrangement would be effected. It was even thought, that this object might easily be accomplished, by making some concessions to the Americans,

similar to those they had already obtained. Finally, it was considered possible, that the Americans themselves, finding their interests essentially affected by the interruption of commerce, would at length submit to the will of the parent country. This opinion appeared the more probable to all, inasmuch as the courage of the colonists was in no great repute. It was not believed they could ever think of provoking the British nation to arms; and much less of making a stand before its troops in the field. It was asserted, that, to procure the execution of the late prohibitory laws against the province of Massachusetts, which, if thought expedient, might easily be extended to the other colonies also, would not only not require all the troops of Great Britain, but not even all the immense force of her marine; that a few ships of the line, stationed at the entrance of the principal ports of the colonies, and a certain number of frigates ordered to cruise along the coast, to prevent the departure of American vessels, would be more than sufficient to accomplish this affair;

‘And how can it be imagined,’ it was said, ‘that the colonists should persevere in a resistance without an object, as they have no naval force to oppose against England; who, on the other hand, can, at a trifling expense, and with a few troops, enforce the prohibitions she has pronounced, and reduce the American commerce to an indefinite stagnation? On the part of the mother country, the means of annoyance are, in fact, almost infinite and irresistible; whereas, the colonies have nothing to oppose but a mere passive resistance, and a patience of which they can neither foresee the result nor the period. Besides, so many other markets remain open for British merchandise, that, even though its introduction into the colonies should be totally interdicted, this commerce would experience but a barely perceptible diminution. Nor can it be doubted, that private interests, and the usual jealousies, will ere long detach from the league, successively, all the maritime parts of America. The towns of the interior will necessarily follow the example; and then what becomes of this boasted confederacy?’

From these different considerations, it ceases to be astonishing, that the minds of the English people should have manifested, at this epoch, so perfect a calm; and that it should have been the general determination to await from time, from fortune, and from the measures of the ministers, the termination of this vexatious quarrel.

In the midst of such universal torpor, and near the close of the year 1774, the new parliament convened. The proceedings of the general congress, and the favor they had found in America, not being yet well known, some reliance was still placed in intestine divisions, and the efficacy of the plan which had been adopted. The king mentioned in his speech the American disturbances; he announced, that disobedience continued to prevail in Massachusetts; that the other colonies countenanced it; that the most proper measures had



been taken to carry into execution the laws of parliament; and that he was firmly resolved to maintain unimpaired the supreme legislative authority of Great Britain, in all parts of his dominions. The addresses proposed in the two houses were strenuously opposed; and it was not without difficulty they were at length adopted. On the part of the opposition it was alleged, that, if the preceding parliament had consented to the measures proposed by the ministers, it was only upon their positive assurance that they would effectually reestablish tranquillity. 'But, do we not see how illusory their promises have proved? Why persist, then, in resolutions that are fruitless, and even pernicious? Has any suppliant voice been heard on the part of America? Has she given any token of repentance for the past, any pledge of better dispositions for the future? She has not; but, on the contrary, has exhibited still greater animosity, a rage more intense, a concord more strict, a faith more confirmed in the justice of her cause. And still, from pride, if not from vengeance, it is desired to persevere in measures so decidedly reprobated by reason, equity, and fatal experience!'

But, from the side of the ministers, it was answered;

'The proceedings of the colonists are so void of all respect, that to endure them longer would be disgraceful. Can any thing be more extraordinary, than to hear it asserted that the Americans are persuaded of the justice of their cause,—as if the English were not persuaded also of the justice of theirs? And if England, as a party, has no right to judge of this controversy, is America to be reputed entirely disinterested? The Americans know perfectly well that this is a question of right, and not of money; the impost is a mere trifle, of no importance whatever, but as it concerns the honor of this kingdom. But what care they for the honor of the kingdom? Nothing can ever satisfy these peevish Americans. To content them how many ways of gentleness have been tried! They have only become the more insolent. They haughtily expect the English to approach them in a suppliant attitude, and to anticipate all their capricious desires. To conciliate them, all, except honor, has been sacrificed already; but heaven does not permit us to abandon that also. The question is no longer taxation, but the redress of wrongs, the reparation for deeds of outrage. This the Americans refuse,—and therefore deserve chastisement; and, should England fail to inflict it, she must expect a daily increase of audacity on the part of her colonies, and prepare to digest the contempt which the nations of Europe already entertain towards her; surprised and confused at the tameness and patience of the British ministers, in the midst of provocations so daring and so often repeated.'

The address of thanks was voted, according to the wishes of the ministers; and thus the Americans, who had flattered themselves that the new parliament would be more favorably disposed towards them than the preceding, were forced to renounce this hope.

It appeared, however, notwithstanding these animated demonstrations on the part of the government, that when, previous to the Christmas recess, the certain intelligence was received of the transactions of congress, and the astonishing concord which prevailed in America, the ministers, perhaps loath to embrace extreme counsels, seemed inclined to relax somewhat of their rigor, and to leave an opening for accommodation. Lord North even intimated to the American merchants then in London, that if they presented petitions, they should meet attention. But in the midst of these glimmerings of peace, the news arrived of the schism of New York; an event of great moment in itself, and promising consequences still more important. The minister felt his pride revive; he would no longer hear of petitions, or of accommodation. Things turned anew to civil strife and war. All the papers, relating to the affairs of America, were laid before the two houses. Lord Chatham, perceiving the obstinacy of the ministers in their resolution to persist in the course of measures they had adopted, and fearing it might result in the most disastrous effects, pronounced a long and extremely eloquent discourse in favor of the Americans, and was heard with solemn attention.

Nor was the opposition to the projects of the ministers confined to the two houses of parliament; but even a considerable part of the British nation was of the adverse party. The cities of London, Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, Norwich, Birmingham, Glasgow, and others, where commerce had hitherto flourished, preferred their petitions to parliament. They painted, in glowing traits, the detriment their commerce had already sustained, and the still more ruinous losses with which they were menaced by the impending contest with America. They implored this body to interpose their authority for the reestablishment of that calm and pacific state, which had been heretofore enjoyed. But the prayers of the merchants had no better success than the authority and the words of the earl of Chatham; the ministerial party even rejected them with an unfeeling harshness.

In the meantime, Bolla, Franklin, and Lee, presented themselves before the house of commons, with the petition which the congress had addressed to the king, and by him had been referred to the house. They demanded to be heard in its defence. A very warm discussion arose; the ministerial party contending, that neither ought the petition to be read, nor the agents to be heard; and the party in opposition, the contrary. The former affirmed, that the congress was not a legal assembly; that to receive its petitions would be to recognise it as such; that the provincial assemblies and their agents were the sole true representatives of the colonies; and that the petition only contained the customary lamentations about rights, without offering any means, or any probable hope of coming to an arrangement



But it was answered, that however the congress might not be a legal assembly, it was, nevertheless, more than competent to present petitions; every one having, either individually, or jointly with others, the right to present them; that those who had signed the petition were the most distinguished inhabitants of the colonies, and well deserved to be heard, if not in their public, at least in their private character. 'There no longer exists any government in the colonies; the popular commotions have disorganised it absolutely; we should therefore learn to appreciate the representation of this government, which has been established by the force of things. Can it be forgotten, that the American disturbances have originated, and arrived at their present alarming height, from our unwillingness to hear petitions? Let us seize this occasion; if we allow it to escape, a second will not be offered, and all hope of accord is vanished. This is probably the last attempt the Americans will make to submit, which, if received with haughtiness, will become the source of inevitable calamities; for despair, and with it, obstinacy, will obtain the entire possession of their minds.' But the ministers would hear nothing, pleading the dignity of state. The petition was rejected. Nor was a petition of the West India proprietors, representing the prejudice they suffered from the interruption of their commerce with the Americans, received with greater benignity. The ministers considered petitions as merely the stratagems of faction. 'Admitting,' they said, 'that some detriment may result from the measures relating to America, it is a necessary evil, an inevitable calamity. But this evil would become infinitely greater, if the government should appear to yield to the will of the seditious, and descend to negotiate with rebels.'

After having repulsed, with a sort of disdain, the petitions of the Americans, and those presented in their favor by the islands of the West Indies, and even by England herself; and after having rejected all the counsels of the party in opposition, the ministers unveiled their schemes, and announced, in the presence of the two houses, the measures they intended to pursue, in order to reduce the Americans to obedience. Always imbued with the opinion, that the diversity of interests and humors, and the rivalships existing between the different provinces, would in a short time dissolve the American combinations, independently of the detriment and constraint they occasioned to individuals; believing, also, that the colonists would not easily support greater privations of things necessary to life; they flattered themselves, that, without sending strong armies to America, and merely by a few rigorous regulations, a few prohibitory resolutions, that should extend beyond the province of Massachusetts, and affect the most internal parts of the American commerce, they should be able to accomplish their purpose. It should also be added, that the ministers thought the partisans of England were very numerous

in America, that they were among its most distinguished inhabitants, and waited only for an occasion to show themselves with effect; and, finally, that the Americans, as they were, according to the notions of the ministers, of a pusillanimous spirit, and little accustomed to war, would not dare to look the British soldiers in the face. Thus they were induced to adopt certain resolutions, which were perhaps more cruel, and certainly more irritating, than open war; for man feels less bitterness towards the foe, who, in combating against him, leaves him the means of defence, than the adversary who exposes him to the horrors of famine, while he is unable to escape them by a generous effort. Such, as we shall soon see, was the plan of the British, from which they gathered the fruits they ought to have expected. But, in order to carry it into execution, it was necessary that they should first arm themselves with a word that should legitimate all their measures, and this was, rebellion. The doctors, whom they had invited to their consultations, after having considered the affair under all its faces, came to a conclusion, which, however admissible in other kingdoms, might still have appeared extremely doubtful in England. They pronounced, that the province of Massachusetts was found in a state of rebellion. Accordingly, the 2d of February, lord North, after having expatiated on the benignity with which the king and parliament had proceeded in maintaining the laws of the kingdom, and the necessity incumbent on the ministers, of protecting loyal and affectionate subjects against the rage of the seditious, proposed, that in the address to the king, it should be declared, that rebellion existed in the province of Massachusetts, and that it was supported and fomented by illegal combinations and criminal compacts with the other colonies, to the great prejudice of many innocent subjects of his majesty.

To declare the inhabitants of Massachusetts rebels, was to refer the decision of their cause to the chance of arms—was to denounce war against them. Accordingly, the opponents of ministers exhibited great ardor in combating this proposition; and even in their own party, a great number of individuals appeared to feel great repugnance, and a species of horror, at so grave a determination, and so fraught with future calamities. The orators of the opposition contended, that all the disorders in Massachusetts, however multiplied and aggravated, ought to be attributed, originally, to the attempts of those who were aiming to establish despotism, and whose measures evidently tended to reduce the Americans to that abject condition of slavery, which they hoped to introduce afterwards into the very heart of England. 'To resist oppression,' it was said 'is the subject's right, and the English kingdoms have presented frequent examples of its exercise. No act of violence has been committed in the province of Massachusetts, that has not been equalled, or surpassed, in each of the others; from what fatal partiality, then, is this province



alone to be made responsible for all? To press with rigor upon a single province, in the hope of separating it from the others, is a false measure; all are united in the same cause; all defend the same rights. To declare rebellion, is an act full of danger, and of no utility; it only tends to aggravate the evil, to increase the obstinacy of dispositions, to prepare a resistance more desperate and sanguinary, as no other hope will be left them but in victory.\*

But the partisans of the ministers, and particularly the doctors,\* who backed them, maintained, that acts of rebellion constituted rebellion itself; that to resist the laws of the kingdom being reputed rebellion in England, ought also to be so reputed in America; 'As for the rest,' they said, 'due clemency and liberality towards those who shall submit, will be mingled with the rigor to be exercised against the obstinate. Reasons of state, no less than justice, demand the chastisement of these insurgents; which being visited upon a few, will reclaim all to their duty; and thus the union of the colonies will be dissolved. Can we, in fact, make a serious matter of the resistance of the Americans? Cowards by nature, incapable of any sort of military discipline, their bodies are feeble, and their inclinations are dastardly. They would not be capable of sustaining a single campaign, without disbanding, or becoming so wasted by sickness, that a slight force would be more than sufficient for their complete reduction.' General Grant was so infatuated with this opinion, that he declared openly, he would undertake, with five regiments of infantry, to traverse the whole country, and drive the inhabitants from one end of the continent to the other. The minis-

\* It may amuse, if not surprise, the reader, to look at the outline, traced by another historian, of the characters whose sagacity the author seems to question more often than once;

'I took my seat in parliament,' says Mr. Gibbon, 'at the beginning of the memorable contest between Great Britain and America; and supported, with many a sincere and silent vote, the rights, though not perhaps the interests, of the mother country. After a fleeting, illusive hope, prudence condemned me to acquiesce in the humble station of a mute. I was not armed by nature and education with the intrepid energy of mind and voice,

'*Vincentem strepitus, et natum rebus agendis.*'

Timidity was fortified by pride; and even the success of my pen discouraged the trial of my voice. But I assisted at the debates of a *free assembly*; I listened to the attack and defence of eloquence and reason; I had a near prospect of the characters, views, and passions, of the *first men of the age*. The cause of government was *ably vindicated by lord North*, a statesman of spotless integrity, a consummate master of debate, who could wield, with equal dexterity, the arms of reason and of ridicule. He was seated on the treasury bench, *between his attorney and solicitor-general, the two pillars of the law and state*, 'magis pares quam similes'; and the minister might *indulge in a short slumber, whilst he was upholden, on either hand, by the majestic sense of Thurlow*, and the skilful eloquence of *Wedderburne*. From the adverse side of the house, an ardent and powerful opposition was supported, by the lively declamation of *Barre*; the legal acuteness of *Dunning*; the profuse and philosophic fancy of *Burke*; and the argumentative vehemence of *Fox*, who, in conduct of a party, approved himself equal to the conduct of an empire. By such men, every operation of peace and war, *every principle of justice or policy*, every question of authority and freedom, was *attacked and defended*; and the subject of the momentous contest was the union or separation of Great Britain and America.' [*Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works.*]

ters, whose comprehension seems to have had certain limits, suffered themselves, without reluctance, to be guided by such opinions as these ; and this was one of the principal causes of their precipitancy to commence the war with such feeble preparations.

The propositions of lord North were adopted, by a majority of more than two thirds of the suffrages.

But the party in opposition, aware of the importance of pronouncing so formal a declaration of rebellion, did not suffer themselves to be discouraged ; and, on the 6th of the same month, lord John Cavendish moved, in the house of commons, to reconsider the vote. It was then that Wilkes, one of the most ardent defenders of liberty of that epoch, and the declared partisan of republican principles, arose, and spoke in the following terms ;

‘ I am indeed surprised, that in a business of so much moment as this before the house, respecting the British colonies in America, a cause which comprehends almost every question relative to the common rights of mankind, almost every question of policy and legislation, it should be resolved to proceed with so little circumspection, or rather with so much precipitation and heedless imprudence. With what temerity are we assured, that the same men who have been so often overwhelmed with praises for their attachment to this country, for their forwardness to grant it the necessary succours, for the valor they have signalised in its defence, have all at once so degenerated from their ancient manners, as to merit the appellation of seditious, ungrateful, impious rebels ! But if such a change has indeed been wrought in the minds of this most loyal people, it must at least be admitted, that affections so extraordinary could only have been produced by some very powerful cause. But who is ignorant, who needs to be told of the new madness that infatuates our ministers ?—who has not seen the tyrannical counsels they have pursued for the last ten years ? They would now have us carry to the foot of the throne, a resolution stamped with rashness and injustice, fraught with blood, and a horrible futurity. But before this be allowed them, before the signal of civil war be given, before they are permitted to force Englishmen to sheath their swords in the bowels of their fellow subjects, I hope this house will consider the rights of humanity, the original ground and cause of the present dispute. Have we justice on our side ? No ; assuredly, no. He must be altogether a stranger to the British constitution, who does not know that contributions are voluntary gifts of the people ; and singularly blind, not to perceive that the words ‘ liberty and property,’ so grateful to English ears, are nothing better than mockery and insult to the Americans, if their property can be taken without their consent. And what motive can there exist for this new rigor, for these extraordinary measures ? Have not the Americans always demonstrated the utmost zeal and liberality, whenever their succours have been required by the mother country ?



‘In the two last wars, they gave you more than you asked for, and more than their faculties warranted; they were not only liberal towards you, but prodigal of their substance. They fought gallantly and victoriously by your side, with equal valor, against our and their enemy, the common enemy of the liberties of Europe and America, the ambitious and faithless French, whom now we fear and flatter. And even now, at a moment when you are planning their destruction, when you are branding them with the odious appellation of rebels, what is their language, what their protestations? Read, in the name of heaven, the late petition of the congress to the king; and you will find, ‘they are ready and willing, as they ever have been, to demonstrate their loyalty, by exerting their most strenuous efforts in granting supplies and raising forces, when constitutionally required.’ And yet we hear it vociferated, by some inconsiderate individuals, that the Americans wish to abolish the navigation act; that they intend to throw off the supremacy of Great Britain. But would to God, these assertions were not rather a provocation than the truth! They ask nothing, for such are the words of their petition, but for peace, liberty and safety. They wish not a diminution of the royal prerogative; they solicit not any new right. They are ready, on the contrary, to defend this prerogative, to maintain the royal authority, and to draw closer the bonds of their connexion with Great Britain. But our ministers, perhaps to punish others for their own faults, are sedulously endeavoring not only to relax these powerful ties, but to dissolve and sever them forever. Their address represents the province of Massachusetts as in a state of actual rebellion. The other provinces are held out to our indignation, as aiding and abetting. Many arguments have been employed, by some learned gentlemen among us, to comprehend them all in the same offence, and to involve them in the same proscription.

‘Whether their present state is that of rebellion, or of a fit and just resistance to the unlawful acts of power, to our attempts to rob them of their property and liberties, as they imagine, I shall not declare. But I well know what will follow, nor, however strange and harsh it may appear to some, shall I hesitate to announce it, that I may not be accused hereafter of having failed in duty to my country, on so grave an occasion, and at the approach of such direful calamities. Know, then, a successful resistance is a revolution, not a rebellion. Rebellion, indeed, appears on the back of a flying enemy, but revolution flames on the breastplate of the victorious warrior. Who can tell, whether in consequence of this day’s violent and mad address to his majesty, the scabbard may not be thrown away by them as well as by us; and whether, in a few years, the independent Americans may not celebrate the glorious era of the revolution of 1775, as we do that of 1668? The generous efforts of our forefathers for freedom, heaven crowned with success, or their noble blood had dyed

our scaffolds, like that of Scottish traitors and rebels; and the period of our history which does us the most honor, would have been deemed a rebellion against the lawful authority of the prince, not a resistance authorised by all the laws of God and man, not the expulsion of a detested tyrant.

‘But suppose the Americans to combat against us with more unhappy auspices than we combatted James, would not victory itself prove pernicious and deplorable? Would it not be fatal to British as well as American liberty? Those armies which should subjugate the colonists, would subjugate also their parent state. Marius, Sylla, Cæsar, Augustus, Tiberius, did they not oppress Roman liberty with the same troops that were levied to maintain Roman supremacy over subject provinces? But the impulse once given, its effects extended much further than its authors expected; for the same soldiery that destroyed the Roman republic, subverted and utterly demolished the imperial power itself. In less than fifty years after the death of Augustus, the armies destined to hold the provinces in subjection, proclaimed three emperors at once; disposed of the empire according to their caprice, and raised to the throne of the Cæsars the object of their momentary favor.

‘I can no more comprehend the policy, than acknowledge the justice of your deliberations. Where is your force, what are your armies, how are they to be recruited, and how supported? The single province of Massachusetts has, at this moment, thirty thousand men, well trained and disciplined, and can bring, in case of emergency, ninety thousand into the field; and doubt not, they will do it, when all that is dear is at stake, when forced to defend their liberty and property against their cruel oppressors. The right honorable gentleman with the blue riband assures us that ten thousand of our troops and four Irish regiments, will make their brains turn in the head a little, and strike them aghast with terror! But where does the author of this exquisite scheme propose to send his army? Boston, perhaps, you may lay in ashes, or it may be made a strong garrison; but the province will be lost to you. You will hold Boston as you hold Gibraltar, in the midst of a country which will not be yours; the whole American continent will remain in the power of your enemies. The ancient story of the philosopher Calanus and the Indian hide, will be verified; where you tread, it will be kept down; but it will rise the more in all other parts. Where your fleets and armies are stationed, the possession will be secured, while they continue; but all the rest will be lost. In the great scale of empire, you will decline, I fear, from the decision of this day; and the Americans will rise to independence, to power, to all the greatness of the most renowned states; for they build on the solid basis of general public liberty.



‘I dread the effects of the present resolution; I shudder at our injustice and cruelty; I tremble for the consequences of our imprudence. You will urge the Americans to desperation. They will certainly defend their property and liberties, with the spirit of freemen, with the spirit our ancestors did, and I hope we should exert on a like occasion. They will sooner declare themselves independent, and risk every consequence of such a contest, than submit to the galling yoke which administration is preparing for them. Recollect Philip II. king of Spain; remember the Seven Provinces, and the duke of Alva. It was deliberated, in the council of the monarch, what measures should be adopted respecting the Low Countries; some were disposed for clemency, others advised rigor; the second prevailed. The duke of Alva was victorious, it is true, wherever he appeared; but his cruelties sowed the teeth of the serpent. The beggars of the Briel, as they were called by the Spaniards, who despised them as you now despise the Americans, were those, however, who first shook the power of Spain to the centre. And, comparing the probabilities of success in the contest of that day, with the chances in that of the present, are they so favorable to England as they were then to Spain? This none will pretend. You all know, however, the issue of that sanguinary conflict—how that powerful empire was rent asunder, and severed forever into many parts. Profit, then, by the experience of the past, if you would avoid a similar fate. But you would declare the Americans rebels; and to your injustice and oppression, you add the most opprobrious language, and the most insulting scoffs. If you persist in your resolution, all hope of a reconciliation is extinct. The Americans will triumph—the whole continent of North America will be dismembered from Great Britain, and the wide arch of the raised empire fall. But I hope the just vengeance of the people will overtake the authors of these pernicious counsels, and the loss of the first province of the empire be speedily followed by the loss of the heads of those ministers who first invented them.’

Thus spoke this ardent patriot. His discourse was a prophecy; and hence, perhaps, a new probability might be argued for the vulgar maxim, that the crazed read the future often better than the sage; for, among other things, it was said also of Wilkes, at that time, that his intellects were somewhat disordered.

Captain Hervey answered him, in substance, as follows;

‘I am very far from believing myself capable of arguing the present question with all the eloquence which my vehement adversary has signalled in favor of those who openly, and in arms, resist the ancient power of Great Britain; as the studies which teach man the art of discoursing with elegance, are too different and too remote from my profession. This shall not, however, detèr me from declaring my sentiments with freedom, on so important a crisis; though

my words should be misinterpreted by the malignity of party, and myself represented as the author of illegal counsels, or, in the language of faction, the defender of tyranny.

‘And, first of all, I cannot but deplore the misery of the times, and the destiny which seems to persecute our beloved country. Can I see her, without anguish, reduced to this disastrous extremity, not only by the refractory spirit of her ungrateful children on the other side of the ocean, but also by some of those who inhabit this kingdom, and whom honor, if not justice and gratitude, should engage, in words and deeds, to support and defend her? Till we give a check to these incendiaries, who, with a constancy and art only equalled by their baseness and infamy, blow discord and scatter their poison in every place, in vain can we hope, without coming to the last extremities, to bring the leaders of this deluded people to a sense of their duty.

‘To deny that the legislative power of Great Britain is entire, general and sovereign, over all parts of its dominions, appears to me too puerile to merit a serious answer. What I would say is, that, under this cover of rights, under this color of privileges, under these pretexts of immunities, the good and loyal Americans have concealed a design, not new, but now openly declared, to cast off every species of superiority, and become altogether an independent nation. They complained of the stamp act. It was repealed. Did this satisfy them? On the contrary, they imbibed more than ever our respective relations; now refusing to indemnify the victims of their violence, and now to rescind resolutions that were so many strides towards rebellion. And yet, in these cases, there was no question of taxes, either internal or external. A duty was afterwards imposed on glass, paper, colors, and tea. They revolted anew; and the bounty of this too indulgent mother again revoked the greater part of these duties; leaving only that upon tea, which may yield, at the utmost, sixteen thousand pounds sterling. Even this inconsiderable impost, Great Britain, actuated by a meekness and forbearance without example, would have repealed also, if the colonists had peaceably expressed their wishes to this effect. At present, they bitterly complain of the regular troops sent amongst them to maintain the public repose. But, in the name of God, what is the cause of their presence in Boston? American disturbances. If the colonists had not first interrupted the general tranquillity, if they had respected property, public and private; if they had not openly resisted the laws of parliament and the ordinances of the king, they would not have seen armed soldiers within their walls. But the truth is, they expressly excite the causes, in order to be able afterwards to bemoan the effects. When they were menaced with real danger, when they were beset by enemies from within and from without, they not only consented to admit regular troops into the very heart of their pro-



vinces, but urged us, with the most earnest solicitations, to send them; but now the danger is past, and the colonists, by our treasure and blood, are restored to their original security, now these troops have become necessary to repress the factious, to sustain the action of the laws, their presence is contrary to the constitution, a manifest violation of American liberty, an attempt to introduce tyranny; as if it were not the right and the obligation of the supreme authority, to protect the peace of the interior as well as that of the exterior, and to repress internal as effectually as external enemies.

‘As though the Americans were fearful of being called, at a future day, to take part in the national representation, they preoccupy the ground, and warn you, in advance, that, considering their distance, they cannot be represented in the British parliament; which means, if I am not deceived, that they will not have a representative power in common with England, but intend to enjoy one by themselves, perfectly distinct from this of the parent state. But why do I waste time in these vain subtleties? Not content with exciting discord at home, with disturbing all the institutions of social life, they endeavor also to scatter the germs of division in the neighboring colonies, such as Nova Scotia, the Floridas, and especially Canada. Nor is this the end of their intrigues. Have we not read here, in this land of genuine felicity, the incendiary expressions of their address to the English people, designed to allure them to the side of rebellion? Yes; they have wished, and with all their power have attempted, to introduce into the bosom of this happy country, outrage, tumults, devastation, pillage, bloodshed, and open resistance to the laws! A thousand times undone the English people, should they suffer themselves to be seduced by the flatteries of the Americans! The sweet peace, the inestimable liberty, they now enjoy, would soon be replaced by the most ferocious anarchy, devouring their wealth, annihilating their strength, contaminating and destroying all the happiness of their existence. Already have the colonists trampled on all restraints; already have they cast off all human respect; and, amidst their subtle machinations, and the shades in which they envelop themselves, they suffer, as it were, in spite of themselves, their culpable designs to appear. If they have not yet acquired the consistence, they at least assume the forms of an independent nation.

‘Who among us has not felt emotions kindling deep in his breast, or transports of indignation, at the reading of the decrees of congress, in which, with a language and a tone better beseeming the haughty courts of Versailles or of Madrid than the subjects of a great king, they ordain imperiously the cessation of all commerce between their country and our own? We may transport our merchandise and our commodities among all other nations. It is only under the inhospitable skies of America, only in this country, dyed with the blood, and bathed in the sweat, we have shed for the safety and prosperity of

its inhabitants, that English industry cannot hope for protection, cannot find an asylum! Are we then of a spirit to endure that our subjects trace around us the circle of Popilius, and proudly declare on what conditions they will deign to obey the ancient laws of the common country? But all succeeds to their wish; they hope from our magnanimity that war will result, and from war, independence. And what a people is this, whom benefits cannot oblige, whom clemency exasperates, whom the necessity of defence, created by themselves, offends!

‘If, therefore, no doubt can remain as to the projects of these ungrateful colonists; if an universal resistance to the civil government and to the laws of the country; if the interruption of a free and reciprocal commerce between one part and another of the realm; if resisting every act of the British legislature, and absolutely, in word and deed, denying the sovereignty of this country; if laying a strong hand on the revenues of America; if seizing his majesty’s forts, artillery and ammunition; if exciting and stimulating, by every means, the whole subjects of America to take arms, and to resist the constitutional authority of Great Britain, are acts of treason, then are the Americans in a state of the most flagrant rebellion. Wherefore, then, should we delay to take resolute measures? If no other alternative is left us, if it is necessary to use the power which we enjoy, under heaven, for the protection of the whole empire, let us show the Americans that, as our ancestors deluged this country with their blood to leave us a free constitution, we, like men in defiance of faction at home and rebellion abroad, are determined, in glorious emulation of their example, to transmit it, perfect and unimpaired, to our posterity. I hear it said by these propagators of sinister auguries, that we shall be vanquished in this contest. But all human enterprises are never without a something of uncertainty. Are high minded men for this to stand listless, and indolently abandon to the caprices of fortune the conduct of their affairs? If this dastardly doctrine prevailed, if none would ever act without assurance of the event, assuredly no generous enterprise would ever be attempted; chance and blind destiny would govern the world. I trust, however, in the present crisis, we may cherish better hopes; for, even omitting the bravery of our soldiers and the ability of our generals, loyal subjects are not so rare, in America as some believe, or affect to believe. And, besides, will the Americans long support the privation of all the things necessary to life, which our numerous navy will prevent from reaching their shores?

‘This is what I think of our present situation; these are the sentiments of a man neither partial nor vehement, but free from all prepossessions, and ready to combat and shed the last drop of his blood, to put down the excesses of license, to extirpate the germs of cruel anarchy, to defend the rights and the privileges of this most innocent



people, whether he finds their enemies in the savage deserts of America, or in the cultivated plains of England.

‘And if there are Catalines among us, who plot in darkness pernicious schemes against the state, let them be unveiled and dragged to light, that they may be offered a sacrifice, as victims to the just vengeance of this courteous country; that their names may be stamped with infamy to the latest posterity, and their memory held in execration, by all men of worth, in every future age!’

The vehemence of these two discourses, excited an extraordinary agitation in the house of commons; after it was calmed, the proposition of the ministers was put to vote and carried, by a majority of two thirds of the house.

Such was the conclusion of the most important affair that for a long time had been submitted to the decision of parliament. The inhabitants of all Europe, as well as those of Great Britain, awaited with eager curiosity, the result of these debates. During their continuance, the foreign ministers, resident in London, attentively watched all the movements of the ministry, and the discussions of parliament, persuaded that whatever might be the decision, it could not fail to prove fertile in events of the highest importance, not only for England, but also for all the other European states.

On the same day was read a petition from the island of Jamaica, very energetic, and totally in favor of the colonies. It displeased, and, as usual, was thrown aside.

The ministers having attained their object, in causing the inhabitants of Massachusetts to be declared rebels, resolved to lay before parliament the system of measures they intended to pursue, in regard to the affairs of America. Having either no adequate idea of the inflexibility of men, inflamed by the zeal of new opinions, or being preoccupied by passion, or perhaps restrained by the timidity of their characters, they persisted in believing, that the Americans would not long endure the privation of their commerce, and thus becoming divided among themselves, would solicit an arrangement. Relying also too implicitly on the assertions of Hutchinson, and other officers of the crown, that had been, or still were in America, who assured them that the friends of England, in the colonies, were powerful in numbers, resources and influence, they no longer hesitated to adopt the most rigorous measures, without supporting them by a commensurate force.

Thus guided, as usual, by their spirit of insatiation, they confided their cause, not to the certain operation of armies, but to the supposed inconstancy and partiality of the American people. Upon such a foundation, lord North proposed a new bill, the object of which was to restrict the commerce of New England to Great Britain, Ireland and the West India islands, and prohibit, at the same time, the fishery of Newfoundland. The prejudice that must have resulted from this

act, to the inhabitants of New England, may be calculated from the single fact, that they annually employed in this business about forty-six thousand tons and six thousand seamen; and the produce realised from it, in foreign markets, amounted to three hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling. This bill, however, did not pass without opposition in the two houses; on the contrary, the debates and the agitation it excited, were vehement in both. Many of the members exerted all their efforts to defeat it, and more than any, the marquis of Rockingham, who presented, to this end, a petition of the London merchants.

The bill was, however, approved by a great majority. The opposition protested; the ministers scarcely deigned to perceive it.

This prohibition of all foreign commerce, and of the fishery of Newfoundland, at first comprehended only the four provinces of New England; but the ministers finding the parliament placid and docile, afterwards extended it to the other colonies, with the exception of New York and North Carolina. They alleged it was expedient to punish all the provinces which had participated in the league against British commerce and manufactures. This proposition was approved without difficulty. After a few days had transpired, they moved, that the counties situated on the Delaware, New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, should be subjected to the same laws, as they also had manifested a spirit of rebellion. The clause was added. Thus the English ministers employed only partial measures; imitating those little children, who having constructed a dyke of clay for their amusement, are incessantly occupied in stopping, one after another, all the apertures through which the water seeks to escape.

Meanwhile, they had given orders to embark a corps of ten thousand men for America, as they considered this force sufficient to reestablish submission and obedience to the laws; always confidently relying upon the divisions of the Americans, and the great number of those they conceived to be devoted to the British cause. To this error of the ministers must be attributed the length of the war and the termination it had; as it was essential to success, that the first impressions should have been energetic; that the first movements should have compelled the Americans to banish all idea of resistance; in a word, that a sudden display of an overwhelming force should have reduced them to the necessity of immediately laying down arms. But the ministers preferred to trust the issue of this all important contest, to the intrigues, however at all times uncertain, of factions and parties, rather than to the agency of formidable armies.

But the counsels of the ministers ended not here. Wishing to blend with rigor a certain clemency, and also to prevent new occasions of insurrection in America, they brought forward the project of a law, purporting, that when, in any province or colony, the governor, council, assembly, or general court, should propose to make



provision according to their respective conditions, circumstances and faculties, for contributing their proportion to the common defence; such proportion to be raised under the authorities of the general court or assembly in each province or colony, and disposable by parliament; and should engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government, and the administration of justice in such province or colony, it would be proper, if such proposal should be approved by the king in his parliament, and for so long as such provision should be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such province or colony, to impose any duties, taxes, or assessment, except only such as might be thought necessary for the regulation of commerce.

If this proposition displeased many among the members of the ministerial party, as being greatly derogatory to the dignity and rights of the parliament, which ought to make no concessions to rebels, while they have arms in their hands; it may be presumed that it was received with every mark of the most violent disapprobation by the adverse party; they declared it to be base, vile, and insidious. But the ministers considered, that whatever might be the fate of the law in America, and even supposing it should not be accepted, the people of England, at least, would be convinced that nothing could subdue the obstinacy of the colonists, and that, as to finances, they were determined to bear no part of the public burthens. According to the views of the ministry, if this law was to produce greater concord in England, it would be likely, they apprehended, to create divisions in America; for if a single province accepted the offer, and consented to an accommodation, the confederacy of the Americans, by which alone they were formidable, dissolved of itself. Lord North, in his discourse to the parliament, did not dissemble this last hope.

The colonists affected to resent this project as a violent outrage; they complained that the minister attempted to follow the too well known maxim of divide and reign; as if the English ministers ought not to consider laudable what they reputed blameable; as if, between declared enemies, things were to be estimated by a common weight and measure!

Such were the sentiments of the ministers respecting American affairs. Meanwhile, those who in England, and even in parliament, favored the cause of the colonists, had not been discouraged by the little success it obtained. They plainly foresaw the extent of the evils to which the Americans would be exposed if the resolutions of the ministers should be executed. Unwilling to fail in their duty to their country, and perhaps also stimulated by ambition, in case things should take an unfortunate direction, they resolved to renew their efforts, to induce, if possible, the government to embrace measures more calculated to calm the exasperated minds of the colonists, and dispose them to concord; for they were very far from believing

that the mode proposed by lord North would have the expected result.

Accordingly, Edmund Burke, one of the members of the house of commons, who, by his genius, his knowledge, and his rare eloquence, had acquired the most brilliant reputation, declared upon this occasion, that it gave him singular satisfaction to find the ministers disposed to make any concessions to the Americans, and since lord North himself had proposed a way which he supposed might lead to conciliation, he accepted it as a most happy augury ; as an avowal, that in the present question, no regard was to be had for vain imaginations, for abstract ideas of rights, and general theories of government, but on the contrary, that it was essential to reason from the nature of things, from actual circumstances, from practice, and from experience.

He then entered into an accurate investigation of the actual state of the colonies ; he considered their situation, extent, wealth, population, agriculture, commerce, with their power and weight in the scale of empire. He adverted to that invincible spirit of freedom which distinguishes them in so peculiar a manner from all other people. He observed, that while Great Britain had governed America, conformably to all these circumstances, both countries had been united and happy ; and that to reestablish this prosperous state of things, it was only necessary to resume the accustomed system of government. In examining the different plans proposed for the government of America, he animadverted particularly upon that of force ; a method which, as the most simple and easy to comprehend, men were apt to have recourse to in all difficult circumstances ; without reflecting that what appears the most expeditious, is frequently the least expedient. He remarked, that the utility of employing force, depended upon times and circumstances, which were always variable and uncertain ; that it destroyed the very objects of preservation ; that it was a mode of governing hitherto unknown in the colonies, and therefore dangerous to make trial of ; that their flourishing condition, and the benefits thence resulting to England, were owing to quite other causes, to a method totally different ; that all discussions of right and of favors, should be disclaimed in such a subject ; the surest rule to govern the colonies was to call them to participate in the free constitution of England, by giving the Americans the guaranty of parliament, that Great Britain shall never depart from the principles which shall be once established ; that, in such matters, it was better to consult prudence than cavil about right ; that the solemn doctors of the laws had nothing to do with this affair ; that practice was always a wiser counsellor than speculation ; that experience had already marked the road to be taken on this occasion ; it had long been followed with advantage and safety ; that this tested system could not be resumed too soon,



by abandoning all new and extraordinary projects. He concluded by saying, that, as there existed no reason for believing that the colonists would be less disposed in future to grant subsidies, voluntarily, than they had been in times past, he would have the secretaries of state address the customary requisitions to their assemblies.

The ministers rose to reply ; and this time, a thing rather strange, and not to have been expected from the partisans of lord Bute, they demonstrated great solicitude for liberty ; so true it is, that if sometimes the promoters of popular anarchy, as also those of absolute power, frequently vociferate the name of liberty, it is because they know that if the people cannot love what oppresses them, they may at least easily be deceived by the appearance and the name alone of that which constitutes their happiness. Accordingly, the ministers declared, that it would be a dangerous thing for liberty, if the colonies could, without the consent of parliament, and simply upon the requisition of ministers, grant subsidies to the crown.

‘ Besides,’ they added, ‘ the colonial assemblies have never had the legal faculty to grant subsidies of themselves ; it is a privilege peculiar to parliament, which cannot be communicated to any other body whatsoever. We read, in the Declaration of Rights, “ that levying money for the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, and without the consent of parliament, is an act contrary to law.” A minister who should suffer the grant of any sort of revenues from the colonies to the crown, without the consent of parliament, would be liable to impeachment. Although, in time of war, and from the urgency of circumstances, this abuse has sometimes been tolerated, it could not be admitted in times of peace, without the total subversion of the constitution. What will be the consequence, if the parliament once divests itself of the right to tax the colonies ? It will no longer be possible to ground calculations upon any subsidies on their part ; for, because they have furnished them heretofore, can it be inferred that they will always furnish them in future ? It may happen, that on some pressing occasion they will refuse ; and if they should, what means will remain to enforce their contributions ? Finally, if they passed resolutions for levying money in the last war, it was because their own interests were concerned, and the dangers immediately menaced themselves ; but, in other circumstances, and for interests more remote, whether they would furnish similar subsidies, appears extremely doubtful.’

Such was the answer of the ministers. The motion of Burke was rejected ; not, however, without causing pain to many among the English, who ardently desired that some means might be devised, by which a reconciliation could be effected. But such were not the impressions of the still greater number that adhered to the party of the ministers. In the present state of things, the affair of taxation was, or appeared to have become, the least important part of the

controversy ; the quarrel, increasing in virulency, had extended to other objects of still greater moment, and concerning the very nature of the government.

The ministerial party entertained the most violent suspicions, that, under this shadow of pretensions about taxes and constitutional liberty, machinations were concealed, tending to alter the form of government, to propagate, and perhaps to realize, those ideas of a republic which had occasioned in England so much discord and so many wars.

The present partisans of liberty in America, and those who favored them in Great Britain, much resembled those of times past ; and it was apprehended they were plotting the same designs. The least partiality for the cause of the Americans was viewed as a criminal scheme against the state ; all those who declared themselves in their favor were considered as an audacious set of men, full of ambition and obstinacy, who, to acquire power and gratify their vengeance, would have involved the whole empire in devastation and carnage. It was believed, that, as fathers leave their inheritance to their children, the patriots of the times of the revolution had transmitted the venom of their opinions to those of the present epoch ; and that these, by means of the American revolution, were seeking to accomplish their pernicious plots. The insurrection of the colonies, and the intestine dissensions in England, seemed to be the prelude of their nefarious purposes. It appeared manifest, that, in the expectation of future events, unable as yet to make themselves masters of the state, they had formed a conspiracy to attack incessantly those who governed it, with their odious imputations and incendiary clamors. In effect, the partisans of the Americans had, for some time, abandoned themselves to the most extraordinary proceedings. They observed no human respect,—no sort of measure ; all ways, all means, they reputed honest, if conducive to their purposes. Consequently, in a discussion sustained with so much vehemence, and embittered by the remembrance of ancient outrages, every motion in favor of the Americans was interpreted in the most unfavorable manner. It was thought that Great Britain had no interest in coming to an accommodation with her colonists, until this republican spirit was first put down and extinguished ; and, as this could not be effected but by force of arms, the friends of government wished they might be employed ; ‘Whatever,’ said they, ‘may be the result of mild counsels, they will but palliate the evil,—not effect its cure ; it will reappear on the first favorable occasion, more formidable than ever.’

Such were the prevailing opinions, both within and without the parliament. To these apprehensions must be attributed, principally, the harsh reception encountered by all the propositions for an accommodation, which were made by the friends of the Americans. The



ministers, besides, were persuaded that the insurrection of the colonies proceeded rather from a popular effervescence than a concerted plan ; and that this flame would expire, as promptly as it had been kindled.

Propositions of arrangement, and petitions, continued, however, still to be offered ; but perhaps they were made merely because it was known they would be rejected, as they were in effect. Thus were extinguished all hopes of reconciliation ; thus the last extremities were rendered inevitable ; thus was announced the precipitate approach of war ; and good citizens perceived, with horror, the calamities about to fall upon their country.

Meanwhile, the horizon became every day more lowering, in America ; and civil war seemed only waiting the signal to explode. The congress of Massachusetts had passed a resolution for the purchase of all the gunpowder that could be found, and of every sort of arms and ammunition requisite for an army of fifteen thousand men. This decree was executed with the utmost solicitude ; and, as these objects abounded principally in Boston, the inhabitants employed all their address to procure and transport them to places of safety in the country, by deceiving the vigilance of the guard stationed upon the isthmus. Cannon, balls, and other instruments of war, were carried through the English posts, in carts apparently loaded with manure ; powder, in the baskets or panniers of those who came from the Boston market ; and cartridges were concealed in candle boxes.

Thus the provincials succeeded in their preparations ; but, as it was feared that general Gage might send detachments to seize the military stores in places where they were secreted, men were chosen to keep watch at Charlestown, Cambridge and Roxbury, and be ready to despatch couriers to the towns where the magazines were kept, as often as they should see any band of soldiers issuing from Boston. General Gage was not asleep. Having received intimation that several pieces of artillery were deposited in the neighborhood of Salem, he sent a detachment of the garrison at the castle to seize them, and return to Boston. They landed at Marblehead, and proceeded to Salem ; but without finding the object of their search. They had to pass a drawbridge, which formed the communication with Danvers, where the people had collected in great numbers. The bridge had been drawn, to impede the passage of the royal troops ; the captain in command ordered the bridge down ; the people refused ; and a warm altercation ensued with the soldiers. A sinister event appeared inevitable. At this juncture, came up a clergyman, named Bernard, a man of great authority with the people, who persuaded them to let down the bridge. The soldiers passed it ; and having made a slight incursion on the other side, in token of the liberty they had obtained to scour the country, they returned peaceably on board. But the country people had already

concealed, in places more secure, the artillery and ammunition. Accordingly, the expedition of general Gage completely failed of success.

Thus, by the prudence of a single man, the effusion of blood was prevented ; of which the danger was eminent. The resistance, however, which the soldiers encountered, had greatly exasperated their minds ; and if, before, the people of Boston lived in a state of continual jealousy, after this event, the reciprocal irritation and rancor had so increased, that it was feared, every moment, the soldiers and the citizens would come to blows.

But war being momentarily expected, the particular fate of the inhabitants of Boston had become the object of general solicitude. The garrison was formidable ; the fortifications carried to perfection ; and little hope remained that this city could be wrested from British domination. Nor could the citizens flatter themselves more with the hope of escaping by sea, as the port was blockaded by a squadron. Thus confined amidst an irritated soldiery, the Bostonians found themselves exposed to endure all the outrages to be apprehended from military license. Their city had become a close prison, and themselves no better than hostages in the hands of the British commanders. This consideration alone sufficed greatly to impede all civil and military operations projected by the Americans. Various expedients were suggested, in order to extricate the Bostonians from this embarrassing situation ; which, if they evinced no great prudence, certainly demonstrated no ordinary obstinacy. Some advised, that all the inhabitants of Boston should abandon the city, and take refuge in other places, where they should be succoured at the public expense ; but this design was totally impracticable ; since it depended on general Gage to prevent its execution. Others recommended, that a valuation should be made of the houses and furniture belonging to the inhabitants, that the city should then be fired, and that all the losses should be reimbursed from the public treasure. After mature deliberation, this project was also pronounced not only very difficult, but absolutely impossible to be executed. Many inhabitants, however, left the city privately, and withdrew into the interior of the country ; some, from disgust at this species of captivity ; others, from fear of the approaching hostilities ; and others, finally, from apprehensions of being questioned for acts against the government ; but a great number, also, with a firm resolution, preferred to remain, and brave all consequences whatever. The soldiers of the garrison, weary of their long confinement, desired to sally forth, and drive away these rebels, who interrupted their provisions, and for whom they cherished so profound a contempt. The inhabitants of Massachusetts, on the other hand, were proudly indignant at this opinion of their cowardice, entertained by the soldiers ; and panted for an occasion to prove, by a signal vengeance, the falsehood of the reproach.



In the meantime, the news arrived of the king's speech at the opening of parliament ; of the resolutions adopted by that body ; and, finally, of the act by which the inhabitants of Massachusetts were declared rebels. All the province flew to arms ; indignation became fury,—obstinacy ; desperation. All idea of reconciliation had become chimerical ; necessity stimulated the most timid ; a thirst of vengeance fired every breast. The match is lighted,—the materials disposed,—the conflagration impends. The children are prepared to combat against their fathers ; citizens against citizens ; and, as the Americans declared, the friends of liberty against its oppressors,—against the founders of tyranny.

'In these arms,' said they, 'in our right hands, are placed the hope of safety, the existence of country, the defence of property, the honor of our wives and daughters. With these alone can we repulse a licentious soldiery, protect what man holds dearest upon earth, and unimpaired transmit our rights to our descendants. The world will admire our courage ; all good men will second us with their wishes and prayers, and celebrate our names with immortal praises. Our memory will become dear to posterity. It will be the example, as the hope of freemen, and the dread of tyrants, to the latest ages. It is time that old and contaminated England should be made acquainted with the energies of America, in the prime and innocence of her youth ; it is time she should know how much superior are our soldiers in courage and constancy, to vile mercenaries. We must look back no more ! We must conquer or die ! We are placed between altars smoking with the most grateful incense of glory and gratitude, on the one part, and blocks and dungeons on the other. Let each then rise, and gird himself for the combat. The dearest interests of this world command it ; our most holy religion enjoins it ; that God, who eternally rewards the virtuous, and punishes the wicked, ordains it. Let us accept these happy auguries ; for already the mercenary satellites, sent by wicked ministers to reduce this innocent people to extremity, are imprisoned within the walls of a single city, where hunger emaciates them, rage devours them, death consumes them. Let us banish every fear, every alarm ; fortune smiles upon the efforts of the brave !'

By similar discourses, they excited one another, and prepared themselves for defence. The fatal moment is arrived ; the signal of civil war is given.

General Gage was informed, that the provincials had amassed large quantities of arms and ammunition, in the towns of Worcester and Concord ; which last is eighteen miles distant from the city of Boston. Excited by the loyalists, who had persuaded him that he would find no resistance, considering the cowardice of the patriots, and perhaps not imagining that the sword would be drawn so soon, he resolved to send a few companies to Concord, in order to seize

the military stores deposited there, and transport them to Boston, or destroy them. It was said also, that he had it in view, by this sudden expedition, to get possession of the persons of John Hancock and of Samuel Adams, two of the most ardent patriot chiefs, and the principal directors of the provincial congress, then assembled in the town of Concord. But to avoid exciting irritation, and the popular tumults, which might have obstructed his design, he resolved to act with caution, and in the shade of mystery. Accordingly, he ordered the grenadiers, and several companies of light infantry, to hold themselves in readiness to march out of the city, at the first signal; adding, that it was in order to pass review, and execute different manœuvres and military evolutions. The Bostonians entertained suspicions; and sent to warn Adams and Hancock to be upon their guard. The committee of public safety gave directions that the arms and ammunition should be distributed about in different places. Meanwhile, general Gage, to proceed with more secrecy, commanded a certain number of officers, who had been made acquainted with his designs, to go, as if on a party of pleasure, and dine at Cambridge, which is situated very near Boston, and upon the road to Concord. It was on the 18th of April, in the evening, these officers dispersed themselves here and there upon the road and passages, to intercept the couriers that might have been despatched to give notice of the movement of the troops. The governor gave orders that no person should be allowed to leave the city; nevertheless, doctor Warren, one of the most active patriots, had timely intimation of the scheme, and immediately despatched confidential messengers; some of whom found the roads interdicted by the officers that guarded them; but others made their way unperceived to Lexington, a town upon the road leading to Concord. The intelligence was soon divulged; the people flocked together, the bells, in all parts, were rung to give the alarm; the continual firing of cannon spread the agitation through all the neighboring country. In the midst of this tumultuous scene, at eleven in the evening, a strong detachment of grenadiers, and of light infantry, was embarked at Boston, and went to take land at a place called Phipps' Farm, whence they marched towards Concord. In this state of things, the irritation had become so intense, that a spark only was wanting, to produce an explosion; as the event soon proved.

The troops were under the command of lieutenant-colonel Smith, and major Pitcairn, who led the vanguard. The militia of Lexington, as the intelligence of the movement of this detachment was uncertain, had separated in the course of the night. Finally, at five in the morning of the 19th, advice was received of the near approach of the royal troops. The provincials, that happened to be near, assembled to the number of about seventy, certainly too few to have had the intention to engage in combat. The English appeared, and



major Pitcairn cried in a loud voice, 'Disperse rebels, lay down arms, and disperse.' The provincials did not obey, upon which he sprung from the ranks, discharged a pistol, and, brandishing his sword, ordered his soldiers to fire. The provincials retreated; the English continuing their fire, the former faced about to return it.

Meanwhile, Hancock and Adams retired from danger; and it is related, that while on the march, the latter, enraptured with joy, exclaimed, 'Oh! what an ever glorious morning is this!' considering this first effusion of blood as the prelude of events which must secure the happiness of his country. The soldiers advanced towards Concord. The inhabitants assembled, and appeared disposed to act upon the defensive, but seeing the numbers of the enemy, they fell back, and posted themselves on the bridge, which is found north of the town, intending to wait for reenforcements from the neighboring places; but the light infantry assailed them with fury, routed them, and occupied the bridge, whilst the others entered Concord, and proceeded to the execution of their orders. They spiked two pieces of twenty-four pound cannon, destroyed their carriages, and a number of wheels for the use of the artillery; threw into the river, and into wells, five hundred pounds of bullets, and wasted a quantity of flour deposited there by the provincials. These were the arms and provisions which gave the first occasion to a long and cruel war!

But the expedition was not yet terminated; the minute-men arrived, and the forces of the provincials were increased by continual accessions from every quarter. The light infantry who scoured the country above Concord, were obliged to retreat, and on entering the town a hot skirmish ensued. A great number were killed on both sides. The light infantry having joined the main body of the detachment, the English retreated precipitately towards Lexington; already the whole country had risen in arms, and the militia, from all parts, flew to the succour of their own. Before the British detachment had arrived at Lexington, its rear guard and flanks suffered great annoyance from the provincials, who, posted behind the trees, walls, and frequent hedges, kept up a brisk fire, which the enemy could not return. The soldiers of the king found themselves in a most perilous situation.

General Gage, apprehensive of the event, had despatched, in haste, under the command of Lord Percy, a reenforcement of sixteen companies, with some marines, and two field pieces. This corps arrived very opportunely at Lexington, at the moment when the royal troops entered the town from the other side, pursued with fury by the provincial militia.

It appears highly probable, that, without this reenforcement, they would have been all cut to pieces, or made prisoners; their strength was exhausted, as well as their ammunition. After making a considerable halt at Lexington, they renewed their march towards Bos-

ton, the number of the provincials increasing every moment, although the rear guard of the English was less molested, on account of the two field pieces, which repressed the impetuosity of the Americans. But the flanks of the column remained exposed to a very destructive fire, which assailed them from all the points adapted to serve as coverts. The royalists were also annoyed by the heat, which was excessive, and by a violent wind, which blew a thick dust in their eyes. The enemy's marksmen, adding to their natural celerity a perfect knowledge of the country, came up unexpectedly through cross roads, and galled the English severely, taking aim especially at the officers, who, perceiving it, kept much on their guard. Finally, after a march of incredible fatigue, and a considerable loss of men, the English, overwhelmed with lassitude, arrived at sunset in Charlestown. Independently of the combat they had sustained, the ground they had measured that day was above five and thirty miles. The day following they crossed over to Boston.

Such was the affair of Lexington, the first action which opened the civil war. The English soldiers, and especially their officers, were filled with indignation at the fortune of the day; they could not endure, that an undisciplined multitude, that a flock of Yankees, as they contemptuously named the Americans, should not only have maintained their ground against them, but even forced them to show their backs, and take refuge behind the walls of a city. The provincials, on the contrary, felt their courage immeasurably increased, since they had obtained a proof that these famous troops were not invincible, and had made so fortunate an essay of the goodness of their arms.

Both parties were at great pains to prove that their adversaries had been the aggressors. The English insisted, that the Americans had fired first from the houses of Lexington, and that this provocation had forced the British troops to fire also, and to march thence to Concord. The Americans denied the fact, and affirmed very positively, that major Pitcairn had commanded his detachment to fire, when, on their part, they continued to observe a perfect calm; and many judicial certificates and solemn depositions were made to this effect. Certain it is, that lieutenant-colonel Smith, was much displeased that his troops had fired; and it seems probable, that general Gage had given orders not to fire, except in case of a real attack on the part of the provincials. If it be true, therefore, as there is much reason to believe, that the first firing came from the soldiers of the king, this ought to be imputed rather to the imprudence of major Pitcairn than to any other order or cause.

The two parties also reciprocally accused each other, as it usually happens in civil wars, of many and horrible cruelties. The Americans pretended that the English had burnt and plundered several houses, destroying what they were unable to carry away, and that



they had even massacred several individuals without defence. The English, on the contrary, affirmed, that several of their comrades, made prisoners by the rebels, had been tortured and put to death with savage barbarity. They even related, a thing horrible to repeat, that one of the wounded English, being left behind, and endeavoring, with great efforts, to rejoin his corps, was assailed by a young American, who ferociously split open his skull with an axe, and forced out the brains, for his sport. We dare not affirm the truth of this abominable fact; although we find it related, as not doubtful, by authors worthy of credit; but we can at least attest the falsehood of a report which had at the time much currency. It was rumored, that the inhabitants of New England, imitating, in their fanatical rage, the barbarity of the savages, their neighbors, had severed the scalp, torn out the eyes, and cut off the ears of many English soldiers, both wounded and dead. It is pleasing to think, and authorities are not wanting to affirm, that these imputations are excessively exaggerated, both on the one part and on the other; and if any excesses were committed in the heat of battle, it is certain that after the action was over, humanity recovered its rights. It is known with perfect assurance, that the wounded, who fell into the hands of the provincial militia, were treated with all the cares and attentions in use among the most civilised nations. The Americans even gave notice to general Gage, that he was at liberty to send surgeons to dress and attend the wounded that were found in their hands.

This first feat of arms had two results; the first was to demonstrate how false and ridiculous were the vaunts of those Gascons, who, within parliament as well as without, had spoken in such unworthy terms of American courage; from this moment the English nation, and especially its soldiers, persuaded themselves that the struggle would be far more severe and more sanguinary, than had been at first believed. The second effect of this combat was, to increase astonishingly the confidence of the colonists, and their resolution to defend their rights. It should be added, also, that the reports of the cruelties committed by the British troops, which, whether true or false, the leaders never failed to propagate and exaggerate, in every place, repeating them with words of extreme vehemence, and painting them in the most vivid colors, had produced an incredible fermentation, and a frantic rage in the minds of the inhabitants. To give, if it were possible, still greater activity to these transports of hatred and fury, the obsequies of the slain were celebrated with every mark of honor, their eulogies were pronounced, they were styled the martyrs of liberty; their families were the object of universal veneration. They were continually cited as the models to be imitated in the arduous contest which America was forced into, by the injustice and the pride of English supremacy.

The provincial congress of Massachusetts was then in session at Watertown, ten miles distant from Boston. Upon the news of the battle of Lexington, it addressed a long letter to the English people, containing the most circumstantial details of this event; the congress endeavored to prove that the royal troops had been the first to engage battle, by firing upon the peaceable militia; and by committing at Concord, as well as at Lexington, many excesses, absolutely unworthy of the British name. They entreated the English nation to interfere, and avert the ulterior calamities which were about to fall upon the colonies and Great Britain; they declared and protested their loyalty; at the same time they affirmed it was their firm and irrevocable resolution not to submit to any species of tyranny; they appealed to heaven for the justice of a cause for which they were prepared to sacrifice their fortunes, and, if necessary, existence itself.

But, not content with words, and desirous of giving a regular direction to the war, and to the movements of the people, who assembled every where in tumultuary crowds, they assigned a fixed pay to the officers and soldiers; they made regulations for organising and disciplining the militia. In order to be able to meet the expenses, which were rendered necessary by circumstances, the congress issued a certain quantity of bills of credit, which were to be received as money, in all payments; and for the guaranty of which, they pledged the faith of the province. They declared that general Gage, having sent armed soldiers to destroy what existed in the public magazines in the town of Concord, a violence which had occasioned the illegal and barbarous death of a great number of the inhabitants of the province, was no longer entitled to receive any obedience, but ought, on the contrary, to be regarded as an enemy to the country.

The congress also resolved, that a levy should be made in the province, of thirteen thousand six hundred men, and chose for their general, colonel Ward, an officer of much reputation. This militia was designed to form the contingent of Massachusetts; the provinces of New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, were invited to furnish theirs, in order to complete an army of thirty thousand men, to be commanded by general John Thomas, an officer of great experience. Connecticut despatched immediately a considerable corps, under the command of colonel Putnam, an old officer, who, in the two late wars, had often given proof of courage and intelligence. The other provinces were not slow in causing their standards to move, and, in a short time, an army of thirty thousand men was found assembled under the walls of Boston. So great and so universal was the ardor produced among the inhabitants by the battle of Lexington, that the American generals were obliged to send back to their homes many thousand volun-



teers. Putnam took his station at Cambridge, and Thomas at Roxbury, upon the right wing of the army, to cut off entirely the communication of the garrison, by the isthmus, with the adjacent country. Thus, a few days after the affair of Lexington, the capital of the province of Massachusetts was closely besieged; thus, a multitude assembled in haste, of men declared rebels, and mean spirited cowards, held in strict confinement, not daring to sally forth even to procure food, many thousands of veteran troops, commanded by an able general, and combating under the royal standard. Such was the situation of troops which had been sent from Europe with the firm expectation that they would only have to show themselves, in order to drive before them all the inhabitants of a country, infinitely more vast and more difficult to traverse than England itself. But, in all times, regular troops have regarded with disdain the militia of an insurgent people; and often has this militia baffled all the efforts of regular armies.

END OF BOOK FOURTH.

# NOTE TO BOOK IV.

NOTE I.—PAGE 128.

NAMES OF MEMBERS COMPOSING THE CONGRESS OF 1774.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE.

JOHN SULLIVAN,  
NATHANIEL FULSOM.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

JAMES BOWDOIN,  
THOMAS CUSHING,  
SAMUEL ADAMS,  
JOHN ADAMS,  
ROBERT T. PAINE.

## RHODE ISLAND.

STEPHEN HOPKINS,  
SAMUEL WARD.

## CONNECTICUT.

ELIPHALET DYER,  
ROGER SHERMAN,  
SILAS DEANE.

## NEW YORK.

JAMES DUANE,  
HENRY WISNER,  
JOHN JAY,  
PHILIP LIVINGSTON,  
ISAAC LOW,  
JOHN ALSOP,  
WILLIAM FLOYD.

## NEW JERSEY.

JAMES KINSEY,  
WILLIAM LIVINGSTON,  
JOHN DE HART,  
STEPHEN CRANE,  
RICHARD SMITH.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

JOSEPH GALLOWAY,  
CHARLES HUMPHREYS,

SAMUEL RHOADS,  
GEORGE ROSS,  
JOHN MORTON,  
THOMAS MIFFLIN,  
EDWARD BIDDLE,  
JOHN DICKINSON.

## DELAWARE.

CESAR RODNEY,  
THOMAS M'KEAN,  
GEORGE READ.

## MARYLAND.

ROBERT GOLDSBOROUGH,  
THOMAS JOHNSON,  
WILLIAM PACA,  
SAMUEL CHASE,  
MATTHEW TILGHMAN.

## VIRGINIA.

PEYTON RANDOLPH,  
RICHARD HENRY LEE,  
GEORGE WASHINGTON,  
PATRICK HENRY,  
RICHARD BLAND,  
BENJAMIN HARRISON,  
EDMUND PENDLETON.

## NORTH CAROLINA.

WILLIAM HOOPER,  
JOSEPH HUGHES,  
RICHARD CASWELL.

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

HENRY MIDDLETON,  
JOHN RUTLEDGE,  
THOMAS LYNCH,  
CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN,  
EDWARD RUTLEDGE.



## BOOK FIFTH.

1775. BOSTON is situated near the middle of the province of Massachusetts, upon a tract of land, which, connecting with the continent by an extremely narrow tongue, called the neck, afterwards distends sufficiently to comprehend a city of very ample dimensions. The figure of this peninsula is irregular, and forms, alternately, bays and promontories. In one of these bays, facing towards the east, is found the port, which is admirably adapted to receive ships of any burthen, as well of war as of commerce. Towards the north, the land branches into two parts, resembling horns; one of which, pointing to the northeast, is called Hudson's Point; and the other, bearing to the northwest, Barton's Point. In front of these two points, another peninsula is perceived, which, from the name of a considerable town there situated, opposite Boston, is called Charlestown, and is joined to the main land by an exceedingly narrow neck, which also bears the name of Charlestown. An arm of the sea, about half a mile in breadth, enters between the points of Hudson, of Barton, and of Charlestown; and, then expanding, embraces all the western part of the peninsula of Boston. A number of streams empty themselves into this cove; the principal of which, are Muddy, Charles, and Mystic, or Medford, rivers. Not far from the isthmus of Boston, the continent stretches into the sea, and forms a long promontory, which extends, on the right, towards the east; from which results another peninsula, though joined to the main land by a much wider neck than either that of Boston or of Charlestown; these are known by the appellations of Dorchester Neck, and Point. The peninsulas of Charlestown, and of Dorchester, are so near to that of Boston, that batteries placed upon either can reach the city with their shot. This can be done with the greater facility, as in both there are many hills, or eminences, peculiarly favorable for the position of artillery. There is one, above the village of Charlestown, called Breed's Hill, which commands the city of Boston; and another, behind it, towards Charlestown Neck, and consequently further from Boston, which bears the name of Bunker's Hill. In like manner upon the peninsula of Dorchester are heights, which have the same name; and another, called Nook's Hill, which crowns the spur of land towards Boston. The inlet of the sea, through which the port is approached, is sprinkled with little islands; the most considerable of which are Noddle's, Thompson's, Governor's, Long Island, and Castle Island. West of Boston upon the river Charles, is situated the extensive village of Cambridge; and to the south, at the entrance of the Neck, that of Roxbury.

The American army had rested its left wing upon the river of Medford, and thus intercepted the communication of Charlestown Neck; the centre occupied Cambridge; and the right wing, posted at Roxbury, repressed the garrison on the part of the isthmus, which, being fortified, might have facilitated their sallies and excursions into the country.

In this situation, respectively, the two armies were found; but the number and quality of the combatants, their opinions, their military science, their arms, ammunition and provisions, created a great difference in their condition. The Americans were much superior in number; but this number was subject to continual variations; for that severe discipline, without which neither order nor stability can exist in armies, not being as yet introduced among them, the soldiers joined or quitted their colors, as best suited their inclinations; and fresh bands of volunteers were daily arriving, to take the place of those who had left the camp. They had every kind of food in great abundance, and especially vegetables, so necessary to the health of troops. But their arms were far from being sufficient. They had, in all, but sixteen field pieces, six of which, at the very utmost, were in a condition for service. Their brass pieces, which were few, were of the smallest caliber. They had, however, some heavy iron cannon, with three or four mortars and howitzers, and some scanty provision of balls and bombs. But of powder they were almost totally destitute; for, upon visiting the magazines, only eighty-two half barrels of it were found. A certain quantity, it is true, might have been procured in the neighboring provinces; but this feeble resource would soon be exhausted. Muskets were in abundance; but they were all of different caliber, each having brought his own. They were admirably skilled in the use of this weapon, and therefore well adapted for the service of light troops and skirmishing parties; but in regular battle, they would have made but an indifferent figure. They had no uniforms, and no magazines stocked with provisions; they lived, from day to day, without taking thought for the morrow; but, in these first moments, the zeal of the neighboring country people suffered them to want for nothing. They had no coined money, or very little; but they had bills of credit, which, at this epoch, were current at equal value with gold. The officers wanted due instruction, excepting those few who had served in the preceding wars. They were not even known by their soldiers; for, the organisation of the several corps not being yet completed, the changes in them were continual. Orders were ill executed; every one wished to command, and do according to his own fancy; few deigned to obey. Upon the whole, with the exception of some few regiments, which had been trained in certain provinces by experienced chiefs, the residue had more the appearance of a tumultuary assemblage, than of a regular army. But all these defects were compensated, by the deter-



mined spirit of their minds; by the zeal of party; the profound persuasion, in all, of the justice of their cause; the exhortations of their chiefs, and of the ministers of religion, who neglected no means of daily exciting this people, already of themselves inclined to the enthusiasm of religious ideas, to signalise their firmness and valor in an enterprise pleasing in the sight of heaven and all the good of the human race.

With these feeble preparations, but with this extraordinary ardor, the Americans commenced a war, which every thing announced must prove long, arduous and sanguinary. It was, however, easy to foresee, that, whatever reverses they might have to encounter in the outset, an unshaken constancy must render them eventually triumphant; for, by preserving all their courage, and acquiring discipline and the science of war, their soldiers could not fail to become equal, in all respects, to any that could be opposed to them.

As to the British troops, they were abundantly provided with all things necessary to enter the field; their arsenals were glutted with artillery of various caliber, excellent muskets, powder, and arms of every denomination. Their soldiers were all perfectly exercised, accustomed to fatigues and dangers; they had long been taught the difficult art, so essential in war—to obey. Their minds were full of the recollection of the achievements, by which they had distinguished themselves at various times, in the service of their country, while combating against the most warlike nations of the world. A particular motive added still greatly to the martial resolution of this army—the reflection that they were to combat under the royal standard, which is usually a powerful incentive to military honor. The English, moreover, considered the enemies they were about to encounter, in the light of rebels; a name that inflamed them with an animosity more intense than simple courage. They panted to avenge themselves for the affront of Lexington; they could by no means admit that these Americans were able to resist them; they persisted in viewing them as cowards, who were indebted for their success at Lexington, exclusively to their numbers, and the advantage of ground. They were persuaded that, in the first serious action, in the first regular battle, the colonists would not dare to wait their approach. But, until the arrival of the reinforcements expected from England, prudence exacted a circumspect conduct towards the Americans, whose forces were more than threefold in number. Meanwhile, so strict was the siege, no provisions being permitted to enter the city from the neighboring towns, that fresh meat and all kinds of vegetables, began to become excessively scarce; and, although the sea was open to the English, and they had a great number of light vessels at their disposal, they could procure no supplies from the coasts of New England; the inhabitants having driven their cattle into the interior of the country. As to the other provinces, they could obtain

nothing from them by their consent ; and they could not employ force, because they were not yet declared rebels. The scarcity became therefore extreme at Boston. The garrison, as well as the inhabitants, were reduced to salt provisions. The English, therefore, were impatient for the arrival of reinforcements from England, in order to make some vigorous effort to extricate themselves from this difficult situation.

The besieging army, aware that the inhabitants of Boston had no other resource but from the magazines of the king, exercised the greater vigilance to intercept all supplies from the adjacent country ; hoping that the exhaustion of these stores would at length induce the governor to consent that the inhabitants, or at least the women and children, as superfluous mouths, might leave the city. This the provincials had several times requested, very earnestly ; but the governor, notwithstanding the embarrassment he experienced in providing sustenance for the troops, appeared little disposed to listen to the proposition. He considered the inhabitants as so many hostages for the safety of the city and garrison ; being apprehensive the Americans might attempt to carry the place by assault ; of which, however, there was not the least danger, although they had purposely circulated such a rumor. Their generals were too considerate not to perceive how fatal an impression of discouragement must have been made on the public mind, by the miscarriage of so important a stroke, at the very commencement of the war ; and the probabilities in favor of this assault were not great, as the fortifications of the Neck were extremely formidable ; and, on the other hand, there could have been little hope of success, so long as the English had command of the sea, and the movements of a numerous fleet. But, finally, general Gage, urged by necessity, and wishing also to withdraw arms from the hands of the citizens, on whose account he was not without apprehensions, after a long conference with the council of the city, acceded to an arrangement, by which it was stipulated, that all citizens, on giving up their arms, and depositing them in Faneuil Hall, or some other public place, should be at liberty to retire wherever they might think proper, with all their effects ; it was, however, understood, that their arms should, in due time, be restored them. It was also agreed, that thirty carts should be permitted to enter Boston, to take away the moveables of the emigrants ; and that the admiralty should furnish the transports requisite for the same purpose. This compact was at first faithfully observed by the two parties ; the inhabitants deposited their arms, and the general delivered them passports. But soon after, either unwilling to deprive himself entirely of hostages, or apprehensive, as it had been rumored, that the insurgents meditated the design of setting fire to the city, so soon as their partisans should have evacuated it, he pretended that individuals who had gone out to look after the affairs of persons attached to the royal



cause, had been ill treated ; and began to refuse passes. This refusal excited violent complaints, both among the Bostonians and the provincials stationed without. The governor, however, persisted in his resolution. If he afterwards permitted some few citizens to depart, it was only upon condition that they should leave their furniture and effects ; which subjected them to no little detriment and inconvenience. Many of them, who were accustomed to live in a style of great elegance found themselves reduced, by this extraordinary rigor, to an absolute destitution of things of the first necessity. It was also said, and with too much appearance of probability, that, from a certain cruelty, which no motive can excuse, in granting passports, he studied to divide families, separating wives from husbands, fathers from children, brothers from each other ; some obtained permission to depart—others were forced to remain.

The poor and sick might all retreat, without opposition ; but their departure was accompanied with a circumstance, which, if it was not the effect of a barbarous intention, ought at least to have been prevented with the most sedulous care ; among the sick, those were suffered to pass who were attacked with the smallpox, a very mortal disease in America, where it excites the same horror as the plague itself in Europe and in Asia. The contagion spread rapidly, and made frightful ravages among the provincials.

While these things were passing within and about Boston, the other provinces were making their preparations for war with extreme activity. The city of New York itself, in which the English had more friends than in any other on the continent, and which hitherto had manifested so much reserve, at the first news of the battle of Lexington, was seized with a violent emotion, and resolved to make common cause with the other colonies. The inhabitants adopted the resolutions of the general congress, with the determination to persist in them until the entire reestablishment of constitutional laws. They drew up an energetic address to the common council of the city of London, which had shown itself favorable to the cause of the colonies ; they declared, that all the calamities in the train of civil war, could not constrain the Americans to bend to the will of Great Britain ; and that such was the universal sentiment, from Nova Scotia to Georgia ; they conjured the city of London to exert all its endeavors to restore peace between the two parts of the empire ; but as to themselves, they protested their determination never to endure ministerial tyranny.

The inhabitants were all indefatigable in training themselves to the use of arms ; the patriots, to resist England ; and the partisans of the government, forming no inconsiderable number, either because they thought it prudent to go with the current, or to prevent disorders, or to be prepared, with arms in their hands, to declare themselves upon the first occasion. But as the city of New York is entirely

exposed towards the sea, and as the inhabitants could have no hope of defending it against the attack of an English fleet, they resolved to risk nothing by delay, and to seize the arms and ammunition deposited in the royal magazines. The women and children were removed from the seat of danger; which done, they prepared to defend themselves; and, in case they should have lost all hope of resisting the forces of the enemy, it was resolved, horrible as it seems, though but too common in civil wars, to fire the city.

In South Carolina, it was hoped, universally, that perseverance in the resolutions taken against British commerce, would suffice to dispose the government to embrace milder councils. But the intelligence of the rigorous acts of parliament was received there the very day on which was fought the battle of Lexington, the tidings of which arrived a few days after. The inhabitants were struck with surprise, and even with terror; well knowing to what dangers they exposed themselves, in undertaking to wage war with Great Britain; as her formidable squadrons could reach them at all the points of a coast two hundred miles in length, and as they found themselves almost totally destitute of arms or munitions of war; without means to equip their soldiers, without ships, without money, without officers of experience, or skilled in tactics. They were even not without serious apprehensions relative to the negro slaves, formidably numerous in this province. They were accessible to seduction, by gifts and promises; and might be instigated to massacre their masters, at the moment of their most unsuspecting security. The province itself had not been comprehended in the parliamentary proscription; and could not, therefore, without manifest treason, spontaneously take part in rebellion and open war. At length, however, the resolutions inspired by courage, prevailed; and such measures were taken as were deemed best suited to the occasion. On the night subsequent to the advice of the hostilities at Lexington, the inhabitants rushed to the arsenal, and seized all the arms and ammunition it contained, and distributed them among the soldiers in the pay of the province. A provincial congress was convoked; a league was contracted by the delegates, purporting, that the Carolinians considered themselves united, by all the ties of honor and religion, for the defence of their country against all enemies whatsoever; that they were ready to march, whenever and wherever the congress, whether general or provincial, should judge necessary; that they would sacrifice their fortunes and their lives to maintain the public liberty and safety; that they would hold for enemies all those who should refuse to subscribe the league; which was to be in force, until a reconciliation was effected between Great Britain and America, conformably to the principles of the constitution. It was afterwards determined to raise two regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry, called *rangers*. Such was the general ardor, that more officers presented themselves than were



wanted; the greater part from among the wealthiest and most respectable families of the country. At the same time, an emission was made of bills of credit, which, at this epoch, were received by all the citizens, with the greatest promptitude.

In New Jersey, at the news of the affair at Lexington, the people took possession of the provincial treasure; and a part of it was destined to pay the troops which were levied at the same time in the province.

At Baltimore, in Maryland, the inhabitants laid a strong hand upon all the military stores that were found in the public magazines; and, among other arms, fifteen hundred muskets thus fell into their power. A decree was published, interdicting all transportation of commodities to the islands where fisheries were carried on, as also to the British army and fleet stationed at Boston.

The inhabitants of Philadelphia took the same resolution, and appeared, in all respects, equally disposed to defend the common cause. The Quakers themselves, notwithstanding their pacific institutions, could not forbear to participate in the ardor with which their fellow-citizens flew to meet a new order of things.

When Virginia, this important colony, and particularly opposed to the pretensions of England, received the intelligence of the first hostilities, it was found in a state of extreme commotion, excited by a cause, which, though trivial in itself, in the present conjuncture became of serious importance. The provincial congress, convened in the month of March, had recommended a levy of volunteers in each county, for the better defence of the country. The governor, lord Dunmore, at the name of volunteers, became highly indignant; and conceived suspicions of some pernicious design. Apprehending the inhabitants intended to take possession of a public magazine, in the city of Williamsburgh, he caused all the powder it contained to be removed, by night, and conveyed on board an armed vessel, at anchor in the river *James*. The following morning, the citizens, on being apprised of the fact, were violently exasperated; they flew to arms, assembled in great numbers, and demonstrated a full determination to obtain restitution of the powder, either by fair means or force. A serious affair was apprehended; but the municipal council interposed, and, repressing the tumult, despatched a written request to the governor, entreating him to comply with the public desire. They complained, with energy, of the injury received; and represented the dangers to which they should be exposed, in case of insurrection on the part of the blacks, whose dispositions, from various recent reports, they had too much reason to distrust. The governor answered, that the powder had been removed, because he had heard of an insurrection in a neighboring county; that he had removed it in the night time to prevent any alarm; that he was much surprised to hear the people were under arms; and that he should

not think it prudent to put powder into their hands in such a situation. He assured them, however, that in case of a revolt of the negroes, it should be returned immediately. Tranquillity was re-established; but, in the evening, an alarm was given, that the soldiers of the ship of war were approaching the city in arms, the people again also took up theirs, and passed the whole night in expectation of an attack.

The governor, not knowing, or unwilling to yield to the temper of the times, manifested an extreme irritation at these popular movements. He suffered certain menaces to fall from his lips, which it would have been far more prudent to suppress. He intimated, that the royal standard would be erected; the blacks emancipated, and armed against their masters; a thing no less imprudent than barbarous, and contrary to every species of civilisation; finally, he threatened the destruction of the city, and to vindicate, in every mode, his own honor, and that of the crown. These threats excited a general fermentation throughout the colony, and even produced an absolute abhorrence towards the government. Thus, incidents of slight importance, assisted by the harsh and haughty humors of the agents of England and America, contributed to accelerate the course of things towards that crisis, to which they tended already, but too strongly, of themselves.

Meanwhile, in the popular meetings that assembled in all the counties of the province, the seizure of the powder, and the menaces of the governor, were condemned with asperity. But, in the county of Hanover, and the country adjacent, the inhabitants were not content with words. They took arms; and, under the command of Henry, one of the delegates to the general congress, marched against the city of Wilmington, with the design, as they declared openly, not only of obtaining restitution of the powder, but also of securing the public treasure against the attempts of the governor. An hundred and fifty of the most enterprising were already in the suburbs of the city, when a parley was opened, which concluded in an accommodation, and tranquillity was restored; but it was evident, that the public mind was too much inflamed to admit of its long continuance. The people of the country, however, returned peaceably to their habitations.

The governor fortified his palace to the utmost of his power; he placed a garrison of marines within, and surrounded it with artillery. He issued a proclamation, by which Henry and his followers were declared rebels. Finally, with an imprudence of conduct unworthy of a magistrate, who ought never, in the exercise of his functions, to suffer himself to be transported with anger, in acrimonious terms, he attributed the present commotions to the disaffection of the people, and their desire to excite a general revolt. These imputations served only to imbitter hatred, and cut off all hope of a better futurity.



In the midst of these divisions between the people of Virginia and the governor, an incident happened, which still added to their violence.

In like manner as doctor Franklin had procured the letters of Hutchinson, some other person had found means to convey from the office of state, the official correspondence of lord Dunmore ; which was transmitted to the Virginian chiefs. Immediately upon its publication, a cry of indignation arose against the governor, for having written things false, and injurious to the province. Thus all reciprocal confidence was destroyed ; the slightest casualty became a serious event, and mutual enmity more and more embittered the inevitable effects of this misunderstanding.

During these disputes, which, apart from the irritation they supported against the government, could have no considerable influence, of themselves, upon public affairs, the inhabitants of Connecticut attempted an important enterprise.

The road which leads from the English colonies to Canada, is traced almost entirely along the rivers and lakes, which are found between these two countries, and in the direction of south to north. Those who undertake this excursion, begin by ascending the river Hudson, up to fort Edward, whence, keeping to the right, they arrive at Skeenesborough, a fort situated near the sources of Wood creek ; or, bearing to the left, they come to fort George, erected at the southern extremity of the lake of that name. Both the former and the latter afterwards embark, the first upon Wood creek, the second upon lake George, and are landed at Ticonderoga ; at which point, the two lakes unite to form lake Champlain, so called from the name of a French governor, who drowned himself there. By the lake, and thence by the river Soral, which flows out of it, they descend into the great river St. Lawrence, which passes to Quebec. Ticonderoga is then situated near the confluence of these waters, between lake George and lake Champlain. It is therefore a place of the highest importance, as standing upon the frontier, and at the very entrance of Canada ; whoever occupies it can intercept all communication between this province and the colonies. Accordingly, the French had fortified it with such diligence, that the English, in the preceding war, were unable to carry it without extraordinary efforts, and great effusion of blood on both sides.

The chiefs of this expedition, colonels Easton and Allen, considered how essential it was to seize this key of Canada, before the English should have thrown into the place a sufficient garrison for its defence ; for, in the profound peace which prevailed at that time, without apprehension of war either abroad or at home, the governors of Canada had made no preparations at Ticonderoga ; and it was left to the charge of a feeble detachment. It was evident, that if the British government resolved to prosecute war against its colo-

nies, it would send troops into Canada with a view of attacking the Americans in the rear, by the way of Ticonderoga. It was known, besides, that this fortress, and that of Crown Point, situated a little below it, upon the same lake, Champlain, were furnished with a very numerous artillery, of which the Americans stood in the greatest need. Finally, it was thought of no little importance, in these first movements, to strike some capital blow, in order to stimulate the ardor of the insurgent people. Accordingly, this enterprise, having been maturely considered in the plan, and directed with great prudence in the execution, had the result which might have been expected.

It was deemed an essential point, to attack the enemy by surprise ; they resolved, therefore, to proceed with profound secrecy ; for, if the commanders of Ticonderoga and of Crown Point had any suspicion of the project, they could draw reenforcements from the neighboring fortress of St. John. The general Congress itself, then in session at Philadelphia, had no intimation of their design ; its authors being apprehensive, lest, in so great a number of members, there might be found some individual deficient in discretion.

To defray the expenses of the enterprise, the assembly of Connecticut appropriated the sum of eighteen hundred dollars. Powder, bullets, and all the utensils requisite for a siege, were secretly provided. The troops were promptly assembled at Castletown, a place situated upon the banks of Wood creek, and the great road to Ticonderoga. The greater part were inhabitants of the Green Mountains, and thence, in their own style, they were called *Green Mountain Boys* ; a race of men accustomed to fatigue and danger. Among the superior officers, besides Allen and Easton, were colonels Brown and Warner, and captain Dickinson. They were joined at Castletown by colonel Arnold, who came from the army of Boston. Possessed by nature of an extraordinary force of genius, a restless character, and an intrepidity bordering upon prodigy, this officer had of himself conceived the same plan ; so manifest was the utility of the enterprise, and so bold the spirit of these American chiefs. Arnold had conferred, to this end, with the committee of safety of Massachusetts, who had appointed him colonel, with authority to levy soldiers, in order to attempt the capture of Ticonderoga ; in pursuance whereof, he arrived at Castletown ; and his surprise was extreme, at finding himself anticipated. But, as he was not a man to be baffled by trifles, and as nothing could delight him more than the occasion for combat, he concerted with the other leaders, and consented, however hard he must have thought the sacrifice, to put himself under the command of colonel Allen.

They posted sentinels upon all the roads, to prevent the least rumor of their approach from reaching the menaced point ; and they arrived, in the night, upon the bank of lake Champlain, opposite



Ticonderoga. The chief hope of success depending on despatch, Allen and Arnold rapidly surmounted the difficulties of crossing; and landed upon the other bank, in the environs of the fortress. They continued their march, and at day-break, entering by the covered way, arrived upon the esplanade; here they raised the shouts of victory, and made a deafening uproar. The soldiers of the garrison roused from sleep at this tumult, and soon commenced firing. A hot scuffle ensued, with gun-breeches and bayonets. The commander of the fort at length appeared; colonel Easton having informed him that he was prisoner of America, he was much confused, and repeated, several times, '*What does this mean?*' The English threw down arms, and all was surrendered to the victors.

They found, at Ticonderoga, about one hundred and twenty pieces of twenty-four pound brass cannon, several howitzers and mortars, balls, bombs, and ammunition of every denomination. The detachment that was left upon the other bank, having rejoined the first, a party was sent against Crown Point, where the garrison consisted of only a few soldiers. This expedition succeeded without difficulty; more than an hundred pieces of artillery were found in the fort.

But the plan of the Americans would not have been completely accomplished, except they secured to themselves the exclusive control of the lake; which they could not hope to obtain, however, without seizing a corvette of war, which the English kept at anchor near fort St. John. They resolved, therefore, to arm a vessel of the species they call *schooners*, the command of which was to be given to Arnold; while Allen should bring on his men upon the flat boats employed in the navigation of these lakes. The wind blowing fresh from the south, the vessel of Arnold left the boats far in the rear. He came unexpectedly alongside of the corvette, the captain of which was far from suspecting the danger that menaced him, and took possession of it without resistance; and, as if heaven was pleased to distinguish with evident tokens of its favor these first achievements of the Americans, the wind suddenly changed from south to north, so that, in less than an hour's time, colonel Arnold returned, sound and safe, with his prize, to Ticonderoga.

Things passed no less propitiously for the Americans at Skeenesborough. This fortress fell into their hands, with its garrison; and thus placed at their disposal a great quantity of light artillery. Colonel Allen put sufficient garrisons in the conquered fortresses, and deputed Arnold to command them in chief. As to himself, he returned directly to Connecticut.

Such was the fortunate issue of the expedition of the Americans upon their northern frontiers. It was no doubt of high importance; but it would have had a much greater influence upon the course of the whole war, if these fortresses, which are the shield and bulwark

of the colonies, had been defended, in times following, with the same prudence and valor with which they had been acquired.

But about Boston, the course of events was far less rapid. The Americans exerted their utmost industry, to intercept from the English all supplies of provisions; and they, all their endeavors to procure them. This gave occasion to frequent skirmishes between the detachments of the two armies. One of the most severe took place about Noddle's and Hog Island, both situated in the harbor of Boston, northeast of the city; the first opposite Winnesimick, and the second in front of Chelsea, and very near it. These two islands, abounding in forage and cattle, were a great resource for the English, who went there often in quest of provisions. This the provincials resolved to put a stop to, by removing the cattle, and destroying all the provender they could find. They carried their purpose into effect; not, however, without a vigorous opposition on the part of the royalists. The provincials landed a second time upon Noddle's Island, and took off a great number of cattle, of various denominations. They effected the same purpose, a few days after, in Pettick's and Deer Island. In all these actions, they demonstrated the most intrepid courage, and acquired greater confidence in themselves. The garrison of Boston, already suffering greatly from the scarcity of food, experienced, from these operations, a prejudice difficult to describe.

These feats were the prelude to an action of far greater moment, which followed a few days after. The succours expected from England, had arrived at Boston; which, with the garrison, formed an army of from ten to twelve thousand men; all excellent troops. Three distinguished generals, Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, were at the head of these reinforcements. Great events were looked for on both sides. The English were inflamed with desire to wash out the stain of Lexington; they could not endure the idea that the Americans had seen them fly; it galled them to think, that the soldiers of the British king, renowned for their brilliant exploits, were now closely imprisoned within the walls of a city. They were desirous, at any price, of proving that their superiority over the herds of American militia, was not a vain chimera. Above all, they ardently aspired to terminate, by some decisive stroke, this ignominious war; and thus satisfy, at once, their own glory, the expectations of their country, the orders, the desires, and the promises of the ministers. But victory was exacted of them still more imperiously by the scarcity of food, which every day became more alarming; for, if they must sacrifice their lives, they chose rather to perish by the sword than by famine. The Americans, on their part, were not less eager for the hour of combat to arrive; their preceding successes had stimulated their courage, and promised them new triumphs.



In this state of things, the English generals deliberated maturely upon the most expedient mode of extricating themselves from this difficult position, and placing themselves more at large in the country. Two ways were suggested of issuing from the city; one, to sally out from the Neck, and attack the American intrenchments at Roxbury; and, having forced them, to scour the country on the part of the county of Suffolk; the other was, to pass the ferry of Charlestown, traverse the peninsula of this name, issue by the isthmus, and dislodge the enemy, who occupied the heights between Willis creek and Mystic river; and then dilate in the direction of Worcester.

General Gage had for some time been decided to attempt the first of these alternatives. He calculated, that in case of a repulse, the fortifications of Boston Neck would secure his retreat. The Americans, having been apprised of it, on the very day appointed for the attack, stood much upon their guard. Whether from this motive, or some other more probable, the English general altered his resolution, and neither marched out on that day nor the following. The provincials took advantage of the delay, and strengthened their intrenchments with parapets and palisades. They also concentrated their artillery, and reenforced this part of the army with all the militia of the adjacent country. All these dispositions were made with so much intelligence, that the English could no longer attempt an attack upon this quarter, without exposing themselves to manifest peril. Accordingly, they abandoned all thoughts of it, and directed their views towards the peninsula and Neck of Charlestown. The American generals had immediate notice of it; and resolved to exert their most strenuous endeavors to defeat this new project of the enemy. Nothing was better suited to such a purpose, than to fortify diligently the heights of Bunker's Hill, which commanded the entrance and the issue of the peninsula of Charlestown. Orders were therefore given to colonel William Prescott, to occupy them with a detachment of a thousand men, and to intrench himself there by the rules of art. But here an error was committed, which placed the garrison of Boston in very imminent danger, and reduced the two parties to the necessity of coming to action immediately. Whether he was deceived by the resemblance of name, or from some other motive unknown, colonel Prescott, instead of repairing to the heights of Bunker's Hill, to fortify himself there, advanced further on in the peninsula, and immediately commenced his intrenchments upon the heights of Breed's Hill, another eminence, which overlooks Charlestown, and is situated towards the extremity of the peninsula, nearer to Boston. The works were pushed with so much ardor, that the following morning, by day-break, the Americans had already constructed a square redoubt, capable of affording them some shelter from the enemy's fire. The labor had been conducted with such silence, that the English had no suspicion

of what was passing. It was about four in the morning, when the captain of a ship of war first perceived it, and began to play his artillery. The report of the cannon attracted a multitude of spectators to the shore.

The English generals doubted the testimony of their senses. Meanwhile, the thing appeared too important not to endeavor to dislodge the provincials, or at least to prevent them from completing the fortifications commenced; for, as the height of Breed's Hill absolutely commands Boston, the city was no longer tenable, if the Americans erected a battery upon this eminence. The English therefore opened a general fire of the artillery of the city, of the fleet, and of the floating batteries stationed around the peninsula of Boston. It hailed a tempest of bombs and balls upon the works of the Americans; they were especially incommoded by the fire of a battery planted upon an eminence named Cop's Hill, which, situated within the city, forms a species of tower, in front of Breed's Hill. But all this was without effect. The Americans continued to work the whole day, with unshaken constancy; and, towards night, they had already much advanced a trench, which descended from the redoubt to the foot of the hill, and almost to the bank of Mystic river. The fury of the enemy's artillery, it is true, had prevented them from carrying it to perfection.

In this conjuncture, there remained no other hope for the English generals, but in attempting an assault, to drive the Americans, by dint of force, from this formidable position. This resolution was taken without hesitation; and it was followed, the 17th of June, by the action of Breed's Hill, known also by the name of Bunker's Hill; much renowned for the intrepidity, not to say the temerity, of the two parties; for the number of the dead and wounded; and for the effect it produced upon the opinions of men, in regard to the valor of the Americans, and the probable issue of the whole war.

The right wing of the Americans was flanked by the houses of Charlestown, which they occupied; and the part of this wing which connected with the main body, was defended by the redoubt erected upon the heights of Breed's Hill. The centre, and the left wing, formed themselves behind the trench, which, following the declivity of the hill, extended towards, but without reaching, Mystic river. The American officers having reflected that the most feeble part of their defensive was precisely this extremity of the left wing, for the trench not extending to the river, and the land in this place being smooth and easy, there was danger of being turned, and attacked in the rear, they determined, therefore, to obstruct this passage by two parallel palisades, and to fill up with herbage the interval between the one and the other. The troops of Massachusetts occupied Charlestown, the redoubt, and a part of the trench; those of Connecticut, commanded by captain Nolten, and those of New Hamp-



shire, under colonel Starke, the rest of the trench. A few moments before the action commenced, doctor Warren, who had been appointed general, a personage of great authority, and a zealous patriot, arrived with some reenforcements. General Pomeroy made his appearance, at the same time. The first joined the troops of his own province, of Massachusetts; the second took command of those from Connecticut. General Putnam directed in chief; and held himself ready to repair to any point, where his presence should be most wanted. The Americans had no cavalry; that which was expected from the southern provinces was not yet arrived. The artillery, without being very numerous, was nevertheless competent. They wanted not for muskets; but the greater part were without bayonets. Their sharp shooters, for want of rifles, were obliged to use common firelocks; but as marksmen they had no equals. Such were the means of the Americans; but their hope was great; and they were all impatient for the signal of combat.

Between mid-day and one o'clock, the heat being intense, all was in motion in the British camp. A multitude of sloops and boats, filled with soldiers, left the shore of Boston, and stood for Charlestown; they landed at Moreton's Point, without meeting resistance; as the ships of war and armed vessels effectually protected the debarkation with the fire of their artillery, which forced the enemy to keep within his intrenchments. This corps consisted of ten companies of grenadiers, as many of light infantry, and a proportionate artillery; the whole under the command of major-general Howe, and brigadier-general Pigot. The troops, on landing, began to display, the light infantry upon the right, the grenadiers upon the left; but, having observed the strength of the position, and the good countenance of the Americans, general Howe made a halt, and sent to call a reenforcement.

The English formed themselves in two columns. Their plan was, that the left wing, under general Pigot, should attack the rebels in Charlestown; while the centre assaulted the redoubt; and the right wing, consisting of light infantry should force the passage near the river Mystic, and thus assail the Americans in flank and rear; which would have given the English a complete victory. It appears, also, that general Gage had formed the design of setting fire to Charlestown, when evacuated by the enemy, in order that the corps destined to assail the redoubt, thus protected by the flame and smoke, might be less exposed to the fire of the provincials.

The dispositions having all been completed, the English put themselves in motion. The provincials that were stationed to defend Charlestown, fearing lest the assailants should penetrate between this town and the redoubt; and thus to find themselves cut off from the rest of the army, retreated. The English immediately entered the town, and fired the buildings; as they were of wood, in a moment the combustion became general.

They continued a slow march against the redoubt and trench ; halting, from time to time, for the artillery to come up, and act with some effect, previous to the assault. The flames and smoke of Charlestown were of no use to them, as the wind turned them in a contrary direction. Their gradual advance, and the extreme clearness of the air, permitted the Americans to level their muskets. They however suffered the enemy to approach, before they commenced their fire ; and waited for the assault, in profound tranquillity. It would be difficult to paint the scene of terror presented by these circumstances. A large town, all enveloped in flames, which, excited by a violent wind, rose to an immense height, and spread every moment more and more ; an innumerable multitude, rushing from all parts, to witness so unusual a spectacle, and see the issue of the sanguinary conflict that was about to commence. The Bostonians, and soldiers of the garrison, not in actual service, were mounted upon the spires, upon the roofs, and upon the heights. The hills, and circumjacent fields, from which the dread arena could be viewed in safety, were covered with swarms of spectators, of every rank, and age, and sex ; each agitated by fear or hope, according to the party he espoused.

The English having advanced within reach of musketry, the Americans showered upon them a volley of bullets. This terrible fire was so well supported, and so well directed, that the ranks of the assailants were soon thinned and broken ; they retired in disorder to the place of their landing ; some threw themselves precipitately into the boats. The field of battle was covered with the slain. The officers were seen running hither and thither, with promises, with exhortations, and with menaces, attempting to rally the soldiers, and inspirit them for a second attack. Finally, after the most painful efforts, they resumed their ranks, and marched up to the enemy. The Americans reserved their fire, as before, until their approach, and received them with the same deluge of balls. The English, overwhelmed and routed, again fled to the shore. In this perilous moment, general Howe remained for some time alone upon the field of battle ; all the officers who surrounded him were killed or wounded. It is related, that at this critical conjuncture, upon which depended the issue of the day, general Clinton, who, from Cop's Hill, examined all the movements, on seeing the destruction of his troops, immediately resolved to fly to their succour.

This experienced commander, by an able movement, reestablished order ; and seconded by the officers, who felt all the importance of success, to English honor and the course of events, he led the troops to a third attack. It was directed against the redoubt, at three several points. The artillery of the ships not only prevented all reinforcements from coming to the Americans, by the isthmus of Charlestown, but even uncovered, and swept the interior of the



trench, which was battered in front at the same time. The ammunition of the Americans was nearly exhausted, and they could have no hopes of a recruit. Their fire must, of necessity, languish. Meanwhile, the English had advanced to the foot of the redoubt. The provincials, destitute of bayonets, defended themselves valiantly with the but-end of their muskets. But the redoubt being already full of enemies, the American general gave the signal of retreat, and drew off his men.

While the left wing and centre of the English army were thus engaged, the light infantry had impetuously attacked the palisades, which the provincials had erected, in haste, upon the bank of the river Mystic. On the one side, and on the other, the combat was obstinate; and if the assault was furious, the resistance was not feeble. In spite of all the efforts of the royal troops, the provincials still maintained the battle in this part; and had no thoughts of retiring, until they saw the redoubt and upper part of the trench were in the power of the enemy. Their retreat was executed with an order not to have been expected from new levied soldiers. This strenuous resistance of the left wing of the American army, was, in effect, the salvation of the rest; for, if it had given ground but a few instants sooner, the enemy's light infantry would have taken the main body and right wing in the rear, and their situation would have been hopeless. But the Americans had not yet reached the term of their toils and dangers. The only way that remained of retreat, was by the isthmus of Charlestown, and the English had placed there a ship of war and two floating batteries, the balls of which raked every part of it. The Americans, however, issued from the peninsula, without any considerable loss. It was during the retreat, that doctor Warren received his death. Finding the corps he commanded hotly pursued by the enemy, despising all danger, he stood alone before the ranks, endeavoring to rally his troops, and to encourage them by his own example. He reminded them of the mottos inscribed on their ensigns; on one side of which were these words, '*An appeal to Heaven*;' and on the other, '*Qui transtulit, sustinet*;' meaning, that the same Providence which brought their ancestors through so many perils, to a place of refuge, would also deign to support their descendants.

An English officer perceived doctor Warren, and knew him; he borrowed the musket of one of his soldiers, and hit him with a ball, either in the head or in the breast. He fell dead upon the spot. The Americans were apprehensive lest the English, availing themselves of victory, should sally out of the peninsula, and attack their head-quarters at Cambridge. But they contented themselves with taking possession of Bunker's Hill, where they intrenched themselves, in order to guard the entrance of the Neck against any new enterprise on the part of the enemy. The provincials, having the

same suspicion, fortified Prospect Hill, which is situated at the mouth of the isthmus, on the side of the main land. But neither the one nor the other were disposed to hazard any new movement; the first, discouraged by the loss of so many men, and the second, by that of the field of battle and the peninsula. The provincials had to regret five pieces of cannon, with a great number of utensils employed in fortification, and no little camp equipage.

General Howe was greatly blamed by some, for having chosen to attack the Americans, by directing his battery in front against the fortifications upon Breed's Hill, and the trench that descended towards the sea, on the part of Mystic river. It was thought, that if he had landed a respectable detachment upon the isthmus of Charlestown, an operation which the assistance of the ships of war and floating batteries would have rendered perfectly easy to him, it would have compelled the Americans to evacuate the peninsula, without the necessity of coming to a sanguinary engagement. They would thus, in effect, have been deprived of all communication with their camp situated without the peninsula; and, on the part of the sea, they could have hoped for no retreat, as it was commanded by the English. In this mode, the desired object would, therefore, have been obtained without the sacrifice of men. Such, it is said, was the plan of general Clinton; but it was rejected, so great was the confidence reposed in the bravery and discipline of the English soldiers, and in the cowardice of the Americans. The first of these opinions was not, in truth, without foundation; but the second was absolutely chimerical, and evinced more of intellectual darkness in the English, than of prudence, and just notions upon the state of things. By this fatal error, the bravery of the Americans was confirmed, the English army debilitated, the spirit of the soldiers abated, and, perhaps, the final event of the whole contest decided.

The possession of the peninsula of Charlestown was much less useful than prejudicial to the royalists. Their army was not sufficiently numerous to guard, conveniently, all the posts of the city and of the peninsula. The fatigues of the soldiers multiplied in an excessive manner; added to the heat of the season, which was extreme, they generated numerous and severe maladies, which paralysed the movements of the army, and enfeebled it from day to day. The greater part of the wounds became mortal, from the influence of the climate, and defect of proper food. Thus, besides the honor of having conquered the field of battle, the victors gathered no real fruit from this action; and, if its effects be considered, upon the opinion of other nations, and even of their own, as also upon the force of the army, it was even of serious detriment. In the American camp, on the contrary, provisions of every sort were in abundance, and the troops being accustomed to the climate, the greater part of the wounded were eventually cured; their minds were



animated with the new ardor of vengeance, and the blood they had lost exacted a plenary expiation. These dispositions were fortified, not a little, by the firing of Charlestown, which, from a flourishing town, of signal commercial importance, was thus reduced to a heap of ashes and of ruins. The Americans could never turn their eyes in this direction, without a thrill of indignation, and without execrating the European soldiers. But the loss they felt the most sensibly, was that of general Warren. He was one of those men who are more attached to liberty than to existence, but not more ardently the friend of freedom, than foe to avarice and ambition. He was endowed with a solid judgment, a happy genius, and a brilliant eloquence. In all private affairs, his opinion was reputed authority, and in all public counsels, a decision. Friends and enemies, equally knowing his fidelity and rectitude in all things, reposed in him a confidence without limits. Opposed to the wicked, without hatred, propitious to the good, without adulation, affable, courteous and humane towards each, he was beloved, with reverence, by all, and respected by envy itself. Though in his person somewhat spare, his figure was peculiarly agreeable. He mourned, at this epoch, the recent loss of a wife, by whom he was tenderly beloved, and whom he cherished with reciprocal affection. In dying so gloriously for his country, on this memorable day, he left several orphans, still in childhood; but a grateful country assumed the care of their education. Thus was lost to the state, and to his family, in so important a crisis, and in the vigor of his days, a man equally qualified to excel in council or in the field. As for ourselves, faithful to the purpose of history, which dispenses praise to the good and blame to the perverse, we have not been willing that this virtuous and valiant American should be deprived, among posterity, of that honorable remembrance so rightfully due to his eminent qualities.

The expedition of the English against the peninsula of Charlestown, inspired the Americans with a suspicion that they might perhaps also attack Roxbury, in order to open a communication with the country. In consequence of this apprehension, they strengthened their fortifications with incessant application, adding new bastions to their lines, and furnishing them copiously with artillery, of which they had obtained a fresh supply. The garrison of Boston, which abounded in munitions of war, kept up a continual fire of its artillery, and particularly of its mortars, to impede the works of the Americans. The latter had a certain number of dead and wounded, and several houses were burnt in Roxbury. The works were nevertheless continued with incredible constancy, and the fortifications were carried to the degree of perfection desired, and adequate to serve for a sufficient defence against the assaults of the enemy.

The Bostonians having seen their countrymen driven not only from Breed's Hill, but also from the entire peninsula, and dreading the horrors of a siege, which every thing presaged must be long and rigorous, experienced anew a strong desire to abandon the city, and seek refuge in the interior of the province. Accordingly, the selectmen of the city waited on general Gage, intreating him to deliver the requisite passports; and protesting that, according to the accord previously made, all the citizens had deposited their arms in the Town Hall. But the general, desirous of a pretext for his refusal, issued a proclamation, two days subsequent to the affair of Breed's Hill, declaring, that, by various certain ways, it had come to his knowledge, that great quantities of arms were concealed in the interior of houses, and that the inhabitants meditated hostile designs. This, at least, was what the loyalists reported, who, terrified at the valor and animosity the patriots had manifested in this battle, were apprehensive of some fatal accident, and were unwilling to release their hostages. But the truth is, that the greater part had delivered up their arms, though some had concealed the best and the most precious. However, the English general, who kept his word with nobody, would have others to observe the most scrupulous faith. He refused, therefore, for a long time, all permission to depart. But, finally, the scarcity increasing more and more, and all hope of being able to raise the siege becoming illusory, he found himself constrained to grant passes, in order to disburthen himself of useless mouths. He strenuously still persisted in refusing to permit the inhabitants who retired, to remove their furniture and effects. Thus, when compelled by necessity to consent to that which he had no power to prevent, he annexed to it a rigorous condition, the more inexcusable, as it was altogether without utility, and even could have none but prejudicial results. In this manner, men who renounce all moderation of mind, and abandon themselves to the violence of their irritated passions, often take resolutions, which, far from approaching them to the end proposed, powerfully tend to render its attainment hopeless.

The dearth of provisions to which the garrison of Boston found themselves reduced, caused them to endeavor to procure supplies, by falling suddenly upon the different islands of the environs. Hence, frequent rencounters ensued between the English and the Americans, in which the latter acquired greater courage, and greater experience; while the former became but the more surprised, and the more irritated, at these demonstrations of prowess. The provincials, perfectly conversant with the places, and knowing how to avail themselves of occasions, generally had all the advantage, in these collisions. Sometimes they bore off the stock which remained; sometimes they burnt the forage, or the houses which might serve as a covert for the enemy. In vain did the English appear every where with their numerous marine; the provincials slid themselves sometimes into one



island, and sometimes into another, and cut off the royalists, thus taken by surprise. In like manner upon the coast frequent skirmishes took place; the one party coming for booty, and the other flying to repulse them. This predatory warfare could have no effect to incline the balance more to one side than to the other; it served only to envenom the minds of men, and convert them from partisans, as they were, into viperous and irreconcilable enemies.

While these events were passing within Boston and its environs, the new Congress had convened at Philadelphia, in the month of May. If the first had commenced a difficult work, this had it to continue; and the difficulties were even increased. At the epoch of the former, war was apprehended; now it had commenced; and it was requisite to push it with vigor. Then, as it usually happens in all new enterprises, minds were full of ardor, and tended, by a certain natural proclivity, towards the object; at present, though greatly inflamed by the same sentiments, it was to be feared they might cool, in consequence of those vicissitudes so common in popular movements, always more easy to excite than to maintain. A great number of loyalists, believing that things would not come to the last extremities, and that either the petitions sent to England would dispose the government to condescend to the desires of the Americans, or that, in time, the latter would become tranquil, had hitherto kept themselves quiet; but it was to be feared, that, at present, seeing all hope of reconciliation vanished, and war, no longer probable, but already waged against that king towards whom they wished to remain faithful, they would break out, and join themselves to the royal forces, against the authors of the revolution. It was even to be doubted, lest many of the partisans of liberty, who had placed great hope in the petitions, should falter at the aspect of impending losses and inevitable dangers. All-announced that the contest would prove long and sanguinary. It was little to be expected, that a population, until then pacific, and engaged in the arts of agriculture and of commerce, could all at once learn that of war, and devote themselves to it with constancy, and without reserve. It was much more natural to imagine, that, upon the abating of this first fervor, the softer image of their former life recurring to their minds, they would abandon their colors, to go and implore the clemency of the conqueror. It was, therefore, an enterprise of no little difficulty for the Congress to form regulations and take measures, capable of maintaining the zeal of the people, and to impart to its laws the influence which at first had been exercised by public opinion. What obstacles had they not to surmount, in order to reduce a multitude, collected in haste and in tumult, to that state of rigorous discipline, without which it was not permitted to hope for success! Nor was it an easy task to prevent, in the conduct of the war, the revival of those jealousies which had heretofore existed between the different colonies; and which might

serve as a motive, or a pretext, for some of them to consent to an accommodation, and thus desert the common cause. The money requisite to defray the expenses of the war, was almost totally wanting; and there was no prospect of being able to remedy, for the future, the defect of this principal sinew. It was, on the contrary, more rationally to be expected, that the penury of the finances would progressively increase, in consequence of the interruption, or rather total cessation, of commerce, produced by the acts of the British parliament. The want of arms and munitions of war, was no less afflicting; not that there was absolutely no provision of military stores, but it was very far from being adequate to the exigency. And further, it may be considered as a thing very doubtful, whether even the American chiefs sincerely expected to be able, of themselves, to resist the forces of England, and to attain the object of so arduous an enterprise. Nay, it is allowable to believe they placed great dependence upon foreign succours; and these were only to be looked for on the part of the princes of Europe; who, if they beheld with satisfaction the effects of the American disturbances, must at least have detested their causes, and the principles for which the colonies combated. It was no less evident, that these sovereigns would not declare themselves in favor of the Americans, and would not lend them assistance, until the latter should have signalled their arms by some brilliant achievement, of decisive importance for the eventual success of the war. The Americans themselves were perfectly aware, that it would be vain to attempt, at first, to draw the European states into their quarrel; that the first brunt of the war must be borne by themselves alone; and, that, if they proved unfortunate, all hope of foreign aid must be abandoned. The prosperity of the enterprise was therefore precisely so much the less probable, as it was the more necessary; since the means did not exist for providing, in so short a time, the necessary preparations of war. So many obstacles demonstrated the little foundation there was for expecting the support of foreign nations. This consideration was calculated to damp the ardor of the American chiefs, and to introduce a certain vacillation into all their measures. Finally, there was an object of primary interest, which demanded the attention of Congress; that of ascertaining what line of conduct the Indian nations were likely to observe in the present contest. Their neutrality, or their adhesion to this party or to that, was of essential importance to the issue of the whole enterprise. The Americans had reason to fear the influence of the English over these nations; as they are only to be swayed by gifts, and the hope of plunder; and the English, in the control of these means, had greatly the advantage of their adversaries. The Indians, with much greater assurance, could promise themselves pillage in combating for England; since her arms, at this epoch, appeared secure of victory, and since the American territory was to be the theatre of the war. Ca-



nada, also, presented to the English a way of communication with the Indian tribes, who mostly inhabit the banks of the lakes situated behind the colonies, and in front of this English province. It was, besides, of the last importance to those who conducted the affairs of America, to avoid exposing themselves to the least reproach on the part of the people of Great Britain, and even of such of their fellow-citizens as, being either adverse, wavering, or torpid, could not have witnessed the breaking out of hostilities, without a severe shock. Now, though it was little difficult to undertake the justification of the affairs of Lexington and of Breed's Hill, in which the colonists had combated in their own defence against an enemy who assailed them, could the same motives have been alleged in favor of the expeditions upon the frontiers of Canada, directed against the fortresses of Ticonderoga, and of Crown Point, in which the Americans had been the aggressors? Not that these hostilities would stand in need of excuse, with men conversant in affairs of state; for, the war once kindled, it was natural that the Americans should endeavor to do the enemy all the harm in their power, and to preserve himself from his assaults. But the mass of people could not see things in the same light; and still it was essentially the interest of the patriot leaders, to demonstrate, even to evidence, the justice of the cause they defended. All their force consisted in opinion; and arms themselves depended on this; so dissimilar was their situation to that of governments confirmed by the lapse of ages, in which, by virtue of established laws, whether the war be just or not, the regular troops hurry to battle, the people pay the cost; arms, ammunition, provisions, all, in a word, are forthcoming, at the first signal! But the greatest obstacle which the Congress had to surmount, was the jealousy of the provincial assemblies. As all the provinces had joined the league, and taken part in the war, it was requisite that each should concur in the general counsels, which directed the administration; and that all the movements of the body politic should tend towards the same object. Such had been the origin of the American Congress. But this body could not take the government of all parts of the confederacy, without assuming a portion of the authority which belonged to the provincial assemblies; as, for example, that of levying troops, of disciplining the army, of appointing the generals who were to command it in the name of America, and finally, that of imposing taxes, and of creating a paper currency. It was to be feared, if too much authority was preserved to the provincial assemblies, they might administer the affairs of the union with private views, which would have become a source of the most serious inconveniences. On the other hand, it was suspected that these assemblies were extremely unwilling to invest the Congress with the necessary authority, by divesting themselves of a part of their own; and, therefore, that either they would oppose its deliberations, or not exercise in their

execution that exactness and promptitude so desirable to secure the success of military operations.

From this outline of the circumstances under which the Congress assembled, it is seen how difficult was their situation. Others, perhaps, endowed with less force of character, though with equal prudence, would have been daunted by its aspect. But these minds, inspired by the novelty and ardor of their opinions, either did not perceive, or despised, their own dangers and the chances of the public fortune. It is certain, that few enterprises were ever commenced with greater intrepidity; for few have presented greater uncertainty and peril. But the die was cast; and the necessity itself in which they were, or believed themselves placed, did not permit them to recede. To prevent accidents, not willing to wait for the times to become their law, they resolved to have recourse, the first moment, to the most prompt and the most efficacious means.

The first thoughts of Congress were necessarily turned towards the army that blockaded Boston, to see that there should be wanting neither arms, nor ammunition, nor reinforcements, nor able and valiant generals. As for those who were then employed, it was to be remarked, that having received their authority from the colonial assemblies, they could not pretend to command the army in the name of the whole Union. If they had all consented to serve under general Putnam, it was on account of his seniority; and the power he enjoyed, was rather a sort of temporary dictatorship, conferred by the free will of the army, than an office delegated by the general government. The new state of things required a new military system, and the confederate troops ought, necessarily, to have a chief appointed by the government, which represented the entire confederation. The election of a Generalissimo, was an act of supreme importance; on this alone might depend the good or ill success of the whole series of operations. Among the military men that were then found in America, and had shown themselves not only well disposed, but even ardent for the cause of liberty, those who enjoyed the greatest esteem, were Gates and Lee; the first, for his experience; the second, because, to much experience, he joined a very active genius. But the one, and the other, were born in England; and whatever were their opinions, and the warmth with which they had espoused the cause of America; whatever even was the confidence the Congress had placed in them, they would have deemed it a temerity to commit themselves to the good faith of two Englishmen, in a circumstance upon which depended the safety of all. In case of misfortune, it would have been impossible to persuade the multitude they had not been guilty of treason, or, at least, of negligence, in the accomplishment of their duties; suspicions which would have acted in the most fatal manner upon an army whose entire basis reposed on opinion. Besides, Lee was a man of impetuous character, and, perhaps,



rather hated tyranny than loved liberty. These searching and distrustful spirits were apprehensive that such a man, after having released them from the tyranny of England, might attempt, himself, to usurp their liberty. And further, the supreme direction of the war, once committed to the hands of an individual, English born, the latter would be restricted to the alternative, of abandoning the colonies, by a horrible treason, to the absolute power of England, or of conducting them to a state of perfect independence. And the American chiefs, though they detested the first of these conditions, were not willing to deprive themselves of the shelter afforded by a discretion, with regard to the second. It was the same consideration which determined the Congress against appointing one of the generals of the provinces of New England, such as Putnam or Ward, who then commanded the army of the siege, and who had recently demonstrated such signal valor and ability, in all the actions which had taken place in the vicinity of Boston. Both had declared themselves too openly in favor of independence; the Congress desired, indeed, to procure it, but withal, in a propitious time. Nor should it escape mention, that the colonists of Massachusetts were reproached with a too partial patriotism; showing themselves rather the men of their province than Americans. The provinces of the middle and of the south betrayed suspicions; they would have seen with evil eye, the cause of America confided to the hands of an individual who might allow himself to be influenced by certain local prepossessions, at a time in which all desires and all interests ought to be common. There occurred also another reflection, no less just; that the office of Generalissimo ought only to be conferred upon a personage, who, in the value of his estate, should offer a sufficient guaranty of his fidelity, as well in conforming himself to the instructions of Congress, as in abstaining from all violation of private property.

It was too well known that military chiefs, when they are not softened and restrained by the principles of a liberal education, make no scruple to glut their greedy passions, and lay their hands very freely, not only upon the effects of the enemy, but even upon those of their allies and of their own fellow-citizens; a disorder which has always been the scourge, and often the ruin of armies.

Accordingly, after having maturely weighed these various considerations, the Congress proceeded, on the 15th of June, to the election of a Generalissimo, by the way of ballot; the votes, upon scrutiny, were found all in favor of George Washington, one of the representatives of Virginia. The delegates of Massachusetts would have wished to vote for one of theirs; but seeing their votes would be lost, they adhered to the others, and rendered the choice unanimous. Washington was present; he rose, and said; that he returned his most cordial thanks to the Congress, for the honor they had conferred upon him; but that he much doubted his abilities were not

equal to so extensive and important a trust; that, however, he would not shrink from the task imposed for the service of the country, since, contrary to his expectation, and without regard for the inferiority of his merit, it had placed in him so great confidence; he prayed only, that in case any unlucky event should happen, unfavorable to his reputation, it might be remembered, that he had declared on that day, with the utmost sincerity, he did not think himself equal to the command he was honored with. He assured the Congress, that as no pecuniary consideration had induced him to abandon his domestic ease and happiness, to enter this arduous career, he did not wish any profit from it; that pay he would not accept, of any sort.

Colonel Washington, for such was his rank before his election, had acquired the reputation of a brave and prudent commander, in the late wars against the Indians, and against the French; but at the peace of 1763, he had retired to private life, and no longer exercised the military profession. It is not, therefore, extraordinary, that many should have thought him unable to sustain the burthen of so fierce a war. But, however, the greater part of the nation having full confidence in his talents and his courage, the Americans had no hesitation in raising him to this high dignity. He was not only born in America, but he there had also received his education, and there had made a continual residence. He was modest, reserved, and naturally an enemy to all ambition; a quality most of all esteemed by this distrustful and jealous people. He enjoyed a considerable fortune, and the general esteem due to his worth and virtue. He was especially considered for his prudence, and a character of singular energy and firmness. It was generally thought, that he did not aim at independence, but merely desired an honorable arrangement with England. This opinion of his, well corresponded with the intentions of the principal representatives, who had no objection to advancing towards independence, but were not yet prepared to discover themselves. They expected to be able so to manage affairs, that one day this great measure would become a necessity, and that Washington himself, when he should have got warm in the career, would easily allow himself to be induced, by the honor of rank, the force of things, or the voice of glory, to proceed with a firm step, even though instead of the revocation of the oppressive laws, the object of his efforts should become total independence. Thus in the person of this general, who was then in his forty-fourth year, and already far from the illusions of youth, were found united all the qualifications wished for by those who had the direction of affairs. Wherefore, it is not surprising that his election gave displeasure to none, and was even extremely agreeable to the greater number.

Having given a chief to the Union, the Congress, to demonstrate how much they promised themselves from his fidelity and virtues, resolved unanimously, that they would adhere to, maintain, and assist



him, with their lives and fortunes, to preserve and uphold American liberty. Then, wishing to place at the head of the army, other experienced officers, who might second Washington, they appointed Artemas Ward, first major-general; Charles Lee, second major-general; and Philip Schuyler, third major-general; Horatio Gates was named adjutant-general. A few days after, they created the eight brigadier-generals following; Seth Pomeroy, William Heath, and John Thomas, of Massachusetts; Richard Montgomery, of New York; David Wooster and Joseph Spencer, of Connecticut; John Sullivan, of New Hampshire; and Nathaniel Greene, of Rhode Island. If any thing demonstrated the excellent discernment of Congress, it was, doubtless, the choice of the first generals; all conducted themselves, in the course of the war, as intrepid soldiers, and faithful guardians of American liberty.

Immediately on being invested with the supreme command, Washington repaired to the camp, at Boston; he was accompanied by general Lee. He was received, wherever he passed, with the greatest honors; the most distinguished inhabitants formed themselves in company to serve him as an escort. The congresses of New York, and of Massachusetts, went to compliment him, and testify the joy his election had given them. He answered them with suavity and modesty; they might be assured that all his thoughts, all his efforts, as well as those of his companions, would be directed towards the reestablishment of an honorable intelligence between the colonies and the parent state; that as to the exercise of the fatal hostilities, in assuming the character of warriors, they had not laid aside that of citizens; and, nothing could afford them a gratification so sincere, as for the moment to arrive, when, the rights of America secured, they should be at liberty to return to a private condition, in the midst of a free, peaceful, and happy country.

The general, having made the review of the army, found, exclusively of an almost useless multitude, only fourteen thousand five hundred men, in a condition for service; and these had to defend a line of more than twelve miles. The new generals arrived at the camp most opportunely; for the discipline of the army, having fallen, as it were into desuetude, it was urgently necessary to introduce a reform. The officers had no emulation; the soldiers scarcely observed the regulations, and neglected all care of cleanliness. And, being mostly drawn from New England, they manifested a refractory spirit, impatient of all subordinancy.

The generals of Congress, but not without the most painful efforts, succeeded in repairing these disorders. General Gates, who was profoundly versed in all the details of military organisation, contributed more than any other to this salutary work. The soldiers became gradually accustomed to obedience; the regulations were observed; each began to know his duty; and, at length, instead of

a mass of irregular militia, the camp presented the spectacle of a properly disciplined army. It was divided into three corps; the right, under the command of Ward, occupied Roxbury; the left, conducted by Lee, defended Prospect Hill; and the centre, which comprehended a select corps, destined for reserve, was stationed at Cambridge, where Washington himself had established his headquarters. The circumvallation was fortified by so great a number of redoubts, and supplied with so formidable an artillery, that it had become impossible for the besieged to assault Cambridge, and spread themselves in the open country. It was believed, also, that they had lost a great many men, as well upon the field of battle, as in consequence of wounds and disease.

But the American army was near wanting a most essential article; the inventory of powder deposited at Roxbury, Cambridge, and other places of the vicinity, represented a public stock of only ninety barrels. It was known also, that there existed but thirty-six in the magazines of Massachusetts. Though to this quantity had been added all that New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut could furnish, the whole would have fallen short of ten thousand pounds; which allowed but nine charges a man. In this scarcity and danger, the army remained more than fifteen days; and, if the English had attacked during the time, they might easily have forced the lines, and raised the siege. At length, by the exertions of the committee of New Jersey a few tons of powder arrived at the camp, which supplied, for the moment, the necessities of the army, and averted the evils that were feared.

There remained, also, an important part to be organised in the American army; it had, as yet, no special corps of riflemen, which, however, were extremely essential for sudden and desultory operations; for maintaining discipline in the camp; and for protecting the arrival of recruits, of ammunition, and of provisions. It was necessary, withal, to consider, that if the war, as it was probable, after the arrival of reenforcements from England, should be established in the open country, light troops became absolutely indispensable, in such a country as America, broken incessantly by ravines and waters, and obstructed by forests, hedges, mountains, and almost impracticable defiles. Accordingly, the Congress resolved that there should be raised, in Pennsylvania and Virginia, a sufficient number of riflemen; who, the moment the companies should be formed, were to commence their march towards the camp of Boston, where they were destined for the service of light infantry. At the news of the battle of Breed's Hill, the Congress decreed that two companies more should be levied in Pennsylvania, and that they should all be united in a single battalion, to be commanded by such officers as the provincial assembly or Congress might appoint. These companies of riflemen arrived at the camp about the commencement of August;



they formed a corps of not far from fourteen hundred men, light clothed, and armed, for the most part, with rifles of great projectile power.

While the American army that besieged Boston was thus daily reenforced, and furnished with all articles of immediate necessity, the Congress employed themselves with extreme activity in taking such measures as they thought best calculated to keep on foot the troops already assembled; and even to augment and equip them more completely in case of need. Accordingly, it was recommended by a resolution of Congress, that all the colonies should put themselves in a state of defence, and provide themselves with the greatest possible number of men, of arms, and of munitions; and, especially, that they should make diligent search for saltpetre and sulphur, and collect all they could find of these articles, without delay. An exact scrutiny was therefore commenced, in the cellars and in the stables, in pursuit of materials so essential to modern war. In every part, manufactures of gunpowder, and founderies of cannon, were seen rising; every place resounded with the preparations of war. The provincial assemblies and conventions seconded admirably the operations of the Congress; and the people obeyed, with incredible promptitude, the orders of these various authorities.

The Congress, having perceived that zeal for the liberty of America at length prevailed over local partialities, and over the jealousy of power, in the provincial assemblies, took greater courage, and resolved to introduce a general system, which might serve to regulate all the levies that were about making in each province. They were not ignorant of the extreme utility of uniformity, in whatever relates to war, as the means of directing all minds towards the same object, and of preventing dissensions. They passed, therefore, a resolution, by which it was recommended, and their recommendations at this epoch were received and executed as laws, that all men fit to bear arms, in each colony, from sixteen years to fifty, should form themselves into regular companies; that they should furnish themselves with arms, and should exercise in wielding them; that the companies should organise themselves into battalions, upon the footing of habitual defence; and, finally, that a fourth part of the militia, in every colony, should be selected to serve as *minute men*, always ready to march wherever their presence might be necessary. Those who, from their religious opinions, could not bear arms, were invited to come to the succour of their country, at least with all the other means in their power. The military pay was regulated after the rate of twenty dollars a month to captains, thirteen to lieutenants and ensigns, eight to sergeants and corporals, six to mere soldiers. The Congress also recommended, that each province should appoint a committee of safety, to superintend and direct all those things that might concern the public security, during the recess of the assem-

blies or conventions. Also, that they should make such provision as they might judge expedient, by armed vessels or otherwise, for the protection of their coasts and navigation against all insults from enemy ships.

The intentions of Congress were fulfilled, in all parts of the Union, with the utmost cheerfulness; but no where with more ardor than in Pennsylvania, and particularly in the city of Philadelphia. The militia of this city were divided into three battalions of fifteen hundred men each, with an artillery company of one hundred and fifty, and six pieces of cannon. It comprehended, besides, a troop of light horse, and a few companies of light infantry, riflemen, and pioneers. This corps assembled often; and, exhibiting the semblance of battle, manœuvred in the presence of Congress, and of the inhabitants, who thronged to the spectacle from all parts. The dexterity and precision of the movements excited a general surprise and joy. There were, at least, eight thousand men, of these excellent troops, and in their ranks were seen a great number of persons distinguished for their education and condition. The same thing was done in the country towns of Pennsylvania. It appeared that the number of all the men who had taken arms therein, and exercised themselves in handling them, amounted to upwards of sixty thousand. So active, this year, was the zeal of the colonists for their cause, that even a great number of Quakers, however their religious opinions forbid them to take arms, and to shed human blood, and notwithstanding their discipline is all of patience and of submission, allowing themselves to be transported by the general ardor, also joined the companies of the Philadelphians. They said, that although their religion prohibited them from bearing arms in favor of a cause the object of which should be either ambition, cupidity, or revenge, they might, nevertheless, undertake the defence of national rights and liberty. Thus there exist no opinions, however rigorous, but what find evasions—no minds, however pacific, but kindle in great political convulsions.

A spectacle, no less extraordinary, attracted the eyes of all the inhabitants of Philadelphia; whether it was reality, or merely an artifice, with a view of exciting others. The German emigrants who inhabited the city, were almost all very aged, and had seen service in Europe. At the name of liberty, they also were fired; and, what was little to have been expected from their years and decrepitude, formed themselves into a body, which was called the *Old Men's Company*; resuming the profession of arms, which they had already relinquished so long, they resolved to bear a part in the common defence. The oldest of all was elected captain, and his age wanted not much of a century of years. Instead of a cockade in their hats, they wore a black crape, to denote their concern at those unfortunate causes that compelled them, in the decline of life,



to take up arms, in order to defend the liberty of a country which had afforded them a retreat from the oppression which had forced them to abandon their own.

Even the women became desirous to signalise their zeal in defence of country. In the county of Bristol,\* they resolved to raise a regiment, at their own cost ; to equip it entirely, and even to arm such as were unable to afford that expense of themselves. With their own hands they embroidered the colors with mottos appropriate to the circumstances. The gentlewoman who presented them to the regiment, made an eloquent discourse upon public affairs. She earnestly exhorted the soldiers to be faithful, and never to desert the banners of the American ladies.

All these things, though of little importance in themselves, served, however, admirably to inflame the minds, and render them invincibly resolute. The public papers contributed incessantly to the same end, by a multitude of harangues, of examples, and of news. The battles of Lexington and of Breed's Hill, were the subjects upon which the American writers chiefly delighted to exercise their talents. Every circumstance, all the minutest details of these engagements, were accurately described ; and those who had lost life in them, were commemorated with exalted praises. But doctor Warren, especially, was the object of the most touching regrets, of the most unaffected homage. They called him the Hampden of their age ; they proposed him as a model of imitation, to all who, like him, were ready to devote themselves for the public. The eulogium published in the papers of Philadelphia, was particularly pathetic, and calculated to act powerfully upon the minds of the multitude ;

‘What spectacle more noble,’ said the encomium, ‘than this, of a hero who has given his life for the safety of country ! Approach, cruel ministers, and contemplate the fruits of your sanguinary edicts. What reparation can you offer to his children for the loss of such a father, to the king for that of so good a subject, to the country for that of so devoted a citizen ? Send hither your satellites ; come, feast your vindictive rage ; the most implacable enemy to tyrants is no more. We conjure you respect these his honored remains. Have compassion on the fate of a mother overwhelmed with despair and with age. Of him, nothing is left that you can still fear. His eloquence is mute ; his arms are fallen from his hand ; then lay down yours ; what more have you to perpetrate, barbarians that you are ? But, while the name of American liberty shall live, that of Warren will fire our breasts, and animate our arms, against the pest of standing armies.

‘Approach, senators of America ! Come, and deliberate here, upon the interests of the united colonies. Listen to the voice of this

\* Pennsylvania.

illustrious citizen ; he entreats, he exhorts, he implores you not to disturb his present felicity with the doubt that he perhaps has sacrificed his life for a people of slaves.

‘Come hither, ye soldiers, ye champions of American liberty, and contemplate a spectacle which should inflame your generous hearts with even a new motive to glory. Remember, his shade still hovers unexpiated among us. Ten thousand ministerial soldiers would not suffice to compensate his death. Let ancient ties be no restraint ; foes of liberty are no longer the brethren of freemen. Give edge to your arms, and lay them not down till tyranny be expelled from the British empire ; or America, at least, become the real seat of liberty and happiness.

‘Approach ye also, American fathers and American mothers ; come hither, and contemplate the first fruits of tyranny ; behold your friend, the defender of your liberty, the honor, the hope of your country ; see this illustrious hero, pierced with wounds, and bathed in his own blood. But let not your grief, let not your tears be steril. Go, hasten to your homes, and there teach your children to detest the deeds of tyranny ; lay before them the horrid scene you have beheld ; let their hair stand on end ; let their eyes sparkle with fire ; let resentment kindle every feature ; let their lips vent threats and indignation ; then—then—put arms into their hands, send them to battle, and let your last injunction be, to return victorious, or to die, like Warren, in the arms of liberty and of glory !

‘And ye generations of the future, you will often look back to this memorable epoch. You will transfer the names of traitors and of rebels from the faithful people of America, to those who have merited them. Your eyes will penetrate all the iniquity of this scheme of despotism, recently plotted by the British government. You will see good kings misled by perfidious ministers, and virtuous ministers by perfidious kings. You will perceive that if at first the sovereigns of Great Britain shed tears in commanding their subjects to accept atrocious laws, they soon gave themselves up to joy in the midst of murder, expecting to see a whole continent drenched in the blood of freemen. O, save the human race from the last outrages, and render a noble justice to the American colonies. Recall to life the ancient Roman and British eloquence ; and be not niggardly of merited praises towards those who have bequeathed you liberty. It costs us floods of gold and of blood ; it costs us, alas ! the life of Warren.’

The Congress, wishing to uphold this disposition of minds, and to render it, if possible, still more ardent and pertinacious, had recourse to the power of religious opinions over the human affections. At their instigation, the synod of Philadelphia and of New York published a pastoral letter, which was read, to crowded congregations, in all the churches. They affirmed, that unwilling to be the instru-



ments of discord and of war between men and brethren, they had hitherto observed a scrupulous silence ; but things were now come to such a height, that they were resolved to manifest their sentiments ; that they exhorted the people, therefore, to go forth as champions in their country's cause ; and to be persuaded, that in so doing, they would march in the ways of the Master of the kings of the earth, and find, in battle, either victory or inevitable death. The letter concluded with certain moral considerations and precepts, well adapted to stimulate the zeal of these religious minds, and to satisfy them that the cause of America was the cause of God. It was recommended to the soldiers to approve themselves humane and merciful ; and to all classes of citizens, to humble themselves, to fast, to pray, and to implore the divine assistance, in this day of trouble and of peril. The Congress recommended that the 20th of July should be kept as a day of fasting, in all the colonies ; which was religiously observed, but more solemnly at Philadelphia than elsewhere. The Congress attended the divine services in a body ; and discourses adapted to the occasion, were pronounced in the church.

On the same day, as the Congress were about to enter the temple, the most agreeable despatches were received from Georgia. They announced that this province had joined the confederation, and appointed five delegates for its representation in Congress. This news was accepted by all as a happy augury ; and the joy which its importance excited, was heightened in consideration of the moment at which the government and people were apprised of it. The loyalists had long prevailed in this colony ; and thus it had hitherto continued in a state of immobility, and apparent neutrality. But the extremity to which affairs were come, the battles of Lexington and of Breed's Hill, the cruelties, real or supposed, committed by the royal troops, the probabilities of the success of the war in favor of the Americans, the union and concord of the other colonies, and the efficacious movements of the friends of liberty, among whom Dr. Zubly distinguished himself especially, were at length the cause that a provincial convention adhered to all the resolutions of the general Congress, and took several very energetic measures against England ; either as a compensation for their former coldness, or that the patriots, heretofore repressed, were thus animated with greater fury. They declared, that the exception made of Georgia, in the acts of parliament against America, ought rather to be considered as an injury than a favor, since this exemption was only an artifice to separate them from their brethren. They resolved, also, that they would admit no merchandise which should have been shipped in England, after the 1st of July ; and that, dating from the 10th of September, none should be exported from Georgia for England ; and, besides, that all commerce should cease with the English islands

of the West Indies, and with those parts of the American continent which had not accepted the resolutions of Congress. These decisions were of great importance; Georgia being, though not one of the most considerable provinces, extremely fertile in grain, and principally in rice. It was determined also to abstain from all superfluity, and to banish luxury; to give encouragement to the farmers who should rear the most numerous flocks. Nor was it forgotten to address a petition to the king, very eloquent, and full of the accustomed protestations of loyalty; which were lavished, perhaps, the more prodigally, as they were intended no pledges of the reality.

The general Congress cast an anxious eye upon the province of New York, as well because the loyalists abounded there, as because it is naturally much exposed to the attacks of an enemy strong in naval forces. To obviate these dangers, it was ordained, that five thousand infantry should be stationed in the environs of New York; and, in order to secure the soldiers the succours they might need, in case of wounds and sickness, that a hospital should be established, with accommodations for the invalids of an army of twenty thousand men. It was placed under the direction of Dr. Benjamin Church, principal physician of the army.

Considering, also, of how great importance was the prompt transmission of letters, and desirous that the service of the post should be confided to zealous and faithful men, the Congress appointed Dr. Benjamin Franklin director-general of this establishment. He had filled the same office in England, for the letters of America; and had lost it, for having shown too much attachment to the privileges of the colonies. Regular mails were established upon the route from Falmouth, in New England, to the city of Savannah, in Georgia.

But, as the Congress could not forget that the principal sinew of war is money, they soon turned their attention to this object, no less important than men and arms themselves, especially in a defensive war, as, from the very nature of things, this, which had broken out in America, was to be. In offensive wars, where the enemy is assailed in his own country, by ravaging his territory, men and arms can obtain money with victory; whereas, in a war of defence, it is money that must procure men and arms. In the present circumstances, however, it could not be obtained, but with the greatest difficulties; since the only resources were loans or taxes. Both presented not only many obstacles, but almost an absolute impossibility. For several years, the misunderstanding which had arisen with England had greatly diminished the quantity of specie that circulated in the colonies. The provinces of New England had always been rather sparingly supplied with it; and the prohibitory acts of parliament, of the last ten years, had excessively attenuated this slender mass. In the southern provinces, though, from the fertility of their lands, the most opulent, this scarcity of coin was still



increased, not only by the above mentioned causes, but also by a numerous importation of negroes, which had taken place within the few last years. To draw money from these provinces, by way of loans or taxes, would have been an imprudent and dangerous operation, or rather a thing impracticable, at least in the quantity exacted by the wants of the state. It should be added, as to loans, that whether the rich should furnish their money or not, they could always, however, lend their credit; and the employment of the second means offered more advantages than the first; for, if the wealthy could aid the state with their funds and their credit at the same time, men of moderate or narrow fortune had not the same faculty; thus partial loans of money could not have been effected; while, on the contrary, a partial loan of credit might be used, which, though made collectively, in the name of all, would in fact be supported partially, in general opinion, by the powerful means of the rich. In respect to taxes, this way offered only inconveniences; the people of the colonies being little accustomed to assessments, this sudden stroke at their property, in the outset, would infallibly have produced the most pernicious effects. The people inflamed for a common cause more willingly make the sacrifice of their existence than of their property; because to the first of these sacrifices is annexed a glory which is foreign to the other, and that honor is more frequently found among the brave than among the rich. Hence the Congress found themselves placed, with respect to this business, in a situation of singular difficulty. This will easily be conceived, when it is considered that they could indeed recommend, but not command; and that the obedience of the people was more voluntary than constrained. It was much to be feared they would refuse it, if it were attempted to subject them to contributions.

It was also greatly to be apprehended, that the provincial assemblies, extremely jealous of the right of establishing public burthens, would consent with repugnance, if not absolutely refuse, that the Congress should assume the power of taxation. How, besides, could the latter hope to assess the tax in a just proportion, with respect to each colony, when their means, founded, in great part, upon commerce, and consequently subject to all the variations resulting from the disturbances, could not be appreciated upon any certain principle? It would have been necessary to undertake this operation, without basis, and without rule; and even the semblance of partiality, however imaginary, would have sufficed to excite general clamors, and the most prejudicial dissensions.

Such were the shoals the Congress had to encounter, in their efforts to obtain the money necessary to the wants of the state and of war. They resolved, therefore, to avoid them, in resorting to loans of credit, by an emission of bills which should have for guaranty the faith of the united colonies. It was hoped that the abun-

dance of provisions, the ardor and unanimity of the people, and particularly of the rich, for the most part favorable to the new order of things, would support the public credit, and prevent a depreciation of the bills. It seems, however, that what had happened in the northern provinces, where the paper money had fallen very seriously, should have served as an example and a warning. Besides, prudent men plainly foresaw that the facility of the thing, and the always increasing multiplicity of wants, would lead to the emission of so great a quantity of this paper, that even its superabundance must deprive it of much of its value. Indeed, could this have been doubted, considering the Congress would not have an exclusive authority to emit bills of credit, and that the provincial assemblies might as freely exercise the same right? The cause of the evil was too evident for the most prejudicial consequences not to have been anticipated. It was also to be considered, that the chances of war, always uncertain, might prove favorable to the English, and open them a passage into the interior of the provinces; the inevitable result of which would be, the total ruin of credit, and the annihilation of the bills. It is known by experience, that in similar cases, the distrust of the people admits of no remedy. Such were the motives of hesitation and of fear, which perplexed the minds of the thoughtful, relative to the emission of bills of credit. But there was no room for option; and the Congress found themselves reduced to an extremity so imperious, that any resource became desirable. Accordingly, they had no scruple in adopting the present, which, if not good, was at least necessary. They decreed, in the month of June, that the sum of two millions of Spanish dollars should be issued, in bills of credit; and that the faith of the united colonies should be the guaranty of their redemption. Some time after, they made another emission of bills, to the value of one million of dollars, in bills of thirty dollars each. They were received, in this first ardor, with universal promptitude.

Having provided men, arms, and money, the Congress took into consideration the means of gaining the Indian nations, respecting whose dispositions they were not without a certain anxiety. It was known that general Gage had despatched from Boston one of his emissaries, named John Stuart, to the nation of the Cherokees, who inhabit the countries bordering upon South Carolina; and that general Carleton, governor of Canada, had sent colonel Johnson to the Indians of St. Francis, and others belonging to the Six Tribes, that were nearer to this province. Their object was, to induce these nations with promises, with money, and with presents, to take arms against the colonies; an expedient which could barely have been tolerated, if every other hope had been lost, and England had been reduced to the necessity either of employing the Indians, or of receiving conditions from the Americans. But how is it possible not



to condemn it, not to view it with abhorrence, when other soldiers, and other arms, offered themselves from all parts in abundance, to prosecute the war successfully against the colonies? Posterity cannot fail to execrate the counsels of those who, without the least necessity, were capable of preferring the barbarous Indians to the disciplined troops of England. This act of detestable ferocity, moreover, turned at length to the confusion of its own authors; but the mind of man is blind, his character often cruel, and civil fury implacable. The Congress, consequently, thought of opposing, by the most efficacious means, these English attempts. In order to proceed with more method, they made an ideal division of the Indian tribes into as many districts as there were tribes, and stationed with each an agent, who, knowing the language, customs, and country of these savages, should observe their motions, satisfy their reasonable desires, and provide for their wants; in a word, these emissaries were to neglect no means of conciliating the benevolence of the Indians, in order that they might give no aid to the royal arms, and observe a strict neutrality. It has been attempted to insinuate, on the contrary, that the Congress had instructed its agents to use all their endeavors to engage the Indians on the American side. But this accusation appears to want probability; for it was evident that the war was to be carried on upon the American territory, and it was well known that the Indians plunder and massacre friends as well as enemies. Besides, it is not to be supposed that the Americans could have had the design to sully with a stain of barbarity, in the very outset, a cause which they wished might be reputed by the universe both just and holy.

We will not, however, omit to relate, that in Philadelphia it was believed, and was announced as a happy event, that the Mohawk Indians, having sent the belt to those of Stockbridge, which, with these nations, was the token of alliance, were ready to march with the colonists against the English. It was in like manner published in Massachusetts, that the Senecas, another Indian nation, were prepared to take arms in favor of America. In addition to this, an Indian chief, named *Swashan*, accompanied by four other chiefs of the tribe of St. Francis, was conducted, in the month of August, to the camp at Cambridge, by a certain Reuben Colburn. They came to offer themselves as ready to undertake the defence of American liberty; they were well received, and pay was assigned them. *Swashan* boasted that he would, if required, produce a good band of his people. He added, that the Indians of Canada, and the French themselves, were disposed in favor of the Americans, and were ready to join them. These reports were circulated, and generally believed. But, whatever were the wishes of the people, the Congress desired merely to maintain the savages in neutrality. This moderation did not prevent the English from availing themselves of

these first demonstrations; affirming, that they had employed the Indians in their army, because the Americans had first endeavored to gain them for auxiliaries.

The Congress having arranged the business of the Indians, which had caused them great perplexity, and imboldened by the affairs of Lexington and Breed's Hill, they resolved to manifest the dignity of their cause, and justify their appeal to arms, in the sight of all the nations of the world; in doing which, they employed the style of independent nations. They published a declaration, wherein they recited, in a strain of singular energy, the toils, the hardships, the perils, which had been the portion of the first colonists, when they went to seek refuge in these foreign and distant regions; their cares to promote the increase and prosperity of their establishments; their compacts made with the crown; the advantages and wealth which England had derived from them. After having mentioned the long fidelity and uniform promptitude of the Americans, in coming to the succour of the mother country, they proceeded to speak of the new measures taken by the ministers upon the conclusion of the last war; and made an exact enumeration of the laws which had been the subject of complaints, so often, and always so fruitlessly, repeated. They glanced at the iniquitous conditions of accommodation proposed in parliament by lord North, insidiously calculated to divide them, to establish an auction of taxations, where colony should bid against colony, all uninformed what ransom would redeem their lives. They described the hostile occupation of the city of Boston, by the troops under the command of general Gage; the hostilities of Lexington, commenced by the royal soldiers, and the cruelties committed in this expedition; the violation of faith on the part of this general, in the refusal of permissions to pass out, and by permissions more cruel than refusal, in having, with barbarous inhumanity, separated wives from their husbands, children from their parents, the aged and sick from their relations and friends, who wished to attend and comfort them; the proprietors from their furniture and most valuable effects. They related the butchery of Breed's Hill, the burning of Charlestown, the seizure of their vessels, the ravage of provisions, and the menaced ruin and destruction of all things. The attempts of the governor of Canada to excite the ferocious savages of that province against the colonists, were not omitted; and they accused the ministers of a determination to inflict upon an innocent and unhappy country, the complicated calamities of fire, sword, and famine;

'We are reduced,' they exclaimed, 'to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honor, justice, and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity



have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them. Our cause is just. Our union is perfect. Our resources are great; and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of the divine favor towards us, that his providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operations, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves. With hearts fortified with these animating reflections, we most solemnly, before God and the world, declare, that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties; being, with one mind, resolved to die freemen rather than to live slaves. Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them. We have not raised armies, with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent states. We fight not for glory or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation or even suspicion of offence. *They* boast of their privileges and civilisation, and yet proffer no milder conditions, than servitude or death.

‘In our native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birth-right, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it,—for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down, when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed,—and not before.

‘With an humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the universe, we most devoutly implore his divine goodness to protect us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war.’

This manifesto, which was generally received with great eulogium, was subscribed by John Hancock, who had been elected president of Congress in place of Rutledge, and countersigned by the secretary, Charles Thomson.

The Congress, in this occurrence also, omitted not to employ the means of religion. The declaration was sent into every part of the continent, and read from the pulpits by the ministers of religion, with suitable exhortations. In the camp of Boston it was read with particular solemnity. Major-general Putnam assembled his division upon the heights of Prospect Hill, to hear it. It was followed by a prayer analogous to the occasion; the general having given the signal, all the troops cried three times, *Amen*; and, at the same instant, the artillery of the fort fired a general salute; the colors, recently sent to general Putnam, were seen waving, with the usual motto, '*An appeal to Heaven*;' and this other, '*Qui transulit sustinet*.' The same ceremony was observed in the other divisions. The joy and enthusiasm were universal. At Cambridge, the manifesto was read in the presence of the most distinguished citizens of Massachusetts, and of an immense multitude that were assembled upon this occasion. There resulted from it, in all minds, no little increase of constancy, fortified by religious zeal. All this was done in imitation of what had been practised by the patriots in the times of Charles I. It seemed as if this same war was renewed, in which the Protestant religion served as a motive or a pretext to the defenders of liberty, or to the promoters of anarchy; and the Catholic religion, as a title, or a veil, to the partisans of limited monarchy, or to the supporters of despotism—so powerful is the voice of religion over human hearts! And such has always been the propensity of those who govern nations, to profit by it! Hence religion itself sustains an incalculable injury; hence that coldness towards it, which, to the regret of prudent men, has been observed at certain periods. The generality of people have discovered that politic men make use of religion as an instrument to arrive at their worldly ends. Man, being naturally a foe to restraint, and inordinate in his desires, instead of restricting himself within the limits of good, is too often precipitated into its contrary. Thus religion, which should always be holy and spotless, too often has favored culpable enterprises, to the great scandal of the people, and manifest diminution of its own authority, and of good habits. Be this as it may, it is quite certain, that if the semblance of religion, with which the Americans endeavored to color their enterprise, produced greater unanimity and ardor among themselves, it engendered also more obstinacy and rigor on the part of the English government, in the conduct of the war. In their contemplation, state policy was coupled with the remembrance of the obstacles which the ancient British monarchs were forced to contend with; which, mingled with a certain terror, excited them to greater bitterness and fury.

The Congress having thus attempted to justify their conduct before the tribunal of the world, they employed their thoughts in protesting to the English people, that the intention of the Americans was to maintain those ancient relations which had been, and still were their



glory, their happiness, and the first of their desires. They admonished them, in a grave and pathetic style, to remember the ancient friendships, the glorious and common achievements of their ancestors, and the affection towards the heirs of their virtues, which had hitherto preserved their mutual connexion. 'But when,' they added, 'that friendship is violated by the grossest injuries; when the pride of ancestry becomes our reproach, and we are no otherwise allied than as tyrants and slaves; when reduced to the melancholy alternative of renouncing your favor or our freedom; our choice cannot be doubtful.' After some lines upon their merits towards the mother country, and expatiating upon the pernicious laws, they concluded, by saying, that victory would prove equally fatal to England and to America; that soldiers who had sheathed their swords in the bowels of the Americans, would have as little reluctance to draw them against Britons; that they entreated heaven to avert from their friends, brethren and countrymen, for by these names they would still address them, before the remembrance of former kindness was obliterated, the destruction and ruin that threatened them.

They also drew up an address to the king, which commenced with a recital of the services rendered by the colonists, of their fidelity towards the crown, and of the calamities that now oppressed them. They supplicated his majesty, that he would deign to interpose his authority, to procure them relief from their present condition; that he would be pleased to direct some mode, by which the united applications of the colonists to the throne, might be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation. They implored also, that arms, in the meantime, might cease; and that such statutes as more immediately distressed them, might be repealed; affirming, that, having done them this justice, the king would receive such proofs of the good disposition of the colonists, as would soon restore them to his royal favor; whilst, on their part, they should neglect nothing to testify their devotion to their sovereign, and affection towards the parent state.

The Congress had motives for wishing to render the Irish nation favorable to their cause; a great number of useful citizens annually emigrated from Ireland to America; and thus, among the soldiers, and even among the American generals, were found some Irish. They were apprehensive that the people of Ireland might receive impressions unfavorable to the colonists, in consequence of the associations against commerce, which were seriously prejudicial to that country. They were not ignorant, besides, that the Irish were, for many reasons, dissatisfied with the English government, and that, notwithstanding the concessions which had recently been made them, no little animosity still rankled in their minds. The Congress purposed to avail themselves of this misunderstanding, and to irritate the wounds already festering in the breast of the Irish. It would be

difficult to prove this conduct strictly consistent with loyalty. But the war was now commenced, and the Americans were disposed to use all means to carry it on with advantage; and none are more sanctioned by usage, than those of feigning to desire peace, and of exciting and exasperating the minds of the enemy's subjects, against lawful authority. To this intent, the Congress addressed a very eloquent letter to the Irish people. 'They were desirous,' they affirmed, 'as injured and innocent, of possessing the good opinion of the virtuous and humane; however incredible it might appear, that, in so enlightened a period, the leaders of a nation, which in every age had sacrificed hecatombs of her bravest patriots on the altar of liberty, should attempt to establish an arbitrary sway over the lives, liberties, and property of their fellow subjects in America; it was, nevertheless, a most deplorable and indisputable truth.' The battles of Lexington and Breed's Hill, the burning of Charlestown, and the imprisonments of Boston, were mentioned in suitable terms. 'Who can blame us,' they added, 'for endeavoring to restrain the progress of so much desolation? for repelling the attacks of such a barbarous band? We have no doubt, with the divine assistance, of rising superior to the usurpations of evil and abandoned ministers. We already anticipate the golden period, when liberty, with all the gentle arts of peace and humanity, shall establish her mild dominion in this western world, and erect eternal monuments to the memory of those virtuous patriots and martyrs, who shall have fought, and bled, and suffered, in her cause.

'Accept our most grateful acknowledgments for the friendly disposition you have always shown towards us. We know that you are not without your grievances. We sympathise with you in your distress, and are pleased to find, that the design of subjugating us, has persuaded administration to dispense to Ireland some vagrant rays of ministerial sunshine. Even the tender mercies of government have long been cruel towards you. In the rich pastures of Ireland, many hungry parricides have fed and grown strong, to labor in its destruction. We hope the patient abiding of the meek may not always be forgotten; and God grant that the iniquitous schemes of extirpating liberty from the British empire may be soon defeated. We have taken up arms to defend it; and with it, our property, our honor, our existence; all, in a word, that is dearest to man upon earth. For the success of our efforts, we confide in the good offices of our fellow subjects beyond the Atlantic, aware as they must be, that they have no other favor to expect from the same common enemy, than that of being last devoured.'

With the same view, the Congress wrote a letter to the city of London, to return thanks for the part it had taken in favor of America; a conduct, they said, which well became the first city in the world, that, in all ages, had approved itself the defender of liberty and just government, against lawless tyranny and oppression.



In the midst of these cares, the Congress had not forgotten how important it was to the success of their enterprises, to conciliate the friendship of the Canadians, in order that they might either make common cause with the Americans, or, at least, stand neutral. They knew that the first letter had not been without effect, and they resolved to confirm it with a second. The situation of affairs was favorable to their hopes; the act of Quebec had, in this province, produced effects altogether contrary to those its authors had anticipated. The greater part of the inhabitants had received it with evident marks of displeasure, and, by all except the nobles, it was considered tyrannical, and tending to oppression. And although it could not be expected that the Canadians, long accustomed, under the French, to a more rigid rein, should be as much inclined to resistance as the English colonists, habituated to live under the laws of a milder government, yet there was ground to hope, that from aversion to the English domination, they might be induced to take part in the quarrel, and unite their arms to those of their neighbors. It was known, however, that a part of the Canadians, and especially those of Montreal, and other places nearer to the colonies, had manifested great displeasure at the occupation by the colonists of Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and the lakes which lead from the colonies to Canada. The Congress wished to dissipate entirely these suspicions and jealousies; but, what was more worthy of their consideration, is, that they had positive intelligence of the exertions which the English governor was continually making, to dispose the Canadians to take arms, and march under the British banners. The agents of the king spared neither gold nor promises, to attain their object. General Carleton, who was then governor, though of a character naturally severe, derived great facility in this point from the extensive influence he enjoyed with the inhabitants, and the reputation he had deservedly acquired, of a good chieftain, a humane man, and an upright citizen. It was known, that he was arrived in the province with very ample powers. He could appoint or dismiss, at will, all the members of the council; compel as many Canadian subjects as he should see fit, to march against whatever enemy he might deem it expedient to combat; construct forts and dismantle them; in a word, take all the measures he might think necessary for the security of the province. He was, besides, not a man to hesitate how to exercise the authority which had been confided to him. He had already made use of it, in proclaiming that the Canadians who should present themselves, should be received as volunteers, into the king's pay, and formed into a regiment. The Americans had learned, besides, that the government had resolved to expedite, for Canada, fifteen thousand muskets, in order to arm the Roman Catholics of that country. All announced, that it was intended to assemble a strong force, with a view of attacking the colonies in the rear, and of cooperating with general Gage. Lord North him-

self, in his discourse to parliament, had intimated that such was the design of the government. The moment was critical; and, without a prompt remedy, it was to be feared the Canadians would take their resolution to act against the colonies. The Congress, therefore, decided to address them a letter, entitling it, '*To the oppressed Inhabitants of Canada.*' It was strong in thoughts, expressed in a style as elegant as it was spirited. They reminded the Canadians, that, by their late address, they had already apprised them of the designs in agitation to extirpate the rights and liberties of all America; they had now to condole with them most sincerely, that these schemes were about to be carried into execution; or rather, that, by the new form of government given to the province of Canada, were already introduced; that thus its inhabitants, their wives, and their children, were made slaves; that thus they had nothing they could any longer call their own; that all the fruits of their labor and industry might be taken from them, whenever an avaricious governor and a rapacious council might incline to demand them; that they were liable to be transported into foreign countries, to fight battles in which they had no interest; that the enjoyment of their very religion depended on a legislature in which they had no share; that their priests were exposed to expulsion, banishment, and ruin, whenever their wealth and possessions should furnish sufficient temptations; that they could not be sure that a virtuous prince would always fill the throne; and, should a wicked or a careless king concur with a wicked ministry, in extracting the treasure and strength of their country, it was impossible to conceive to what variety, and to what extremes of wretchedness they might, under the present establishment, be reduced; that the Americans knew full well that every exertion was made, that every artifice was employed, to arm their brethren of Canada against them; but should they, by complying in this instance, assent to their new establishment, and a war break out with France, let them recollect, their wealth and their sons might be sent to perish in expeditions against the French Islands in the West Indies; that as to the colonists, they were determined to live free or not at all; that they were the friends, and not the enemies, of the Canadians; that the taking of the fortresses and armed vessels on the lake, was dictated by necessity; but that they might place full trust in the assurance that the colonies would pursue no measures whatever, but such as friendship, and a regard for the mutual interests of the two people, might suggest; and, finally, that they still hoped the Canadians would unite with the colonists in defence of their common liberty.

This address had the effect its authors desired, at least in that it produced the neutrality of the Canadians. In answer to the instances of the governor, they said, that without regret they found themselves under the English government, and that they should always deport themselves peaceably and loyally; but that being entirely strangers



to the controversy arisen between the government and the colonies, it was not for them to undertake to be the judges of it ; that consequently it would in no shape become them to take any part in the quarrel ; that if the government thought proper to arm the militia of the province, in order to defend it in case of attack, they should give it their cordial assent ; but that to march beyond the frontiers, and attack the neighboring people, they could not consent. These favorable dispositions of the Canadians were a guaranty to the Congress of their security on the part of the north.

General Carleton, finding the Canadians so decided in their opposition, had recourse to the authority of religion. He therefore solicited Brand, the bishop of Quebec, to publish a mandament, to be read from the pulpit, by the curates, in time of divine service. He desired the prelate should exhort the people to take arms, and second the soldiers of the king, in their enterprises against the colonies. But the bishop, by a memorable example of piety and religious moderation, refused to lend his ministry in this work ; saying, that such conduct would be too unworthy of the character of the pastor, and too contrary to the canons of the Roman church. However, as in all professions there are individuals who prefer their interest to their duty, and the useful to the honest, a few ecclesiastics employed themselves with great zeal in this affair ; but all their efforts were vain ; the Canadians persisted in their principles of neutrality. The nobility, so well treated in the act of Quebec, felt obligated in gratitude to promote in this occurrence the views of the government, and very strenuously exerted themselves with that intention, but without any better success. The exhortations of Congress did not contribute alone to confirm the inhabitants in these sentiments ; they flattered themselves, also, that their pacific conduct in so urgent a crisis, and when their junction with the colonies might have been so prejudicial to the interests of England, would determine the government to exercise greater mildness towards them, and grant them favors which otherwise they could have had no expectation of obtaining.

General Carleton, perceiving that he could make no calculation upon being able to form Canadian regiments, and knowing, withal, that there existed in the province certain loyalists, who would have no repugnance to taking arms, and other individuals whom interest might easily induce to enlist as volunteers, resolved to employ a new expedient. He caused the drums to beat up, in Quebec, in order to excite the people to enrol themselves in a corps to which he gave the name of the *Royal Highland Emigrants*. He offered the most favorable conditions. The term of service was limited to the continuance of the disturbances ; each soldier was to receive two hundred acres of land, in any province of North America he might choose ; the king paid himself the customary duties upon the acquisition of lands ; for twenty years, the new proprietors were to be

exempted from all contribution for the benefit of the crown ; every married soldier obtained other fifty acres, in consideration of his wife, and fifty more for account of each of his children, with the same privileges and exemptions, besides the bounty of a guinea at the time of enlistment. In this manner, Carleton succeeded in gleaning up some few soldiers ; but he was reduced to attach much more importance to the movements of the Indians. The governor, and the agents of the king with these savage nations, had pushed their negotiations with so much zeal, that they had at length accomplished a part of their wishes ; having persuaded some of them to take arms in favor of the English party, notwithstanding they had so many times sworn to observe an absolute neutrality ; but savage nations are not more scrupulous in keeping faith than the civilised ; and gold, the love of rapine, and thirst of blood, are with them omnipotent. Towards the last of July, arrived, however, in Montreal, colonel Guy Johnson, intendant-general of the king for Indian affairs, accompanied by a great number of chiefs and warriors of the Six Tribes. A solemn assembly was formed, where they appeared as the chiefs and warriors of the confederate Indians ; their troop was considerable. They swore, according to their custom, and in the presence of general Carleton, to support the cause of the king. Such was the first origin of the Indian war. These were the barbarians, who, having joined the troops of general Burgoyne, exercised, two years after, such ravages, and perpetrated such cruelties, as we shall be constrained to relate, in the sequel of this history.

Meanwhile, the Congress could not overlook in silence the act of conciliation of lord North, without manifesting too great an inflexibility, and avowing that the Americans would listen to no accommodation. They, nevertheless, were not disposed to take a precipitate resolution on this point, and reflected upon it for the space of full two months. By this delay, they intended to show either a great maturity of judgment, or perhaps their indifference towards the act. But what appears more certain, is that the war being commenced, they desired to wait the event of the first actions. The answer could not, in effect, be the same, if victory had crowned their efforts, as in case fortune had favored the English arms. When the conciliatory act arrived in America, the 30th of May, it is true the affair of Lexington had taken place, and the Americans had acquired in it a reputation for incontestable courage ; but it was no more, in fact, than a warm brush between militia collected in haste, and a detachment of regular troops ; not a set battle, from which any prognostic could be drawn relative to the final issue of the war. The Congress saw perfectly well, that it would always be time to enter into a negotiation of arrangement ; and, in case of any disastrous event, they wished to reserve a way open to accept the conditions which England herself had offered. Victory would become of no utility to the



Americans, if they had commenced by submitting to the terms proposed; and ill fortune would have made the conditions of accord no worse. No risk, therefore, was incurred by temporising; and there might result from it great advantages. But the battle of Breed's Hill entirely changed the state of things. The ardor with which the Americans pressed the siege of Boston, their activity in procuring themselves arms and ammunition, the constancy and even alacrity they discovered in supporting the hardships of war, and evils produced by the late acts of parliament, rendered their situation much less desperate. If the event might still appear dubious to indifferent men, minds strongly excited must have conceived more hope than fear. Accordingly, the members of Congress, encouraged by the favorable aspect of affairs, delayed their answer under pretext of dignity. But at length they proceeded to the examination of the conditions of accord, with a full determination to reject them. This resolution, however, was not without inconvenience; for, at the very moment they refused all arrangement, they wished to retain the appearance of a desire for the return of concord. It was requisite to color this refusal, and to demonstrate to the eyes of the world, that they rejected not all conditions, but only such as were offered them. They declared themselves of opinion, that the colonies of America were entitled to the sole and exclusive privilege of giving and granting their own money; that this involved the right of deliberating whether they would make any gift, for what purposes it should be made, and what should be its amount; which privileges were taken from the colonists altogether, by the resolution of lord North; that, as the colonies possessed a right of appropriating their own gifts, so were they entitled to inquire into their application, to see that they were not wasted among the venal and corrupt, for the purpose of undermining the civil rights of the givers, nor diverted to the support of standing armies, inconsistent with their freedom, and subversive of their quiet; which right was violated by the resolution in question, since it placed the money voted at the disposal of parliament; that this proposition was unreasonable, because it could not be known what sum the parliament would exact; and insidious, because the parliament itself might accept the trivial grants of one colony, and refuse the considerable offers of another, thus maintaining a good intelligence with some, and reducing the others to a state of enmity, in order to compel their compliance with harder conditions, and by the division of the colonies, thus prepare, at its pleasure, the slavery of all; that the suspension of the right of taxing the colonies, being expressly made commensurate with the continuance of the gifts, these, at the will of parliament, might become perpetual; a thing that would aim a fatal blow at public liberty; that the parliament itself was in the established practice of granting their supplies from year to year only; that even upon the supposition that the proffered

terms had been as fair and reasonable as they were unjust and insidious, the din of arms resounding from all parts, the armies, the fleets that infested and surrounded America, were alone sufficient to render them odious and inadmissible; that they thought the attempt unnecessary to draw from their hands by force their proportional contributions to the common defence, since they had always contributed freely; that they only were competent judges of the measures proper to be taken in regard to this point, and that they did not mean the people of America should be burthened to furnish sinecures for the idle or the wicked, under color of providing for a civil list; that while the parliament pursued its plan of civil government within the limits of its own jurisdiction, they hoped also to pursue theirs without molestation; that the proposition was altogether unsatisfactory; because it imported only the suspension, and not a renunciation, of the pretended right of taxation, and because it did not propose to repeal the odious acts of parliament; that the minister wished to have it believed there was nothing in dispute but the mode of levying taxes, whereas, in truth, their adversaries still claimed the right of demanding arbitrarily, and of taxing the colonies for the full amount of their demand, if not complied with; that the English government even claimed a right to alter their charters and fundamental laws;

‘But, when the world reflects,’ they added, ‘how inadequate to justice are these vaunted terms; when it attends to the rapid and bold succession of injuries, which, during a course of eleven years, have been aimed at these colonies; when it reviews the pacific and respectful expostulations, which, during that whole time, were the sole arms we opposed to them; when it observes that our complaints were either not heard at all, or were answered with new and accumulated injuries; when it recollects that the minister himself, on an early occasion, declared, that ‘he would never treat with America till he had brought her to his feet,’ and that an avowed partisan of ministry has more lately denounced against us, the dreadful sentence, *‘delenda est Carthago,’* that this was done in presence of a British senate, and, being unproved by them, must be taken to be their own sentiment; when it considers the great armaments with which they have invaded us, and the circumstances of cruelty with which they have commenced and prosecuted hostilities; when these things, we say, are laid together, and attentively considered, can the world be deceived into an opinion that we are unreasonable? or can it hesitate to believe, with us, that nothing but our own exertions may defeat the ministerial sentence of death, or abject submission?’

Such were the conclusions of the Congress, relative to the resolution of adjustment of lord North; they caused them to be published, and distributed in all places. No one can observe the acrimonious style, and the new pretensions of the Americans, without perceiving



how little they were inclined to concord. Wishing, however, to remove the prejudice resulting to their cause, from the opinion, which began to be general, that they already aimed at independence, they resolved to clear themselves of the blame of not having deigned from the commencement of the controversy, to bring forward any conciliatory proposition; and intending, perhaps, to reserve a free access with the conqueror, in case of disaster, or perhaps also to preclude the propositions of lord North, which they were determined not to accept, the Congress had it in contemplation to offer the following conditions; the colonies should not only continue to grant extraordinary subsidies in time of war, but, besides, if allowed a free commerce, they were to pay into the sinking fund, such sum annually, for the space of an hundred years, as at that period would, if faithfully appropriated, suffice to extinguish the present debt of Great Britain. In case this condition was not accepted, they proposed to stipulate with Great Britain, a compact, by virtue of which, that kingdom should be authorised, for the same term of an hundred years, to make such laws as it might judge necessary, to regulate commerce, and direct it towards the general utility of the empire; but in such case, no other pecuniary contribution could be required of them. This proposition, as is seen, implied no new concession; since, on the contrary, this was precisely the subject in controversy. Some believed, also, that they would have proposed that the parliament should impose a general tax upon all the empire, meaning, upon England, Scotland, and the American colonies, of which tax each of these countries should bear its proportion, according to its faculties. They imagined that this mode of imposition would render the parliament extremely circumspect upon this point, since it could no longer charge America, without charging England at the same time, and in the same proportion. But the action of Breed's Hill, the rigorous siege of Boston, the ardor of the people, and perhaps the hope, already more probable, of foreign succours, so wrought, that these propositions were soon consigned to oblivion, and the whole mind was given to thoughts of war.

Hitherto the Congress had made all the dispositions which related either to the support of the war, to the negotiations of alliance with the neighboring nations, or to the justification of their cause with the inhabitants of Great Britain and of Ireland; they now applied themselves to the business of establishing the bases of their authority; of ascertaining how far its limits ought to extend; and what were its relations with the authority of the provincial assemblies. This fixation of powers was, with good reason, considered as an operation of the first necessity. For, until then, the transactions of the Congress were supported rather upon the opinion of the people, than upon statutes approved by them, or by the assemblies of their representatives. They were obeyed, because such was the general inclination,

but not because the constitutional laws required it. It was even because it was intended to conduct America to the state of an independent nation, having its own government, and a supreme magistrate, that it was desired to direct things gradually towards this object, and to withdraw, little by little, the management of affairs from the local administrations, in order to concentrate it in one only and common point. It was also an efficacious mean of providing that no province, individually, should ever think of detaching itself from the Union, as, in such case, it would become not only unfaithful to the others, but also rebellious towards the general government of America. Notwithstanding considerations of such moment, this affair could not be managed without extreme difficulty, on account of the reciprocal jealousies of the provincial assemblies, which were not likely to renounce, but with the utmost repugnance, a part of their ancient authority, to be vested in a new and unusual administration. If the impulsion of the people had been less general, if the necessity of pursuing the career in which they were already so far advanced, had been less imperious, perhaps the total plan of the enterprise would have been marred by these partial ambitions. But the die was cast, and it was requisite either to move onward farther than would have been wished, or to return back, much farther than would have been apprehended. It was therefore in the midst of these hopes, and of this necessity, that the Congress drew up and published the articles of confederation; thus establishing invariably their authority, no longer upon the momentary impetus of popular feeling, but upon laws approved and sanctioned by the general will.

In the first place, the colonists bound themselves and their posterity, for the common defence against enemies, for the protection of their liberty and property, as also of their persons, and of the prosperity of America. Each colony retained its jurisdiction entire within its own limits, the right of regulating its internal administration, and an independent sovereignty in respect to all its domestic affairs. But, for the more convenient direction of public transactions, each colony was to elect deputies, who should convene in Congress at the time and place which should be appointed by the preceding Congress. In ordinary circumstances, the Congress should hold their session successively in each colony, observing a regular rotation. This body should have power to make war and peace, to contract alliances, to adjust controversies between the different provinces, and to establish colonies wherever it should be thought necessary. The Congress should be authorised to make laws of general utility, and for which the provincial assemblies should not be competent, as, for example, all those concerning the forces of the Union, and the affairs relating to commerce and the mint; the Congress should appoint all the officers, civil and military, of the Union, such as generals, admirals, ambassadors, and others; the charges of



the war, and other expenses of the Union, should be supported by the public treasure, which should be replenished by each colony, in proportion to the number of male inhabitants, from the age of sixteen to sixty years; the number of delegates per colony, should, in like manner, be determined by that of the male citizens, so that there should be one representative for every five thousand male individuals; the deliberations of Congress should be enacted with half the suffrages, and it should be allowable to vote by proxy; there should be an executive council, composed of twelve persons, elected without Congress, four of whom should be succeeded every year; the council, during the recess of Congress, should superintend the execution of its laws; the executive decisions being always to be taken by two thirds of the votes; the same council should be charged with the direction of general affairs, both internal and external; it should receive all despatches coming from princes and foreign governments; should prepare matters to be submitted to the consideration of the next Congress; should fill, during the interval of its sessions, all the offices which should have become vacant; and should, besides, have power to draw money from the public treasury. It was also regulated, that no colony should make war upon the Indian tribes, without the consent of Congress; that, consequently, the frontiers and territory of every Indian nation should be acknowledged theirs and respected; that agents should be established on the part of Congress among the Indian nations, in suitable places, with instructions to prevent frauds and impositions in the traffic with them. It was established as a principle, that the Union should subsist until the terms of arrangement proposed to the king, by the preceding Congress, should be accepted by England, the acts prohibitory of American commerce repealed, an indemnity granted for the shutting of the port of Boston, for the burning of Charlestown, and for the expenses of the war; finally, until the British troops should have entirely evacuated the territory of America. It was added, that when the British government should have accomplished the foregoing conditions, the colonies would resume their ancient relations of friendship with Great Britain; but that otherwise the confederation should be perpetual. Space was left to accede to the league for the provinces of Quebec, of St. John's, of Nova Scotia, of the two Floridas, and the Bermudas. Thus the Congress laid the foundations of American greatness.

Meanwhile, the colonies hesitated to accept the articles of confederation. North Carolina absolutely refused. Things were not yet arrived at the point of maturity, desirable for the establishment of a perfect union. The people suffer themselves too often to be guided by vain fears, or by vain hopes; and, at this epoch, the greater part of the colonists still flattered themselves with the possibility of returning, some day or other, upon honorable terms, to their ancient footing with Great Britain. It was, indeed, quite evident, to what

object the Congress was tending. They considered reconciliation, if not as absolutely impossible, at least as extremely improbable. And, besides, if there had existed any hope of arrangement, the articles of Union would have enfeebled it greatly, not to say totally extinguished; and therefore, perhaps, the Congress had proposed them. For, omitting the offensive declarations, the menaces, and the laws contrary alike to the English constitution and to the tenor of charters, this new pretension of indemnities would alone have sufficed to interrupt all approach to reconciliation; for it could not be presumed that the British government would stoop to such ignominious conditions. It was therefore manifest, that while the two parties protested their desire to meet each other, they were both exerting all their efforts to render it impossible. It was no less evident, that when in parliament the adversaries of the ministers proposed concessions and terms of arrangement, it was with reason the latter rejected them, saying, that all these conciliatory measures would not only be useless, but even detrimental, because they would encourage the colonists to new demands, less admissible still. If the ministers themselves proposed, afterwards, and carried an act of conciliation, it was only a pretext to divide, and not to reunite. They were therefore in the right, when they resolved to continue the war, at all hazards; but they were in the wrong, not to carry it on with sufficient means.

I have no doubt, but, in reading this history, it will be observed with extreme surprise, that, while the people in all the colonies flew to arms, subverted all public order, and exercised every species of hostile demonstrations against the authority of the king, the governors, who represented him, preserving the calm of immobility, took no resolutions proper to reestablish obedience. But if no one of these governors is seen acting in a manner conformable to the importance of circumstances, it should be considered that none of them had regular troops at his disposal, to constrain the inhabitants to submission. The only force to which they could have recourse, to maintain the public tranquillity, and carry the laws into execution, was composed of the militia of the country, themselves a part of the insurgent people, and consequently favorable to their cause. It was not in America as in Europe, where a militia, which no longer makes part of the people, but which controls them, and with arms continually in hand, is always ready to execute the orders of the prince. In the English colonies, on the contrary, the militia was not distinct from the people themselves; and if this support was wanting to the government, it found itself, of necessity, to have none. The governors, however, did what was in their power to defend the authority of the king, each according to his character, and the circumstances in which he was placed. Their efforts had memorable effects, as will be seen by what follows; they produced the absolute extinction of the royal government.



We have already spoken of the misunderstanding which prevailed between the governor, lord Dunmore, and the assembly, and, generally, all the inhabitants of the province of Virginia. New disgusts broke out, upon the arrival of the news from England, of lord North's resolution of accord. It may be said, that an instrument invested with the names of peace and concord, was the occasion, on the contrary, not only of discord, but of open war. The governor, having convoked the assembly, placed this act before their eyes, enlarging greatly upon the goodness of parliament. He also hinted, that the fruit of their compliance would be the abrogation of the laws complained of. But soft words had little influence over the jealous and exasperated minds of the Virginians. The assembly, wishing to broach the quarrel, instead of entering into the discussion of the matter proposed, immediately took up the affair of the arsenal, and demanded its restitution; but the intervention of the governor being here necessary, they sent him a message, importing that he would be pleased to permit the entrance of this magazine. The altercation now became vehement; and during the wordy conflict, the people forced the gates of the arsenal, and bore off the arms. The state in which they found them, carried their fury to extremity. The powder was spoiled, the muskets without locks, the cannon without carriages; every thing had been plundered or destroyed, in the late disturbances.

The governor, on seeing the revolt, retired, with his wife and children, on board a ship of war,\* anchored near Yorktown, in the river of this name. Previous to his departure, he addressed a message to the assembly, by which he announced, that in order to withdraw from the danger to which himself and his family were exposed on the part of a furious multitude, he had thought prudent to take refuge in a place of security; he invited them to continue their business, while, on his part, he should continue his functions; and to send him a deputation on board his vessel, whenever they should think it necessary to confer with him upon the affairs of the time. The assembly answered, that they did not believe there existed, among the Virginians, any individual capable of perpetrating the excesses the governor apprehended; they expressed their regrets that he had not made them acquainted with his fears, before abandoning the seat of government; assuring him, that they would have taken all the measures he might himself have proposed, for his own security and that of his family. Finally, considering the little facility afforded, in such a place, for the transaction of affairs with the requisite convenience and promptitude, they earnestly requested him to return; to yield to the impatience of the inhabitants, and dispose them, by this proof of confidence, to order and tranquillity.

\* The Fowey man of war.

The governor replied with much bitterness, as the popular movements had agitated his mind beyond all reason. He concluded his letter, however, by glancing afresh at the conciliatory resolution, and with the assurance that he should esteem it his felicity to be the instrument of concord between the jarring parts of the British empire.

This bland conclusion was not sufficient to mitigate the irritation created by the menacing commencement of the letter. Accordingly, the answer of the assembly was more acrimonious still; as to the act of accord, they replied, it was a vain and insidious measure, which only changed the mode of oppression, without tending to relieve it; that, consequently, they would not accept it.

Such a temper of mind, in both the parties, precluded every glimpse of a better understanding. The assembly, having finally matured the bills and resolves before them, invited the governor to repair to Williamsburgh, in order to pass them. Lord Dunmore replied, that he would not expose his person in the midst of a mad populace; that they might send him the bills for examination; that he should be ready to receive the house, at his *present residence*, for the purpose of giving his assent to such acts as he should approve of. Here ended all correspondence between the governor and the colony of Virginia. If he would not trust himself with the Virginians, they were as little disposed to trust themselves with him. It might, besides, appear strange enough, that, in the midst of so many suspicions, the chief citizens of an entire province should go to immure themselves on board a ship of war, completely in the power of a person they looked upon as their enemy, and who might have retained them as hostages for the execution of his ulterior designs.

The assembly, when informed of the sentiments of the governor, declared publicly, that they suspected the existence of a sinister conspiracy against the people of the colony; they consequently warned the inhabitants to stand prepared to defend their property, and their rights, still more precious; they renewed their protestations of fidelity towards the king, of affection for the mother country; and, adjourning themselves to the month of October, separated. Thus ceased to exist, about the middle of July, the royal government in Virginia, after having lasted during more than two hundred years, with the tranquillity and happiness of all.

But arduous toils, and numerous dangers, still awaited the province.

The inroads of an enemy so superior in naval force, were to be feared upon the coasts, and upon the borders of all the great rivers which bathe it. Nor were the inhabitants without disquietude, in regard to the slaves, who were extremely numerous, and whom lord Dunmore had given out, he should instigate to revolt against their masters. If this cruel race, and cruelly treated, had joined the



loyalists in these first moments, when the Virginian government was still so recent, the most terrible consequences might have resulted, and perhaps the total extermination of the province. This consideration decided the Virginians to form a convention, in which they placed great confidence. They proceeded immediately to levy troops, provide munitions, and raise money; in a word, to take all the measures they believed proper to secure the success of their cause.

Lord Dunmore, finding himself thus expelled from his own government, as well by his personal obstinacy as by the force of things, would not, however, being versed in arms, abandon the hope of recovering his authority. Independent of his character, (pertinacious, and capable of the greatest resolutions) he was also animated by a desire to perform some brilliant achievement for the service of his king, and encouraged by the idea that some violent movement would inevitably discover itself among the slaves. He likewise believed, that the number of the loyalists was considerable; and that their party would not fail to put themselves in motion, when he should make his appearance upon the coasts, and even in the heart of the province, with a formidable squadron. This hope, if not absolutely chimerical, was at least very slightly founded; but it is an error common to all times, and to all generals, to build extravagantly upon the intestine divisions of revolted subjects. All the auxiliaries that joined the governor, consisted in those individuals, who, having incurred the suspicion of the people, could no longer reside with safety in the province, and a certain number of slaves, of a profligate stamp.

With this troop, and with the frigates upon that station, he flattered himself he should be able to make some impression of importance in the adjacent country. He omitted no exertion to increase the strength of his squadron, and the number of his men; and especially to approach nearer to the land. Having accomplished this purpose, by joining to his frigates a great number of light vessels, he began to move, at one time showing himself in this part, at another in that; but of himself he was not able to produce any considerable effect. He expected, but in vain, that the people would rise, and take arms in favor of the king. Reduced to his own forces, he commenced hostilities which more resembled the attacks of pirates, than a fair and regular war. It was, in truth, a shocking spectacle, to see the governor of a province rushing upon all points to lay it waste, and to wrest by violence the provisions of which he had need; while the people, who recently had obeyed his orders, endeavored to repulse him. But the Virginians alleged, that their conduct was sufficiently authorised by that of the royal troops, who under pretext of self-preservation, meditated the destruction of the whole province. They complained, that persons obnoxious to the governor was seized, and

confined on board ships ; that their plantations were ravaged, their houses fired, their negroes carried off ; devastations that were never executed without effusion of blood. The Virginians marched for the protection of the rivers and coasts, a few corps of militia, recently taken into pay by the provincial convention. The war that ensued was the more cruel, as it was useless, and could have no other effect but that of still more inflaming and exasperating the minds on both sides.

The governor, having surprised the town of Hampton, situated upon the bay of the same name, devoted it to the flames. His wish had been to take up his quarters, and assemble a considerable force at that point ; but the Virginians came up in multitude, and forced him to reembark.

Lord Dunmore proclaimed martial law ; the effect of which would have been to suspend all civil authority in the province. He exhorted the loyalists to repair to the royal standard ; to retain in their hands the contributions due to the crown, as well as other taxes, until the reestablishment of peace. Moreover, he declared free all slaves or servants, black or white, belonging to rebels, provided they should take arms and join the royal troops.

This proclamation, and especially the clause concerning slaves, proved that lord Dunmore was a man extremely deficient in prudence and moderation, but produced none of the effects he had expected. In the colonies, and even in all other countries, an universal cry arose against a measure which tended to disturb society in its very foundations, to destroy domestic security, to engender mortal suspicions, and to excite a race, naturally ferocious, to vengeance and to murder. In fact, this step of the governor was not merely useless,—it was pernicious ; it irritated the minds of the greater number, and gained over none.

Meanwhile, lord Dunmore again came on shore, and occupied Norfolk, an important city, situated upon the banks of Elizabeth river. In this place and its vicinity, a great number of loyalists resided. Some hundreds of these, and of the negroes, joined the governor, and gave him, in this part, the superiority over the enemy. Some of the provincial militia, having made a show of resistance, were routed without difficulty. He had already conceived the hope of reconquering the province, and of replacing it under the authority of the king.

The administration of the state of Virginia directed all their attention upon this point, where they perceived, with reason, the germ of a war more formidable ; and resolved to avert the evil, by a prompt remedy. They despatched, therefore, with all speed, for Norfolk, a regiment of militia, and a detachment of minute-men, under the command of colonel Woodford. The governor, apprised of this movement, very prudently occupied a strong position upon



the north bank of Elizabeth river, called Great Bridge, a few miles from Norfolk. This point was situated upon the direct route of the provincial troops. Here he promptly threw up works on the Norfolk side, and furnished them with a numerous artillery. The intrenchments were surrounded on every part with water and marshes, and were only accessible by a long dike. As to the forces of the governor, they were little formidable; he had only two hundred regulars, and a corps of Norfolk volunteers; the residue consisted in a shapeless mass of varlets of every color. The Virginians took post over against the English, in a small village, at cannon shot distance. Before them they had a long narrow dike, the extremity of which they also fortified. In this state, the two parties remained for several days, without making any movement. Lord Dunmore, having at length perceived that this delay was prejudicial to him, as well as beneficial to the Americans, who abounded in provisions, and received every day new reenforcements, found a motive in his personal courage, and perhaps in his contempt for the enemy, sufficient to order the attack. He hoped to be able thus to open himself a passage into the heart of the country. Accordingly, the 9th of December, before day, he directed captain Fordyce to assault the enemy, at the head of a company of grenadiers.

They marched boldly towards the American works, captain Fordyce leading the vanguard, and lieutenant Bathurst the forlorn hope. Captain Leslie followed, with a detachment of three hundred blacks and whites, and two hundred soldiers of the line. All the American camp instantly flew to arms, and prepared to defend themselves. The action continued for a good space of time, with incredible obstinacy. At length, captain Fordyce having been killed, at a few paces from the intrenchments, after exhibiting prodigies of valor, and a great part of his troop being either wounded or slain, the British fell back upon the bridge. The artillery of the redoubt prevented the Americans from pursuing. The negroes behaved very shabbily, and saved themselves by flight. The Americans treated the English fallen into their power with humanity, but the loyalists with rigor. This feat, on the part of lord Dunmore, savored more of the rash general, than the soldier of courage.

Experience having convinced the governor that he could not hope to make progress in this part, he abandoned Great Bridge, and retired to Norfolk, leaving a few pieces of cannon in the power of the enemy. Finally, not thinking himself secure in this city and the adjacent country, he took the resolution to repair to his ships again, the number of which was increased by the junction of all those that were found in the port of Norfolk. He could not, in fact, have too many; for many of the loyalists, forced to quit their country, sought refuge on board the fleet, bringing with them their furniture and most valuable effects. The provincials occupied Norfolk, which they found almost

deserted; the greater part of the inhabitants having departed in the squadron of the governor.

While these events were passing upon the coasts of Virginia, a project of great importance was planned; this was to raise in arms the inhabitants of the parts situated in the west of the colonies, but particularly of Virginia and of the two Carolinas, which were known to be well affected towards the royal cause. It was also hoped that the Indians would take the field, and not only harass the rear of the provincials, but even that, increasing in number and force, they would be able to traverse the provinces, and coalesce with lord Dunmore upon the coasts. A certain John Connelly, an enterprising, audacious man, born in the county of Lancaster, in Pennsylvania, was considered a fit instrument for the execution of this project. Having conferred with lord Dunmore, he received from him the most brilliant promises, and the most ample authority, to enable him to accomplish the objects of the mission which was confided to him. In pursuance whereof, he repaired to the banks of the Ohio, in order to sound the dispositions of the Indians, and of the loyalists who inhabited this part of the frontiers. Having succeeded beyond his hopes, he returned to make report to the governor. It was arranged, that the garrisons of the vicinity, and principally those of Detroit and fort Gage, in the country of the Illinois, should lend him assistance; and it was expected, also, that the officers of the garrisons of Canada would second him. It was understood, that whenever his troops should have made their preparations, they were to assemble at Pittsburgh, and thence, passing the Alleghanies, scour Virginia, and effect their junction with lord Dunmore at the city of Alexandria, situated upon the banks of the Potomac. Fortune had shown herself propitious to these first essays. Connelly had passed several times without accident from one place to another, and kept his correspondence with the loyalists and Indians a profound secret. On his way to Detroit, he had already reached the extreme frontier of Maryland, near the town of Tamar, rejoicing within himself at having escaped so many perils, when he was detected, and arrested. The papers of which he was the bearer were published by order of Congress. Thus this mysterious plot, which lord Dunmore, for want of open arms, had been reduced to concert, proved like several others, completely abortive; its sole results were greater animosity on the part of the colonists, and the annihilation of his own influence.

Meanwhile, Norfolk was menaced with a disastrous event. Although the greater part of the loyalists of this city and its environs, had sought refuge in the governor's fleet, there had, nevertheless, remained a considerable number of them; either on account of their reluctance to leave their properties, or their dread of the sea and of famine, or perhaps because they hoped to find more lenity on the part of their fellow-citizens, who made profession of liberty, than



they had shown towards them, when they had been superior in this country.

But it is certain that the patriots, on acquiring the ascendancy, made them feel it cruelly, and overwhelmed them with all those vexations of which there are so many examples in civil wars, between men of different parties. The governor, transported with rage, and touched by the piteous cries of the loyalists, panted to avenge them. This reciprocal hatred was daily exasperated by the rencounters which took place very frequently between the two parties; the provincials watching at all the points of the shore to prevent the royal troops from landing, in order to forage in the country, and the latter, on the contrary, eagerly spying every means to plunder provisions upon the American territory. The multitude of mouths to be fed, kept them continually in a famishing state. A ship of war arrived in the meantime, in the bay of Norfolk. Lord Dunmore sent a flag on shore to apprise the inhabitants, that they must furnish provisions, and cease firing, otherwise he should bombard the town. The provincials answered only by a refusal. The governor then resolved to drive them out of the city with artillery, and to burn the houses situated upon the river. He sent in the morning to give notice of his design, in order that the women, children, and all except combatants, might retreat to a place of safety. The first of January, 1776, the frigate *Liverpool*, two *corvettes*, and the governor's armed sloop, opened a terrible fire upon the city, and at the same time a detachment of marines landed and set fire to the houses. The flames spread with rapidity, the conflagration became general, all was consumed. Finally, the provincials themselves fired all the adjacent country, that nothing might fall into the hands of the enemy, and to deprive the royal troops of this position.

Such are the effects of civil fury; such the results of human discords. But man is too often ambitious or deceived; and if all ages are fertile in the authors of tumults and wars, these artisans of mischief are no less fertile in expedients to clothe their projects with plausible pretexts; and thus the unfortunate people, victims of every calamity, are frequently ignorant of the real origin of the woes that overwhelm them. In this manner was destroyed one of the most opulent and flourishing cities of Virginia.

Having described the state of the province of Virginia, after the royal government had ceased, the order of history requires that we should relate what took place at this epoch in the other provinces. We have already mentioned the ardor manifested by the inhabitants of South Carolina, on their receiving intelligence of the affair of Lexington, that a provincial convention was formed, that its members entered into a confederation, and organised corps of infantry and cavalry, for the defence of the colony.

In the midst of this general movement, governor Campbell arrived in the province, who, notwithstanding the public agitation, was received with the attentions due to his rank. He conceived the idea of employing the militia, as a counterpoise to the regiments on pay, which had been levied by the convention or congress of the province, and to oppose against the convention itself, the provincial assembly. He hoped by this management to divide the patriots, and overturn their projects. Accordingly, of his own authority, he issued commissions to the officers of the militia, and convoked the assembly according to ancient forms. But in both these measures he failed of success; the militia continued firm in the cause of the people, and the assembly refused all his propositions so rigidly, that he was necessitated to dissolve it. He appeared disposed to remain peaceable for some time; but it was known that he maintained a secret intelligence with the loyalists, who were very numerous, and principally upon the frontiers, towards the mountains and lakes. To unmask him, the patriots resorted to the agency of a certain Adam Macdonald, captain in a provincial regiment, a man entirely devoted to their interests. He presented himself to the governor under the name of Dick Williams, and in the character of an emissary of the loyalists, commissioned to protest their fidelity, and receive his orders.

The governor, delighted at this overture, answered with unrestricted confidence. Macdonald came to make full report before the general council; the agitation was vehement. The council deputed to the governor some of its members, and with them Macdonald himself, to request that he would show them the despatches he had received from England. Campbell firmly refused. A motion was made to arrest him, but it was not adopted. The governor became intimidated, and retired on board a corvette at anchor in the port. He took with him the seal of the province. The council sent a message, entreating him to return; he would not. Thus ceased the royal government in South Carolina; all public authority was transferred from the ancient administrations, to the provincial convention, the committee of safety, and other popular establishments, to whose power the people fixed no other limits, except that they should protect the republic from all detriment.

But in the meantime, governor Campbell was not inactive. He knew the royalists were numerous in certain parts of the province, and he hoped that by exciting them, and erecting a standard, round which they could rally, he should be able to profit essentially by their succours. In the interior of the country, there existed a set of men called *regulators*. They had arrogated, in 1770, the right of executing the laws against malefactors; and they exercised their functions so openly, that of their own authority they inflicted corporal punishments upon such as incurred their animadversion. Lord Montague was sent to repress so odious an enormity, and his severity effectually re-



established the authority of the laws among this unruly generation. But the regulators had not forgotten the chastisements their unlawful combination had drawn down upon them, nor would they ever consent to adhere to the Congress and other popular administrations, which they deemed equally as irregular and illegal. In the same places were found many Dutch and Irish, who held their lands from the bounty and liberality of the king. Either out of gratitude, or the fear of losing their estates, if they should join the patriots, they stood firm in their loyalty, and were strenuously opposed to the new government. Their number was increased by certain other Irish, who had retired from the disturbances in the northern provinces, into this.

Governor Campbell had it in mind, to employ these individuals for the accomplishment of his designs. He circulated among them that the American colonies were altogether too feeble to resist the power of Great Britain; that the whole question turned upon a trivial duty on tea, which they were not accustomed to use; that the inhabitants of the coast opposed this impost, in order to have tea at a low price, without regarding that their obstinacy deprived the inhabitants of the upper country of a multitude of articles the most necessary to life; that the single expense of maintaining the provincial regiments, greatly exceeded the amount of all the taxes imposed by the parliament. The ill humor of these foreigners was still increased by the violences of the patriots, who insisted, whether willing or not, that they should accede to the confederation. And thus a great number that would have remained neutral, were constrained to throw themselves into the opposite party. In no part of the province were the loyalists so numerous, as in the space comprehended between the Broad and Saluda rivers. They refused to execute the resolutions of Congress, to subscribe the league, and to make levies of soldiers. The patriots, desiring to proceed peaceably, sent into those places two men of the greatest authority, William Henry Drayton and William Tennent. All their efforts and arguments, to dissipate the suspicions which had arisen among these people, produced little effect, if any. The rivalry between the two parties became every day more rancorous. At length, they flew to arms; and they were soon encamped, the one in front of the other. The wiser citizens interposed, to prevent the effusion of blood; and, after some days of negotiation, a compact was concluded, by which the loyalists pledged themselves to remain neuter. But these hopes of tranquillity were soon destroyed, by a certain Robert Cunningham, a turbulent spirit, and one of the most influential leaders of the loyalists; he industriously scattered the elements of discord. From all parts they rushed to arms anew. The Congress, wishing to smother these first sparks, ordered major Williamson, commanding the militia, to march against the seditious; but the latter were superior in number. The moment was critical; the Carolinian congress, having in front a Bri-

tish fleet and army, and a party of disaffected citizens in rear, could have no hope of victory. Nevertheless, to disconcert the plan of their adversaries, they marched towards the suspected places detachments of militia and of troops, under the command of colonels Richardson and Thompson; who were joined by colonels Rutherford and Polk, at the head of the militia of North Carolina. The loyalists, scattered, without a rallying point, and without leaders of reputation, transacting every thing with fear and hesitation, were forced to receive the terms of their conquerors.

This first expedition kept them quiet for a long time; they made no further movement until the English arms acquired the superiority in Georgia and South Carolina.

The inhabitants of the latter province being totally decided for war, all their attention was given to making the preparations that might enable them to carry it on with success. They resolved, in the first place, to provide themselves with powder, of which they were almost entirely destitute. They knew that an English vessel, laden with a great quantity of it, was then at anchor upon the bank, called the *bar of St. Augustine*, upon the coast of East Florida. Some fearless patriots, accustomed to the sea, made for the ship with extreme celerity, boarded her, and became possessed of fifteen thousand pounds of powder; which, with equal good fortune, they transported safe into Charleston. This acquisition was of singular utility in their great need. They supplied, from it, the militia of Massachusetts, as well as the army which soon after undertook the expedition of Canada.

But, there was still in the power of the king, fort Johnson, erected upon James's Island, which is situated in front of Charleston; this fortress, therefore commanded the city. Colonel Motte having landed upon the island in the night with a strong detachment of new levies, occupied the fort without obstacle; the garrison, as too feeble to resist, had retired on board the ships of war.

The chiefs of the people prohibited all persons whatsoever from supplying water or provisions to the ships of the king, otherwise than from day to day. The English blockaded the port, and made a great number of prizes, to the infinite prejudice of the city. This induced colonel Moultrie to occupy Point Huddrel, with a detachment of provincial troops. He planted there a battery of heavy cannon, which constrained the English to retire from this position and gain the open sea. Thus the city was liberated for the present, from the blockade of the British squadron. But to prevent its renewal, it was resolved to erect fortifications upon Point Huddrel, which defends the entrance to Charleston, by the channel of Hog Island; and to strengthen the works of fort Johnson, which secures the port on the side of James's Island. A new fort was also constructed in this Island, west of fort Johnson; then another upon Sullivan's Island, which received the name of Moultrie.



The provincial militia exercised, and the regiments upon pay increased their numbers every day. In all parts of the province preparations were made to repulse the attacks of the enemy.

However sincere was the zeal of the inhabitants to defend their country, it was stimulated, also, by the resolutions of the general Congress. They had resolved, that if Charleston was attacked by the English, three regiments of infantry should be maintained in the province at the expense of the Union; that if the convention or committee of safety should judge it necessary to seize or destroy any vessel whatsoever, it might do so, and rely upon the approbation of Congress. They recommended also, the erection of forts and batteries, in such places as should be thought most suitable.

Some agitation also began to manifest itself about this time in North Carolina, a province in which the loyalists were perhaps more numerous than in any other, with the exception, however, of New York. The governor, Martin, was an active man, who studied continually to devise new expedients to increase the party of the king. The patriots were especially solicitous with respect to the inhabitants of the upper countries of the colony, all Scotch and Highland emigrants, with whom it was ascertained that the governor held continual correspondence. The Congress had not neglected to take all proper measures to disconcert these projects. They had exhorted the partisans of liberty to form themselves into corps of militia, which, in case the provincial convention should see fit to order levies, should be considered as making part of the general army, and received into the pay of the Union.

The desires of the Congress were accomplished, if not with unanimous consent, at least with all requisite promptitude. A provincial convention was formed, which assumed the authority of the ordinary assembly of representatives. The committees of safety, and other popular institutions, were created as usual. The governor took umbrage at these measures, although he was not intimidated by them; and, in order to be able to sustain a first attack, and to give time, in case of emergency, for the loyalists of the upper parts to come to his assistance, he fortified, and furnished with artillery, his residence at Newbern. The people rose and seized six pieces of these cannon; the governor then fled precipitately for refuge to fort Johnson, upon Cape Fear river. The provincials, fearing he might fortify himself, and rally his forces at this point, in order to keep an open communication for the troops which should be sent against the colony, resolved to dislodge him. It also appears that they were apprehensive, lest the governor should proclaim the liberty of the negroes, in order to employ them for the reestablishment of the royal authority. Time was precious. They assembled their forces at Wilmington, an important city of the province, and gave the command of the expedition to colonel Ashe, who had passed from the

service of the king, into that of the people. They marched immediately to fort Johnson; but the governor, not choosing to await so formidable an attack, had retired on board a ship of war. The following night, colonel Ashe entered the fort and reduced it to ashes. He afterwards ravaged the country, that it might furnish nothing to his adversary. The governor was declared an enemy to America, and accused of a design to raise the blacks against their masters. This imputation was not without foundation. He answered with a writing of excessive length, which he caused to be circulated in the province. But the provincial Congress pronounced this proclamation an infamous libel, and caused it to be publicly burnt by the hand of the executioner.

They drew up, about the same time, a long address to the people of Great Britain, full of the usual protestations. All these events singularly agitated the people; but a new incident soon carried their fury to extremity. In the garden and cellars of the governor, it was discovered that he had secreted arms, powder, balls, and other munitions. The provincial Congress decreed a levy of one thousand regular troops, and another of three thousand minute-men. They created bills of credit for their support. The general Congress, wishing to give more stability to their authority, and knowing of what importance it was to propitiate the regulators and mountaineers that inhabited the upper countries, sent them two ministers of the gospel, to expound the nature of the present controversy between Great Britain and the colonies. The chiefs of the people neglected no means proper to forward their cause. Arms and money were provided, soldiers were exercised, the militia were organised, the torpid or lukewarm were stimulated and encouraged. The popular leaders in this province, surrounded by enemies, manifested an activity always increasing with the obstacles they had to surmount.

In Pennsylvania, affairs were transacted with greater moderation; either because the character of the inhabitants was more pacific, or that the governor was endowed with greater prudence. However, the provincial assembly, which continued to sit in Philadelphia, and all the inhabitants generally, appeared not to want activity, in their preparations for defence; the militia were exercised with great diligence and success. It was perceived that the breadth and depth of the Delaware, which bathes the walls of Philadelphia, exposed the city to imminent danger. The English ships might come thus far up the river, and cause infinite mischief not only to the city and province, but even to the entire confederation. It was therefore resolved to obstruct the passage, by sinking in the channel a construction of heavy timber, called a *chevaux-de-frise*. It consisted in two immense beams, laid across the bed of the river, parallel-wise, and at a suitable distance apart; they were locked with traverse timbers; and upon their upper surface, rose, with a certain inclination towards



the current of water, two other heavy beams, armed on the top with tusks of iron, to pierce the vessels that should attempt to ascend. All these frames, ponderous of themselves, and charged besides with enormous stones, could not be easily broken, subverted, or displaced. Ingeniously contrived, as well as skilfully executed, they were of no little utility, in the course of the war. The Pennsylvanians were also very diligent in providing themselves with arms and ammunition. The provincial assembly had appointed a committee of superintendence, to see that the arms were made with a desirable promptitude, and the requisite perfection. The gunsmiths, and other armorers, were continually watched and stimulated. The assembly also decided, that several battalions should be levied and completely equipped. A great quantity of powder was manufactured in the environs of Philadelphia; a single mill supplied five hundred pounds a week. Every thing, in brief, tended towards war. The governor was unable to resist an inclination so universal; he had no royal troops at his disposal.

The province, and particularly the city, of New York, found themselves in a painful situation. They were exposed on all parts, to the insults of the British fleet; the city had even still a garrison, though feeble, of royal troops. New reinforcements were expected from England; and it was known that all the corps that arrived in America, landed at New York, as their destined place of arms. The delegates of the province were therefore instructed, to move the Congress to prescribe the course to be pursued, in case of the arrival of the troops that were already embarked from Ireland for America. The Congress answered, they should stand upon the defensive, allow the English to land, and permit them to occupy the barracks, provided they should behave themselves peaceably; not, however, to suffer that they should erect fortifications, to interrupt the communication between the city and country; if they should employ force, to resist them with force; to transport the munitions of war into the interior of the province; to designate places of refuge for the women and children; finally, the Congress exhorted all the inhabitants to arm, and hold themselves in preparation for every event.

But it was not long before they were relieved from these anxious apprehensions. The royal troops arrived; but, instead of landing at New York, they went on shore at Sandy Hook, whence, by the orders of general Gage, they reembarked for Boston. The battle of Breed's Hill had enfeebled the garrison of that city, and new soldiers were needed to fill up the companies. At length, the detachment itself, which for so long a time had been stationed at New York, retired on board a ship of war which was anchored in the port. The city, thus delivered entirely from the presence of the royal troops, was replaced absolutely at its own discretion.

At this epoch, governor Tryon arrived from London at New York. He was a man of an active genius, an ardent character, and possessed of great influence in the province. He was received with marked respect. His continual efforts in favor of the royal cause, were generally crowned with success. Tranquillity, for a certain time, remained undisturbed. Then followed a quarrel, in which a royal ship fired upon the city with balls and grape-shot, because the inhabitants had seen fit to transport artillery from one place to another. A great number took refuge in the country. The governor demanded a conference with the convention, the committee of safety, and the officers of the militia. It was granted. He expressed the deepest concern at the present discord; he begged they would use prudently the power which they had entire; he observed, that violent measures would only widen the breach, and hazard the destruction of the city. This example shows clearly to what terms was reduced, and upon how frail a basis reposed, the royal authority at that time in America; since even in the province of New York, that of all which numbered the most loyalists, the governor was driven to such extremity, that, instead of commanding, he was constrained to pray. Hence also it is manifest, that Tryon had been sent, not to govern a province that would no longer obey him, but to intrigue clandestinely, to sow division, to corrupt the good, and dispense to the wicked their hire.

How opposite such conduct was to the dignity of a powerful nation, and how proper to render it contemptible in the estimation of the universe, every one can imagine for himself. It would have been a much more seemly resolution, if the governor, upon ascertaining the situation of affairs, should have withdrawn from the province, and left it altogether in the power of the patriots; for to govern without commanding, and to command without being obeyed, was a degradation of his rank, and of the royal authority itself.

The general Congress had become greatly alarmed at the artifices of governor Tryon. They feared he would at length succeed in exciting such malignant humors, as might issue in fatal results. They thought it expedient to prevent the evil; and accordingly recommended, that, in all the colonies, every person, of whatever name or condition, whose opinions afforded motives of suspicion, should be arrested, and detained under a sufficient guard; this was the law of suspected persons. The deputies of New York sent copies of it into their province. At this news, governor Tryon, having doubts of some strange resolution, promptly took refuge on board an English vessel moored in the port; he carried off the seal of the province. But, towards the close of the year, with the approbation of the king, he addressed a proclamation to the inhabitants of New York, to apprise them of the dispositions of the prince, and the earnest desire he entertained that some honorable way of reconciliation between the



two parties might be devised. Thus vanished even the shadow of royal authority in this colony, after its action had in reality ceased long since. Such was the success of the hopes the ministers had placed in the manœuvres and intrigues of governor Tryon, whom they had considered as the most proper instrument to act upon a province of such principal importance.

It had recently been divided by the provincial convention into a certain number of districts, each destined to furnish a company. The organisation of these companies was the object of a special regulation. But this appearance of ardor was in many far from being sincere. Even members of the provincial Congress presumed to say, openly, that they would not receive the bills of credit; and that, when the English troops should have arrived, they would join the royal standard. The provincial soldiers themselves were emulous in deserting. So efficacious had been the whispers of Tryon; or, perhaps, so great were the avarice, the fear, or the loyalty, of the inhabitants. Admitting only the latter reason, it would be impossible for the colonists of New York to clear themselves of the reproach of hypocrisy and of cowardice, for not having dared openly to follow the royal banners, and for having, on the contrary, pretended a flaming zeal for the cause which the greater part of the Americans had espoused. But simulation and perfidy are never more frequent than in the political revolutions of empires. Those who lately served kings, afterwards serve republics; and ardent republicans become all at once royalists, according to the dictates of their ambition or their avarice. Such is the miserable condition of human nature, that it is never consistent with itself; and when a man abandons one party to coalesce with another, he is often more actuated by a culpable motive than a virtuous conviction.

Maryland followed the example of the other provinces. The authority of the ordinary assembly was here also transferred to a convention, which assembled in the city of Annapolis. It proposed the articles of a league, to be composed of its own members, and all the freemen of the province. They pledged their faith reciprocally, and all towards America, to persist, according to their power, in opposition, whether with arms or with commercial restrictions. They decreed, that forty companies of minute-men should be levied; and that all the inhabitants of the province, freemen, from sixteen to fifty years, except only the ministers of religion, and physicians exercising their profession, individuals in the service of the governor, minute-men, artillery-men, and those prevented by their religious opinions from bearing arms, should attach themselves to some one company of militia. Hence it appears how calm, how remote from all blind transport, was this people; since, in such a crisis, individuals, reputed most essential to the general utility, were exempted from military service; and since religious opinions were also perfectly respected.

The regular organisation of the militia ascertained the pay of the officers and that of the soldiers. A committee of safety was invested with the direction of affairs relating to the militia and minute-men; and even with the power of taking, during the recess of the convention, the measures deemed necessary for the good of the province. Subaltern committees were established, for local superintendance upon every point, and for the reciprocal transmission of useful intelligence. Finally, the convention created two hundred and sixty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-six dollars, in bills of credit, in order to defray the charges of the militia. Meanwhile, the people had already forced the gates of the provincial arsenal, and seized the arms and ammunition, which were found there in considerable quantity.

In New Jersey, the royal authority still subsisted in its ancient forms; but it was without power, since it was without arms. Accordingly, the real directing authority was that of the people; which had, for its support, both arms and the general opinion. The militia organised and exercised themselves, according to the regulations published by the provincial Congress. The people had taken possession of the public chest; a sum of twenty to thirty thousand pounds sterling it contained, was appropriated to pay the militia. Besides the provincial militia, the general Congress invited the convention of New Jersey to levy, without delay, two battalions, at the expense of the public treasure; the officers were to have the same pay as those of the confederate army, and the soldiers to be engaged but for one year. In the meantime, governor Franklin convoked the provincial assembly. In the speech he addressed them, he expressed his grief at the present troubles; and announced, that the commanders of the British fleets upon all the American coasts had orders to act offensively against every port or place whatsoever, in which the officers of the king should be insulted, or in which troops should be levied, forts erected, or the public magazines plundered. He spoke also of the desire of independence; and added, that, as to the safety of his own person, he would refer it to their good faith. The assembly, in their answer, expressly denied any thought of independence; they assured the governor, that he might be tranquil with respect to his safety; and, finally, that as to the disturbances, they deplored them sincerely, but could do nothing to remedy them, since their cause was in the acts of parliament.

The two provinces of Connecticut and Rhode Island were inhabited by men naturally the zealots of liberty; and, not having the restraint of a royal governor, as by their charters they had the privilege of electing their own, they had long since provided themselves with men, arms, and munitions. These measures of safety were the more essential, as the vicinity of the English troops of Boston alarmed their suspicions; and they saw enemy vessels continually upon



the coasts, employed in carrying off provisions, not only for their own use, but also for that of the garrison besieged in that city. Besides this, captain Wallace, commanding a ship of the king, with some other armed vessels, greatly harassed their commerce, capturing daily merchant vessels belonging to one or other of these provinces. At length, he made a furious attack upon the town of Bristol. The houses, the stores, the churches, suffered excessively from the fire of his artillery; which continued till the inhabitants, at evening, consented to supply with fresh meat this man without pity. But these hostilities committed by the vessels of the king against a defenceless town, did but increase the already too violent disgusts of the Americans, who complained of them with much asperity, in a multitude of writings, both public and private.

But Wallace was not of a character to allow himself lightly to be diverted from his resolutions; and perhaps he was also spurred on by necessity. The blame should not be imputed to him, but to those ministers who by their rigorous counsels had provoked the war, without having prepared the requisite means to sustain it; consequently, as it was impossible to fight in the open field, to conquer, it became necessary to pillage, in order to live. Captain Wallace, therefore, employed himself with great activity, in ravaging, by his piracies, the coasts of Connecticut and Rhode Island. The army of Massachusetts sent to the succour of the Rhode Islanders a detachment of soldiers, under the command of general Lee. This man, of a violent character, and little accustomed to respect the laws and public order, when it was in question to favor the American revolution, immediately compelled the people he came to defend, to bind themselves, by the most terrible oaths, to break off all communication with the instruments of ministerial tyranny, vulgarly called, said the words of the oath, the troops and fleets of the king; not to lend them any assistance whatever; to denounce traitors before the public authorities; and to take arms for the defence of American liberty, as often as it should be required of them by the general Congress, or the provincial magistrates. The Congress disapproved this conduct of general Lee; at which he gave himself little concern. He declared it pusillanimous to respect the civil laws, in the midst of arms; and, in times of revolution, he considered all means legitimate, by which he might attain his ends; a manner of acting, which, if it conducts one revolution to its object, leaves, and even prepares, as experience demonstrates, all the elements of another to follow it.

The assembly of Rhode Island decreed, that those of the inhabitants of the colony who should hold intelligence with the British ministers or with their agents, or should supply the armies or fleets with arms or military or naval stores, or should serve as pilots to the English ships, should incur the pain of death, and the confiscation of their lands and effects. They pronounced the confiscation of the

estates of some individuals, whom they declared enemies to the liberties of America. They emitted the sum of twenty thousand pounds sterling, in bills of credit. These measures, and the presence of general Lee, secured the tranquillity of Rhode Island.

Governor Wentworth still continued in New Hampshire; but, little by little, the patriots acquired the superiority, and his authority declined in proportion. Fearing, at length, some vexatious accident, he withdrew into the castle denominated William and Mary.

The popular administrations had also succeeded the ancient authorities, in Georgia. The partisans of the king were, however, the prevailing number; and the general Congress had sent thither, by way of precaution, a battalion armed at the expense of the Union. But, before it had reached its destination, a very sanguinary action had happened in the city of Savannah, between the patriots, who occupied the fort, and the royal troops, who assaulted and retook it. The capitulation was observed, and the vanquished had not to complain of any cruelty. The patriots were, however, predominant in the rest of the province; and gallantly prepared themselves to recapture, by storm, the citadel of Savannah. They were better armed, and more united, than their enemies, who were unprovided with munitions, and found themselves dispersed in different places.

Thus ceased, as we have related, the royal authority in the different provinces. It was replaced, progressively, by that of the people; that is, by the congresses or conventions extraordinary, that were formed in each colony. But this was deemed insufficient, by those who directed the affairs of America. Their real object being independence, and the present state of things, as irregular and precarious by its very nature, leaving a way open of arrangement with England, and of return to the ancient connexion and dependence, they desired that such a system should be established in each province as should have the appearance of a permanent constitution, in order to satisfy the world that the Americans were capable of governing themselves by their own laws. But the chiefs of the popular party had many difficulties to surmount in the execution of this design, notwithstanding the ardor which manifested itself in all parts to second their operations. The greater number approved resistance, but were opposed to independence, or at least shuddered at the idea of openly asserting it. For this reason, those who had the supreme direction of affairs, fearful of injuring their cause by too much precipitation, resolved to proceed with extreme circumspection; and marched up to their object, always protesting that their efforts were aimed in quite another direction.

It was highly important to commence the execution of this plan, with the provinces which discovered the greatest aversion towards England. It was hoped, that when it should be accomplished in one or more, the others would soon imitate the example. No pro-



vince appeared more suitable to give it than that of Massachusetts. The provincial Congress of this colony issued circulars, for the election of representatives, authorised to constitute the form of government. Two hundred delegates assembled at Watertown, and adopting the ancient forms of the British constitution, resolved themselves into an ordinary assembly, or house of representatives, and assumed all the authority attributed by the ancient statutes to these assemblies. They afterwards established a permanent council, to assist the governor in his deliberations. Thus the royal authority was converted at first into tumultuary popular authority, and at length into regular popular authority. All these operations were performed, as they said, not with any view to independence, but in order to induce the English to consent to a just and honorable arrangement. One of the first acts of this house was to raise the sum of thirty thousand pounds sterling, by means of a tax; which excited a dudgeon the more intense, as the people had persuaded themselves that since they were in insurrection to avoid paying taxes to England, they ought at least to be excused from paying any to their own government. But the other colonies discovered great backwardness to follow the route marked out by Massachusetts; either because its views appeared too manifestly aimed at independence, or, that, being placed in peculiar circumstances, the other colonies, differently situated, did not think proper to tread in its steps. But the American chiefs, far from being discouraged, resolved to employ the authority of the general Congress. They procured from New Hampshire new instructions to the delegates of that province, requiring them to take the sense of Congress respecting the mode of administering justice, and the internal government of the colony. This discussion excited violent debates; many members perceived the scope of it but too distinctly. The patriots, however, aided by circumstances, and their own intrepidity, at length prevailed. It was decided, that the provincial convention of New Hampshire should be invited to convene representatives of the people, from all the towns, that they might take such measures, and pass such laws, as they should judge best calculated to secure peace and order in the province, during the present contest. But the provincial convention, either from impatience, or in order to inspire greater interest, by a demonstration of glowing zeal, had anticipated the resolution, and the circulars for the election of representatives were already expedited. They assembled at Exeter, took the name and character of the house of representatives, and established the usual council.

The example of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, appeared still not sufficient to decide the other provinces to take the same resolutions. The inhabitants of the other colonies were not exempt from jealousy towards those of New England. It was therefore

desirable that the plan proposed should be executed in some one of the central provinces. For this purpose Virginia was the best adapted, as well on account of its extent and power, as by reason of the political shocks it had recently experienced, since lord Dunmore, by the proclamation of martial law, had caused the entire cessation, in that province, of all civil authority on the part of England. The general Congress, therefore, made, with respect to Virginia, the same resolutions as in the case of New Hampshire.

Among the members to whom this business was referred, Samuel Adams merits to be remarked, who labored in it with distinguished ardor, and appeared to esteem its success a personal triumph.

At this epoch, it was learned by the news from England, that the government had disdained to make answer to the petitions of Congress, addressed to the king, and transmitted by Penn, the late governor of Pennsylvania. It was understood further, that none of the ministers had condescended to ask him any questions relative to the affairs of America. This was an unequivocal proof of their obstinacy, and irrevocable resolutions. The animosity of the colonists became, in consequence, more violent, and the enterprise of the authors of independence infinitely more easy. They declared, in all places, that nothing could be hoped for any longer from the English government; and that the only way of safety which remained, was to display formidable forces, to shake off an odious yoke, and learn to walk without leadingstrings.

This discourse had no success with the general assembly of Philadelphia, who, though inferior to none in their zeal for resisting the extraordinary laws of parliament, would hear no mention of independence. They manifested their discontent, by enjoining it upon their deputies to the general Congress, to oppose every proposition that should tend towards a separation from the parent state, or any change in the form of government. In the midst of such conflicting efforts, America moved onward to independence.

But it is time to return to the war that was carried on under the walls of Boston. The Americans had to contend with two capital difficulties; the one was the want of powder, which still continued, notwithstanding all the efforts used to procure a sufficient supply; the other was the approaching expiration of the term for which the soldiers were enlisted. Either persuaded that the war would be of short duration, or jealous of standing armies, the colonists had engaged their troops but for one year. They were therefore in danger of seeing the whole army disbanded, at the conclusion of the present year, and the siege thus raised in a day. To remedy, in the first place, the scarcity of powder, as their country could not furnish it in sufficient quantity, they determined to exert all their efforts to procure it from foreigners. Several fast-sailing vessels were sent to the coast of Guinea, whence they brought home



immense quantities, having purchased it of the European ships employed in that trade. The Philadelphians, knowing the favorable dispositions of the inhabitants of the Bermudas, and their great want of provisions, despatched thither a large brig, and the Carolinians a corvette, which brought away about one hundred and ten casks of powder. The assembly of Massachusetts prohibited the consumption of it in firing at game, or in rejoicings. Then only began to be less felt the defect of this first instrument of war. It remained to obviate the inconveniences of the expiration of the soldiers' term of service; the Congress sent a deputation to the camp, in order to concert with general Washington the most efficacious means to prevent the dissolution of the army. The deputies were all men of distinguished sagacity; and, among the most conspicuous for authority and reputation, was doctor Benjamin Franklin. They managed this negotiation with such address, that almost all the troops consented, but not without extreme difficulty, to continue in the pay of the Union.

The Congress ordained, besides, that the besieging army should amount to the number of more than twenty thousand men; and that each colony should levy battalions, at the expense of the continent.

About this time Dr. Church, first physician of the army, was declared traitor. He kept up a secret correspondence within Boston. Being detected, he was brought before the house of representatives, whereof he was a member. He did not deny, but said he had only acted for the good of the country. Unable to prove it, he was expelled the assembly. Some persons pretended that this whole affair was but an artifice. The Congress decreed that the accused should be confined in the prisons of Connecticut.

General Gage returned to England, having been recalled by the king. His conduct had not answered the expectation of the government; he had employed the ways of mildness, when he should have displayed force; and violence, when persuasion would have sufficed. He arrived in America, accompanied with general affection; he left it abhorred; perhaps less through his own fault than that of the ministers, who, in place of rigorous decrees, should have sent powerful armies; or, instead of armies, conciliatory conditions, consonant with the opinions of the Americans. But men commonly know neither how to exert all their force, nor to surmount the shame of descending to an accommodation; hence delays, hesitations and half measures so often prove the ruin of enterprises. William Howe, a commander much esteemed for his talents, and distinguished for his birth, succeeded general Gage.

Washington found himself, at that time, surrounded with many and serious difficulties; they proceeded from the organisation of his army; and increased, every day, in proportion as the first ardor of his troops abated. Every hour it became more evident, that the success of

wars resides not in popular impulses, but in good arms, discipline, and obedience; things the American camp was far from offering; and especially the two last. One principal vice was this; the greater part of these troops not having been raised by authority of Congress, but by that of the provincial assemblies, their organisation, instead of being uniform, presented an excessive variety in the formation, equipment, rank, pay, discipline, and, generally, in all that relates to military service. It is easy to conceive how much it must have suffered from such a disparity. Washington had placed great dependence upon the troops of Massachusetts, not only as they were the most numerous, but also as he believed them animated with that zeal which distinguished their province, and therefore qualified to undertake and support whatever might contribute to the success of the war. The general was much deceived in his expectation. The soldiers of Massachusetts, guided by the enthusiasm of liberty, had themselves elected their own officers,—a thing incompatible with discipline; these officers not being respected, they exacted obedience in vain. It must be admitted, moreover, that some of them degraded themselves by a rapacity which fell indiscriminately upon private as well as public property. They clamored liberty, in order to be able, without restraint, to satiate their incredible avarice. The state of affliction in which their country was plunged, far from touching them with compassion or concern, seemed rather to increase in them their infamous propensity for pillage. This disastrous scourge has at all times been one of the first results of political revolutions. The most depraved, the most profligate men, while they profess the most ardent love for the public good, are even those who, under this veil, abandon themselves without shame to the thirst of rapine that consumes them. In this disorder, the voice of good citizens is not heard because the wicked are the loudest in their protestations of the same zeal; and the wicked cannot be repressed, because their services are wanted. Another vice of the American army was that each colony, and not the general Congress, paid, clothed, and victualled its own troops; which resulted in a confusion extremely prejudicial to good order and discipline. As yet it had not been thought of, or, perhaps, in the midst of so many different interests, it had not been possible to create a commissary or intendant-general, having charge of all these details of administration. The disorder was greater still. Some American generals, dissatisfied with the promotions made by Congress, had retired disdainfully to their homes. Maladies, also, had found their way into the camp, and especially the dysentery, a pest so fatal to armies. The close of autumn already had rendered the cold very sensible; the soldiers suffered severely, from want of barracks. The Congress, however, had not neglected this point; but the contractors, after having received the necessary funds, furnished nothing; and, according to their custom, exclaimed every



where that they were not paid. Thus all the wrongs appeared to rebound upon the government; so industrious is this race of men in creating confusion, in order to veil their juggling operations! Nevertheless, Washington, by his prudence and by his authority, provided for all wants. If he acquired an imperishable glory, in having conducted the present war to a happy conclusion, praises not inferior are assuredly due him for having kept together an army composed of so many different elements, and beset by so many afflicting wants. The latter success is not less honorable, and perhaps of more difficult attainment, than victory itself.

The Americans, to whom the spectacle of an army was entirely new, came from all the environs, and even from remote parts, to behold it. Men and women arrived in throngs at the camp of Boston, and demonstrated a lively satisfaction at the martial air of their fellow-citizens. The soldiers felt their courage revive, and the inhabitants their hopes. The Indians themselves were attracted. Distrustful and incredulous by nature, they wished to ascertain with their own eyes the truth of what they had heard related. They were received with particular civility. In order to amuse the Americans, or to create a high opinion of their strength and address, they gave frequent representations of feasts and combats, after their mode. The mutual expressions of benevolence, the familiarity that ensued, and the presence of the numerous battalions of the Americans, which held the British troops locked up within the walls of a city, made such an impression upon the Indians, that, notwithstanding all the seductions and all the importunities of the English, they generally testified a great repugnance to follow their banners. The colonists observed these sentiments with no little satisfaction.

Although no action of moment was engaged about Boston, yet warm skirmishes happened frequently, in which the Americans acquired new intrepidity and love of glory. Washington ardently desired that his troops should often encounter the enemy, in these miniature battles, that their energy might not languish from inaction, and that they might become familiar with the din of arms, and the face of the enemy.

Meanwhile, the distress in which the garrison of Boston found itself, increased from day to day. The supplies procured by the English vessels, in their excursions upon the neighboring coasts, were altogether inadequate to the exigencies of a necessity so extreme. The inhabitants had removed their grain and cattle to inland places; and what remained they resolutely defended with arms. Nor could the English have much hope of drawing provisions from the adjacent islands, or from other parts of the American continent, still subject to the king, since they were themselves in want. This scarcity was produced by a decree of Congress, which prohibited all exportation of provisions or merchandise from the colonies towards Canada.

Nova Scotia, the island of St. John, Newfoundland, and the two Floridas, as well as to the places where the English carried on their fisheries. It often happened, that the parties landed by the latter, to forage upon the coasts of Massachusetts, were attacked and repulsed by the provincials. The English marine had orders to treat as enemies the places that should resist the authority of the king. Not content with resisting, the inhabitants of Falmouth, a flourishing maritime town of Massachusetts, had molested a ship laden with the effects of some loyalists. The English bombarded it, and also landed a detachment, which reduced it to ashes.

The destruction of Falmouth provoked a very energetic resolution on the part of the assembly of Massachusetts. A short time before, they had ordained the arming of several ships, for the protection of the coasts. Then, exercising sovereign power, they decreed that letters of mark and reprisal should be granted; and that courts of admiralty should be created, to judge of the validity of prizes. They declared, moreover, that their intention was merely to defend their coasts; and that no vessels were to be seized, but such only as should be laden with provisions for the soldiers who made war against the Americans.

Not long after, the general Congress itself, perceiving the necessity of intercepting the English navigation, and of protecting the coasts of the continent, and also observing the success of the cruisers of Massachusetts, decreed that a fleet of five ships of thirty-two guns, five others of twenty-eight, and three of twenty-four, should be constructed and armed; one in New Hampshire, two in Massachusetts, one in Connecticut, two in Rhode Island, two in New York, four in Pennsylvania, and one in Maryland. The command of this squadron was given to commodore Hopkins.

The Congress appeared to hesitate as to granting letters of mark and reprisal. They decided, however, for a measure, which, though in name less hostile, yet in reality produced the same effects. They authorised their ships to capture all those which should attempt to lend assistance to the enemy, in any mode whatsoever. They also created courts of admiralty.

Thus, little by little, they drew into their hands the entire sovereign authority. The Americans made incredible despatch in equipping their ships; they soon swarmed in the neighboring seas, and took from the English an immense number of prizes, who, little suspecting so bold a sally, saw themselves, with confusion, surprised upon an element, of which, until then, they had with reason considered themselves the absolute masters. The activity of this new marine was no less beneficial to the Americans, than fatal to their enemies. The British government, informed of the distress to which the garrison of Boston was reduced, had embarked, at a prodigious expense, an immense quantity of oxen, and all sorts of live



cattle, of salt meat and of vegetables, to victual a place of such importance with all expedition.

Contrary winds, in the first place, retarded the transports at sea, beyond the expected term; the cattle died, the vegetables perished. The residue at length arriving upon the coast of America, became almost entirely the prey of the American ships, and that often under the very eyes of the British commanders, who, either becalmed or opposed by the winds, were unable to succour them. At Boston, wood was totally wanting; the government, in order to remedy this deficiency, had embarked in this convoy a large quantity of coal. The greater part fell into the power of the Americans; thus, the garrison, and even the inhabitants of Boston, in the midst of the most rigorous season, found themselves absolutely destitute of fuel. Nor did fortune show herself only propitious to the Americans in their efforts to intercept the means of subsistence, which had been sent from England for the garrison; she delivered also into their hands the arms and munitions of war, of which they were themselves in the most urgent need.

Pressed by a necessity continually increasing, general Howe had already sent out of Boston, and caused to be transported to the neighboring shores, more than seven hundred useless mouths. It was said at the time, that among those individuals were found several diseased with the smallpox. If the fact be true, as least it cannot be thought to have been the result of an odious design to infect the American camp; the mind of general Howe being certainly altogether incapable of such an atrocity. It is true, however, that many Americans both credited and published it. The assembly of Massachusetts, either believing these rumors, or wishing them believed, decreed all the precautions usual in similar cases. Meanwhile, in order to procure fuel, general Howe was constrained to demolish several houses in Boston; for the light vessels of the Americans cruised so actively along the coasts, that all hope of procuring either wood or coal from the neighboring towns had vanished.

Meanwhile, the house of representatives of Massachusetts, created fifty thousand pounds sterling in bills of credit, and knowing how naturally men allow themselves to be guided by words and images, they caused the bills to be decorated with great care. Their emblem was an American, holding in the right hand a sword, around which were incised these Latin words, '*Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem.*' With the left, he supported the motto, '*Magna Charta,*' and at the foot, '*Made in defence of American liberty.*' The House also ordered, that the army should be supplied with fuel. But it seemed that they did these things with a certain reluctance, and very ill grace; impatience or avarice had sensibly chilled the zeal of these patriots, of late so ardent. General Lee, accustomed to express himself without any sort of reserve, was not sparing of

censure towards them; he openly called them narrow and pusillanimous souls, who, apprehensive of losing popular favor, wanted courage to take a vigorous resolution, or to strike a decisive blow. The Congress, meanwhile, decreed, that by virtue of the law of retaliation, any harsh treatment which should be inflicted upon those among the Americans who might fall into the power of the enemy, should be revisited upon those partisans of ministerial oppression, whom the fortune of war might place in their hands. This question of the reciprocal treatment of prisoners of war, had given birth to violent debates between the one party and the other. We have letters written upon this subject, in a very animated style, to each other, by generals Gage and Washington. Though it is probable that the wrongs might have been mutually exaggerated, it is certain that the laws of war were not observed towards the prisoners, and that much inhumanity was manifested in the proceedings against them. Can it excite our astonishment? Are not these the ordinary fruits of civil war?

Such was, about the close of the year 1775, the political and military situation of the province of Massachusetts, and such the events which took place under the walls and in the vicinity of Boston. Those who occupied this city were afraid to venture out, and every day experienced a more afflicting dearth of provisions and firing; while those without made no attempt to attack them, believing themselves secure of an eventual triumph by simple perseverance.

But the most important expedition of all this year was incomparably the invasion of Canada, by the American troops. The Congress had reflected, that it was not assuredly, without views of great interest, that the ministry had sent for governor in this province, general Carleton, a man of resolute character, vast genius, and brilliant name for military achievements. He was invested, as we have seen, with such extensive powers as no governor before him had ever offered example of. It was known that he exerted all his efforts to stir the Canadians and Indians, and stimulate them to arms against the colonies. Though at the commencement he had found great repugnance among the first, it was to be feared that, by employing address and authority, he might succeed, at length, in drawing them to his standard. The dispositions of the people of Canada were not unknown; always French at heart, and even somewhat fickle. It was known, also, that they cherished a sullen discontent on account of the act of Quebec; which, though favorable to their religion, replaced them, however, in their ancient dependence towards the nobles, whom they detested. It was therefore essential to take advantage of their present sentiments, before Carleton should have gained them. It was hoped that when the Americans should have penetrated into Canada, the inhabitants would not hesitate to espouse their cause, excited on the one hand by their hatred towards the nobility, and reassured on the other by the moderation which the colonists had generally manifested in



matters touching religion. The province of Canada was, besides, unfurnished with troops of the line; they had all been called to Boston. Moreover, the Congress had been informed, that in the following spring the government was to make a grand effort in this province; that numerous forces, arms, and munitions, would be poured into it, in order to attack the colonies in the back; an operation, which, if not seasonably prevented, might have fatal consequences. The colonists, assailed at the same time in front and rear, could not have expected to resist.

The design of an expedition to Canada was also encouraged by the happy success of the enterprise of Ticonderoga, and of Crown Point, which had opened for the Americans the gates of this province. Occasion could never be more propitious; the English troops, shut up in Boston, and occupied with their own defence, were in no situation to carry succours into a part so remote from the provinces of the confederation. But it was to be feared, that longer delays would afford time for the British ministry to make the necessary preparations to overpower the colonies by a single effort, and reduce them to their former dependence. Here, also, another essential consideration presented itself. In the origin of popular movements, the chiefs should endeavor to achieve some brilliant enterprise, in order to maintain the excitement of minds, otherwise they run the risk of seeing the sudden extinction of the enthusiasm they have kindled; and the epoch of the return of order is always that of the downfall of agitators. In perilous enterprises, attempted by insurgent people, hope and fear are created and annihilated with equal promptness. The more just they believe their cause, the more strenuously they defend it; and they incline to believe it just, as it proves successful. According to all these considerations, the expedition of Canada was decided. Prudent men, however, could not shut their eyes upon the numerous difficulties it presented. This was no longer an adhering to the defensive, but, on the contrary, a proceeding the most offensive, against a prince to whom fidelity was still protested, even carrying arms into one of his provinces, which had in no shape demanded the succours it was pretended to offer it. This was not merely exciting the peaceable and uncomplaining subjects to revolt against their lawful sovereign, but also violently occupying their country, and dragging them by force into sedition.

Was it not to be feared, that an enterprise so audacious would discover too openly the intentions of the general Congress; and that then, those of the colonists who combated with sincerity to obtain the revocation of the oppressive laws, at the same time abhorring the idea of a total separation, and even desiring to resume their former relations with Great Britain, would immediately abandon a cause which would no longer be theirs? Many members of Congress were not without apprehensions of losing, by the execution of this design, the

favor which a great number of the inhabitants of England, and many members of parliament, had hitherto manifested towards the American cause. From offended subjects, should the colonists become dangerous enemies; from oppressed inhabitants, oppressive soldiers; from citizens alarmed at the shadow of tyranny, the insatiable invaders of a peaceable province? Prudence would also suggest, that the fear of seeing pillaged or destroyed the effects and the merchandise belonging to England, at this time largely accumulated in Canada, and especially in the city of Quebec, could not fail to alienate the minds of all the parties interested. But it was said, on the opposite side, that, since arms had now been taken up, and the first blood already effused, to persist in a strictly defensive war was to allow the enemy a manifest advantage, who had not the same scruples; that, seeing hostilities were commenced, it was essential to prosecute them with all possible vigor; and that certainly a more sensible blow could not be struck at the enemy, than this of assaulting him in his weakest part.

‘Does any one imagine,’ said the partisans of this system, ‘that England is about to perplex herself with this distinction of operations defensive, and operations offensive? Her hand will visit vengeance upon us, wherever it can reach us. With arms alone, and used too with vigor and gallantry, not by timorous counsels, can we hope to avert the impending tempest of perdition. The enterprise proposed offers all the probabilities of success; when we shall have obtained it, those who still hesitate, even those perhaps who blame, will have vanquished all their doubts. In whatever man undertakes, there is always a grain of uncertainty, a particle of danger; but generous minds are not to flinch at this. The ancient adage should not be forgotten,—he that acts not when he can, acts not when he would.’

‘Let us be persuaded, finally, that the eloquent orators of the two houses of parliament, either from love of liberty, as they pretend, or at least from ambition and from the desire to thwart the ministers, will not abstain from defending, and even extolling, our cause, when we shall have done much more than attack the province of Canada.’

The resolution having been carried in favor of the expedition, the Congress were not tardy in taking all the measures proper to secure its success. Three thousand soldiers, partly inhabitants of New England and partly of New York, were selected for the enterprise. They were commanded by the two brigadier-generals, Wooster and Montgomery, under the direction of major-general Schuyler; these three officers enjoyed the public confidence unlimited. As, in order to reach the heart of Canada, it was requisite to traverse lake Champlain, the river Sorel, and the river St. Lawrence, so broad and deep under the walls of Quebec, orders had been given to construct rafts at Ticonderoga and at Crown Point, in order to convey the troops wherever it might be thought necessary. The country into which it



was purposed to enter not making part of the American Union, and governing itself by its own laws, it could not be hoped that its inhabitants would receive the bills of credit which were current in the colonies; and, on the other hand, the idea was insupportable, that the soldiers should live at discretion, in a country it was desired to gain and conciliate. Consequently, the Congress made an effort to glean together the sum of fifty thousand dollars in specie. It was also prudent, to avoid being taken in rear, to secure the friendship of the Indians that inhabited the banks of the Mohawk, which empties into the Hudson river, a little above Albany. For the same reason, general Schuyler had remained in that city, in order to cultivate a good understanding with those tribes, with whom he possessed a powerful influence. General Montgomery had already repaired to Crown Point, with a part of the army, and was expecting the arrival of the residue. Governor Carleton, who was much on his guard, seeing himself menaced by a superior force, reflected, that if he could defend against the Americans the entrance of the river Sorel, it would be impossible for them to penetrate into Canada. He accordingly caused to be constructed and armed a large brig, with some vessels of less force, and intended to station them at the outlet of the lake into the Sorel; hoping thus, and with reason, to interdict the passage, with effect, to the Americans. General Montgomery was informed of it; and, perceiving all the importance of this project of Carleton, determined to prevent it, by moving rapidly with the few troops he had, towards the Sorel. Upon his arrival there, he proceeded to occupy *Ile aux Noix*, a little island, situated upon the entrance of the river, near the lake. In the meantime, general Schuyler arrived from Albany, after having left the necessary orders for marching the troops of the expedition to *Ile aux Noix*. Here the two generals having met, addressed a proclamation to the Canadians, exhorting them to join the Americans, in order to defend their liberties. They declared they entered their country not as enemies, but as friends and protectors, coming only to combat against the British garrisons. Then, in order to unite force with demonstrations, they determined to approach fort St. John, which, situated upon the left bank of the Sorel, commands it entirely, and closes the passage towards the river St. Lawrence. The Americans moved, therefore, but without artillery, towards St. John, and landed at a mile and a half distant from the fort, in a marsh, through which they marched in good order, with a view to reconnoitre the place. In their progress, they had to sustain a furious attack on the part of the Indians, who attempted to oppose their fording a river. Having repulsed them, they, in the course of the night, established themselves in sight of the fort, and began to throw up works; but having learned that the fort was in a respectable state of defence, and not hoping to carry it so promptly, they returned, the day following, to *Ile aux Noix*, where they resolved to wait for reenforcements and

artillery. Meanwhile, to interrupt the communication for the ships of governor Carleton from fort St. John with the lake, they obstructed the channel of the river, here very narrow, with a chevaux-de-frise.

General Schuyler had returned to Albany, in order to terminate the treaty with the Indians, and to accelerate the arrival of succours at Ile aux Noix. But affairs, and a severe malady, detained him in that city; and thus the entire conduct of the Canadian expedition passed into the hands of general Montgomery, an officer endowed with all the capacity desirable. He endeavored, in the first place, to detach the Indians from the party of the English, and to engage them to remain neuter; he succeeded in this point, without much difficulty. Then, after the arrival of his reinforcements and artillery, he undertook the siege of fort St. John. The garrison consisted in five or six hundred regular soldiers, with two hundred Canadians, under the command of major Preston; but the army of Canada, as well as all the others of the confederation, wanted powder and cannon balls, and therefore the siege made little progress. The defect of discipline among the provincial troops created a difficulty no less alarming. Montgomery opposed it with patience, with promises, with menaces, and especially with his magnanimity and the authority of his person, which was very great among all. Fortune soon offered him the means of remedying the deficiency of ammunition. A little below fort St. John, and upon the same river, is situated another small fort, called Chambly. The English, believing the enemy could not arrive there, before capturing fort St. John, had neglected to arm it. The American general turned his attention to this quarter. He put in motion a strong detachment, composed of colonists and Canadians, under the command of majors Brown and Livingstone. They appeared unexpectedly before the fort, and took possession of it. The garrison, a mere handful, were made prisoners. A few pieces of cannon, with an hundred and twenty-four barrels of powder were thus obtained. The colors conquered from the English were solemnly sent to Congress. The Americans, now provided with the necessary munitions, pressed with vigor the siege of St. John. They established a battery, at two and fifty paces from the fort.

Several detachments of Americans scoured the country between the river Sorel and that of St. Lawrence. They were received with great demonstrations of joy by the Canadians, who came in throngs to join them, bringing arms, ammunition, and provisions. Their spirit increased with their number. Colonel Allen and major Brown, both officers of real talent, concerted the project of surprising the city of Montreal, the capital of Upper Canada, and situated in an island formed by two branches of the St. Lawrence. Colonel Allen having reached Longueville, found boats, and crossed the river, during the night, below Montreal. Major Brown was to have



passed over at the same time ; but, not having been able to effect it, the first division found itself in a critical position. Governor Carleton, who was then at Montreal, having discovered the weakness of colonel Allen, and knowing how to make his profit of occasion, marched out to meet him, with a few hundred men, among English, Canadians, and savages. A fierce action ensued, and the Americans defended themselves with bravery ; but, overpowered at length by numbers, having lost many of his men, and abandoned by the others, especially by the Canadians, colonel Allen was forced to surrender. The governor would not observe towards him the laws of war ; but caused him to be loaded with irons, and sent him to England.

Flushed with this success, he resolved, by a vigorous effort, to raise the siege of fort St. John. He assembled what regular troops he had, and a considerable number of Canadians and Indians ; but still not believing his means sufficient, he departed from Montreal, in order to join colonel Maclean, who, with the Scotch regiment of Royal Highlanders, occupied the mouth of the Sorel, near its confluence with the St. Lawrence. He hoped, with these forces united, to be in a situation to attack general Montgomery, and compel him to raise the siege. But fortune was not favorable to his design. The American general, foreseeing that a man so active as governor Carleton would assuredly not remain idle, had taken care to scour continually, with numerous detachments, the eastern bank of the right branch of the St. Lawrence.

The English, having completed their preparations, entered their boats, to pass the river, and land upon the opposite side, at Longueville. The American colonel Warner, having perceived their design, planted artillery on the bank of the river, and stood ready to repulse the enemy with musketry. He suffered the boats of the governor to approach ; and, when they were within reach, poured into them several discharges of grape-shot. The English, surprised at this unexpected reception, retired in the greatest disorder, and relanded upon the other bank of the river, at Montreal. Colonel Maclean, informed of the check at Longueville, fell back upon Quebec, abandoning to the Americans the mouth of the Sorel.

Meanwhile, the siege of fort St. John was pushed with greater ardor. General Montgomery had already approached with his trenches to the foot of the wall, and was preparing to give the assault. But the besieged defended themselves valiantly, and appeared resolved to hold out to the last, notwithstanding their provisions were nearly exhausted. At length, the American general having received the news of the governor's defeat, sent into the place a flag, accompanied by one of the prisoners of colonel Warner. In the letter he addressed to major Preston, informing him of this event, he exhorted him not to persist in an obstinate defence, the only result of which would be an useless effusion of blood. Preston at

first hesitated, and demanded an armistice of some days. But the American could not consent to consume time unprofitably; the season being already much advanced. The Englishman was consequently compelled to surrender, the 3d of November, after a siege of six weeks. He obtained the honors of war, and guaranty of persons and property. The prisoners were conducted, by the way of Ticonderoga, into the colonies that were deemed the most proper. Thus fell into the power of the Americans the fortress of St. John, which, since the loss of Ticonderoga and of Crown Point, was justly considered as the key of Canada. They found in it seventeen pieces of brass cannon, twenty-two of iron, seven mortars, with a considerable quantity of balls and bombs, and of naval stores; the munitions of war and provisions had been almost entirely consumed.

Masters of this important place, the Americans hastened to occupy the mouths of the Sorel, and the point of land which this river forms in its junction with the St. Lawrence. This operation was of the utmost interest, in order to prevent the armed vessels, which the governor had assembled at Montreal, from descending the river, and escaping to Quebec. It was hoped, besides, that the governor himself might have to surrender; he being then at Montreal, an open city, and incapable of any defence. Accordingly, the provincials erected batteries upon this point; and, as the river is here very wide, they constructed, with extreme activity, a number of rafts and floating batteries; and thus not only prevented the governor from descending the river, but even compelled him, by a furious attack, to retire towards Montreal. All this squadron, and the governor in person, had a very narrow escape.

General Montgomery arrived under the walls of Montreal, the day after general Carleton had joined his ships and left it. The inhabitants immediately proposed many articles of capitulation; but the American general refused to accept them, alleging, that, not being in a state of defence, they could not make terms. He summoned them, therefore, to surrender at discretion; but, humane as well as brave, and possessed of all the civil virtues that can honor an individual, he regulated himself for the inhabitants all the conditions they could have wished, promising them, with a writing from his own hand, that he would protect their persons, their property, and their religion. In anticipation of their adhesion to the American Union, he added, that he hoped the civil and religious rights of all the Canadians would be unalterably fixed by the provincial Congress, and that the courts of justice would be organised after the principles of the English constitution. He subscribed, generally, to all the propositions that were compatible with the security of his army, and the success of his ulterior designs. This conduct of general Montgomery was dictated not only by his own character, which was truly noble and generous, but also by his desire to reassure the inhabitants



of other parts of Canada, and particularly of Quebec, to the end, that, banishing all fear, and putting their confidence in his fortune and his fidelity, they might espouse the cause of America. Having thus satisfied the inhabitants of Montreal, he entered the city, on the 13th of November.

The troops of Montgomery, generally but ill equipped, were greatly annoyed by the cold of the season, which in that climate began to be very severe. Especially in their march from St. John to Montreal, the lands being continually low and marshy, they encountered innumerable difficulties, which only an incredible constancy enabled them to surmount. Arrived at Montreal, some murmurs began to escape them; and the greater part of the soldiers, whose term of service had expired, were inclined to return to their homes; but general Montgomery, by his words, by the influence he had over them, and by a distribution of woollen clothing he had bought in the city, retained a part of the discontented; the others abandoned the army, and caused it to experience a diminution the more sensible, as it was already none too large. But, the more obstacles multiplied, the more kindled the elastic genius of the intrepid Montgomery.

The taking of Montreal by the provincials entirely paralyzed the naval apparatus of the governor. He found himself blockaded, in the part of the river St. Lawrence which is comprehended between the city and the mouth of the river Sorel. Below this point, the passage was interdicted him, by the floating batteries and rafts, armed with artillery, under the command of colonel Easton. The taking of the governor himself appeared inevitable; which was to be considered as the decision of the war of Canada, as the pledge of the conquest of the capital, and of the entire province. Its fate depended absolutely upon the presence of this chief, whose courage and prudence presided over all. In a position so perilous, he found the way to escape, and at the very instant when his ruin appeared impending. He threw himself into a boat; and, having caused the oars to be muffled, to diminish the noise, he had the good fortune to pass, favored by the obscurity of the night, through the guard boats of the enemy, and to arrive sound and safe at Quebec. General Prescott, who after the departure of the governor, had taken command of the squadron, was forced to surrender.

With him fell into the power of the provincials many other officers, several members of the civil administrations of Canada, the volunteers of this province, and a corps of English soldiers; all of whom had taken refuge on board the ships, when general Montgomery was on the eve of arriving at Montreal. Having left a garrison in Montreal, as also in the forts of St. John and Chambly, to keep open a communication between Quebec and the colonies, to secure the submission of the Canadians, and to overawe the Indians, as well as the garrisons of Detroit and Niagara, he marched towards Quebec, with a

corps of little more than three hundred men, the sole residue of all the army.

While these events passed in the upper part of Canada, the city of Quebec was itself menaced, from an unexpected quarter, with a most imminent peril.

Washington, in his camp near Boston, had conceived an enterprise as surprising for its novelty as terrific for the obstacles and dangers which it presented in the execution; but if it was hazardous, it was no less useful. He thought there must exist a way, which, though unfrequented, and known only by the mountaineers in the mild season, led from the upper parts of New Hampshire and the province of Maine, across deserts, marshes, woods, and almost inaccessible mountains, into Lower Canada, on the part of Quebec. He calculated that an attack directed against this point, would produce the greater effect, as it would be the more unexpected; for not only no army was ever known to pass through these rough and dismal solitudes, but never had human being, until then, even imagined it was possible. Washington knew, besides, that the city of Quebec was by no means in a state of defence. His plan coincided perfectly with that part of the army which was to penetrate into Upper Canada by way of the lakes and the river Sorel. It was known how insufficient were the forces of governor Carleton, who, compelled to divide them, could not hope to resist two corps that should attack him simultaneously, the one towards Montreal, the other towards Quebec. If he persisted in defending the part contiguous to the first of these cities, the second fell into the hands of the Americans; if, on the contrary, he marched to the succour of Quebec, Montreal and all the adjacent country could not escape them.

The command of this adventurous enterprise was confided to colonel Arnold, a man even more rash than audacious, of a genius fertile in resources, and of a firmness not to be shaken. There were selected, to follow him, ten companies of fusileers, three of riflemen, and one of artillery, under the orders of captain Lamb. A few volunteers joined them, among whom was colonel Burr, who afterwards became vice-president of the United States. The corps amounted in all to eleven hundred men. The province of Maine is traversed by a river called the Kennebec, which takes its source in the mountains that separate this province from Canada, and, running from north to south, falls into the sea, not far from Casco bay. Opposite the sources of the Kennebec, on the other side of the mountains, rises another river, named the Chaudiere, which goes to empty itself into the St. Lawrence, a little above the city of Quebec. In going from one of these sources to the other, it is necessary to pass steep mountains, interrupted by frequent torrents and marshes. No living being is found in all this space. Such is the route colonel Arnold was to take, in order to arrive at Quebec.



He had received instructions to endeavor to correspond with the army of Upper Canada, by means of the Indians of St. Francis, who inhabit the banks of a river of this name, situated between the Chaudiere and the Sorel. He was also to employ all possible means to conciliate the friendship of the Canadians, and to inform general Washington of whatever should happen to him, from day to day. He carried with him six thousand pounds sterling, and proclamations in abundance; they were used then with the same prodigality that they have been since.

All the preparations being completed, and the troops appearing animated with extreme ardor, colonel Arnold departed from the camp of Boston about the middle of September, and arrived at Newburyport, situated at the mouth of the Merrimac.

The vessels that waited for him there, conveyed him to the mouths of the Kennebec. The wind being favorable, he entered the river, and found two hundred batteaux in preparation, at the town of Gardiner. Having laden them with his arms, ammunition, and provisions, he thus proceeded up the river to fort Wester, situated upon the right bank. Here he divided his corps into three detachments; the first, composed of riflemen, and commanded by captain Morgan, formed the vanguard, to explore the country, sound the fords, prepare the ways, and especially to reconnoitre what the Americans denominate *portages*. These portages are places where, the rivers ceasing to be navigable, it becomes necessary to carry by hand or sumpter, all the lading of the batteaux, and finally the boats themselves, until the streams become navigable anew. The second detachment marched the day following, and the third, the day after that. The current was rapid, the bed of the river rocky, and often interrupted by falls and other impediments. It happened at every instant, that the water entered the batteaux, and damaged or drowned the provisions and ammunition. At every portage, and they were encountered continually, the boats were to be unladen, and transported upon shoulders, to a navigable place. The way upon land offered difficulties no less formidable than this of the water. It was necessary to penetrate through thickest forests, to scale frightful mountains, to wade through quagmires, and traverse horrible precipices. The soldiers, while hewing a way through so many obstacles, were forced to carry all their baggage; and accordingly they advanced but very slowly. Provisions began to fail them before they arrived at the sources of the Kennebec. They found themselves constrained to eat their dogs, and even aliments still more strange. Numbers, wasted by continual fatigues and hardships, were attacked with maladies. As soon as they reached the source of Dead river, which is a branch of the Kennebec, colonel Enos received orders to send back all the sick, and all those to whom it was not possible to furnish provisions. But this officer, embracing the occasion, returned with all his detachment

to the camp at Boston. All the army, on seeing him appear, were transported with indignation against a man who had abandoned his own companions, in the midst of danger, and whose desertion might occasion the miscarriage of the whole enterprise. He was brought before a court martial, but acquitted, in consequence of the acknowledged impossibility of procuring sustenance in these wild and desert places.

Meanwhile, colonel Arnold pursued his march, with the two first divisions. He had employed thirty-two days in traversing fearful solitudes, without perceiving a single habitation, a single human face. Marshes, mountains, precipices, were encountered at every step, and appeared to cut off all hope of success, or rather all hope of safety. Death was to all more an object of desire than of fear; their toils, their hardships, their sufferings, had no end. Their constancy, however, did not desert them; the law of necessity seemed to sustain their energies. Arrived upon the summit of the mountains that separate the waters of the Kennebec from those of the Chaudiere and of the river St. Lawrence, the feeble relics of food that still were found were divided equally among all the companies. Arnold said to his soldiers, they must now push forward to seek subsistence, since they had no other resource, no other chance of preservation. As to himself he was to be seen every where, reconnoitring the places, and searching for some means to escape famine. The companies were still thirty miles distant from any inhabited place, when it was found that every species of subsistence was consumed to the last morsel. Despair became general; all at once, Arnold appeared, and brought with him wherewith to satisfy the first wants of nature. They resumed their march; and at length discovered, with inconceivable joy, the sources of the Chaudiere, and, soon after, the first habitations of the Canadians. These showed themselves heartily well disposed towards the Congress, and offered the Americans all the succours that were in their power. Arnold, who was impatient to reap the fruits of so many toils and of so many perils, would wait no longer than was necessary for the rear guard to come up, and to assemble the scattered soldiers. He then gave out a proclamation of general Washington. It was drawn up in the same style as those of generals Schuyler and Montgomery. The Canadians were exhorted to enter into the confederacy, and resort to the banners of general liberty; they were told, that the colonists came not to oppress or despoil them, but, on the contrary, to protect persons and property, in a country they considered friendly; 'Let them remain, therefore, in their dwellings; let them not fly from their friends; let them furnish the troops with all the necessaries in their power, for which they might depend upon full payment.'

Arnold continued his march, and arrived, the 9th of November, at a place named *Point Levy*, situated opposite to Quebec, upon the



right bank of the river St. Lawrence. It is easy to imagine the stupor of surprise which seized the inhabitants of Quebec, at the apparition of these troops. They could not comprehend by what way, or in what mode, they had transported themselves into this region. This enterprise appeared to them not merely marvellous, but miraculous; and if Arnold, in this first moment, had been able to cross the river, and fall upon Quebec, he would have taken it without difficulty. But colonel Maclean had been seasonably apprised of the approach of the Americans, by a letter, which Arnold, being still at the sources of the Kennebec, had confided to an Indian of St. Francis, to deliver to general Schuyler, and which this savage had suffered to be taken from him, or perhaps had voluntarily given up. The English had consequently withdrawn all the batteaux from the right bank to the other side of the river. In addition to which, the wind this day blew so violently, that it would have been impossible to cross the river without manifest danger. These two circumstances saved the city. Arnold was forced to lose several days; and he could have no hope of being able to pass, except in the night, the river being guarded by the frigate *Lizard* and several smaller armed vessels, that were anchored under the walls of the city. But, during many successive nights, the wind was even more impetuous than by day. Meanwhile, the Canadians had furnished Arnold with batteaux; and he waited only for a fit time to attempt the passage.

The commander of Quebec found himself provided with few means to defend the city. The spirit that prevailed among the inhabitants could not fail to alarm him; and the garrison was very feeble. The merchants and English were much dissatisfied with the French laws, which had recently been introduced into the province, and the little regard shown by the government for their petitions. They complained, that all favors, that all privileges, were reserved for the French inhabitants; and that the desire to win the benevolence of these enemies, had caused the government to despise friends. 'These Frenchmen,' they said, 'elated with pride by so many attentions, incessantly insult and outrage the English. Even in private circles, these zealous subjects are forward to discourse upon affairs of state, in order to sound the opinion of those that hear them, and afterwards to go and report their words to persons in authority. Thus the liberty enjoyed by the English in their actions and speech, is transformed into symptoms of disaffection, disloyalty, and sinister designs.' The English citizens also manifested an extreme disgust at the license of the soldiery, and as the conduct of the governor, who had left the city without garrison, when the troops had been sent against the insurgents in the part of the Sorel and of Montreal, without even having taken the precaution to organise the companies of militia. It appeared, also, that little reliance could be placed in the fidelity of the French, the greater part of whom were wavering, and some even declared

enemies to British domination. On the other hand, the garrison was extremely feeble; it only consisted in the companies of Royal Irish, under colonel Maclean, and in a few militia, finally assembled in haste by the lieutenant-governor. The council of naval officers had not permitted the sailors to be landed to serve on shore, as well on account of the season, now far advanced, as of the difficulties of the navigation.

But when the American colors were seen floating on the other side of the river, all the citizens, soldiers or not soldiers, landmen or seamen, English or French, united by common danger, and fearing for their effects, which were very considerable, hastened with emulation to the defence of the city; and exerted the utmost activity, in order to make all necessary preparations, before the enemy could pass the river. The companies of militia were armed, and stationed at their posts. The Royal Irish manifested the greatest resolution. The marines were put on shore, who, accustomed to the management of cannon, were destined to serve the artillery of the ramparts. The ardor of colonel Maclean was of great benefit, in this first approach of perils; he neglected nothing to inspire all minds with firmness, and to assemble whatever might contribute to the defence of the city.

Finally, the wind being moderated, and Arnold having made his arrangements, in order to pass the river, and attack the city, he appointed the night of the 13th of November for the execution of his designs. He embarked all his men, with the exception of one hundred and fifty, who remained to complete the requisite number of ladders. Notwithstanding the extreme rapidity of the current, and all the pains it was necessary to take in order to avoid the ships of the enemy, he reached the left bank, a little above the place where general Wolfe had landed in 1759, under auspices so happy for his country, and so fatal to himself. Unable to scale the banks of the river, which are very steep at this point, he descended towards Quebec, always marching upon the margin of the river, until he was come to the foot of the same precipice which general Wolfe had found so much difficulty in surmounting. Followed by his intrepid companions, he mounted to its summit, and drew up his little band upon the heights near the plain of Abraham. Here he waited for them to recover breath, and to give time for the companies left on the other side of the St. Lawrence to join him. He had hoped to surprise the city, and to carry it by a single effort. But the notice given by the intercepted letter, the appearance he had made at Point Levy, and the encounter of a boat that was passing from the port of Quebec to the frigate, had given the alarm, and apprised the whole city of the danger ready to burst upon them; accordingly, all were at their posts. It was not long before Arnold had full assurance of it; for, having sent forward the companies of riflemen to reconnoitre the places, and the position of the enemy, they reported, on their return, that they had



encountered advanced guards, who had given the alert. The colonel was nevertheless disposed to order the attack; but the other officers endeavored to dissuade him from it. The greater part of the muskets were become, by the accidents of a long march, unfit for service. So great a part of the ammunition had perished, that there no longer remained more than six charges to each soldier. Finally, the provincials had not a single piece of cannon. But, if Arnold had lost the hope of taking Québec by storm, he had not renounced that of exciting within it a movement in his favor, and causing its gates to be opened to him, by showing himself in arms under its walls. Accordingly, he displayed himself frequently upon the heights; and even sent a flag, summoning the town to surrender. But all was in vain. Colonel Maclean, who commanded during the absence of the governor, not only refused to admit the message, but ordered his men to fire upon the bearers. Arnold was informed, at the same time, that the soldiers who had escaped from the discomfiture of Montreal, were coming down the river, and that colonel Maclean was preparing to make a sally.

Finding himself, therefore, constrained to retire, he went to encamp at a place called *Point au Tremble*, twenty miles above Québec, to await the arrival of Montgomery, who was expected from Upper Canada. He perceived, during his march, the ship in which governor Carleton was proceeding to Québec. When arrived at *Point au Tremble*, he learned that this general had stopped there, a few hours before; so uncertain are the events of war—so singular are the chances on which often depends the fate of nations!

The governor arrived, therefore, without accident, at Québec. He immediately set about taking all the measures of defence which the pressure of time, and the difficulty of circumstances, could allow him. He sent out of the city, with their families, all those who refused to take arms. The garrison, inclusive of the militia, amounted only to about fifteen hundred men, a number much inferior to what would have been necessary to guard suitably all the fortifications, which were extensive and multiplied; and even of this number, the proportion of regular soldiers was very inconsiderable. The companies organised by colonel Maclean were composed of new levies; and one company of the seventh regiment were all recruits. The rest was a medley of militia, French and English, of some few marines, of sailors belonging to the frigates of the king, or to the merchant vessels that wintered in the port. These seamen constituted the principal force of the garrison; for they at least knew how to serve the artillery.

In the meantime, general Montgomery, having left garrisons in the fortresses of Upper Canada, and secured the favorable dispositions of the inhabitants of the parts adjacent, commenced his march towards Québec. The season was extremely severe; it being about

the beginning of December; the roads, obstructed with snow, were almost impassable. The Americans, however, supported so many hardships with singular fortitude. It was owing principally to the prudence and firmness of Montgomery, qualities which gave him a powerful influence over his soldiers. This multitude, snatched from pacific occupations, had been all at once employed in the most arduous toils of war, in the midst of the most rigorous season of the year. Every one sees how difficult it is to introduce subordination among men of such a sort; and it should even be added, that these, from their habits and opinions, were peculiarly indisposed to that obedience so essential in armies. Finally, the term of their engagement was nearly expired; and already they exulted in the expectation of soon returning to the repose and solace of their homes.

Such were the difficulties which beset the American general. But his name, dear to all, the seduction of his eloquence, even the splendor of his person, his virtues, and the continual example he gave of resignation and magnanimity, supported the constancy of his troops under their hardships, and inspired them with new ardor to follow his steps. Certainly the march of Arnold across the horrible wilderness that separates the District of Maine from Canada, and this of Montgomery through Upper Canada; the force of talent which enabled the two leaders to maintain discipline and good will among soldiers lately enrolled, attached with vehemence to their independence, and accustomed to act their pleasure without restraint, are enterprises which at least equal, if not surpass, the most painful, the most arduous, of all those related in history of the captains of antiquity. Such prodigies have been accomplished by armies of considerable numbers, when compared with those which have overwhelmed other parts of the world; but ought this to diminish the glory of these intrepid men in the memory of posterity?

Montgomery arrived, the first of December, at Point au Tremble, with a detachment not exceeding, if it amounted to, three hundred men. Here colonel Arnold advanced to receive him; the joy of the two corps, at this meeting, cannot be described. Montgomery had brought clothing for the soldiers of Arnold, who stood in the most urgent want of it.

They marched in company, and arrived, the fifth of December, in sight of Quebec. Their force was inferior to that of the garrison they purposed to attack. They sent to summon it by a flag. The governor ordered his troops to fire upon the bearer. Montgomery then resorted to the agency of an inhabitant, to convey another letter to the governor; in which, after having magnified his own forces, the insufficiency of the garrison, and the impossibility of defence, he demanded an immediate surrender, threatening an assault, and all the calamities which irritated and victorious soldiers are wont to inflict upon cities taken by storm. This step was also without success;



general Carleton, a veteran commander, was not a man to be intimidated so easily. As to the American general, considering the weakness of his means, and the immobility of the inhabitants, who made no demonstration in his favor, he cherished but faint hopes of success. Nevertheless, to abandon an enterprise in which he had engaged with so much ardor, appeared to him too unworthy of his name and valor. He was not ignorant, besides, that in the commencement of this revolution, the unfortunate issue of an expedition so agreeable to the people, and upon which they had founded such brilliant expectations, would infallibly produce a pernicious effect upon the public mind. He foresaw that, instead of ardor and confidence, it must introduce dejection and despair. He doubted even whether he should be able to preserve the part of Canada he had acquired, if the capital of the province remained in the power of the English. He had been informed, that, in the following spring, large reinforcements were to arrive from England; which would enable the enemy to expel the American troops without difficulty. Wanting forces, but not courage, Montgomery resorted to the only way that was left him; he resolved to harass and reduce the garrison, by frequent and furious attacks. He was not without hope, that he might thus find some opportunity to strike a decisive blow; this expectation was the more probable, as the garrison was far from being sufficient to guard effectually the numerous fortifications of so extensive a city. The American general accordingly attempted to throw bombs into the town, with five small mortars; hoping in this manner to excite some movement within. But the vigilance of the governor, the zeal and bravery of the officers, and especially the efforts of the seamen, prevented this siege from producing any perceptible effect.

A few days after, Montgomery planted a battery of six pieces of cannon and a howitzer, within seven hundred paces of the walls. This artillery was laid, not upon the ground, but upon banks of snow and ice; the pieces were of feeble caliber; their fire was nearly without result.

Meanwhile, the snow which fell incessantly, encumbered the earth; and the cold had become so violent, that it was beyond human nature to support it in the open field. The hardships which the Americans had to suffer from the rigor of the climate, and the fatigues to which their small number subjected them, surpass all the imagination can picture of the most severe. The attachment they bore to their cause, and the confidence which they had, the most unshaken, in their general, could only have sustained them in the midst of trials so terrible. To render their position still more dismal, the smallpox broke out in the camp; this scourge was the terror of the soldiers. It was ordered that those who were attacked with it, should wear a sprig of hemlock upon their hats, that the others might know and avoid them. But constancy in the human breast, gives place to despair, when suf-

ferings appear without end. And this extremity was the more to be feared among the provincials, as the expiration of their time of service, with the possibility of escape from so many evils, might probably create the desire. All these considerations persuaded Montgomery, that without a bold and immediate effort, he must renounce the idea of satisfying public expectation, and witness the eclipse of his own glory. In his position, even temerity became prudence, and it was better to lose life in a glorious action, than resign himself to a shame which would have been so fatal to the American arms.

Accordingly, Montgomery having determined to attempt the assault, convoked a council of war, and acquainted them with his project. Without denying that it was of difficult execution, he maintained that it was possible, and that valor and prudence would triumph over all obstacles. All were in favor of his proposition. A few companies of Arnold, dissatisfied with their commander, alone testified repugnance. But captain Morgan, a man of real merit, addressed them a persuasive discourse, and their opposition ceased. The general had already arranged in his mind the plan of the attack, and thought of all the means proper to carry it into execution. He intended it should take place, at the same time, against the upper and lower town. But understanding that a deserter had given notice of it to the governor, he resolved to divide his army into four corps, two of which, composed in great part of Canadians, under the command of majors Livingston and Brown, were to occupy the attention of the enemy by two feigned attacks of the upper town, towards St. John and Cape Diamond. The two others, led, the first by Montgomery, the second by Arnold, were reserved to assault the lower part of the town from two opposite points. The general was perfectly aware, that after he should have carried this part of Quebec, there would remain many difficulties to be surmounted in order to conquer the other. But he hoped that the inhabitants, on seeing so great a proportion of their property fallen into the power of the victors, would force the governor to capitulate.

The last day of the year, 1775, between four and five o'clock in the morning, in the midst of a heavy storm of snow, the four columns put themselves in motion, in the best order, each towards the point assigned.

It is said that captain Frazer, of the Irish emigrants, in going his round, perceived the fuses which the Americans fired to give the signal; and that, immediately, without waiting further orders, he caused the drums to beat, and roused the garrison to arms. The columns of Livingston and of Brown, impeded by the snow and other obstacles, were not in time to execute their feints. But Montgomery, at the head of his, composed chiefly of New York men, advanced upon the bank of the river, marching by the way denominated *Anse de mer*, under Cape Diamond. Here was encountered a first barrier,



at a place called Potasse, which was defended by a battery of a few pieces of cannon; further on, at the distance of two hundred paces from this, stood a redoubt, furnished with a sufficient guard. The soldiers that composed it, being the greater part Canadians, on seeing the enemy approach, were seized with terror, threw down their arms, and fled. The battery itself was abandoned; and if the Americans could have advanced with sufficient expedition, they would certainly have been masters of it. But in turning Cape Diamond, the foot of which is bathed by the waters of the river, they found the road interrupted by enormous masses of snow. Montgomery, with his own hands, endeavored to open a path for his troops who followed him, man by man; he was compelled to wait for them. At length having assembled about two hundred, whom he encouraged with voice and example, he moved courageously and rapidly towards the barrier. But in the meantime, a cannonier who had retreated from the battery, on seeing the enemy halt, returned to his post, and taking a match, which happened to be still burning, fired a cannon charged with grape-shot; the Americans were within forty paces. This single explosion totally extinguished the hopes they had conceived. Montgomery, as well as captains Macpherson and Cheesman, both young men of singular merit, and dear to the general, were killed upon the spot. The soldiers shrunk back on seeing their general fall; and colonel Campbell, on whom the command devolved, was not a man capable of executing so perilous an enterprise. The flight soon became universal; so that this part of the garrison no longer having enemies to combat, was at liberty to fly to the succour of that which was attacked by Arnold.

This colonel, who was himself at the head of the forlorn hope, marched by the way of St. Roc, towards the place called *Saut-au-Matelot*. Captain Lamb followed him with a company of artillery, and one piece of cannon; next came the main body, preceded by the riflemen under captain Morgan. The besieged had erected at the entrance of the avenue, a battery, which defended a barrier. The Americans found themselves confined within a passage obstructed by deep snow, and so commanded by the works of the enemy, that his grape-shot swept it in every direction. Meanwhile, Arnold advanced rapidly under the fire of the besieged, who manned the walls. He received a musket ball in the leg, which wounded him severely, splintering the bone. It was necessary to carry him to the hospital, almost by compulsion. Captain Morgan then took the command, and with all the impetuosity of his character, he launched himself against the battery, at the head of two companies. The artillery of the enemy continued to fire grape-shot, but with little effect.

The American riflemen, celebrated for their extreme address, killed many of the English soldiers through the embrasures. They applied ladders to the parapet; the besieged were daunted, and aban-

done the battery to the assailants. Morgan with his companies, and a few soldiers of the centre, who were come up to the vanguard, made many prisoners, English as well as Canadians; but his situation became extremely critical. The main body had not yet been able to join him; he had no guide, and he was unacquainted with the city; he had no artillery; and the day was still far from dawning. He found himself constrained to halt; his soldiers began to reflect upon their position; their ardor cooled rapidly. The ignorance in which they were of the fate of their other columns, the obscurity of night, the snow which fell with redoubled violence, the firing of musketry which was heard on every side, and even behind them, finally, the uncertainty of the future, filled the boldest spirits with an involuntary terror. Morgan alone resisted the panic; he rallied his riflemen, promising them a certain victory. He ran to the barrier, to spur on those who had remained behind. Lieutenant-colonel Green, majors Bigelow and Meigs, joined him with their companies. The morning began to dawn, when Morgan, with a terrible voice, summoned his troops to the assault; he led on with fury against a second battery, which he knew to be only a few paces distant, though masked by an angle of the road; on turning the corner, he encountered a detachment of English, who had sallied from the battery, under the command of Captain Anderson. The latter summoned the Americans to lay down arms. Morgan levelled a musket at his head, and laid him dead upon the ground. The English then retreated within the battery, and closed the barrier. A fierce combat ensued, which cost many lives to the two parties, but most to the Americans, whose flanks were exposed to a destructive fire of musketry from the windows of the houses. Meanwhile, some of the most adventurous having rested their ladders against the palisades, appeared disposed to leap it, but on seeing two files of soldiers prepared to receive them on the points of their bayonets, they renounced this project. Cut down by a continual fire, they now sought shelter in the houses. Morgan remained almost alone, near the barrier, endeavoring in vain to recall his soldiers, and inspire them with fresh courage. Weariness, and the menacing countenance of the enemy, had disheartened the most audacious. Their arms, bathed by the snow, which continued to fall impetuously, were no longer of any use to them. Morgan then seeing the expedition frustrated, ordered the retreat to sound, in order to avoid being surrounded. But the soldiers who had taken refuge in the houses were afraid to expose themselves to the tempest of shot that must have been encountered, in gaining the corner of the avenue, where they would have been out of danger, and whence they might have retired behind the first barrier. The loss they had sustained, the fury of the storm, and the benumbing effects of the cold, had deprived them of all courage. In the meantime, a detachment of the besieged sallied out from a gate



of the palace, and captain Dearborne, who, with his company of provincials, held himself in reserve near this gate, having surrendered, the English retook all this part of the city; consequently, Morgan saw himself encircled by enemies. He proposed to his followers, to open, with arms, the way of retreat; but they refused in the hope that the assault given on the other part might have succeeded, and that Montgomery would soon come to their relief. They resolved to defend themselves, in the meantime; but having at length perceived by the continually increasing multitude of enemies, the true state of things, they yielded to destiny, and laid down arms.

Such was the issue of the assault given by the Americans to the city of Quebec, in the midst of the most rigorous season of the year; an enterprise, which, though at first view it may seem rash, was certainly not impossible. The events themselves have proved it; for if general Montgomery had not been slain at the first onset, it is more than probable that on his part he would have carried the barrier, since even at the moment of his death the battery was abandoned, and only served by a few men; by penetrating at this point while Arnold and Morgan obtained the same advantages in their attacks, all the lower city would have fallen into the power of the Americans. However this may be, though victory escaped them, their heroic efforts will be the object of sincere admiration. The governor, using his advantages nobly, treated the prisoners with much humanity. He caused the American general to be interred with all military honors.

The loss of this excellent officer was deeply and justly lamented by all his party. Born of a distinguished Irish family, Montgomery had entered in early youth, the career of arms; and had served, with honor, in the preceding war between Great Britain and France. Having married an American lady, and purchased an estate in the province of New York, he was considered, and considered himself, an American. He loved glory much, and liberty yet more. Neither genius, nor valor, nor occasion, failed him; but time and fortune. And if it is allowable, from the past actions of man to infer the future, what motives are there for believing, that if death had not taken him from his country in all the vigor of his age, he would have left it the model of military heroism and of civil virtues! He was beloved by the good, feared by the wicked, and honored even by enemies. Nature had done all for him; his person, from its perfection, answered to the purity of his mind. He left a wife, the object of all his tenderness, with several children, still infants;—a spectacle for their country, at once of pity and of admiration! The state, from gratitude towards their father, distinguished them with every mark of kindness and protection.\* Thus died this man—whose name,

\* The author was misinformed with respect to this fact; the widow of general Montgomery never had any children.

ever pronounced with enthusiasm by his own, has never ceased to be respected by the warmest of the opposite party; marvellous eulogium, and almost without example!

General Carleton still added to his reputation for prudence and intrepidity, in having maintained, under circumstances of such difficulty, both order and union, among soldiers assembled in haste, and altogether strangers to discipline. If, with means so feeble, he was able to repulse the formidable attacks of an enemy rendered more terrible by despair, he acquired an honor not inferior by the generosity with which he used victory.

Arnold, who, after the death of Montgomery, had taken the command of the troops, not thinking himself in safety under the walls of the city, extended his camp, with the intention of converting the siege into a blockade. He retired to a distance of three miles from the town; and intrenched himself, as well as the season, the want of all necessary articles, and the shortness of time, would admit of. Though still suffering much from his wound, he was vigilant to scour the country, and to intercept the provisions that were conducted to the city. The governor, on his part, satisfied with seeing the return of tranquillity for the present, and trusting in the hope of succours already announced, would not, by a second trial of fortune, expose himself to hazard the glory he had acquired, the fate of the province, and perhaps that of all the war. He therefore remained peaceably within the walls of the city, waiting for the favorable season, and reinforcements from England.

Thus terminated, in America, the year 1775, to give place to the subsequent, teeming with actions no less glorious; and events no less memorable.



## BOOK SIXTH.

1775. THE general attention in England was now turned upon the great spectacle presented by the Americans, and their resistance rekindled the animosity of the different parties. It had been hoped, and the ministers themselves had confidently affirmed, that the late laws, and especially the troops recently despatched to the colonies, would promptly suppress sedition and reduce the factious to obedience. It was not doubted that the partisans of the royal cause, encouraged by the presence of soldiers, and desirous to avoid the vengeance of the laws, would display great energy, and separate themselves from the insurgents, to join the troops of the king, and reestablish the authority of government. It was also firmly believed that the southern provinces, on seeing the storm ready to burst upon their heads, would never espouse the quarrel of the provinces of the north; and it appeared infallibly certain that the dissensions which alienated the one from the other, would bring about the submission of all. But these hopes having proved entirely deceitful, a general discontent succeeded them, and on all parts the conduct of ministers was censured with asperity. It was deemed intolerable that the soldiers of the king, instead of victoriously keeping the field, should shamefully languish behind the walls of a city without daring to show themselves. The popular movements, which at first were only partial, now extended over the whole continent. The governors in the room of reestablishing the royal authority, were forced to fly from their posts and take refuge on board of ships.

The Americans, heretofore represented as trembling, and ready to humble themselves, were daily acquiring new audacity, and a more formidable energy in resistance. The members of parliament who had combated the influence of ministers, repeated, with loud cries, 'that such were the necessary fruits of their incapacity, of their infatuated obstinacy.' 'Since they have not been willing, it was said, to grant the colonists the peace they implored, they ought, at least, to have made war upon them with sufficient forces; they have done too much to irritate, too little to subdue. Instead of surprising their adversaries before they could have furnished themselves with means of defence, they have given them a long warning, as if they wished to see them duly prepared; they have chosen to stake the entire fortune of the colonies, and brought into play only a part of their forces; they have dishonored the British nation not only with the Americans but among all the nations of the world; they have sullied it with the name of cruel, without having veiled the stigma with the lustre of victory. But we rejoice indeed, and greatly rejoice, to see thus defeated to their utter shame all the projects of the ministers

against America. They will perceive, at length, that it is not so easy to establish tyranny in the British empire, as they had presumed in their blind rage to conceive. With a satisfaction not less sincere, do we behold that opposition, so worthy to be admired by all good men, and by all the friends of liberty, which has resulted in the wreck of these Scotch machinations, of this policy of the Stuarts, first attempted in America, but intended eventually for England. We are cheered by the happy augury; and we no longer despair of the public safety, whatever may be the pernicious plots of profligate ministers.'

'We have believed, answered the ministers, that the ways of meekness in this commencement of troubles, were most agreeable to the spirit of our laws, and of our national character; that clemency and forbearance ought to form the basis of the conduct of the British government towards its subjects. The ministers have been accused so many times, and upon grounds so frivolous, of wishing to introduce a system of despotism, that in the present occasion they have been very circumspect to keep themselves aloof from all suspicion of a similar desire. What would their adversaries have said, if at the beginning of disturbances they had hurried to arms; if they had sent formidable armies to America, and consigned it to fire and blood? Then would they have raised the voice against tyranny; we have not done it, and their clamors are the same. What have we left then but to despise them? For is it not demonstrated, that not the love of liberty, but ambition, not the desire of justice, but that of baffling the ministers, have been the motives of their conduct? Before proceeding to the last extremities, our duty was to allow time for reflection and repentance; for only incurable evils are to be treated with fire and sword.

'We have borne for a long time, it is true, the effervescence of the Americans; but we should hope that this long suffering would persuade them of the maternal sentiments of our common country that has endured outrages with magnanimity, which it might have punished at a single blow. The colonists themselves have no doubt of this; they must know the immense superiority of the forces of England. The measures of the government would have opened their eyes already, if they were not continually deceived, excited, and misled by chiefs in delirium, here as well as there, by the cries of an imprudent opposition. But it will soon be seen in earnest, by the vigorous resolutions of government, and the energetic employment it is about to make of all its forces, that it will no more be wanting to itself than forgetful of what is due to the honor of the crown and the interests of the country.

'The Americans have no more indulgence to expect on our part. They are no longer to be looked upon as British subjects, but as implacable enemies. With as much confidence as justice, we can



henceforth overwhelm them with the formidable arm of Great Britain.' Such were the answers of the ministers to the imputations of their adversaries. These excuses might have been valid, if the ministry had not assailed the Americans with laws far more irritating than open force. For armies, though victorious, may be resisted with glory; but the patience that must tolerate oppression, is without this illusion.

Far from abating with time, these intestine dissensions appeared every day to acquire new activity. The more necessary a consent of opinions became to avert the perils that menaced the country, the more they were divided and marshalled in opposition by the spirit of party. This internal fermentation was of an augury the more fatal, inasmuch as it brought to mind those ancient and sanguinary quarrels which raged in the time of Queen Anne with so much peril to England, between the republicans and the royalists, under the names of whigs and tories. The friends and the enemies to the cause of America manifested the same animosity, and the same obstinacy; and there was much appearance that not only America, but England itself, was on the point of breaking out into open discord and civil war.

'The tories,' it was said on one side, 'are themselves the authors of the frequent addresses to the king and parliament, urging that the continent of America should be put to all that fire and sword can inflict; these are the false reporters, these the incendiaries of discord. Bigotted as they are, and infatuated in the maxims of the house of Stuart, neither the example of the evils they have brought upon England, nor the total ruin of this family, which they caused, can illuminate their obstinate minds, and induce them to renounce the cruel principles of tyranny. The bitter fate of the father is not sufficient to divert an obstinate son from pursuing the dangerous path which led him to destruction; such are all the tories. They sacrifice their rank, their fortune, their existence, to their prejudices and thirst of domination. When the inauspicious reign of the Stuarts had visited our island with foreign servitude and civil war, then the tories, trampling upon national honor and public felicity, abandoned themselves to joy. Their maxims coincide with those of the absolute princes of Europe, and they would not blush to place their country in such hands if, in so doing, their ambition might receive a new support. All the countries of Europe are subject to sovereigns whose power is without limits. England alone, by the special favor of Providence, enjoys a moderate and free government; but the tories would fain subvert it to establish the uniformity of despotism throughout all European countries. Their hearts are contaminated with all the vices of proud, perfidious, and profligate courts; with their infected breath they propagate them, like a pestilence, over the whole nation. They esteem no man but for his baseness; they

honor none but the proud and the arrogant. Their superiors they flatter, their inferiors they oppress; the prosperous they envy, the unfortunate they rarely succour, and never but from vain glory. The public felicity becomes in their hands the instrument of slavery, and our submission they deem far more essential than our prosperity. The sovereign good they place in absolute dominion; and the best possible state of society they believe to consist in mute servitude. Revolutions they applaud when they conduct a people to tyranny; they deplore their mischiefs with a hypocritical pity, they exaggerate them with the gloss of words, when liberty is to be their fruit. The argument of public tranquillity is always upon their lips; but when were they ever heard to speak of the abuses of arbitrary power, of consuming taxes, of the vexations of the powerful, of injuries without reparations, and of outrages without redress? If they are now opposed to the cause of the Americans, it is because it clashes with their plan of attack against the happy free government of our country, and their schemes for introducing into the very heart of the kingdom the laws of Charles and of James. They flatter themselves, that after having strangled the germs of liberty in America, and vanquished those generous spirits, victorious troops will also know how to bend our necks to the same cruel yoke. Such are the thoughts, such the desires that agitate them without intermission, and not the wish to see the return of peace upon that unfortunate continent where they have themselves kindled the flames of war. Let us then prevent such fatal designs, let us preserve in its integrity the inheritance which our ancestors, thanks to their valor, to their generosity, and to the magnanimous enterprises of the great William III. have handed down to us. Thus shall we serve our country, and perhaps even the house of Brunswick, which cannot without danger show itself ungrateful towards the friends of liberty, nor depart with safety from those maxims which have raised it to the British throne.'

The tories answered these declamations with no little warmth. 'It ill becomes the whigs,' they said, 'to tax us with cruelty and arrogance, since no one is ignorant what their conduct was, when, in the time of the commonwealth, and even under the monarchy, they had the supreme power in their hands; then did exile, confiscations and scaffolds spread desolation and ruin over our unhappy country; then prisons and chains were the instruments of popular clemency! If a generous prince had not arrested their career of anarchy and blood, if he had not substituted, by the aid of all good citizens, a system of liberty, so dear to the tories, England would have seen her last hour, and fallen a prey to foreign enemies. But, what is, in fact, our desire? That in every affair which interests the nation, that in every controversy which divides it, there should be a supreme authority to regulate and to determine them irrevocably; and this authority, we believe, to reside in the king, united with the



parliament. But the republicans will not submit to the laws of this legitimate authority, but are in chase of nobody knows what popular authority, which they pretend to consist in the universality of the citizens, as if a tumultuary, ignorant, and partial multitude, should or could judge of objects wherein the eyes even of the most enlightened and prudent discover the greatest difficulties.'

'A way must, however, be found to terminate national dissensions; are they to be referred to the decision of a populace ever more apt to be misled by daring and profligate demagogues, than to be guided by men of prudence and of virtue; of a rabble that hunger itself puts in the power of the first intriguer? For this purpose kings and the parliament have been instituted; it is for this end that, in the ordinary direction of affairs, as well as in unforeseen and difficult cases, they provide, and watch that the country should experience no detriment.'

'In the present dispute with America, have the ministers acted singly and of their own motion? The king and the parliament have decreed, have approved all their measures; this consideration ought to have great weight with every man who is a friend to public authority, and to the principles of the constitution. But the whigs are gasping for the moment to arrive when England, as well as America, shall be a prey to an unbridled multitude, in order to be able to enrich themselves by plunder, to gratify their insatiable ambition, and to operate the total subversion of this free government. These pretended patriots are the sons and representatives of the republicans who desolated the kingdom in the last century. They din the name of liberty continually in our ears, because they desire themselves to exercise tyranny. Under the pretext of the public safety they violate and trample under foot every form, every civil institution; they arrogate to themselves all the plenitude of arbitrary power. If they manifest an utter contempt for the laws which are the protectors of persons, of property, and of honor, their cruelty is not less conspicuous; for an opinion, whether real or supposed, or maliciously imputed, for a suspicion, for a chimera, they fly into a rage, they rush to persecutions; they plunge into misery the fathers of families, the fathers of the country, the best, the most useful, the most respectable citizens. They fawn upon the people so long as they are the weaker; but once become the stronger, they crush them, they decimate them, they starve them, and adding derision to barbarity, they never cease to protest they do it all to render them happy. These friends of liberty are perpetually declaiming against the vices of courts, as if pillage, both public and private, the scandalous profusion of ill gotten wealth, the turpitude of debauch, the violation of the marriage bed, the infamous price extorted from faithful wives to redeem their husbands' blood, the public triumph of courtesans, the baseness of cringing to the vilest of men, as if all the horrors which have signalised the reign of these republicans

were good and laudable customs ! But whatever be the plots, the wishes, and the hopes of this turbulent race of men, of these partisans of lawless licentiousness, which they attempt in vain to invest with the name of liberty, let them rest assured it is firmly resolved to resist them, to preserve the public tranquillity, to secure to the laws that obedience which is their due, and to carry into execution against the rebellious Americans, those acts which have solemnly emanated from the royal authority, and from that of the parliament. The force of circumstances, the royalty of the people, and the recollection of the past tyranny of pretended patriots, will cause all their vociferations, all their manœuvres, all their incendiary attempts, to avail them nothing. As for the rest, the tories, and not their adversaries, are the real friends of liberty ; for liberty consists not in calling the populace at every moment to intervene in the direction of state affairs, but in faithfully obeying those fundamental statutes, which are the result of the general will of the nation, and which balance and temper the royal authority by the authority of the people.'

With such animosity, with such reciprocal bitterness, the two political parties assailed each other. It appeared inevitable that this must soon lead to some violent convulsion, and all prudent men were seized with anxious apprehensions. And here, perhaps, is the place to remark how remote are human minds from all moderation, from all sense of decency, when once under the control of party zeal. Assuredly, if at the different epochs of the domination of the royalists and of the republicans, the one party and the other abandoned themselves to culpable excesses, it is not that there were not amongst them men of rectitude, who, if they judged ill, yet meant well ; with such, every form of government would be good, provided it was not purely despotic. But the ambitious, a race unfortunately so prolific, are the most fatal scourge in every well constituted state ; always in opposition with the laws of their country, they shake off their restraint the first moment they can, and thus pave the way to revolutions and the reign of arbitrary power. The legislator, who is desirous to found a government upon a solid basis, should pay less attention to forms, whether monarchical or republican, than to the establishment of laws calculated to repress the ambitious. It is not for us to pronounce whether such laws have ever yet existed, or whether they could accomplish the end proposed ; but we may confidently affirm, that men of moderation are not to be blamed for desiring either a royalty or a republic ; the ambitious alone are to be feared and detested, for they are those who cause monarchies to degenerate into tyrannical despotism, and republics into anarchy, more tyrannical still.

Such was the general agitation in England, when it was increased by the declaration of lord Dartmouth, one of the secretaries of



state, to Penn and Lee, who had brought the petition of congress addressed to the king, that no answer would be given to it. The partisans of the Americans expressed their indignation without reserve; they censured with new asperity the impolitic obstinacy of the ministers. The latter had defenders who answered;

‘It is time to act; the nation has conceived great hopes; all Europe is in suspense to see what will be the fruit of our tardy resolutions, and the result of our preparations. It is necessary to strike home, and push with vigor this war which Great Britain, with a patience unexampled, has wished to avoid; but to which insolent and contumacious subjects have defied and provoked her by too many outrages.’

This language of the ministerial party acted powerfully upon a nation naturally brave as well as proud; and the public mind became gradually disposed to war, although there still appeared frequent petitions in favor of peace. About this time, disastrous news was received of the Newfoundland fisheries. The Congress having prohibited all transportation of provisions to these banks, the fishermen, to avoid famishing, were compelled to abandon them precipitately, and repair to other shores. But another misfortune more formidable awaited them; the sea swelling all at once, with unusual fury, rose more than thirty feet above its ordinary level. The irruption was so sudden, that all means of safety were of no avail; more than seven hundred fishing barks were overwhelmed, and perished with their crews. Several large ships also foundered with all on board. The devastation was no less terrible upon land; the progress of the wide inundation was marked with universal destruction. This fatal event made a serious impression in England; it was looked upon as a presage of ill. It seemed as if fortune was every where irritated against the British empire. Superstition chilled their spirits. They were induced to form discouraging comparisons.

On the part of the colonists, a propitious sky, abundance of provisions, health of troops, success of arms, multitudes crowding to their standards. On the part of the English, on the contrary, an army besieged, mortal diseases, wounds incurable, toil and pain, famine, every species of suffering; an angry sky, a furious sea, horrible shipwrecks, martial ardor extinct, every thing in rapid declension. The antagonists of government either from ambition or the love of liberty, the merchants from personal interest or zeal for the public good, seized this moment of general discouragement. Petitions against the war arrived from all parts; the cities of London and Bristol were the first to send them. They expatiated upon the blood that was about to be shed, the treasure to be expended, the new enemies to be encountered; it was represented that the obstinacy of the colonists would render even victory too costly; that the victor and the vanquished would be involved in one common ruin. They

exhorted, they prayed, they conjured the government to renounce hostile resolutions which promised no good, and threatened so many disasters.

But the ministers were not to be shaken by remonstrances. The animosity of their adversaries was, however, increased by an incident which drew the attention of all; the Earl of Effingham, an officer distinguished for his services, and possessed of an ample fortune, had, upon all occasions, defended with great warmth the cause of the colonists. Not willing to betray his conscience, he offered the king his resignation; his conduct was greatly applauded; the cities of London, of Dublin and others, commended and thanked him in public letters. Many other officers followed his example; resignations became frequent. Those who from taste give their attention to political matters, will, no doubt, observe upon this occasion, with what facility in England an opinion at variance with that of the government may be openly professed; since its opponents, instead of exposing themselves to its vengeance, often become the objects of public favor. And upon consideration of the enterprises executed in various times by the British nation, and the energy with which it has sustained long wars against the most formidable powers, it is impossible not to perceive how much they deceive themselves who think that a free government enfeebles nations, and that their force can only be completely developed by despotism.

The declamations of the party in opposition, and the numerous resignations of officers, had caused the affair of enlistments to labor extremely. It was in vain that the officers appointed for this service caused the drums to beat, and the royal standard to be erected in the most populous cities; in vain did they promise bounties and exorbitant pay; scarcely a few individuals came to offer their service; Catholics and Protestants, all manifested an equal repugnance.

Not but that among the inhabitants of the northern parts of Great Britain, the regiments found wherewith to recruit themselves; but this resource was altogether inadequate to the exigency. The ministers therefore found themselves in the greatest embarrassment; to extricate themselves from which, they determined to have recourse to foreign aid. With gold, which they had in abundance, they hoped to procure themselves men, of whom they had so much need. Accordingly, to this end they made overtures to the court of St. Petersburg, in order to obtain twenty thousand Russians, that were to have been transported to America the following spring. They made great dependence upon these soldiers, who, in the preceding war against the Turks, had acquired a brilliant reputation for bravery and discipline. But their hopes were not realised; this government would not consent that its soldiers should enter into foreign service, and for a small sum of gold, shed their blood in a quarrel wherein Russia had no sort of interest. The ministers then turned their



views in the direction of the United Provinces. The States-General had in their pay some Scotch battalions; and these the English government demanded in order to employ them in the American war. It was hoped that their ancient alliance, and other common interests, would easily determine the States-General to comply with this demand. But it appeared of such extreme importance to the States, that not presuming to take the decision of it upon themselves, they chose to consult the provincial assemblies. Those of Zeland and of Utrecht gave their consent, Holland and the others refused. John Derk, of Chapelle, spoke with great force against the proposition in the assembly of Overysse. He said it was too far beneath the dignity of the republic to intermeddle in the quarrels of a foreign nation; that the forces of Holland were too weak, and her commerce too flourishing, for her to interfere so imprudently in the disputes of others; that if she succoured England against America, other very powerful states, alluding to France, would succour America against England, and that thus the United Provinces would find themselves drawn into a dangerous war. He reminded of the tyranny exercised by the English upon the seas, the forced visit of the Dutch vessels, and the confiscation of their cargoes, under pretext of contraband. He omitted not to paint the cruel character of this war, in which the ferocious Indians were already taken into the English pay. The opinion of the orator prevailed, and there was every motive that it should. The Dutch considered the American cause very similar to that of their ancestors, and it appeared to them intolerable to concur in chastising those who followed their own example. The English party and the French party manifested in this occurrence an astonishing conformity of opinion; the first, because they feared that violent means would force the Americans at length to throw themselves into the arms of France; the second, because they wished to see humbled the pride and the power of the British nation. It is certain, that at this epoch, the prosperity and opulence of England excited the envy of the universe, and that her haughty behavior filled all hearts with a secret enmity.

But the ministers having despatched numerous agents into Germany, obtained more success with the princes of the Houses of Hesse, of Brunswick, and other petty sovereigns of this country. They acceded to a convention which filled the cabinet of Saint James with alacrity and with hope; the ministers were overjoyed that German promptitude should, in so pressing a need, have counterbalanced English reluctance.

A double advantage was found in the employment of German troops. They had never darkened their minds with abstruse questions of liberty and public law; and the difference of language was a security against the efforts which the Americans might have made to mislead and seduce them to join their party. This apprehension

caused the ministry great anxiety with respect to the English soldiers, who spoke the same dialect as the Americans, and went to combat men who defended, or appeared to defend, a cause more favorable to the subjects than to the government.

When the news got abroad in England of the treaty of subsidy with the German princes, it would be difficult to describe the fury of the opponents of the ministry. Many even among their own partisans were heard to condemn their conduct with asperity. They said, it was a scandalous thing that the mercenary soldiers of foreign princes should come to interfere in domestic dissensions; that daring and artful ministers might one day take advantage of this fatal example to subvert the established constitution, and to put down all liberty in England itself; that when these soldiers should have terminated their enterprise in distant regions, different pretexts might be found for conducting them into places less remote, and perhaps even into the heart of the kingdom; that this was a state offence, an act of high treason, the having attempted to open the entrance of the British territory to foreign troops without consent of parliament.

It is certain that no resolution of the ministers had ever produced so much disgust, and so alarming a fermentation among the people, as the present. It rendered more violent the fury of some, alienated others, and appeared to all illegal in principle, perilous in its object, and injurious to the British name; inasmuch as it seemed an admission that the English were not in a situation to adjust of themselves this great quarrel. The disapprobation was general, the cause of the war and the obstinacy of ministers began to be openly condemned.

In the midst of this effervescence the parliament was convoked. But before entering into a description of the debates which took place in this session, it appears to us necessary to relate what were, at this time, the designs of the ministry relative to the American war. Perceiving how odious they were become to the nation for never having consented to hear of any proposition of accord, and for having wanted either the capacity or the will to carry on the war with adequate preparations, they resolved at length to manifest extraordinary vigor, and to employ against the Americans a force so formidable as to leave them no hope of resistance.

They could not but perceive how greatly the reputation of the British arms had already suffered; and they saw how important it was to apply a prompt remedy in order to prevent the worst consequences, and especially a war with the European powers. Although they often affected to congratulate themselves upon the good dispositions of these powers, they were nevertheless persuaded that this neutrality could not continue, if the war drew into length, and always to the prejudice of England. It was easy to believe that France had eyes open upon what passed, and that she waited but for the occasion to show herself.



The English ministers at this epoch, however stinted the measure of their magnanimity and sagacity, were still not so simple as to be deluded by friendly protestations, which are lavished with the more profusion the more they are void of sincerity. It was known that in all the ports of France the most strenuous exertions were employed in equipping ships of war and accumulating naval munitions, and that the government was animated with an ardent desire to repair recent losses, and to restore all the force and the splendor of the French marine; that the entire nation applauded the views of the court, and demonstrated the utmost promptitude to second them. Besides, it was no longer a mystery that munitions of war were daily expedited from the French ports for America, if not by the orders of the government itself, at least with its tacit concurrence. It was observed, not without extreme jealousy, that the French had lately despatched a numerous fleet to the West Indies, and that their land troops so increased in that quarter, that they already had the appearance of an army prepared to take the field. It had been seen with disquietude that French officers were in conference, for the space of many days, with general Washington, at the camp of Boston, and that they were afterwards admitted to an audience by the Congress. The past admonished the English ministry of the future. In no time had war broken out in America that the French and British nations had not taken part in it, the one against the other. It was, therefore, natural to think, that such also would be the event this time; it was even the more probable now that interests were at stake of far greater moment than had ever before been agitated between the two powers. France manifested in her conduct an admirable address. She would not throw off the mask in these beginnings, either because she feared that by engaging prematurely in the defence of the Americans, the English government might be induced to offer them such terms of accommodation as, in reconciling the two parties, would turn their united forces against her; or especially because she was not yet entirely prepared for maritime war. She wished to temporise until her armaments were completed, and until the continuation of reciprocal outrages should have rendered all arrangement impossible. It was also important for her to wait till the Americans, more enlightened with respect to their situation, and encouraged by the success of their arms, should have decided at length to proclaim their independence. All reconciliation then became impracticable; as well on account of the greater exasperation of minds, and the aggravation of offences, as from the absolute contrariety of the scope towards which the two parties tended.

There would no longer be any question of an accord under certain conditions; the separation must then be total. Such was the thought of the French government relative to the time in which it ought to discover itself. But in order that the Americans might not lose all hope,

it was determined to grant them clandestinely all the succours, and to make them all the promises proper to inspire them with confidence in a more efficacious cooperation at a suitable time.

Nor could it be doubted, that when France should have resolved to support the Americans without disguise, Spain also would immediately espouse the same cause, as well in consequence of the family compact, as from the identity of interests, and perhaps even from an earnest desire to efface the recent stain of the unfortunate expedition against Algiers.

All these dangers were continually present in the minds of the British ministry; they resolved, therefore, to prevent them by measures as prompt as energetic.

Independently of the arms and munitions which the arsenals and armories of England could furnish in abundance, the government ordained that eighty ships of war should be stationed upon the coasts of America to favor the transportation of troops and of munitions wherever the good of the service might require, to second all the operations of the army, to traverse those of the enemy, and to destroy his marine.

Exclusively of the corps already found in America, it was determined to send thither upwards of forty-two thousand men, of regular troops, between English and Germans; that is twenty-five thousand of the first, and a little more than seventeen thousand of the second. These German troops were composed of four thousand three hundred Brunswickers, twelve thousand three hundred and ninety-four Hessians of the Landgrave, and six hundred and sixty-eight of the hereditary prince of Hesse, count of Hanau.\*

In adding to this number all the recruits of Canada, the corps of American Royalists and Indians, a totality was hoped for of fifty-five thousand men, supposing the companies all complete. But every deduction made, it was deemed a certainty that in any event the army would exceed forty thousand effective combatants; a force that was believed more than sufficient to subdue all America.

The ministers also thought it expedient to accompany the preparations of war with several particular provisions, which they considered as very proper to second the effect of them. Knowing, for example, how much the Americans were in want of money, and that they had no means to procure it but by the way of commerce, they resolved to interrupt it entirely, hoping that private interest would carry it against political obstinacy, and that the absolute failure of metallic currency would subject the bills of credit to a fatal depression. On the other hand, in order not to reduce the Americans to seek their safety in

\* England contracted for the German troops upon the conditions following. She gave a Brunswicker, seven guineas levy money, and four and a half pence sterling daily; a Hessian of the Landgrave seven guineas bounty, and five and a half pence sterling pay; a Hessian of the hereditary prince, seven guineas bounty, and sixpence sterling a day.



despair, they thought it best to authorise certain royal commissioners to grant individual amnesties. They persuaded themselves that many of them, vanquished by such clemency, would throw themselves into the arms of England, or, at least, that the more timid would lay down arms, and recompose themselves in their accustomed tranquillity. The rest, according to their ideas, might then be easily overpowered. Such were the measures the ministers had matured, and which they intended to submit to the deliberations of parliament.

The king pronounced, on opening the session, a very remarkable discourse; he spoke of the machinations employed in America to seduce the people, and infect them with opinions repugnant to the constitution, and to their subordination towards Great Britain. He said the insurgents now openly avowed their resistance and revolt, and had assumed to themselves all the powers of government; that in order to amuse they had made specious protestations of loyalty, but that in fact they were aiming at independence; that he hoped, however, the spirit of the British nation was too high, and her resources too numerous, tamely to give up that which had been acquired with so many cares, and with so many toils; that it was now become the part of wisdom to put a speedy end to these disorders, by the display of all the forces of the kingdom; but that as clemency was always to be preferred to rigor, his intention was to grant particular pardons, and to withdraw, from the calamities of war, the persons and the places that should give evidence of their fidelity. The ministers moved for the usual address of thanks to the king, and that the measures proposed should be approved.

But lord John Cavendish answered them with an extreme vehemence, that he could not sufficiently testify his surprise at their obstinacy in pursuing a plan which had already produced such deplorable results.

‘You see one half the empire lost, the other discontented and tottering; a kingdom of late the most prosperous, now sinking under every misfortune; a nation once renowned for its virtues, now contaminated with corruption; and arrived in the train of every vice, losses, discomfiture and shame. The Americans are charged with planning independency; certainly it is not the merit of England that they have not yet adopted such a resolution, for the ministers have neglected no possible violence to compel them to it. They are charged with dissimulation; but they have constantly affirmed that the terms of reconciliation were those of returning to the state of things existing in 1763. It is desired to send against them numerous armies and formidable fleets; but they are at home surrounded by friends, and abounding in all things. The English are at an immense distance, stinted in the means of subsistence; having for enemies, climate, winds, and men. And what wealth, what treasures, will not be necessary to subsist your troops in those distant countries! Impenetrable forests, inaccessible mountains will serve the Americans,

in case of disaster, as so many retreats and fortresses, whence they will rush forth upon you anew. You will, therefore, be under a constant necessity to conquer or die; or what is worse than death, to fly ignominiously to your ships. The Americans will avail themselves of the knowledge of places, which they only have, to harass the British troops, to intercept the ways, to cut off supplies, to surprise outposts, to exhaust, to consume, to temporise and prolong, at will, the duration of the war. Imagine not that they will expose themselves to the hazard of battles; they will vanquish us by dint of fatigue, placed, as we shall be, at a distance of three thousand miles from our country. It will be easy for them, impossible for us, to receive continual reinforcements. They will know how to use the occasion of their temporary superiority to strike decisive blows; the tardy succours that may arrive to us by the Atlantic, will not prevent our reverses; they will learn, in our school, the use of arms and the art of war; they will eventually give their masters fatal proofs of their proficiency.

‘But let victory be supposed, can there be any doubt that it will be sanguinary, that its results will be lands laid waste, towns desolated by fire, subjects envenomed by implacable hatred, the prosperity of commerce annihilated, and reciprocal distrusts always ready to rekindle war. Long have standing armies been considered as dangerous to liberty; but the protracted and difficult war which you are about to engage in will enormously increase these armies. Is it to dissipate our fears on this point that ministers subsidise these bands of Germans, an excellent race assuredly, but admirably adapted to serve the purposes of the fautors of despotism? I have supposed that we shall be victorious, let us now suppose we should be beaten. Who will restore our treasures exhausted, our commerce annihilated, the spirit of our troops extinguished, our national glory, first source of public virtue, unworthily eclipsed? Who will efface the stigma branded upon the British name? In our reverses we shall not have the consolation of having acted with maturity of reflection, or that of having been taken unawares. The quarrel of America will soon become the quarrel of Europe; and if our country perish not therein, it must be attributed rather to its happy star than to the wisdom of those who govern it. Such is the importance, such are the consequences of the subject, that I cannot but deem it an incomprehensible fact to see the passions allowed full scope on every side, instead of that calm which ought to preside in the consideration of our melancholy situation, and in the investigation of the most prompt, the most efficacious, and the most expedient remedies. Let us, therefore, unite in praying, in conjuring his majesty to suspend the effects of his anger, and to prevent the running with such precipitation to shed English blood by English hands. Rather let it be studied to calm and conciliate minds, to search out the causes of our discords,



to discover the means which may enable us to rejoin the lacerated parts of the British empire. Let us labor to restore to the government its majesty, to the laws the obedience which is their due, to the parliament its legitimate authority, and to the British people the tranquillity and happiness of which they are so eminently worthy.'

The temper of the assembly was favorable; the vehement discourse of lord Cavendish had made a profound impression upon the minds of all. But the partisans of the ministry answered him with equal warmth.

'We find it not easy to comprehend, they said, how these eloquent orators, who make such parade of their patriotism, can lavish so many pathetic flourishes to justify those who are found in rebellion against the authority of Great Britain? we are ignorant what strange pleasure they can take in embarrassing the government in its operations in the midst of so difficult a crisis. It is equally hard for us to conceive what motives they can have for wishing to demonstrate that the Americans will of necessity prove victorious. That such should be the language of Congress, and of the proclamations of Washington, nothing is less surprising; but that it is found in the mouth of an Englishman, of one of the fathers of the country, that we should see him glory in such assertions, and study to propagate them, is what cannot excite too much astonishment and indignation.

'It is affirmed the Americans are not aiming at independence; this we readily admit, if it is intended to maintain that they are not contending to have, but already possess and exercise this absolute independence. Have they not concentrated in their hands all the authority of government, in coining money, in creating bills of credit, in imposing taxes, in making levies, in declaring war, in committing hostilities, in granting letters of mark and reprisal? But the kind confiding personages, seated in front of us, answer that the colonists protest their devotion, and reject all idea of independency. New doctrine, indeed, that we are to give more credit to words than to facts! But while these credulous beings harangue within these walls, the Americans model and carry into effect a new form of government, no doubt to preserve the ancient constitution, and to unite themselves more intimately with Great Britain!

'They have proposed, we are told, conditions of accommodâtion; in what do they consist? In consenting to acknowledge the same sovereign. Assuredly they will acknowledge him, provided they may be excused from obeying his orders, and permitted to act their own will entire. And is it desired that England should stoop to such an arrangement, which, if it be not outrageous, is at least ridiculous. The parliament has opened a way of conciliation, whereby, if the right of taxation was not entirely renounced, it was certainly so restricted that the Americans were allowed to tax themselves. But we have to do with men who are alike insensible to benefits and to

clemency. With what words, with what a tone have they received our propositions? The universe knows it, and our secret enemies themselves have been astonished at it. If England must resolve to submit to such degradation, if she must give up honor, so essential to monarchies, if instead of taking arms against an enemy who defies us, who despises the government and the agents of Great Britain, we must bow with humility to his demands, continually more imperious, then let us blindly pursue the course which is marked out for us by our adversaries. That to reduce the colonies to obedience is an enterprise which may offer some difficulties, no one undertakes to deny. But the greater the difficulty, the greater the glory.

‘Those who would sow discouragement among us, little know the ability of the English generals, and the valor of our soldiers. The powerful house of Bourbon combined against us in the last war, was unable to make us bend; and the king of Prussia has found, in our assistance, the means of resisting the league of the North. England is queen of the seas; she has conquered those same countries which her ungrateful subjects now inhabit; and will she not be able to subdue also them?’

‘It is not impossible, we admit, that some European powers will take part in this war; especially considering our prosperity, the envy of foreigners, and the arts of these Americans, always busied in exciting the whole world against us. But are we to be influenced in our counsels by the desires or by the injustice of others? Let us do what we ought, to prevent what we fear. With arms we may command respect, while a timid policy would expose us to contempt.’

‘War pursues the weak, but retires from the strong. What chimeras, too, these scrupulous spirits have been dreaming of about those innocent Germans, it is not easy to say. The example of mercenary troops is not new; their employment has always been without danger. Foreign soldiers are not those who could establish servitude upon the soil of England, but minds disposed to slavery; now, the clamors and exaggerations of demagogues more often lead to this, than the schemes of governments themselves. As to these long lamentations over the vices of the present day, we, for our part, have no hesitation to say, that we have a better opinion of a people among whom the sincerest respect is shown for good habits, whose civilisation has rendered them famous throughout the world, and who have achieved so many great actions, as well in peace, as in war. These imputations are but the phantoms of a morbid imagination, or the suggestions of the secret rage of these ambitious minds, who persuade themselves that no virtue can exist so long as they are not invested with supreme power. The destiny of Great Britain is now in the balance. After having seen her empire equally flourishing by land and by sea, and her fortune surpass that of all the other states of Christendom, the question is now, whether this prosperity shall con-



tinue, whether these rich and powerful colonies, the work of our hands, the fruit of our industry, the object of all our cares, the price of so much treasure and of so much blood, shall henceforth, by the unheard of ingratitude of their inhabitants themselves, by the artful machinations of their false friends, and of our secret enemies, be dismembered from their ancient country, and torn forever from the affectionate embraces of their tender mother? patiently to endure an event so calamitous, not to lavish our efforts, our fortunes, our life itself, to prevent its accomplishment, would be a turpitude which has no example in our history, and an approbrium from which we ought to preserve the British name.'

Thus spoke the ministerial orators; the votes were taken, and the motion of lord Cavendish was rejected. Some other members of the opposition proposed, with as little success, different plans of conciliation with the colonies. The debates were very animated; but the ministers, whose projects were already arranged, and all the preparations of war concluded, had no difficulty in obtaining the rejection of every contrary opinion.

Not satisfied with finding themselves in a situation to attack the insurgents, they wished also to cut off their principal resources, that is, to deprive them of men, arms, and money. The Americans employed a part of their men on board of privateers; they derived their arms and munitions, either secretly, or even openly, from foreign countries; and commerce furnished them with money. Accordingly, the ministers proposed a bill, importing that every species of traffic with the thirteen united colonies should be prohibited; that all American property, whether floating upon the sea or stationed in the ports, should be declared legal prize in favor of the officers and crews of the vessels of the king; that the men taken in the American ships should be compelled to serve indiscriminately, as common sailors, on board those of England; finally, that the crown should be authorised to send commissioners, empowered to grant pardons to such individuals as should appear to merit them, and to declare a colony, in whole or in part, in a state of obedience towards the king; in which case they might exempt them from the rigor of the laws, and restore them to their original condition.

This bill was a consequence of those already passed; it was conformable to the plan of the war which the ministers had adopted, and was generally to be approved. It contained, however, certain articles deserving of animadversion. To wish to make war against the Americans, upon sea as well as upon land, was altogether natural; it was no less judicious to constitute commissioners with authority to grant amnesties, as well to particular individuals as to provinces. But to confiscate, without distinction, private property and public property, to grant the booty to the captors, and force the men found on board the American ships, whatever might be their

rank or condition, to serve as common sailors on board the English ships, are acts that cannot fail to be condemned by every sound judging mind. The opposition expressed their abhorrence of these features of the bill in very sharp language; but it passed, notwithstanding, by a triumphant majority.

1776. The parliament having terminated the affairs submitted to their deliberations, the king put an end to the present session, with the assurance that he was not apprehensive of any movement on the part of the European princes, who all manifested a desire to maintain concord and peace. The ministers had obtained from the parliament all they had demanded, and they had scarcely a doubt of the favorable issue of their enterprise. It seemed to them impossible that the collectitious soldiery of the Congress could hold their arms with a firm grasp in the presence of European troops; they imagined that the bare rumor of the arrival of the English army would suffice to open for it the entrance of the country it was about to conquer.

‘Even supposing, they said, that the colonial troops should presume to keep the field, how can it be imagined, that ill-armed, undisciplined, and so little used as they are to the dangers of war, and to the din of arms, they will be able to make any serious resistance against the veterans of Europe? The first impression will be fatal to the Americans; and the measures which have been taken to sow division among them, will then produce their full effect. Let only a small number submit to the terms of the amnesty, and the multitude will hasten to follow their example; such is the ordinary course of revolutions. In order to accelerate these happy results, it will be essential that the royal commissioners, individuals as influential by their personal authority, as by the splendor of their rank, and the renown of their military achievements, should be always present to second the operations of the army, by seizing the favorable instant for the exercise of their ministry.’

Such were the reasonings and the hopes of the partisans of the government. And such, it must be admitted, was the way of thinking of the greater part of the nation. With some it was the effect of pride, or of confidence in the ministry; with others, of the spirit of party, or of personal interest, man easily believing what he esteems useful to himself. There wanted not those, however, whom the love of country inspired with serious apprehensions for the future, or whom the fury of faction urged to announce the most disastrous presages. They judged of the obstinacy of the Americans by their own, and suffered no occasion to escape them of citing the miracles, as they expressed it, wrought in various times, and among manifold people, by the love of liberty. They greatly extolled the constancy, the intrepidity, the prowess of the Americans. Their invectives, their sarcasms, their taunts, were endless against the satellites of



tyranny ; thus designating the English soldiers, and particularly the German troops. They represented a total loss in defeat, and new dangers in victory ; they deplored the blood shed for so iniquitous a cause. Every day there appeared new publications in favor or against the colonists. Some reproached others with having sold their pen, these retorted upon those that they prostituted theirs in defence of licentiousness. A work of Doctor Price, on civil liberty, was particularly distinguished ; it was read every where with equal avidity. He received, on this subject, a letter of compliment from the city of London, accompanied with the present of a gold box.

The two brothers Howe, the one admiral of the fleet, and the other general-in-chief of the army in America, were named by the king his commissioners for the reestablishment of peace in the colonies, and for granting pardons to those who should appear worthy of the royal mercy. Sir Peter Parker and lord Cornwallis were already, some time since, embarked for America, with several corps of troops. Admiral Hotham, and generals Burgoyne and Phillipps followed them with other English and German divisions.

While these things were passing in England, the provincials, who besieged Boston, began to entertain hopes not only of becoming masters of the city, but even of making the whole garrison prisoners, and of destroying the British squadron anchored in the port and bay. They expected impatiently that the cold would become so rigorous as to freeze the waters of the harbor, and the rivers that flow into it. The frost usually set in about the last of December, and they calculated that at this season the ice would be strong enough to enable them to march dryshod across the arm of the sea, which separates the peninsula from the continent, where they were encamped. The English, in such case, would not have been able to resist the much superior forces of the American army. But contrary to the ordinary course, the winter was extremely moderate ; the provincials vainly awaited the coming of ice. In this hope they had kept themselves tranquil in their quarters ; the delay was advantageous to the garrison. But the month of March arrived to reanimate operations ; the Americans panted to put an end, by a vigorous effort, to this long and tiresome siege. Their ardor prompted it, necessity required it. The hostile speech of the king, at the meeting of parliament, was arrived in America, and copies of it were circulated in the camp. It was announced there, also, that the first petition of Congress had been rejected. The whole army manifested the utmost indignation at this intelligence ; the royal speech was burnt in public by the infuriate soldiers. They changed, at this time, the red ground of their banners, and striped them with thirteen lists, as an emblem of the number, and of the union of the thirteen colonies.

The Congress, at the news of the rigorous proceedings of the government, and particularly of the act relating to commerce, and

the engagement of the German troops, saw plainly that no other resources were left them but in the way of arms. Without loss of time, wishing to take advantage of the universal irritation of the people, they urgently recommended to Washington to renounce all delay, to brave all dangers, and at whatever cost, to terminate the siege of Boston, and effectuate the expulsion of the enemy from the shelter of its walls. They foresaw that this army would soon be necessary to oppose the British forces at other points, and to protect other parts of the American territory. It was presumed that the English would direct their principal attack against the weakest places, and serious apprehensions were felt particularly for the city of New York. It was, therefore, extremely important to dislodge the enemy from the position of Boston, since otherwise he might, afterwards, operate against the rear of the American army. Pressed by positive orders, and stimulated at once by the force of circumstances and the desire of glory, Washington reflected upon the most efficacious means to secure the success of his enterprise. He was not without hopes of being able to carry the city by assault.

The part of the Cove of Boston, contiguous to Cambridge and Roxbury, was frozen, which greatly facilitated the passage; and for crossing the water that remained up to the walls of Boston, a great number of boats had been provided. In addition to this, two floating batteries were stationed at the mouth of the river of Cambridge. It was known that the garrison suffered severely for the want of provisions, and that it was greatly enfeebled by fatigues and maladies. The commander-in-chief had, besides, the greatest confidence in the valor and constancy of his soldiers. He accordingly assembled all the generals, and proposed to them his plan of attack. Ward and Gates, both officers of great distinction, opposed it; alleging, that without incurring so great a risk, the enemy might be forced to evacuate Boston by occupying the heights of Dorchester, which command the entire city. Washington did not conceal his dissatisfaction at this opposition; but he was constrained to acquiesce in the opinion of the majority. It was resolved, therefore, to take the position of the heights. At the suggestion of generals Ward, Thomas, and Spencer, a great quantity of fascines and gabions had been prepared for this expedition. The fortresses of Ticonderoga and Crown Point had furnished heavy cannon, and a sufficient number of howitzers and mortars. It appears that general Howe, who was naturally very circumspect, thought himself too feeble to prevent the execution of this design, which was to be, however, decisive of the total issue of the siege.

The Americans, in order to occupy the attention of the enemy in another part, erected strong batteries upon the shore at Cobb's Hill, at Lechmere's Point, at Phipps Farm, and at Lambsdams, near Roxbury. They opened a terrible fire in the night of the second of



March ; the bombs, at every instant, fell into the city. The garrison was incessantly employed in extinguishing the flames of the houses in combustion, and in all the different services that are necessary in such circumstances. During this time the Americans prepared themselves with ardor, or rather with joy, to take possession of the heights. Companies of militia arrived from all parts to reenforce the army. The night of the fourth of March was selected for the expedition ; the chiefs hoped that the recollection of the events of the fifth of March, 1770, when the first blood had been shed in Boston by the English, would inflame, with new ardor, and a thirst of vengeance, those spirits already so resolute in their cause.

Accordingly, in the evening of the fourth, all the arrangements being made, the Americans proceeded in profound silence towards the peninsula of Dorchester. The obscurity of the night was propitious, and the wind favorable, since it could not bear to the enemy the little noise which it was impossible to avoid. The frost had rendered the roads easy. The batteries of Phipps Farm, and those of Roxbury, incessantly fulminated with a stupendous roar.

Eight hundred men composed the vanguard ; it was followed by carriages filled with utensils of intrenchment, and twelve hundred pioneers led by general Thomas. In the rear guard were three hundred carts of fascines, of gabions, and bundles of hay, destined to cover the flank of the troops in the passage of the isthmus of Dorchester, which, being very low, was exposed to be raked on both sides by the artillery of the English vessels.

All succeeded perfectly ; the Americans arrived upon the heights, not only without being molested, but even without being perceived by the enemy.

They set themselves to work with an activity, so prodigious, that by ten o'clock at night they had already constructed two forts, in condition to shelter them from small arms and grape-shot ; one upon the height nearest to the city, and the other upon that which looks towards Castle Island. The day appeared ; but it prevented not the provincials from continuing their works, without any movement being made on the part of the garrison. At length, when the haze of the morning was entirely dissipated, the English discovered, with extreme surprise, the new fortifications of the Americans.

The English admiral having examined them, declared, that if the enemy was not dislodged from this position, his vessels could no longer remain in the harbor without the most imminent hazard of total destruction. The city itself was exposed to be demolished to its foundations, at the pleasure of the provincials. The communication, also, between the troops that guarded the isthmus of Boston, and those within the town, became extremely difficult and dangerous. The artillery of the Americans battered the strand, whence the English would have to embark in case of retreat. There was no

other choice, therefore, left them, but either to drive the colonists from this station by dint of force, or to evacuate the city altogether.

General Howe decided for the attack, and made his dispositions accordingly. Washington, on his part, having perceived the design, prepared himself to repel it. The intrenchments were perfected with diligence; the militia was assembled from all the neighboring towns, and signals were concerted to be given upon all the eminences which form a sort of cincture about all the shore of Boston, from Roxbury to Mystic river, in order to transmit intelligence and orders with rapidity from one point to the other.

Washington exhorted his soldiers to bear in mind the fifth of March. Nor did he restrict himself to defensive measures; he thought also of the means of falling, himself, upon the enemy, if, during or after the battle, any favorable occasion should present itself. If the besieged, as he hoped, should experience a total defeat in the assault of Dorchester, his intention was to embark from Cambridge four thousand chosen men, who rapidly crossing the arm of the sea, should take advantage of the tumult and confusion to attempt the assault of the town. General Sullivan commanded the first division; General Greene the second. An attack was expected like that of Charlestown, and a battle like that of Breed's Hill. General Howe ordered ladders to be prepared to scale the works of the Americans. He directed lord Percy to embark at the head of a considerable corps, and to land upon the flats near the point, opposite Castle Island. The Americans, excited by the remembrance of the anniversary, and of the battle of Breed's Hill, and by the continual exhortations of their chiefs, expected them, not only without fear, but with alacrity; but the tide ebbcd, and the wind blew with such violence, that the passage over became impossible. General Howe was compelled to defer the attack to early the following morning. A tempest arose during the night, and when the day dawned, the sea was still excessively agitated. A violent rain came to increase the obstacles; the English general kept himself quiet. But the Americans made profit of this delay; they erected a third redoubt, and completed the other works. Colonel Mifflin had prepared a great number of hogsheads full of stones and sand, in order to roll them upon the enemy when he should march up to the assault, to break his ranks, and throw him into a confusion that might smooth the way to his defeat.

Having diligently surveyed all these dispositions, the English persuaded themselves that the contemplated enterprise offered difficulties almost insurmountable. They reflected that a repulse, or even a victory so sanguinary as that of Breed's Hill, would expose to a jeopardy too serious, the English interests in America. Even in case of success, it was to be considered that the garrison was not sufficiently numerous to be able, without hazard, to keep possession of the peninsula of Dorchester, having already to guard not only the



city, but the peninsula of Charlestown. The battle was rather necessary, and victory desirable, to save the reputation of the royal arms, than to decide the total event of things upon these shores. The advantages, therefore, could not compensate the dangers. Besides, the port of Boston was far from being perfectly accommodate to the future operations of the army that was expected from England; and general Howe himself had, some length of time before, received instructions from lord Dartmouth, one of the Secretaries of State, to evacuate the city, and to establish himself at New York.

The want of a sufficient number of vessels had hitherto prevented him from executing this order. Upon all these considerations, the English generals determined to abandon Boston to the power of the provincials.

This retreat, however, presented great difficulties. An hundred and fifty transports, great and small, appeared scarcely adequate to the accommodation of ten thousand men, the number to which the crews and the garrison amounted, without comprehending such of the inhabitants, as having shown themselves favorable to the royal cause, could not, with safety, remain. The passage was long and difficult; for with these emaciated and enfeebled troops it could not be attempted to operate any descent upon the coasts. It was even believed to be scarcely possible to effect a landing at New York, although the city was absolutely without defence on the part of the sea. The surest course appeared to be to gain the port of Halifax; but besides the want of provisions, which was excessive, the season was very unfavorable for this voyage, at all times dangerous.

The winds that prevailed then blew violently from the northeast, and might drive the fleet off to the West Indies, and the vessels were by no means stocked with provisions for such a voyage. Besides, the territory of Halifax was a sterile country, from which no resource could be expected, and no provision could have been previously made there, since the evacuation of Boston and retreat to Halifax were events not anticipated. Nor could the soldiers perceive without discouragement that the necessity of things impelled them towards the north, apprised as they were that the future operations of the English army were to take place in the provinces of the centre, and even in those of the south. But their generals had no longer the liberty of choice. The Americans however being able by the fire of their artillery to interpose the greatest obstacles to the embarkation of the British troops, general Howe deliberated upon the means of obviating this inconvenience. Having assembled the selectmen of Boston, he declared to them, that the city being no longer of any use to the king, he was resolved to abandon it, provided that Washington would not oppose his departure. He pointed to the combustible materials he had caused to be prepared to set fire, in an instant, to the city, if the provincials should molest him in any shape. He

invited them to reflect upon all the dangers which might result, for them and for their habitations, from a battle fought within the walls; and he assured them that his personal intention was to withdraw peaceably, if the Americans were disposed, on their part, to act in the same manner. He exhorted them, therefore, to repair to the presence of Washington, and to inform him of what they had now heard.

The selectmen waited upon the American general, and made him an affecting representation of the situation of the city. It appears, from what followed, that he consented to the conditions demanded; but the articles of the truce were not written. It has been pretended that one of them was that the besieged should leave their munitions of war; this, however, cannot be affirmed with assurance. The munitions were, indeed, left; but it is not known whether it was by convention, or from necessity. The Americans remained quiet spectators of the retreat of the English. But the city presented a melancholy spectacle; notwithstanding the orders of general Howe, all was havoc and confusion. Fifteen hundred loyalists, with their families, and their most valuable effects, hastened, with infinite dejection of mind, to abandon a residence which had been so dear to them, and where they had so long enjoyed felicity. The fathers carrying burthens, the mothers their children, ran weeping towards the ships; the last salutations, the farewell embraces of those who departed, and of those who remained, the sick, the wounded, the aged, the infants, would have moved with compassion the witnesses of their distress, if the care of their own safety had not absorbed the attention of all.

The carts and beasts of burthen were become the occasion of sharp disputes between the inhabitants who had retained them, and the soldiers who wished to employ them. The disorder was also increased by the animosity that prevailed between the soldiers of the garrison and those of the fleet; they reproached each other, mutually, as the authors of their common misfortune. With one accord, however, they complained of the coldness and ingratitude of their country, which seemed to have abandoned, or rather to have forgotten them upon these distant shores, a prey to so much misery, and to so many dangers. For since the month of October, general Howe had not received, from England, any order or intelligence whatever, which testified that the government still existed; and had not lost sight of the army of Boston.

Meanwhile, a desperate band of soldiers and sailors took advantage of the confusion to force doors, and pillage the houses and shops. They destroyed what they could not carry away. The entire city was devoted to devastation, and it was feared every moment that the flames would break out to consummate its destruction.

The fifteenth of March general Howe issued a proclamation, forbidding every inhabitant to go out of his house before eleven o'clock



in the morning, in order not to disturb the embarkation of the troops, which was to have taken place on this day. But an east wind prevented their departure; and to pass the time they returned to pillaging. In the meanwhile, the Americans had constructed a redoubt upon the point of Nook's Hill, in the peninsula of Dorchester, and having furnished it with artillery, they entirely commanded the isthmus of Boston, and all the southern part of the town. It was even to be feared that they would occupy Noddle's Island, and establish batteries which, sweeping the surface of the water across the harbor, would have entirely interdicted the passage to the ships, and reduced the garrison to the necessity of yielding at discretion. All delay became dangerous; consequently the British troops and the loyalists began to embark the seventeenth of March, at four in the morning; at ten, all were on board. The vessels were overladen with men and baggage; provisions were scanty, confusion was every where. The rear guard was scarcely out of the city when Washington entered it on the other side, with colors displayed, drums beating, and all the forms of victory and triumph. He was received by the inhabitants with every demonstration of gratitude and respect due to a deliverer. Their joy broke forth with the more vivacity, as their sufferings had been long and cruel. For more than sixteen months they had endured hunger, thirst, cold, and the outrages of an insolent soldiery who deemed them rebels. The most necessary articles of food were risen to exorbitant prices.

Horse flesh was not refused by those who could procure it.\* For want of fuel, the pews and benches of churches were taken for this purpose; the counters and partitions of warehouses were applied to the same use; and even houses, not inhabited, were demolished for the sake of the wood. The English left a great quantity of artillery and munitions. Two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, of different caliber, were found in Boston, in Castle Island, and in the intrenchments of Bunker's Hill, and the Neck. The English had attempted, but with little success, in their haste, to destroy or to spike these last pieces; others had been thrown into the sea, but they were recovered. There were found, besides, four mortars, a considerable quantity of coal, of wheat, and of other grains, and one hundred and fifty horses.

Thus, after a siege as long as tiresome, the capital of the province of Massachusetts fell again into the power of the Americans. The joy of this happy event was felt, with enthusiasm, by all the confederation. It acquired an especial importance by the impulse it could

\*Provisions were become so scarce at Boston, that a pound of fresh fish cost twelve pence sterling, a goose eight shillings and four pence, a turkey twelve shillings and sixpence, a duck four shillings and two pence, hams two shillings and a penny per pound. Vegetables were altogether wanting. A sheep cost thirty-five shillings sterling, apples thirty-three shillings and four pence per barrel. Fire wood forty-one shillings and eight pence the cord; and finally, it was not to be procured at any price.

not fail to impart to the public spirit, and even by the influence it was likely to have upon future operations. We have here a new occasion to remark, with surprise, the blindness and presumption of the British ministry, who, instead of taking all the necessary measures to secure success, from the commencement of the war, seemed, of preference, to adopt all those that were calculated to injure its cause. Whether from having listened to English pride, or from having trusted to unfaithful reports, or finally, from having neglected the examples of history, the ministers had persuaded themselves that the provincials would shrink at the aspect of regular troops, and that their ardor would be converted immediately into a general terror.

They omitted to reflect that the very nature of things had excited, and already, for a length of time, had nourished the American revolution.

The colonists were become rich and powerful, and their original enthusiasm was far from being chilled. Misled by its prepossessions, the government knew not how to employ its forces; it refused to send succours when it was yet time, and hastened to lavish them when it was now too late.

The Americans, come into possession of Boston, immediately confiscated the property, moveable and immoveable, of the emigrants who had accompanied general Howe to Halifax. The sale was made at auction, and the produce applied to the exigencies of the public. The loyalists who had remained, were prosecuted and declared enemies and traitors to the country; their possessions were in like manner confiscated and sold. The first care of the Bostonians was directed to the necessity of fortifying their city, to preserve it, in future, from the calamities they had recently experienced. The works were commenced without delay, and urged with extreme diligence; all the citizens, in turn, contributed their labor. A French engineer, some Americans and four Prussians, had the direction of the whole. It was not, however, expected to render Boston a place of strength, capable of sustaining a regular siege; it sufficed to place it in a situation to resist a sudden attack.

Certain movements of the provincials, and especially the care they had taken to occupy some of the little islands situated in the bay of Boston, authorised the belief, that it was their intention to attack Fort William, erected upon Castle Island. General Howe, perceiving that the possession of this fort would enable them to defend the approaches of the city against the English ships, thought it expedient to dismantle and burn it previous to his departure. He was unable, however, to carry away its artillery, which he contented himself with spiking very precipitately.

Contrary winds, succeeded by a dead calm, prevented the English fleet, during more than a week, from getting out to sea. But at length it succeeded; and contrary to all expectation, considering the season, its passage to the port of Halifax was fortunate and rapid.



Admiral Shuldham had left in the waters of Boston, a squadron, under the command of commodore Bankes, to protect the navigation of the vessels of the king, which, in ignorance of the evacuation of the city, might continue their voyage towards it. This precaution had not all the effect that was desired; the bay being extensive, the cruisers lay in concealment behind the numerous little islands with which it is interspersed, and sprung suddenly upon the ships that presented themselves without mistrust. Among others, captain Manly took a prize laden with an immense cargo of provisions.

Washington, ignorant what were the plans of general Howe, and what direction the British fleet had taken, was not without disquietude for the city of New York. He wrote, in consequence, to brigadier-general lord Sterling, who commanded there, advising him to stand prepared, and that he had sent him a reenforcement of five battalions and several companies of riflemen. But the royal troops were very far from being in a condition to undertake any thing against that city; they esteemed themselves very fortunate in arriving sound and safe at Halifax. Before proceeding to further operations, general Howe chose to refresh his troops, and wait for the reenforcements that were expected from England.

The affairs of Congress assumed an aspect no less prosperous in North Carolina than in Massachusetts; in which, however, very serious commotions had begun to manifest themselves.

Governor Martin, although he had taken refuge on board the vessels of the king, did not, however, remain idle; and he busied himself incessantly in devising new machinations to retrieve the royal cause in his province. He flattered himself with the greater hopes of success, as he knew that admiral Peter Parker, and lord Cornwallis were departed from the ports of England for an expedition against the Carolinas. He was also informed that general Clinton, with some companies, was on his way to join him at Cape Fear, situated upon the river of the same name, and not far from Wilmington. At the head of these united forces, increased by the Scotch highlanders and the *regulators*, both formidable to the disaffected from their experience in the use of arms, and their ardent zeal for England, he had no doubt, whatever, but that he could create a revolt in the province, and reduce it anew under the authority of the king. After having concerted with all his partisans, he erected the royal standard, summoning all the inhabitants to rally round it in defence of country and lawful authority against rebels. To render more efficacious the succours of the highlanders and of the regulators, as well as of all the other loyalists, he named colonel Macdonald, an officer warmly devoted to the royal cause, captain-general of all the levies, that he might organise them into regular corps.

This plan succeeded according to his hopes. The concourse at Cross Creek swelled every day; the patriots were threatened with

an attack in this part unless a prompt remedy was applied. The provincial assembly opened their eyes upon the danger, and despatched, with all speed, against this head of loyalists, all the militia that were in preparation; and, at the same time, directed that others should be assembled from all parts of the province.

The two parties that divided Carolina thus found themselves, marshalled the one against the other, animated with an equal fury.

The patriots were commanded by general Moore; he went to take post, with a few pieces of cannon, in front of the loyalists, at a place called Rock-Fish Bridge, where, having broken the bridge, he intrenched himself. Macdonald summoned him to come and put himself under the royal standard, or to expect to be treated as an enemy. Moore answered him that he had himself to take an oath of fidelity to Congress, and to lay down arms, and that, in so doing, he should be received as a friend. During these negotiations, which Moore had the address to draw into length, his forces so increased that he soon acquired a decided superiority over his adversary. Macdonald, at length, perceived the danger of his situation; and though he was already surrounded on every side by the provincials, he disengaged himself with equal ability and courage. Marching rapidly, and without interruption, interposing continually between himself and his pursuers, rivers, forests, and difficult defiles, he measured a space of eighty miles, in defiance of the vigilance of the enemy, eager to cut off his retreat, and arrived at Moore's Creek, sixteen miles from Wilmington.

There he hoped to be joined by governor Martin and general Clinton, who were already arrived at Cape Fear. But the provincials, who had never ceased to follow him, not only prevented this junction, but reduced him to the necessity of giving battle. He displayed in it an extreme bravery; but captain Macleod, and many other of his officers having been killed, his troops were seized with a panic and fled, leaving their general in the midst of his enemies. Macdonald was made prisoner, with many other loyalists. Their enemies derived an immense advantage from this victory; for if Macdonald had been victor, or if he could only have effected his junction with governor Martin and general Clinton, they might then have waited at Cape Fear for the reenforcements that were coming from Ireland; and the affairs of the Congress would have been very near desperate in the southern provinces. The Carolinians learned, besides, to know their own strength, and refuted the opinion which had generally prevailed of the weakness of North Carolina. They had combated, with success, the *regulators* and the Scotch, who had appeared to them at first so formidable; and in the space of ten days they had assembled ten thousand men, full of courage and resolution.

The precipitation of the loyalists was the cause of their ruin; if they had temporised until the arrival of succours from Europe, and



then only raised the standard of the king, they might, without doubt, have struck a decisive blow, and thus have caused the balance to incline in their favor in the southern provinces.

We have left lord Dunmore cruising with his vessels upon the coast of Virginia; he continued still for a long time upon this station. But all the places of landing being diligently guarded by the militia, far from being able to make any impression, he could not even procure the sustenance necessary for the multitude accumulated on board his squadron. Consequently the excessive heats, the corruption of the water and of the provisions, and the crowd of men in the ships, generated offensive and deleterious miasmata. A pestilential malady carried off, in mass, the whites and the blacks; but it was especially mortal among the latter. In this deplorable state the squadron of lord Dunmore wandered from island to island, from shore to shore. He found, upon all points, the inhabitants armed to repulse him, and he wanted forces to open himself a passage through them. To crown the measure of misfortune, the winds drove a part of the ships upon the coasts of Virginia, where the wretched fugitives, become the prisoners of their own fellow-citizens, did but exchange this pestiferous abode for dark and horrible dungeons. At length, to escape a certain death upon these shores, lord Dunmore resolved to burn the ships of least value. The miserable wrecks of soldiers and of Virginians, buffeted by tempests, devoured by famine, by thirst, and by diseases, went to seek refuge in the Floridas, the Bermudas, and the West Indies. Thus delivered of its enemy, the province recovered tranquillity. Such was the catastrophe that terminated the expedition of lord Dunmore against Virginia, and the result of his plan of revolt of negroes against their masters.

Meanwhile, the Congress had not remitted their preparations of maritime war; they felt the necessity of protecting their own coasts from the insults of the enemy's cruisers, as also the extreme utility of intercepting the storeships of the English armies. There was no deficiency either of materials suitable for the construction of vessels, or of excellent mariners; the interruption of commerce and of the fisheries having left a very great number of them without employment. Accordingly the work was pushed with such ardor in the navy yards of Maryland, of Philadelphia, and of Rhode Island, that upon the commencement of the year were seen floating in the waters of the Delaware five frigates, or corvettes, and thirteen gun sloops,\* completely equipped and armed.

\* The frigates were the Alfred and the Columbus, of thirty-two guns; the corvettes, the Andreas Doria of sixteen, the Sebastian Cabot of fourteen, and the Providence of twelve. The thirteen gun-boats bore the names following; the Washington, the Dickinson, the Chatham, the Camden, the Burke, the Effingham, the Bull-dog, the Franklin, the Congress, the Experiment, the Hancock, the Adams, and the Warren.

The Congress had ordained, besides, that thirteen frigates, of thirty-six guns each, should be constructed with all possible expedition. Then in order to form the seamen to the evolutions of maritime war, and, at the same time to procure themselves arms and munitions, and especially powder, they ordered Ezechiel Hopkins, captain-general of the fleet, to make sail for the Bahama Islands. He put to sea about the middle of February, and after a prosperous voyage arrived, in the beginning of March, at Abaco, one of these islands.

Being informed that the English had amassed a considerable quantity of munitions in that of Providence, he made a sudden descent there, and seized them. The Americans found many pieces of cannon, with bombs, balls, and one hundred and fifty casks of powder, the capital object of the expedition. In their return they combated honorably a British frigate, and captured a brig. The squadron of Congress, with its prizes, entered the port of New London. Frequent engagements also took place in the bay of Boston, between the ships of commodore Bankes, and those of Massachusetts. One of the most remarkable was that in which captain Muggford captured a transport, laden with a great quantity of arms and military stores.

The navy of Congress not only distinguished itself upon the coasts, but also, what was scarcely to have been hoped, in the open sea. Its success perceptibly increased the confidence and hope of the Americans; they accustomed themselves, by little and little, to act as a nation enjoying its entire independence.

The desire to see it universally acknowledged was excited in some, and fortified with others, in proportion to the prosperous result of their efforts. They were not crowned with the same happy success in Canada. Arnold, who had continued with his feeble corps the siege of Quebec, found himself oppressed by a multitude of obstacles. The reenforcements the Congress had promised him, arrived but slowly and by parties, either because the severity of the season rendered the roads nearly impracticable, or, because the ill success of the assault of Quebec had considerably damped the ardor with which the novelty and brilliant commencement of this expedition had inspired the Americans.

It appeared that Congress itself, either distracted by too many cares, or wanting the necessary means, had neglected to take proper measures for conducting the Canadian war to the object desired. In vain had the greater part of the garrison of Montreal been marched to Quebec, the soldiers under Arnold still scarcely amounted to a thousand effective men.

The Canadians, who at first had welcomed the Americans with cordiality, and had supplied them with all that was in their power, finding themselves afterwards exposed to various excesses on the part of this undisciplined troop, had passed from benevolence to aversion.



It must be admitted, they had too much reason for it. The Americans had not only omitted to conciliate the countenance of the Catholic priests, which irritated their self-love, but they had even overwhelmed them with contempt, which excited among them detestation and a thirst of vengeance. The insinuations of governor Carleton and of all his partisans succeeded, therefore, without difficulty, in persuading them to refuse the sacraments to all those who had declared for the Americans. This refusal produced an impression so serious upon the minds of the Canadians, that the provincials, perceiving how prejudicial it might prove to their interests, despatched a Catholic priest from Maryland, in order to dispense to the Canadians all the spiritual succours of which they were deprived. But this remedy was employed too late. Affairs already assumed the most discouraging aspect.

A French gentleman of intrepidity, named Beaujeu, had assembled a corps of nobles and other inhabitants with whom he had influence, at the head of whom he had taken the field. The Americans had engaged him with advantage; but they had no means to repair the injury their cause had suffered, as well from its known weakness, as from the outrages committed against the inhabitants of the country. To increase their distress, the season approached in which the reenforcements, already known to be departed from England, were about to arrive. The river St. Lawrence, no longer obstructed with ice, opened them a free passage up to the city of Quebec. It would have been too hazardous to await them with forces so disproportionate.

In this critical position, Arnold, who had recently been promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, prepared with a courage as great as his resources were feeble to reduce the besieged city. Its possession would have rendered the enmity of the Canadians in a great measure impotent, and the English troops would thus have lost their communication with the upper parts of the province.

Arnold was not entirely without hope of success. Governor Carleton experienced a dearth, rendered more and more afflictive by the vigilance and success with which the provincials intercepted all his convoys of provisions; nor did they cease, besides, to harass and fatigue the garrison by false attacks and multiplied stratagems, hoping from its weakness to find sooner or later some way to surprise the place.

They had approached the walls to open the trench, and had erected batteries upon the banks of the river, in order to cannonade the English vessels. They fired with red hot balls, and launched different sorts of fireworks into the city; but general Carleton watched attentively and disconcerted all their manœuvres. The obstacles that Arnold encountered, were carried to the utmost by the smallpox, a malady so formidable in these climates. The reenforce-

ments he expected, arrived greatly reduced by this scourge; the soldiers fled from terror; or were infected by the contagion; the ranks thinned continually. It was at this epoch that general Thomas took the command. He wished before raising the siege, to make a last effort, by setting fire to the ships of the governor, and seizing the occasion of the disorder to attempt the assault. The river being already free from ice before Quebec, on the night of the third of May, the Americans sent down a fire-ship; their ladders were prepared for the assault. The English having taken the alarm, began to fire; the men who managed the fire-ship, finding themselves discovered, set her on fire.

In this posture of affairs, having no longer any thing to expect, either from a regular siege or a scalade, seeing the troops diminish daily, as well in number as in courage, having no more provisions left than for three days, and fearing, at every moment, the arrival of the English reinforcements, the American general resolved to abandon the expedition entirely, and to retire towards Montreal. The very morning of the day appointed for raising the siege, the Isis ship of fifty-four guns, arrived in sight of Quebec, with the frigate Surprise, and another vessel of less force.

With equal industry and peril, they had ventured to navigate the river from its mouth, in the midst of enormous masses of floating ice. They had on board several companies of veteran soldiers, who were immediately put on shore.

The ships now having the command of the river, intercepted all communication between the different parts of the American camp, and even captured a great number of vessels belonging to the provincials. This unexpected event threw them into the greatest consternation. They precipitately abandoned their quarters, leaving behind them their baggage, their artillery, their munitions, and whatever might have retarded their march; the English seized them immediately.

The sick, attacked for the most part with the smallpox, escaped as they could; the Canadians were moved with compassion, and concealed them here and there. Meanwhile, the governor had sallied out at the head of the garrison to pursue the Americans. He made no few of them prisoners; but they gave themselves no pause until they had marched full forty-five miles up the St. Lawrence; then, having halted a few hours, they retired to the mouths of the Sorel, where they were joined by four regiments.

They lost, in this place, general Thomas, who died of the smallpox; his valor and his integrity rendered him the object of universal consideration. General Sullivan succeeded in command. General Carleton, after such prosperous success, reflecting upon his extreme weakness, ceased to pursue the enemy, and returned to Quebec, intending to wait for reinforcements, and then take the field with



forces sufficient to maintain himself there. But he first gave the most honorable proofs of that humanity which distinguished him. The Americans, whether wounded or sick, were concealed in the forests or in the habitations of the Canadians, where they had to suffer all evils united. The governor issued a proclamation, by which he ordained that men, appointed for this purpose, should go in search of these unfortunate men, to cure them at the public expense, and provide for all their wants. Finally, that they might not fear to discover themselves, he pledged his faith, that so soon as they should have recovered health, he would leave them at their full and entire liberty to return, without conditions, to their own habitations.

A few days subsequent to the deliverance of Quebec, that is, about the last of the month of May, several regiments of English and Brunswickers arrived in Canada. These reinforcements carried the British army in that province to upwards of thirteen thousand men, commanded by experienced generals, among whom Carleton was the first in reputation, as in rank. Under his orders were Burgoyne, Phillipps, and Reidesel, a German general of considerable name.

Wishing to profit by the rout of the Americans, they were all of opinion that the war should be carried into the upper parts of Canada, and even further, if fortune should prove propitious. The English general accordingly assembled all his forces at *Trois Rivieres*, a town situated upon the left bank of the St. Lawrence, at a distance nearly equal from Montreal and from Quebec.

The constancy of the Americans had been put to a severe test under the walls of this capital; they had also to sustain a sanguinary conflict in the environs of Montreal, against a corps of English, of Canadians, and of savages. They occupied a small fort situated in a place called *les Cedres*, a few miles above Montreal.

The royalists appeared before it, and captains Beadle and Butterfield, more careful of their safety than of their honor, and the interests of their country, immediately surrendered upon terms. Some companies had commenced their march from Montreal to bring them succour, but they fell in with a party of the enemy who dispersed them, after an obstinate and bloody resistance. The Indians exercised the most shocking cruelties upon the prisoners. Arnold, who was then at Montreal, unable to endure that the American arms should receive a check from those of the Canadians and savages, immediately took the field in order to avenge this affront. But captain Foster gave him to understand, that if he attacked him and refused to consent to an exchange of prisoners, all the Americans that were found in his power would be massacred immediately by the Indians. Arnold was constrained, though with extreme repugnance, to yield to necessity.

Neither these adverse events, nor the aspect of a position so critical, could shake the courage of the Americans. It was at this very moment that they attempted an operation full of danger and of no little difficulty.

The English troops and those of Brunswick were much dispersed, and very distant from each other. A strong corps was quartered at Trois Rivieres, under the command of general Frazer; another, at the orders of general Nesbit, continued on board the transports; and the most considerable corps, forming several divisions, under generals Carleton, Burgoyne, Phillipp, and Reidesel, was distributed upon the banks, and upon the river itself, in its lower part, on the side of Quebec. Some other batteaus, full of soldiers, had already passed up the river above Trois Rivieres, towards the Sorel. The Americans conceived the project of surprising and cutting off the English division that occupied Trois Rivieres, before the others could come to its assistance. General Sullivan accordingly directed general Thompson to embark with two thousand men, upon fifty batteaus that were kept in preparation for the use of the army, and to descend the river. Thompson coasted along the right bank of the lake St. Pierre, formed by the vast breadth of the river in this place, and arrived without being perceived at Nicolete, a town situated upon the same bank of the St. Lawrence, a little above Trois Rivieres. His design was to cross the river during the night, to land nine miles above Trois Rivieres, and to fall upon the enemy before day. But it had already appeared, before the Americans, retarded by many unexpected obstacles, could gain the left bank. They marched, however, with incredible rapidity towards the destined point; but treacherous guides misled them. On having discovered it, they resumed the right road, which was excessively difficult.

Meanwhile, the sun was risen, and they were perceived by the troops that were on board the vessels. The alarm was soon given, and general Frazer was promptly apprized of the danger. The Americans, seeing themselves discovered, redoubled their celerity. They arrived at nine in the morning in sight of Trois Rivieres; but they found the English drawn up in order of battle, and prepared to receive them. The action was engaged; the Americans, after a feeble struggle, were thrown into disorder; and fled. This notwithstanding, they were rallied; but the day was already lost without remedy. Nesbit landing all at once with his division, took the Americans in rear. From this moment their rout was complete. The soldiers no longer keeping any order, sought their safety in the woods.

Pressed in front by Frazer, who overwhelmed them with a fire of grape-shot, and intercepted by Nesbit, who prevented their return to the batteaus, they suffered horribly in the passage of a marsh. Having at length, by incredible efforts, succeeded in crossing it, they plunged into thick forests, where the English ceased to pursue them.



When they were able to rejoin their boats, they hastened to return to the mouths of the Sorel. They left many prisoners in the power of the English, among whom general Thompson himself, and colonel Irwin, with many other officers of distinction; they had few killed. The loss of the royal troops was still less. Such was the issue of the expedition of Trois Rivieres, conceived with ability, undertaken with intrepidity, but finally directed with imprudence.

The success depending entirely on a surprise by night, it is certain, that when the Americans perceived they could only attack in open day, and still more, that their enemy was on his guard, the part of wisdom would have been to halt, and to recover their first position. Discouraged by this check, and by the consideration of their weakness, the provincials resolved to retreat. The English, on the contrary, animated by victory, determined to use it with all promptitude. Having combined all their divisions at Trois Rivieres, they proceeded four days after the action, towards the Sorel, part by the way of the land, and part upon the river. They arrived at the confluence, a few hours after the Americans had destroyed their batteries, and carried away the artillery and munitions.

The English generals then formed two columns, that of the right was to ascend the St. Lawrence and take possession of Montreal, pass the river to Longueville, traverse the country which is comprehended between the St. Lawrence and the Sorel, and reunite with the column of the left under fort St. John. The column of the left was to ascend the river up to this fort, which it was intended to reduce by assault, or by siege, if it was necessary. It was presumable that the Americans would endeavor to make a stand there. The first column soon arrived at Montreal and entered it without obstacle; Arnold had evacuated it, as well as the whole island, the night preceding. Meanwhile, Burgoyne advanced by the Sorel with extreme caution; the country being suspicious, he feared some ambuscade. The Americans retired with an equal circumspection. They wished to avoid an affair of the rear guard, and to save their baggage, which, conveyed in batteaus, followed upon the river the progress of the army.

Arnold at length gained fort St. John, without having been attacked, and there effected his junction with Sullivan. But this general, knowing the disadvantage of his position, determined not to risk a siege; he set fire to the magazine and barracks, dismantled the fortifications, and withdrew under the cannon of Crown Point. Burgoyne could not follow him, all the batteaus having been burnt.

Although this retreat has not been absolutely exempt from confusion, it was not, however, with the exception of the check of Trois Rivieres and that of Cedres, attended with any considerable loss either of men, of arms, of munitions, or of baggage.

In the midst of so many dangers, general Sullivan neglected no part of his duty; the Congress addressed him public thanks. The English found themselves compelled to suspend their pursuit.

By falling back upon Crown Point, the Americans had interposed between themselves and the enemy, all the length of Lake Champlain, of which a large number of armed vessels rendered them masters. The English could not hope to proceed further south, by the way of the lake, unless they armed a fleet superior to that of the provincials. It was necessary, besides, that they should construct a great number of batteaus, to serve for the transport of the troops and munitions of a numerous army.

There had arrived from England, it is true, six large armed vessels destined for this use; but the falls of the river Sorel, near Fort Chambly, rendered their entrance into the lake, if not impossible, certainly very difficult. The construction of flat boats presented, also, numerous difficulties, and required a considerable time. Upon these considerations the English renounced all further pursuit, and the Americans had leisure to prepare themselves to resist the future attacks of a powerful and warlike enemy.

The Americans were thus arrested by an insurmountable obstacle in this expedition of Canada, from which they had promised themselves so great advantages. But it should be considered, that either through inexperience, or from the difficulties which are wont to accompany new and tumultuary governments, this enterprise was not commenced until the season was already too far advanced in these cold regions; it was not carried on with sufficient forces; and the excesses of military license deprived the colonies of the ancient friendship of the Canadians, which was not only necessary, but even indispensable to the success of their cause. It is certain, however, that if this enterprise had been conducted with a prudence and vigor equal to the boldness which had dictated its plan, or even if destiny had not cut off the days of Montgomery at a moment so critical, the Americans would have gained the object of all their efforts. But fortune does not always favor the brave, nor do the brave always know how to use fortune well.

This expedition of Canada, moreover, led the government or British generals into a signal error with respect to the conduct of all this war; to this cause, especially, must be attributed the inutility of all their efforts against America.

In effect, the invasion of Canada by the Americans, was perhaps the first motive which determined the English ministry to assemble so considerable forces in this province, and to divide their army into two distinct parts, one of which was to descend from Canada, by the lakes, into the interior of the colonies, and the other to attack them in front upon the coasts.

It is not improbable, that if instead of these two armies, the Eng-



lish had formed but one only, the war would have had a direction, and perhaps a conclusion, widely different.

The Congress decreed, in honor of a man beloved and revered by the Americans, that there should be procured from Paris a monument, with an appropriate inscription, to transmit to posterity the memory of the virtues and heroic qualities of Richard Montgomery.

Thus, by the example of those of the dead, they encouraged the virtues of the living. The authors of revolutions too often, of preference, employ bad citizens, either in consequence of their audacity in recommending themselves, or because, having no other principle but their personal interest, they are more pliant and more ductile in the hands of those who govern.

It should be observed, on the contrary, to the glory of the American Congress, that they sought out and distinguished men of worth. We dare not affirm that the number of such, in the times of the revolution, was more considerable in America than in any other country. But it does appear, that if there prevailed among the Americans of this epoch, the vices produced by an immoderate love of gain, those were scarcely remarked which have their origin in luxury, depravity of manners, and the ambition of power. Religion had not yet lost its authority over their minds, nor had it become fashionable with them to offer incense at the altars of vice, or openly to rail at virtue. It is remarkable that the English manifested no less enthusiasm than the Americans for the memory of Montgomery.

Within the parliament itself, there were found orators whose eloquence adjudged him all the praises with which the historians of antiquity have commemorated the most illustrious men of their times. Colonel Barre was particularly remarked for the noble pathos of the regrets he consecrated to the death of his gallant enemy. Burke and Fox endeavored to surpass this eulogium in their speeches; Fox, especially, who, as yet very young, already discovered the man he was afterwards to be. Lord North reprehended them sharply, exclaiming, that it was indecent to lavish so many praises upon a rebel. He admitted that Montgomery was brave, able, humane, and generous; but still he was only a brave, able, humane, and generous rebel; he cited this verse of Addison in Cato,—‘Curse on his virtues, they’ve undone his country.’ Fox answered him immediately, with warmth, that ‘the term “rebel,” applied to that excellent person, was no certain mark of disgrace, and therefore he was the less earnest to clear him of the imputation; for that all the great asserters of liberty, the saviors of their country, the benefactors of mankind, in all ages, had been called rebels; that they even owed the constitution, which enabled them to sit in that house, to a rebellion.’ He added this passage from the prince of Latin poets—

Sunt hic etiam sua præmia laudi,  
Sunt lachrymæ rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt.

But it is time to resume the thread of the history. The Americans found a compensation for the disasters of Canada, in the success they obtained under the walls of Charleston, in South Carolina. The ministers had resolved to aim a vigorous blow at the southern provinces, because they had persuaded themselves, and not without reason, that the friends of England were more numerous there than in those of the north. They had no doubt that they would all show themselves so soon as the troops of the king should appear in force upon the coasts, or should have become possessed of some important post. They hoped with the succour of the loyalists to reestablish the ancient order of things in these provinces, and they calculated that thence they might afterwards attack in flank those of the middle and north; which, being pressed in the rear, on the part of Canada, by a strong army, and in front on the part of the sea, by forces no less formidable, would thus be deprived of all power of resistance. The ministers already saw America returned to its ancient submission. They determined to turn their arms at first against North Carolina, as the weakest part, and to add to this conquest that of South Carolina and of Virginia, according to the success of operations.

For this reason the fleet, having on board the troops destined for this expedition, had sailed from the ports of England and Ireland before the others. General Clinton, who, at the head of another considerable corps, was to come from New York to join the new reinforcements, was already arrived at Cape Fear, not having been able to execute his design of attacking Virginia. But, on the one hand, the impatience of the loyalists of North Carolina had caused the miscarriage of the expedition, and their own ruin; on the other, contrary winds and storms had so retarded beyond all expectation the passage of the fleet which, under the command of admiral Peter Parker, was bound for Cape Fear, that it could not reach that point until long after the calculated term, nor until the loyalists were already put down, and the inhabitants of the two Carolinas were not only apprised of the menaced attack, but had even already made all their preparations for resistance. It is certain that if the loyalists of North Carolina had delayed for some time longer to declare themselves; or if the sea had been more propitious to the English, the affairs of Congress might have taken a disastrous direction in the south. The squadron of admiral Parker arrived at Cape Fear about the beginning of May, with many land troops, and with generals Cornwallis, Vaughan, and several others. Here they made their junction with general Clinton, who, from seniority, took the command in chief.

The obstinate resistance of the Virginians, and the disasters of the partisans of England in North Carolina, precluded all hope of success in these two provinces; there remained therefore no other



advisable procedure but that of turning against South Carolina; which expedition offered also this advantage, that the reduction of Charleston secured the conquest of the entire province.

Its inhabitants, struck with consternation at the loss of their capital, would never even think of attempting to defend an open country, exposed to the inroads of an active and disciplined enemy. Nor could the taking of Charleston be considered a difficult operation, this city being situated upon the very coast.

The plan being decided, the English prepared themselves for the execution. But the Carolinians had neglected nothing to secure themselves the means of defending their province, and particularly their capital. The chiefs of the people, as we have already related, had taken particular care to fortify Sullivan's Island, situated on the part of the sea, at the distance of six miles from the point of land formed by the confluence of the two rivers, Ashley and Cooper, and upon which the city of Charleston is built. This island so commands the channel which leads to the port, that the vessels which would enter it must pass under the cannon of fort Moultrie. It had recently been armed with thirty-six pieces of heavy cannon, and twenty-six of inferior caliber. The fort itself was constructed of a species of wood of the country, which the inhabitants denominated Palmetto, and is so spongy and soft, that the ball is deprived by it of its impetus, and lodges within it without causing splinters. The militia of all the province were called in haste to the defence of the city. In the space of a few days the garrison amounted to six thousand men, if not perfectly disciplined, at least full of ardor.

The regiment on pay, of South Carolina, was sent to guard fort Johnson, situated in James Island, three miles from Charleston, and which commanded the whole breadth of the channel.

The second and third regiments occupied Sullivan's Island. William Moultrie, who commanded the second regiment, was charged with the defence of the fort, which afterwards, from his gallant defence of it, was called by his name. The rest of the troops were distributed in the most important posts; the roads which led to the sea were obstructed by abattis, the warehouses of the coast demolished, and intrenchments erected upon the shore.

There was not an inhabitant who had not in hand either arms or the spade, or the pickaxe. The blacks, who had been called in from the country, admirably seconded the whites in all the labors of fortification. The chief command belonged to general Lee, who possessed the entire confidence of the troops and of the people; none rivalled him in devotion to the common cause. The hatred he had long borne towards the English government, the love of glory, and the desire of answering the universal expectation, continually excited his natural ardor. Rutledge, a man of great influence in the province, also manifested the most active zeal in animating the inhabit-

ants to defend themselves. His example and his exhortations obtained the most happy results. Every one was at his post, expecting the enemy with intrepid confidence. Meanwhile, the British fleet appeared, and cast anchor to the north of Sullivan's Island.

The ships of war were the *Bristol* and *Experiment* of fifty guns; four frigates, the *Active*, the *Acteon*, the *Solebay*, and the *Syren* of twenty-eight; the *Sphynx* of twenty, the *Friendship* of twenty-two, two smaller vessels of eight, and the *Thunder*, a bomb-ketch.

It was very difficult, especially for the large ships, to pass the bar which is found at the entrance of the channel of Charleston.

It was not without extreme fatigue that the English succeeded in crossing it with the *Bristol* and *Experiment*, even after they had lightened them of their artillery and a great part of their lading. They struck, and it was thought they would bilge immediately; but the skill of the officers and the efforts of the sailors at length preserved them. The intention of the English was to reduce fort Moultrie, in order, afterwards, to attack the city without obstacle. General Clinton issued a proclamation, which he sent into the city by a flag; he therein reminded the inhabitants of the subversion of all laws, of the tyranny established in the hands of the Congress, the committees, and other unconstitutional authorities; he gave them a last admonition, before proceeding to extremities; he exhorted them to avert from their heads, by a prompt return to obedience, the vengeance of a powerful and irritated nation. He offered pardon, at the same time, to all those who should lay down arms and submit immediately.

This summons produced no effect whatever.

The English generals had arranged their attack in the following manner. The ships were to cannonade fort Moultrie in front, while a corps of troops landed for this purpose in Long Island, to the east of Sullivan's Island, should cross the narrow arm of the sea that separates them, and which was believed fordable. This corps would then have pressed the fort on the part of the land, which was much less strongly fortified. This plan offered them so fair a prospect of success, that general Lee himself, having doubts whether the fort could be defended, recommended that it should be evacuated, and that all efforts should be concentrated for the defence of the city. But the inhabitants, who dreaded bombs out of measure, resolved to attempt, by all means, the defence of the fort.

All the preparations being completed on the one part, and on the other, on the morning of the twenty-eighth of June, the ketch *Thunder*, protected by another armed vessel, took post and began to throw bombs into fort Moultrie, while the rest of the squadron advanced.

About eleven o'clock, the *Bristol*, the *Experiment*, the *Active*, and the *Solebay*, having formed in line, opened a violent fire against the



fort. The *Sphynx*, the *Acteon*, and the *Syren*, went to take their station to the west, between the point of Sullivan's Island and the city, partly to be able to sweep the interior of the works, and partly to intercept all communication between the island and the main land, which would deprive the garrison of the means of retreat, prevent them from receiving succours of men and of munitions, and prohibit the Carolinians from annoying the besiegers by fire ships or other engines of war. The unskillfulness of the pilots caused the miscarriage of these dispositions; the three vessels struck upon a bank named the Middle Grounds, two of them, by the exertions of the mariners, were again set afloat, but not without having received considerable damage. Whether on account of the hour already become late, or in consequence of this damage, they were no longer in a situation to execute the orders of the captains. As to the *Acteon*, she was totally stranded, and, the next morning, burned. During this time, the four first vessels had kept up a furious cannonade against the fort, which was returned with equal vivacity. The *Thunder*, after having discharged upwards of sixty bombs, found herself so disabled, that she discontinued her fire; but the others maintained it; and if the attack was vigorous, the defence was not feeble. The English themselves were constrained to admire the intrepidity of the Americans in so hot an action.

The garrison of the fort, which consisted only in militia and a few soldiers of the line, displayed an incredible coolness and gallantry, in the service of their artillery, in the midst of the tempest of balls which was hailed upon them by the enemy's squadron. The Americans aimed with an extreme precision. The English ships suffered excessively; and their loss in men was not inconsiderable. The *Bristol*, especially, being damaged in all her rigging, was for some time so exposed to the fire of the batteries, that she narrowly escaped being sunk. Captain Morris, who commanded the *Acteon*, had already received several wounds, and the greater part of his men were killed; left almost alone upon the deck, he refused to be carried below, until a ball took off one of his legs, and then was removed without hope of life. The admiral himself, Peter Parker, received a severe contusion.

Lord Campbell, who a little before was governor of the province, was mortally wounded.

The loss of the garrison was very inconsiderable; nevertheless their fire slackened, and at length ceased altogether. Their ammunition was exhausted, and the English considered their victory as already secure. But the Americans soon succoured the fort, and the cannonade was renewed with the same fury as at first. It continued till seven o'clock in the evening.

The English then perceiving the inutility of their attack, and the deplorable state of their vessels, and not seeing the corps make its

appearance which was to have come up on the part of Long Island, determined to abandon the enterprise.

Generals Clinton and Cornwallis would have crossed the arm of the sea which separates the two neighboring islands, in order to attack Fort Moultrie on the land side, as it had been concerted, but the water was found too deep, and the ford impracticable; this, at least, they alleged. On the other hand, even though they should have succeeded in surmounting these obstacles, it is probable they would have found others more formidable still upon the shores of Sullivan's Island. Colonel Thompson, at the head of three hundred grenadiers of his regiment; colonel Clark, with two hundred soldiers of North Carolina; colonel Horry, followed by two hundred militiamen of South Carolina, and Raccoon's company of riflemen, with some pieces of artillery, had occupied the posts situated at the eastern extremity of the island. It is, therefore, credible, that it was more the preparations of defence made by the Americans, than the difficulty of the ford which prevented the English generals from attempting the passage. Can it be supposed that officers, so experienced, should have continued nine whole days in Long Island without having caused the depth of the waters to be sounded, and ascertaining long before the time of the action, whether they were fordable or not?

It appears equally difficult to comprehend how, after having discovered either that the ford was impracticable, or the position of the Americans impregnable, the English should have remained inactive in Long Island, instead of endeavoring to land upon some other part of Sullivan's Island by means of the boats they had assembled. This circumstance presents several points which it is impossible to explain. However it may be, the English retired during the night, and the following morning their ships were already at the distance of two miles from the island. A few days after, having reembarked their troops, they made sail for New York, where the army, increased by all the reinforcements it had received from England, expected general Howe.

Such was the issue of the attack of Fort Moultrie by the English. It placed the affairs of South Carolina, for the present, in a state of security. The fort itself received little injury, either because the balls of the enemy passed above it, or because the spongy wood, of which it was constructed, diminished their effect.

This battle was remarkable on the side of the Americans for some of those traits of obstinate courage which are the usual result of the fermentation of minds in the midst of political revolutions. Among others, it is recorded, that a serjeant of grenadiers, named Jasper, on seeing the staff of the American standard cut by a ball, sprung after it to the ground, and fastened it to the rammer of a cannon; then mounting upon the parapet, hoisted it anew in the midst of the most violent fire of the enemy. President Rutledge presented him with a sword, complimenting him highly and publicly.



Sergeant Macdonald, mortally wounded, and upon the point of expiring, continued to encourage his soldiers in the defence of country and of liberty. These examples of intrepidity were the object of great encomium in all the journals, and in all assemblies, both public and private.

These happy successes inflamed the minds of the Americans with new ardor. The event having demonstrated of what importance was Fort Moultrie, and on the other hand, how difficult it was to throw succours into it by way of the sea, it was resolved to unite Sullivan's Island to the continent by a bridge. This important work, notwithstanding all the obstacles it presented, was executed by general Gadsden, a zealous patriot, and one of the most distinguished men of the province. The Congress, by a special decree, voted their thanks to major-general Lee, to colonel Moultrie, to colonel Thompson, and to all the officers and soldiers who had displayed equal courage and patriotism in this memorable defence.

At this epoch, America was found in a strange situation, and actually unheard of till then. The war she had carried on with so much vigor, now, for more than a year, was directed against a king to whom she incessantly renewed her protestations of obedience; and the same men, who committed all the acts of rebellion, would by no means be called rebels. In all the tribunals, justice was still administered in the name of the king; and in the churches, prayers were continually repeated for the preservation and happiness of that prince, whose authority was not only entirely rejected, but also fought against with incredible obstinacy. It was declared to be the general wish to resume the ancient connection, to reestablish the original form of the royal government, whereas, in reality, the republican system had been long since introduced. A desire was pretended to arrive at one object, while all those means were resorted to which led to another absolutely opposite; in effect, in no revolution of state has there ever been observed so much incongruity between words and actions.

Such a state of things could not have duration; if the vulgar persuaded themselves that force of arms would reduce the government to bend before their will, enlightened citizens perceived, distinctly, that the wound was become incurable; and that it was hoped, in vain, to see the restoration of ancient ties between the colonies and the parent state. They well knew that the obstinacy of the British government was the fruit of pride, and that whatever success the Americans might obtain in the course of the war, they could never be of such a nature as to alarm this government for its own existence; the only extremity, however, that would be capable of inducing it to listen to a negotiation of accord.

The Americans could wage only a defensive war; and even supposing they should vanquish the armies of Great Britain, she would

always be able to renew the conflict. On the other hand, the mere loss of commerce with America, would not suffice to determine the government to accede to the conditions of the colonists, since all the other parts of the globe were open to it. Besides, great naval forces being the surest guaranty of the safety of commerce, that nation, whose marine shall have acquired an acknowledged superiority, will see its commerce increase and flourish under the protection of its flag. Nor should it be omitted, that however the principle of the quarrel seemed to consist in a struggle between limited monarchy and absolute monarchy, it now existed, in fact, only between the monarchy and the republic. The Americans, therefore, could have no other prospect but of entire liberty and independence; or of total dependence and servitude.

In this state of things, there was not a man endowed with penetration and experience, who did not perceive that an open and solemn declaration of the object it was desired to attain was the wisest, and even the only resolution the Americans could adopt. Their situation was not rendered by it more critical; it even offered immediate advantages, and still greater in perspective. Their counsels would thus acquire more firmness, a point essential to the success of such an enterprise, and foreign succours would become more easily attainable. It might then be believed that the colonists, after having solemnly proclaimed their independence, would combat to the last in its defence.

The apprehension of a sudden reconciliation no longer restraining foreign powers, they might openly succour them. And perhaps the pride of England would be less hurt, in case of reverse, at negotiating with the Americans as with an independent nation, than in submitting to the conditions which had been the first occasion of the quarrel; for war can have no result more bitter than that of compelling him that has waged it to give up to his enemy the very object in dispute. The course, therefore, which the Americans had to pursue, was no longer doubtful, and the Congress was not slow to perceive it. If the resolution was urgent, it could never be taken in circumstances more propitious, or under auspices more favorable. The success of the arms of the patriots in Massachusetts, Virginia and South Carolina, provinces of such chief importance; the prosperity of their first maritime enterprises; and the multitude of prizes taken from the enemy by their privateers, inspired a well grounded hope, that whatever should be decreed by the Congress would have the concurrence of all America. The terror of the English arms had diminished in the minds of all, in proportion to the increase of confidence in the national forces; the union of the different provinces became more intimate; the ill success of the loyalists, in their first attempts, had discouraged them, and caused them to be looked upon by the patriots as enemies little to be feared. But if this party was impotent in arms,



they neglected not to resort to plots, the immediate effect of which was to redouble the animosity of the patriots against a government, that not content, as they said, with employing force, also hired incendiaries and assassins to practice their horrible arts against innocent cities, and the most virtuous citizens.

Certain loyalists of New York, gained and instigated, as it was rumored, by governor Tryon, had formed a conspiracy, the object of which was to arrest, and perhaps to murder, general Washington and the other principal officers; to set fire to the magazines, and to occupy all the avenues of the city at the moment when the British troops, that were expected, should have presented themselves before it. The plot having been discovered, many individuals, who had been concerned in it, were seized, among others, two of the general's guards, and his steward himself; some were executed.

The horrible project of setting fire to so considerable a city, and attempting the life of a man to whom the people bore so much reverence and love, transported the patriots with indignation. They demanded, with loud cries, to be liberated forever from the power of a government which, according to the general opinion, gave wages to such infamous assassins. England herself, by her public acts, precipitated the moment of this total separation.

The discourse held by the king to the parliament had persuaded the Americans that nothing would be remitted of the measures of rigor adopted against them, and consequently that their preparations of war could not be too formidable.

The discussions and decisions of parliament, disclosed to them the impotence of those who attempted to defend their cause. But the act of the fifteenth of May, which abandoned American property, private as well as public, to those who could find the way to seize it, had thoroughly apprised the colonists that it was resolved not only to exercise against them the extremes of hostility, but that it was intended to violate, with respect to them, all the principles of those laws which, among civilised nations, still plead for humanity even in the midst of carnage and devastation. In a word, they no longer doubted but that the English ministry was determined to organise against them a system of piracy and robbery. No foreign nation, when their enemy, had ever perpetrated such excesses; much less could they endure them on the part of their own fellow-citizens. But was it possible still to give this name to enemies who no longer observed any measure? Affection, which has its source in the ties of blood and political union, can no longer exist, when not only the laws in use among friendly nations, but even usages respected by civilised people in the midst of the most cruel discords, have been trampled under foot. And if the English resolved to wage a war of barbarians against America, the least that could follow was, that the latter should view them as foreigners.

The resolution taken by England to employ, and send against the Americans, the mercenary troops of Germany, whom the colonists looked upon as men devoid of all humanity, had produced the most violent impression upon their minds. From this moment they abjured all sentiment of consanguinity towards a people who sent against their children such cruel executors of their will. 'Behold then,' they cried, 'the ministers of peace, the negotiators that England sends us! The soldiers of the princes of Hesse, of Brunswick, and of Waldeck! The devastations, the massacres, the implacable fury of these hireling Germans, the horrible barbarities of the Indian savages, such are the instruments the British government employs to vanquish our constancy, and subject us anew to its yoke! The English arm foreigners against us; then let us combat the English themselves, as if they were foreigners. Their laws, no less cruel than their soldiers, have severed all our ties; have despoiled us even of the hope to reunite them; wherefore, then, do we still hesitate to adopt a resolution, which if at first it appeared to us painful and prejudicial, every thing now demonstrates to be useful and even necessary?'

It is certain, that the very measures from which the ministers expected the return of the Americans to submission, served but to redouble their obstinacy, and furnished new arms to the Congress, and to all the partisans of independence.

Even the greater part of those who had professed contrary opinions, were seen to join with them, or at least to manifest an extreme indifference for the interests of England. Her enemies increased every day in number and hardness; and every day her friends lost their influence and their zeal. A memorable example for those who, in their blind precipitation, imagine that measures proper to divide men, and to arm them against one another when they are cool, will produce the same effect when they are animated by some violent passion! Then what should appease, irritates; what should intimidate, encourages; and what should divide, assembles and unites. The desire of independence insinuated itself little by little into the minds of all. In public, particularly, the harangues had no other object; the general attention was fixed upon events. At this epoch appeared a writing entitled *Common Sense*; it was the production of Thomas Paine, born in England, and arrived not long before in America. No writer, perhaps, ever possessed, in a higher degree, the art of moving and guiding the multitude at his will. It may be affirmed, in effect, that this work was one of the most powerful instruments of American independence.

The author endeavored, with very plausible arguments, to demonstrate that the opposition of parties, the diversity of interests, the arrogance of the British government, and its ardent thirst of vengeance, rendered all reconciliation impossible. On the other hand, he enlarged upon the necessity, utility, and possibility of independence.



He omitted not to sprinkle his pamphlet with declamations calculated to render monarchy odious to the people, and to inspire them with the desire of a republic. The excellency of the English constitution had never till then been called in question; Paine criticised it very freely in the part which relates to the royal power; but praised its other institutions. He painted all the calamities which had weighed upon England, notwithstanding the much extolled goodness of its constitution, especially since the reestablishment of monarchy; thence he inferred that it contained some essential vice which opposed the happiness of the people; and this lurking defect he affirmed was royalty.

To this he attributed intestine discords, and the frequency of foreign wars; he congratulated the Americans that heaven had placed it in their power to create a constitution that should embrace all the excellencies of that of England without any of its defects; and thus, again, he intimated the exclusion of royalty. The success of this writing of Paine cannot be described.

The vehemence of opinions redoubled in the minds of all; even loyalists were seen to declare for liberty; an unanimous cry arose for independence.

The Congress determined to seize the opportunity. But to proceed with prudence, they wished first to sound the minds of the people by passing a resolution, which, if it was not independence itself, evidently led to it. They intended to observe its effects, in order to govern their subsequent conduct accordingly. They decreed, that whereas the British king, in conjunction with the lords and commons of Great Britain, had, by the late acts of parliament, excluded the united colonies from the protection of his crown; and whereas no answer had been, or probably would be, given to their humble petitions for the repeal of the obnoxious laws, and for a reconciliation with Great Britain; that, on the contrary, all the force of that realm, with the aid of mercenary foreigners, was to be employed for the destruction of the good people of the colonies; and finally, whereas it is contrary to sound reason, and to the consciences of this people, to take the oaths and make the engagements necessary to the assumption and exercise of offices under the crown of Great Britain; and it is necessary that the exercise of every authority, proceeding from the said crown, should be totally annulled, and all the powers of government exercised under the authority of the good people of the colonies; and this in order to maintain internal peace, good morals, and public order, as well as to defend their lives, liberty, and property, from the assaults and cruel rapine of their enemies; therefore it was recommended to the respective assemblies and conventions of the united colonies, where no government suited to the exigency of affairs had till then been constituted, that they should establish such governments, as according to the opinion of the representatives of

the people, should be most conducive to the happiness and security of their constituents, and of America in general. This resolution of Congress being rapidly notified to all the colonies, encountered among them, respectively, a different reception. Some had already anticipated it, and, assuming the powers of government, had created institutions independent of the crown, and these no longer temporary, as at first, but stable, and subject to no limitation of time or of condition. Thus Virginia and South Carolina had proceeded. Connecticut and Rhode Island needed no change; since there, from the earliest times, every authority originated in the people, by whom all public officers were chosen, as well those to whom were entrusted the legislative, as those who exercised the executive powers. Maryland, Pennsylvania and New York, hesitated; but at length yielded to the necessity of the times. Thus the people of the colonies set about framing new constitutions; but, with the exception of the parts which relate to regal authority, all preserved those forms which are peculiar and appropriate to the English constitution.

The three powers, legislative, executive and judiciary, were carefully separated from each other; and great jealousy was manifested of the executive.

In some colonies, the legislature was divided into two branches; in others it formed but one corps; but in all, those who held offices of trust or power under the executive were excluded. The judges were paid either by the legislature or by the executive. In some their tenure of office was for a limited period, in others during good behavior. The governors were elected for a longer or shorter term of time, according to the greater or less jealousy of the people. In some colonies they possessed the right of *veto*; in others not. Here the governor was made responsible for all his acts, there for none, because he was subject to the decisions of an executive council. In all these deliberations, so important to the happiness of the united colonies, no threats, discord, or reproaches, were heard; and it appeared as if all, laying aside ambition, aspired to nothing but the prosperity and liberty of their country. A memorable example of prudence, moderation, and concord! Let other nations reflect on this and blush, for having acted in all times so differently from the Americans; if, indeed, corruption of morals has left still the power of blushing to those who rush from conflicts of opinion to discord, and from discord to the effusion of blood.

The Congress had found all minds disposed to adopt the resolution they meditated; but to accomplish the work they had commenced, it was requisite that they should be formally authorised by the colonies to proclaim independence.

This great business was conducted with so much prudence, and the people were so much inclined to favor the design, that the greater part of the provincial assemblies invested their representatives in



Congress with full powers to carry it into effect. Some also authorised them to conclude alliances with foreign princes. Pennsylvania and Maryland alone remained in opposition.

Such was the state of things, when in the sitting of Congress of the eighth of June, a motion having been made to declare independence, Richard Henry Lee, one of the deputies from Virginia, spoke as follows, and was heard with profound attention;

‘I know not, whether among all the civil discords which have been recorded by historians, and which have been excited either by the love of liberty in the people, or by the ambition of princes, there has ever been presented a deliberation more interesting or more important than that which now engages our attention; whether we consider the future destiny of this free and virtuous people, or that of our enemies themselves, who, notwithstanding their tyranny and this cruel war, are still our brethren, and descended from a common stock; or finally, that of the other nations of the globe, whose eyes are intent upon this great spectacle, and who anticipate from our success more freedom for themselves, or from our defeat apprehend heavier chains and a severer bondage. For the question is not whether we shall acquire an increase of territorial dominion, or wickedly wrest from others their just possessions; but whether we shall preserve, or lose forever, that liberty which we have inherited from our ancestors, which we have pursued across tempestuous seas, and which we have defended in this land against barbarous men, ferocious beasts, and an inclement sky. And if so many and distinguished praises have always been lavished upon the generous defenders of Greek and of Roman liberty, what will be said of us who defend a liberty which is founded not upon the capricious will of an unstable multitude, but upon immutable statutes and tutelary laws; not that which was the exclusive privilege of a few patricians, but that which is the property of all; not that which was stained by iniquitous ostracisms, or the horrible decimation of armies, but that which is pure, temperate, and gentle, and conformed to the civilisation of the present age. Why then do we longer procrastinate, and wherefore are these delays? Let us complete the enterprise already so well commenced; and since our union with England can no longer consist with that liberty and peace which are our chief delight, let us dissolve these fatal ties, and conquer forever that good which we already enjoy; an entire and absolute independence.

‘But ought I not to begin by observing, that if we have reached that violent extremity, beyond which nothing can any longer exist between America and England, but either such war or such peace as are made between foreign nations, this can only be imputed to the insatiable cupidity, the tyrannical proceedings, and the outrages, for ten years reiterated, of the British ministers. What have we not done to restore peace, to reestablish harmony? Who has not heard

our prayers, and who is ignorant of our supplications? They have wearied the universe. England alone was deaf to our complaints, and wanted that compassion towards us which we have found among all other nations. And as at first our forbearance, and then our resistance, have proved equally insufficient, since our prayers were unavailing, as well as the blood lately shed; we must go further, and proclaim our independence. Nor let any one believe that we have any other option left. The time will certainly come when the fated separation must take place, whether you will or no; for so it is decreed by the very nature of things, the progressive increase of our population, the fertility of our soil, the extent of our territory, the industry of our countrymen, and the immensity of the ocean which separates the two states. And if this be true, as it is most true, who does not see that the sooner it takes place the better; and that it would be not only imprudent, but the height of folly, not to seize the present occasion, when British injustice has filled all hearts with indignation, inspired all minds with courage, united all opinions in one, and put arms in every hand? And how long must we traverse three thousand miles of a stormy sea, to go and solicit of arrogant and insolent men, either counsels or commands to regulate our domestic affairs? Does it not become a great, rich, and powerful nation, as we are, to look at home, and not abroad, for the government of its own concerns? And how can a ministry of strangers judge, with any discernment, of our interests, when they know not, and when it little imports them to know, what is good for us, and what is not? The past justice of the British ministers should warn us against the future, if they should ever seize us again in their cruel claws. Since it has pleased our barbarous enemies to place before us the alternative of slavery or of independence, where is the generous minded man and the lover of his country, who can hesitate to choose? With these perfidious men no promise is secure, no pledges sacred. Let us suppose, which heaven avert, that we are conquered; let us suppose an accommodation. What assurance have we of the British moderation in victory, or good faith in treaty? Is it their having enlisted and let loose against us the ferocious Indians, and the merciless soldiers of Germany? Is it that faith, so often pledged and so often violated in the course of the present contest; this British faith, which is reputed more false than Punic? We ought rather to expect, that when we shall have fallen naked and unarmed into their hands, they will wreak upon us their fury and their vengeance; they will load us with heavier chains, in order to deprive us not only of the power, but even of the hope of again recovering our liberty. But I am willing to admit, although it is a thing without example, that the British government will forget past offences and perform its promises, can we imagine, that after so long dissensions, after so many outrages, so many combats, and so much bloodshed, our reconciliation could be durable, and that every



day, in the midst of so much hatred and rancor, would not afford some fresh subject of animosity? The two nations are already separated in interest and affections; the one is conscious of its ancient strength, the other has become acquainted with its newly exerted force; the one desires to rule in an arbitrary manner, the other will not obey even if allowed its privileges. In such a state of things, what peace, what concord, can be expected. The Americans may become faithful friends to the English, but subjects, never. And even though union could be restored without rancor, it could not without danger. The wealth and power of Great Britain should inspire prudent men with fears for the future. Having reached such a height of grandeur that she has no longer any thing to dread from foreign powers, in the security of peace the spirit of her people will decay, manners will be corrupted, her youth will grow up in the midst of vice, and in this state of degeneration, England will become the prey of a foreign enemy, or an ambitious citizen. If we remain united with her, we shall partake of her corruptions and misfortunes, the more to be dreaded as they will be irreparable; separated from her, on the contrary, as we are, we should neither have to fear the seductions of peace nor the dangers of war. By a declaration of our freedom, the perils would not be increased; but we should add to the ardor of our defenders, and to the splendor of victory. Let us then take a firm step, and escape from this labyrinth; we have assumed the sovereign power, and dare not confess it; we disobey a king, and acknowledge ourselves his subjects; wage war against a people, on whom we incessantly protest our desire to depend. What is the consequence of so many inconsistencies? Hesitation paralyses all our measures; the way we ought to pursue, is not marked out; our generals are neither respected nor obeyed; our soldiers have neither confidence nor zeal; feeble at home, and little considered abroad, foreign princes can neither esteem nor succour so timid and wavering a people. But independence once proclaimed, and our object avowed, more manly and decided measures will be adopted; all minds will be fired by the greatness of the enterprise, the civil magistrates will be inspired with new zeal, the generals with fresh ardor, and the citizens with greater constancy, to attain so high and so glorious a destiny. There are some who seem to dread the effects of this resolution. But will England, or can she, manifest against us greater vigor and rage than she has already displayed? She deems resistance against oppression no less rebellion than independence itself. And where are those formidable troops that are to subdue the Americans? What the English could not do, can it be done by Germans? Are they more brave, or better disciplined? The number of our enemies is increased; but our own is not diminished, and the battles we have sustained have given us the practice of arms and the experience of war. Who doubts then, that a declaration of inde-

pendence will procure us allies? All nations are desirous of procuring, by commerce, the productions of our exuberant soil; they will visit our ports, hitherto closed by the monopoly of insatiable England. They are no less eager to contemplate the reduction of her hated power; they all loathe her barbarous dominion; their succours will evince to our brave countrymen the gratitude they bear them for having been the first to shake the foundations of this Colossus. Foreign princes wait only for the extinction of all hazard of reconciliation to throw off their present reserve. If this measure is useful, it is no less becoming our dignity. America has arrived at a degree of power which assigns her a place among independent nations; we are not less entitled to it than the English themselves. If they have wealth, so also have we; if they are brave, so are we; if they are more numerous, our population, through the incredible fruitfulness of our chaste wives, will soon equal theirs; if they have men of renown as well in peace as in war, we likewise have such; political revolutions usually produce great, brave, and generous spirits. From what we have already achieved in these painful beginnings, it is easy to presume what we shall hereafter accomplish; for experience is the source of sage counsels, and liberty is the mother of great men. Have you not seen the enemy driven from Lexington by thirty thousand citizens armed and assembled in one day? Already their most celebrated generals have yielded in Boston to the skill of ours; already their seamen, repulsed from our coasts, wander over the ocean, where they are the sport of tempest, and the prey of famine. Let us hail the favorable omen, and fight not for the sake of knowing on what terms we are to be the slaves of England, but to secure to ourselves a free existence, to found a just and independent government. Animated by liberty, the Greeks repulsed the innumerable army of Persians; sustained by the love of independence, the Swiss and the Dutch humbled the power of Austria by memorable defeats, and conquered a rank among nations. But the sun of America also shines upon the heads of the brave; the point of our weapons is no less formidable than theirs; here also the same union prevails, the same contempt of dangers and of death in asserting the cause of country.

‘Why then do we longer delay, why still deliberate? Let this most happy day give birth to the American republic. Let her arise, not to devastate and conquer, but to reestablish the reign of peace and of the laws. The eyes of Europe are fixed upon us; she demands of us a living example of freedom, that may contrast, by the felicity of the citizens, with the ever increasing tyranny which desolates her polluted shores. She invites us to prepare an asylum where the unhappy may find solace, and the persecuted repose. She entreats us to cultivate a propitious soil, where that generous plant which first sprung up and grew in England, but is now withered



by the poisonous blasts of Scottish tyranny, may revive and flourish, sheltering under its salubrious and interminable shade all the unfortunate of the human race. This is the end presaged by so many omens, by our first victories, by the present ardor and union, by the flight of Howe, and the pestilence which broke out amongst Dunmore's people, by the very winds which baffled the enemy's fleets and transports, and that terrible tempest which engulfed seven hundred vessels upon the coasts of Newfoundland. If we are not this day wanting in our duty to country, the names of the American legislators will be placed, by posterity, at the side of those of Theseus, of Lycurgus, of Romulus, of Numa, of the three Williams of Nassau, and of all those whose memory has been, and will be, forever dear to virtuous men and good citizens.'

Lee had scarcely ceased speaking, when no dubious signs of approbation were manifested on all parts. But the deputies of Pennsylvania and Maryland not being present, and the Congress desirous, by some delay, to evidence the maturity of their deliberations, adjourned the further consideration of the subject to the first of July. Meanwhile, the patriots labored strenuously to induce the two dissenting provinces also to decide for independence. They employed the most earnest persuasions, to which they added also threats, intimating that not only would the other colonies exclude them from the confederation, but that they would immediately treat them as enemies. The provincial assembly of Pennsylvania remained inflexible. At length, the inhabitants of Pennsylvania formed a convention, in which the debates and disputes upon the question of independence were many and vehement.

John Dickinson, one of the deputies of the province to the general Congress, a man of prompt genius, of extensive influence, and one of the most zealous partisans of American liberty, restricted however to the condition of union with England, harangued, it is said, in the following manner against independence.

'It too often happens, fellow-citizens, that men, heated by the spirit of party, give more importance in their discourses to the surface and appearance of objects, than either to reason or justice; thus evincing that their aim is not to appease tumults, but to excite them; not to repress the passions, but to inflame them; not to compose ferocious discords, but to exasperate and embitter them more and more. They aspire but to please the powerful, to gratify their own ambition, to flatter the caprices of the multitude, in order to captivate their favor. Accordingly, in popular commotions, the party of wisdom and of equity is commonly found in the minority; and perhaps it would be safer, in difficult circumstances, to consult the smaller instead of the greater number. Upon this principle I invite the attention of those who hear me, since my opinion may differ from that of the majority; but I dare believe it will be shared

by all impartial and moderate citizens, who condemn this tumultuous proceeding, this attempt to coerce our opinions, and to drag us with so much precipitation to the most serious and important of decisions. But coming to the subject in controversy, I affirm, that prudent men do not abandon objects which are certain, to go in pursuit of those which offer only uncertainty. Now it is an established fact, that America can be well and happily governed by the English laws, under the same king, and the same parliament. Two hundred years of happiness furnish the proof of it; and we find it also in the present prosperity which is the result of these venerable laws and of this ancient union. It is not as independent, but as subjects; not as republic, but as monarchy; that we have arrived at this degree of power and of greatness.

‘What then is the object of these chimeras hatched in the days of discord and war? Shall the transports of fury have more power over us than the experience of ages? Shall we destroy, in a moment of anger, the work cemented and tested by time?’

‘I know the name of liberty is dear to each one of us; but have we not enjoyed liberty even under the English monarchy? Shall we this day renounce that, to go and seek it in I know not what form of republic, which will soon change into a licentious anarchy and popular tyranny? In the human body the head only sustains and governs all the members, directing them, with admirable harmony, to the same object, which is self-preservation and happiness; so the head of the body politic, that is the king in concert with the parliament, can alone maintain the union of the members of this empire, lately so flourishing, and prevent civil war by obviating all the evils produced by variety of opinions and diversity of interests. And so firm is my persuasion of this, that I fully believe the most cruel war which Great Britain could make upon us, would be that of not making any; and that the surest means of bringing us back to her obedience, would be that of employing none. For the dread of the English arms once removed, provinces would rise up against provinces, and cities against cities; and we should be seen to turn against ourselves the arms we have taken up to combat the common enemy.

‘Insurmountable necessity would then compel us to resort to the tutelary authority which we should have rashly abjured, and if it consented to receive us again under its Egis, it would be no longer as free citizens, but as slaves. Still inexperienced, and in our infancy, what proof have we given of our ability to walk without a guide? none; and if we judge of the future by the past, we must conclude that our concord will continue as long as the danger, and no longer.

‘Even when the powerful hand of England supported us, for the paltry motives of territorial limits and distant jurisdictions, have we not abandoned ourselves to discords, and sometimes even to vio-



lence? And what must we not expect now that minds are heated, ambitions roused, and arms in the hands of all?

‘If, therefore, our union with England offers us so many advantages for the maintenance of internal peace, it is no less necessary to procure us with foreign powers that condescension and respect which is so essential to the prosperity of our commerce, to the enjoyment of any consideration, and to the accomplishment of any enterprise. Hitherto in our intercourse with the different nations of the world, England has lent us the support of her name and of her arms; we have presented ourselves in all the ports and in all the cities of the globe, not as Americans, a people scarcely heard of, but as English; under the shadow of this respected name, every port was open to us, every way was smooth, every demand was heard with favor. From the moment when our separation shall take place, every thing will assume a contrary direction. The nations will accustom themselves to look upon us with disdain; even the pirates of Africa and Europe will fall upon our vessels, will massacre our seamen, or lead them into a cruel and perpetual slavery.

‘There is in the human species, often so inexplicable in their affections, a manifest propensity to oppress the feeble as well as to flatter the powerful. Fear always carries it against reason, pride against moderation, and cruelty against clemency.

‘Independence, I am aware, has attractions for all mankind; but I maintain, that in the present quarrel the friends of independence are the promoters of slavery, and that those who desire to separate us, would but render us more dependent; if independence means the right of commanding, and not the necessity of obeying, and if being dependent is to obey, and not to command, If in rendering ourselves independent of England, supposing, however, that we should be able to effect it, we might be so at the same time of all other nations, I should applaud the project; but to change the condition of English subjects for that of slaves to the whole world, is a step that could only be counselled by insanity. If you would reduce yourselves to the necessity of obeying, in all things, the mandates of supercilious France, who is now kindling fire under our feet, declare yourselves independent. If to British liberty you prefer the liberty of Holland, of Venice, of Genoa, or of Ragusa, declare yourselves independent. But if we would not change the signification of words, let us preserve and carefully maintain this dependence, which has been down to this very hour the principle and source of our prosperity, of our liberty, of our real independence.

‘But here I am interrupted, and told that no one questions the advantages which America derived at first from her conjunction with England; but that the new pretensions of the ministers have changed all, have subverted all. If I should deny that, for the last twelve years, the English government has given the most fatal direction to

the affairs of the colonies, and that its measures towards us savor of tyranny, I should deny not only what is the manifest truth, but even what I have so often advanced and supported. But is there any doubt that it already feels a secret repentance? These arms, these soldiers, it prepares against us, are not designed to establish tyranny upon our shores, but to vanquish our obstinacy, and compel us to subscribe to conditions of accommodation. In vain is it asserted that the ministry will employ all means to make themselves quite sure of us, in order to exercise upon us, with impunity, all the rigor of their power; for to pretend to reduce us to an absolute impossibility of resistance in cases of oppression, would be, on their part, a chimerical project. The distance of the seat of government, the vast extent of intervening seas, the continual increase of our population, our warlike spirit, our experience in arms, the lakes, the rivers, the forests, the defiles which abound in our territory, are our pledges that England will always prefer to found her power upon moderation and liberty, rather than upon rigor and oppression. An uninterrupted succession of victories and of triumphs could alone constrain England to acknowledge American independence; which, whether we can expect, whoever knows the instability of fortune can easily judge.

‘If we have combated successfully at Lexington and at Boston, Quebec and all Canada have witnessed our reverses. Every one sees the necessity of opposing the extraordinary pretensions of the ministers; but does every body see also that of fighting for independence?’

‘It is to be feared, that by changing the object of the war, the present harmony will be interrupted, that the ardor of the people will be chilled by apprehensions for their new situation. By substituting a total dismemberment to the revocation of the laws we complain of, we should fully justify the ministers; we should merit the infamous name of rebels, and all the British nation would arm, with an unanimous impulse, against those who, from oppressed and complaining subjects, should have become all at once irreconcilable enemies. The English cherish the liberty we defend; they respect the dignity of our cause; but they will blame, they will detest, our recourse to independence, and will unite with one consent to combat us.

‘The propagators of the new doctrine are pleased to assure us that, out of jealousy towards England, foreign sovereigns will lavish their succours upon us; as if these sovereigns could sincerely applaud rebellion; as if they had not colonies, even here in America, in which it is important for them to maintain obedience and tranquillity. Let us suppose, however, that jealousy, ambition, or vengeance, should triumph over the fear of insurrections; do you think these princes will not make you pay dear for the assistance with which they flatter you? Who has not learnt, to his cost, the perfidy and the cupidity of Europeans? They will disguise their avarice under pompous



words; under the most benevolent pretexts they will despoil us of our territories, they will invade our fisheries and obstruct our navigation, they will attempt our liberty and our privileges. We shall learn too late what it costs to trust in those European flatteries, and to place that confidence in inveterate enemies which has been withdrawn from long tried friends.

‘There are many persons who, to gain their ends, extol the advantages of a republic over monarchy. I will not here undertake to examine which of these two forms of government merits the preference. I know, however, that the English nation, after having tried them both, has never found repose except in monarchy. I know, also, that in popular republics themselves, so necessary is monarchy to cement human society, it has been requisite to institute monarchical powers, more or less extensive, under the names of *Archons*, of *Consuls*, of *Doges*, of *Gonfaloniers*, and finally of *Kings*. Nor should I here omit an observation, the truth of which appears to me incontestable; the English constitution seems to be the fruit of the experience of all anterior time; in which monarchy is so tempered, that the monarch finds himself checked in his efforts to seize absolute power; and the authority of the people is so regulated, that anarchy is not to be feared. But for us it is to be apprehended, that when the counterpoise of monarchy shall no longer exist, the democratic power may carry all before it, and involve the whole state in confusion and ruin. Then an ambitious citizen may arise, seize the reins of power, and annihilate liberty forever; for such is the ordinary career of ill balanced democracies, they fall into anarchy, and thence under despotism.

‘Such are the opinions which might have been offered you with more eloquence, but assuredly not with more zeal or sincerity. May heaven grant that such sinister forebodings be not one day accomplished! May it not permit that, in this solemn concourse of the friends of country, the impassioned language of presumptuous and ardent men should have more influence than the pacific exhortations of good and sober citizens; prudence and moderation found and preserve empires, temerity and presumption occasion their downfall.’

The discourse of Dickinson was heard with attention; but the current flowed irresistibly strong in a contrary direction, and fear acting upon many more powerfully even than their opinion, the majority pronounced in favor of independence. The deputies of Pennsylvania were accordingly authorised to return to Congress, and to consent that the confederate colonies should declare themselves free and independent states.

The formal opposition of Dickinson caused him to be excluded. The same things took place in Maryland; this province, feeble by itself, and situated in the midst of the others, also empowered its deputies to resume their seats in Congress, and to approve independ-

ence. Consequently, the fourth of July, 1776, upon the report of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Philip Livingston, the thirteen confederate colonies dissolved all their allegiance towards the British crown, and declared themselves free and independent, under the name of the thirteen *United States of America*. The manifesto which the Congress caused to be published to justify their resolution in the sight of all mankind, was attributed particularly to Jefferson; it was drawn up with great energy of style and argument. The writers of the time bestowed the highest encomiums on this declaration, which laid the foundation of the independence of a rich and powerful nation.

It commenced with these words;

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

‘We hold these truths to be self evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organising 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 shown, 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 felicity. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government.’

After an exact enumeration of the wrongs received, and of the oppression sustained, it was added, that ‘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.’ Then having recounted the public appeals made at different times to the English people, their constant refusal to hear the voice of justice and of consanguinity, the manifesto concluded with these words;



‘ 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, and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states ; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved ; and that as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.’\*

Such was this famous declaration of the independence of the United States of America, which, if it was necessary, as it appears to have been, was not, however, exempt from peril. For although the greater part of the Americans perceived that the course of things must have led them to this extremity, there were still many who openly manifested contrary sentiments. They were unfortunately more numerous in the provinces menaced by the English than in any other. The American armies were feeble, the treasury poor, foreign succours uncertain, and the ardor of the people might abate all at once.

It was known that England was determined to exert all her forces for the reduction of the colonies, before they should have time to become confirmed in their rebellion ; or to form alliances with foreign powers. If the American arms, as there was but too much reason to fear, should prove unfortunate in the ensuing campaign, it could not be disguised that the people would lay it to the charge of independence ; and that according to the ordinary movement of the human mind, they would rapidly retrograde towards the opinions they had abjured. When despair once begins, the prostration of energy follows as its immediate consequence. But the war was inevitable, all arrangement impossible, and the Congress urged by necessity to take a decisive resolution. On every side they saw dangers, but they preferred to brave them for the attainment of a determinate object, rather than trust any longer to the uncertain hope of the repeal of the laws against which they were in arms.

For it was even difficult to designate which of these laws were to be revoked. Some desired to have all those repealed which had

\* See Note I.

been passed since the year 1763 ; others only proscribed a part of them ; and there were still others whom a total abrogation would not have satisfied, and who wished also for the abolition of some ancient statutes. In the heat of debates, propositions had been advanced to which it was impossible that Great Britain should ever consent. Nor can it be denied that the declaration of independence was conformable to the nature of things. Circumstances would not have endured much longer that a people like that of America, numerous, wealthy, warlike, and accustomed to liberty, should depend upon another, at a great distance, and little superior in power. The English ministry could not shut their eyes upon it ; and such was perhaps the secret reason of their obduracy in attempting to load the Americans with heavier chains. It is also certain that foreign princes would not have consented to succour, or to receive into their alliance, a people who acknowledged themselves the subjects of another power ; whereas it might be expected, that they would unite their efforts to those of a nation determined, at all hazards, to obtain the recognition of its liberty and independence. In the first case, even victory would not have given allies to the Americans ; in the second, they were assured of them only by showing themselves resolved to sustain their cause with arms in hand.

However this may be, it is certain that the declaration was received by the people with transports of joy. Nor were any of those public demonstrations omitted which governments are accustomed to employ, on similar occasions, to conciliate the favor of the people to their determinations. Independence was proclaimed, with great solemnity, at Philadelphia, the eighth of July. The artillery was fired, bonfires were kindled ; the people seemed actually delirious with exultation. On the eleventh, the manifesto of Congress was published in New York, and was read to each brigade of the American army, which, at that time, was assembled in the vicinity of the city ; it was received with universal acclamations. The same evening the statue of king George III., which had been erected in 1770, was taken down and dragged through the streets by the sons of liberty. It was decided, that the lead of which it was composed, should be converted into musket balls. These excesses, however blameable in themselves, were not without utility if considered politically ; they excited the people and hurried them on to the object that was desired. At Baltimore, independence having been proclaimed in the presence of cannoniers and militia, the people could not contain their enthusiasm. The air resounded with salutes of artillery, and the shouts that hailed the freedom and happiness of the United States of America. The effigy of the king became the sport of the populace, and was afterwards burnt in the public square.



The rejoicings at Boston were the greatest of all. Independence was there proclaimed from the balcony of the State house, in the presence of all the authorities, civil and military, and of an immense concourse of people, as well from the city itself as from the country. The garrison was drawn up in order of battle in King street, which from that moment took the name of State street; the troops formed in thirteen detachments, to denote the thirteen United States. At a given signal, a salute of thirteen cannon was fired upon Fort Hill, which was immediately answered by an equal number from the batteries of the Castle, of the Neck, of Nantasket, and of Point Alderton. The garrison, in their turn, fired thirteen salutes of musketry, each detachment firing in succession. The authorities and most considerable inhabitants then convened at a banquet prepared in the council chamber, when they drank toasts to the perpetuity and prosperity of the United States, to the American Congress, to general Washington, to the success of the arms of the confederacy, to the destruction of tyrants, to the propagation of civil and religious liberty, to the friends of the United States in all parts of the world. All the bells rung in token of felicitation; the joy was universal, and its demonstrations were incessantly renewed. In the evening, all the ensigns of royalty, lions, sceptres or crowns, whether sculptured or painted, were torn in pieces and burnt in State street.

But in Virginia, it would be impossible to describe the exultation that was manifested.

The Virginian convention decreed that the name of the king should be suppressed in all the public prayers. They ordained that the great seal of the Commonwealth of Virginia should represent Virtue as the tutelary genius of the province, robed in drapery of an Amazon, resting one hand upon her lance, and holding with the other a sword, trampling upon tyranny, under the figure of a prostrate man, having near him a crown fallen from his head, and bearing in one hand a broken chain, and in the other a scourge. At foot was charactered the word Virginia, and round the effigy of Virtue was inscribed—*Sic semper tyrannis*. The reverse represented a group of figures; in the middle stood Liberty with her wand and cap; on one side was Ceres, with the horn of plenty in the right hand, and a sheaf of wheat in the left; upon the other appeared Eternity, with the globe and the phœnix. At foot were found these words—*Deus nobis hæc otia fecit*.

In the midst of these transports, nothing was forgotten that might tend to inspire the people with affection for the new order of things, and a violent hatred, not only towards tyranny, but also against monarchy; the republicans using all their address to confound the one with the other as eternally inseparable by their essence.

Thus, on the one hand, the American patriots, by their secret manœuvres, and then by a daring resolution; and on the other, the

British ministers, at first by oppressive laws, and afterwards by hesitating counsels and the employment of an inadequate force, gave origin to a crisis which eventually produced the entire dismemberment of a splendid and powerful empire. So constant are men in the pursuits of liberty; and so obstinate in ambition. But also so timid are they in their resolutions, and ever more prompt to warn their enemy of his danger by threats, than to overwhelm him by force.

It is certain that the English ministers wanted either sagacity to foresee the evil, or energy to remedy it. The tumults of America broke out unobserved, and grew without obstacle, till at length, swoln like an overflowing river, they acquired such an impetuosity as to sweep before them the impotent dikes with which it was attempted too late to oppose them.

END OF BOOK SIXTH.



# NOTE TO BOOK VI.

NOTE I.—PAGE 331.

THE MEMBERS WHO COMPOSED THE CONGRESS, AND WHO ALL SIGNED THE DECLARATION, ARE THE FOLLOWING ;

JOHN HANCOCK, *President.*

## NEW HAMPSHIRE.

JOSIAH BARTLETT,  
WILLIAM WHIPPLE,  
MATTHEW THORNTON.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

SAMUEL ADAMS,  
JOHN ADAMS,  
ROBERT TREAT PAINE,  
ELBRIDGE GERRY.

## RHODE ISLAND.

STEPHEN HOPKINS,  
WILLIAM ELLERY.

## CONNECTICUT.

ROGER SHERMAN,  
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,  
WILLIAM WILLIAMS,  
OLIVER WOLCOTT.

## NEW YORK.

WILLIAM FLOYD,  
PHILIP LIVINGSTON,  
FRANCIS LEWIS,  
LEWIS MORRIS.

## NEW JERSEY.

RICHARD STOCKTON,  
JOHN WITHERSPOON,  
FRANCIS HOPKINSON,  
JOHN HART,  
ABRAHAM CLARK.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

ROBERT MORRIS,  
BENJAMIN RUSH,  
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,  
JOHN MORTON,  
GEORGE CLYMER,

JAMES SMITH,  
GEORGE TAYLOR,  
JAMES WILSON,  
GEORGE ROSS.

## DELAWARE.

CÆSAR RODNEY,  
GEORGE READ,  
THOMAS M'KEAN.

## MARYLAND.

SAMUEL CHASE,  
WILLIAM PACA,  
THOMAS STONE,  
CHARLES CARROLL, (of Carrollton.)

## VIRGINIA.

GEORGE WYTHE,  
RICHARD HENRY LEE,  
THOMAS JEFFERSON,  
BENJAMIN HARRISON,  
THOMAS NELSON, JUN.  
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE,  
CARTER BRAXTON.

## NORTH CAROLINA.

WILLIAM HOOPER,  
JOSEPH HEWES,  
JOHN PENN.

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

EDWARD RUTLEDGE,  
THOMAS HEYWARD, JUN.  
THOMAS LYNCH, JUN.  
ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

## GEORGIA.

BUTTON GWINNETT,  
LYMAN HALL,  
GEORGE WALTON.

## BOOK SEVENTH.

1776. HAVING sketched the two first periods of this obstinate contest, in the first of which we have seen the British ministers provoking the Americans, by oppressive laws, to resistance and revolt; and in the second, conducting the war which ensued with feeble counsels and insufficient means; the order of history requires that we should now proceed to the recital of the events which signalled the third, wherein, at length displaying all their force, they proposed to suppress the rebellion entirely, and to reduce the colonists to subjection.

General Howe having arrived from Halifax, landed the twenty-fifth of June at Sandy Hook, a point of land situated at the entrance of the Gulf, comprehended between the main land of New Jersey, the mouth of the Rariton, Staten Island, and the opening of the bay of New York, on the one side, and Long Island on the other. On the second of July he took possession of Staten Island. The resolution of independence may, therefore, be praised for its boldness, or blamed for its temerity; which was taken, as is seen, at the very instant when England was preparing to attack, with formidable forces, the most vulnerable parts of America. The general would have preferred waiting at Halifax till the arrival of the reenforcements expected from Europe, with the fleet of his brother, the admiral, in order to repair, in concert with him, to the waters of New York, and to terminate the war by a sudden and decisive blow. But the English fleet delayed to appear, and the quarters of Halifax were as inconvenient, as provisions were scarce there; a part of the troops had been compelled to remain on board the ships. The season for operations also advancing, general Howe determined to go and wait for his reenforcements in the vicinity of New York; the squadron of convoy was commanded by admiral Shuldham.

He was joined in the passage by some regiments that, having been separated from the fleet by contrary winds, were steering alone for Halifax. Other corps fell into the power of the American cruisers. The inhabitants of Staten Island received the English general with great demonstrations of joy; the soldiers being quartered about in the villages, found, in abundance, the refreshments of which they were in the greatest need. Here general Howe was visited by governor Tryon, who gave him precise information with respect to the state of the province, as also, with regard to the forces and preparations of the enemy. Many inhabitants of New Jersey came to offer themselves to be enrolled for the royal service; even those of Staten Island were forward to enlist under the English standard; every thing announced that the army had only to show itself in the



provinces to be assured of a prompt victory. Admiral Howe, after touching at Halifax, where he found despatches from his brother, who urged him to come and join him at New York, made sail again immediately, and landed, without accident, at Staten Island, the twelfth of July. General Clinton arrived there about the same time, with the troops he reconducted from the unfortunate expedition of Charleston. Commodore Hotham also appeared there with the reinforcements under his escort; so that in a short time the army amounted to about twenty-four thousand men, between English, Hessians, and Waldeckers. Several regiments of Hessian infantry were expected to arrive shortly, when the army would be carried to the number of thirty-five thousand combatants, of the best troops of Europe. America had never seen such a display of forces.

It began now to appear that the ministers had at length adopted vigorous measures, hoping to terminate the war at a blow, and to repair the evils produced by their long hesitation and delays.

General and admiral Howe, both officers of high distinction, were to combine their efforts against the province of New York; which, feeble by itself, broken by a great number of islands and large rivers; and offering a great extent of coasts, was more exposed than any other to the attacks of an enemy that was master at sea.

The English army was abundantly provided with arms and munitions, and the soldiers manifested an extreme ardor for the service of the king. The English, besides their particular hatred against the insurgents, were also stimulated by their national jealousy towards the Germans; they considered the confidence placed by the government in these strangers as indicating a want of it in them. They were eager to prove to the world that, without their assistance, they were capable of subduing America. The Germans, on their part, who justly thought themselves not inferior to the English, would by no means appear to yield to them, and this reciprocal emulation warranted the expectation of extreme efforts on the one part and on the other. When the submission of the province of New York should have given the English a firm footing in America, small garrisons, supported by a formidable maritime force, would be sufficient to defend it against the insults of the enemy, and the army might safely proceed to the conquest of the adjacent provinces.

New York, forming the centre of the American colonies, the English army would be able to turn at will, either upon the right, in order to carry the war into Connecticut and all New England, or upon the left to scour New Jersey and menace Philadelphia itself. It was besides very easy, by means of frigates and other smaller vessels, to maintain the communication between the two parts of the army upon the right and left banks of the Hudson, and even to pass it upon occasion, and promptly transport troops from one side to the other.

Finally, this position of New York, as well by its nature as by reason of the numerous marine of the English, was for them a place of arms, whence they could infest the neighboring places, attack their enemies at their own time, combat them with success, and retreat without danger.

They resolved, accordingly, to make it the centre of their operations; the loyalists were also very numerous there, and in no city of America, was the party of the Congress more feeble.

There occurred, also, another consideration of the highest importance. If general Carleton, after having passed, as was hoped, the lakes of Canada, could penetrate to the banks of the Hudson, and descend this river at the same time that general Howe should ascend it, their conjunction would have the immediate effect of interrupting all communication between the provinces of New England, situated upon the left bank, and those of the middle and south, which are found upon the right; and such had always been the favorite plan of the ministry.

Finally, it was considered that Long Island, separated from the island of New York only by the East river, and being abundant in grains and in cattle, offered the means of subsistence for the most numerous army. Its inhabitants, besides, were believed to be well inclined towards the royal cause.

While general Howe was seconded in his invasion of New York by the twelve or thirteen thousand men coming from Canada under governor Carleton, general Clinton was to operate in the provinces of the south, and to attack Charleston. The American troops being thus divided, and their generals surprised and pressed on so many sides at once, it was not doubted but that the British arms would soon obtain a complete triumph. But there happened in this occurrence what is often seen in the execution of human designs, when their success depends upon the concurrence of a great number of parts; one proceeds towards the object, another recedes from it, and all equally miss it.

A prosperous event in this business appeared the less probable, since independently of the obstacles raised by men, it was necessary also to combat the winds and the seasons. Would it not have been calculating upon a scarcely possible contingency, to have expected the arrival of three distinct corps of the army at their places of destination at the hour prefixed, so as to operate in perfect concert? Was it even certain that all the three would prove victorious? This, however, was necessary to secure the execution of the plan of the campaign.

It happened, therefore, on the one part, that admiral Howe, having been retarded by contrary winds, did not land his reinforcements till after the expedition of Charleston had totally miscarried, as we have related. And on the other, the army of Canada encountered so many



obstacles to the passage of the lakes, that it was not able to make its way this year to the banks of the Hudson. Whence it resulted not only that Washington was not compelled to weaken the already feeble army which he had upon the coasts, in order to send succours into South Carolina, or towards Canada, but that the same soldiers who had so valiantly defended Charleston, went to reenforce those who guarded the passage of the lakes, or joined the principal army. But notwithstanding these failures, it was still confidently hoped that general Howe would be able alone to make a decisive campaign. This hope was not perhaps devoid of all foundation. It is plain, therefore, how many probabilities the British ministers and generals would have united in their favor, if instead of having scattered their forces upon several points, they had concentrated them in a single mass, leaving only sufficient garrisons in the places necessary to their operations.

The Americans, on their part, had neglected no preparative in order to resist the storm with which they were menaced. The Congress had ordained the construction of rafts, of gun boats, of galleys, and of floating batteries, for the defence of the port of New York and the mouths of the Hudson. But it could not be hoped that such feeble preparations were competent to oppose, with any chance of success, the formidable marine of England.

The Congress had also decreed that thirteen thousand of the provincial militia should go and join the army of Washington, who, being seasonably apprised of the danger of New York, had made a movement into that quarter; they also directed the organisation of a corps of ten thousand men, destined to serve as a reserve in the provinces of the centre. All the weakest posts had been carefully intrenched, and furnished with artillery. A strong detachment occupied Long Island, to prevent the English from landing there, or to repulse them if they should effect a debarkation. But the army of the Congress was very far from having all the necessary means to support the burthen of so terrible a war. It wanted arms, and it was wasted by diseases. The reiterated instances of the commander-in-chief had drawn into his camp the militia of the neighboring provinces, and some regular regiments from Maryland, from Pennsylvania, and from New England, which had carried his army to the number of twenty-seven thousand men; but a fourth part of these troops was composed of invalids, and scarcely was another fourth furnished with arms. The greatest part, without order, as without discipline, could inspire little confidence.

These inconveniences, so seriously alarming for the success of the American cause, proceeded partly from the want of money, which prevented the Congress from paying regular troops and providing for their equipment, and partly from an impolitic parsimony contracted during peace, which withheld them from incurring, with promptitude, the expenses rendered necessary by a state of war. Their rooted

jealousy of standing armies contributed also to the same effect ; it had even inspired them with the idle hope of being able to organise every year an army sufficient to resist the forces of the enemy.

Perhaps, finally, many of the colonists were reluctant to take arms, because they still flattered themselves that the commissioners of the king, being at the same time chiefs of the troops, and negotiators of peace, might succeed in effecting a general reconciliation.

The American army, such as it was, occupied the positions most suitable to cover the menaced points. The corps which had been stationed in Long Island was commanded by major-general Greene, who, on account of sickness, was afterwards succeeded by general Sullivan. The main body of the army encamped in the island of New York, which, it appeared, was destined to receive the first blows of the English.

Two feeble detachments guarded Governor's Island, and the point of Paulus' Hook, situated in front of New York, upon the right bank of the Hudson. The militia of the province, commanded by the American general Clinton, were posted upon the banks of the Sound, where they occupied the two Chesters, East and West, and New Rochelle. For it was to be feared that the enemy, landing in force upon the north shore of the Sound, might penetrate to Kingsbridge, and thus entirely lock up all the American troops in the island of New York.

All being prepared on the one side for attack, on the other for defence, and the two parties appearing equally decided to refer the destiny of America to the chance of battles, the English commissioners, before coming to this appeal, wished to make trial of the pacific powers with which they were invested. Already, in the month of June, lord Howe, being upon the coasts of Massachusetts in the Eagle ship of the line, had, in the name of the king, addressed a letter to all the governors who had been expelled from their provinces, enjoining them to use all possible means to spread it among the inhabitants.

He therein announced that the king had authorised two commissioners to grant general or particular pardons to all those who, during the troubles, had departed from the obedience due to the crown, but who now desired to return to their duty, and participate in the benefits of the royal clemency. He also declared that the commissioners were empowered to proclaim any province or city whatsoever to be in the king's peace, which immediately sheltered them from the effect of the penal laws against rebellion. Finally, he promised large recompense to such as, by their services, should contribute to reestablish the royal authority. These writings, commonly brought by flags, circulated in the country ; and general Washington sent by express to Congress a proclamation which had been addressed to the city of Amboy. That assembly took the noble resolution of causing



it to be printed in all the public papers, in order that the good people of the United States, such were the words of the resolution, might be informed of the powers of the commissioners, and of the means by which Great Britain hoped to lull them into security and to disarm them; and also that the most obstinate might be convinced that they could no longer expect the preservation of their privileges, but from their arms alone.

In the meantime, a letter was brought from lord Howe, directed simply to George Washington, Esq. The general refused to receive it, alleging, that whoever had written it had not expressed his public station, and that as a private individual he could not, and would not, hold any communication, whether written or verbal, with the commanders of the king. His conduct in this instance was much applauded by the Congress; and they decreed that in future none of their officers should receive letters or messages, on the part of the enemy, that were not addressed to them according to their respective rank.

The English commissioners were unwilling that a mere point of ceremonial should interrupt negotiations from which they expected some advantage. They could not, on the other hand, consent to acknowledge in the generalissimo of Congress a rank which had been conferred, as they believed, by an unlawful authority.

They had recourse, therefore, to an expedient by which they hoped to obviate all difficulty; they changed the address of their letter for the superscription following; *to George Washington, &c. &c.* Adjutant-general Patterson was sent with this despatch. Being introduced to Washington, he gave him in conversation the title of *Excellency*. The general received him with great politeness, but at the same time with much dignity. The adjutant expressed great concern, in the behalf of his principals, on account of the difficulties that had arisen about the superscription of the letter; assured him of their high regard for his personal character, and that they had no intention to undervalue his rank. It was hoped, therefore, that the *et ceteras*, being in use between ambassadors when they were not perfectly agreed upon points of etiquette, would remove all obstructions to their mutual intercourse.

Washington answered, that a letter written to a person invested with a public character should specify it, otherwise it could not be distinguished from a private letter; that it was true the *et ceteras* implied every thing; but it was no less true that they implied any thing; and that, as to himself, he would never consent to receive any letter, relating to public affairs, that should be directed to him, without a designation of his rank and office. Patterson requested that this question might be waved; and turned the conversation upon prisoners of war. He expatiated in magnificent terms upon the goodness and clemency of the king, who had chosen for negotiators

lord and general Howe. He affirmed that their desire to terminate the differences which had arisen between the two people was as earnest as their powers were ample; and that he hoped the general would consider this visit as the first step towards it. Washington replied, that he was not authorised to negotiate; but that it did not appear that the powers of the commissioners consisted in any more than in granting pardons; that America, not having committed any offence, asked for no forgiveness, and was only defending her unquestionable rights. Patterson exclaimed that this subject would open too vast a field of discussion; and repeating his regrets that a strict observation of formalities should interrupt the course of so important an affair, he took leave of the general, and withdrew. This conference thus remained without result, and all thoughts were again concentrated in war. The Congress were perfectly aware, on the one hand, of the shame they must incur by departing from the resolution so recently taken of asserting independence, and they feared on the other that the propositions of England might contain some secret poison. They caused an exact relation to be printed of the interview between the commander-in-chief and the English adjutant-general.

The British generals seeing that the obstinacy of the Americans left them no longer any hope of an accommodation, directed their entire attention to the prosecution of the war, and resolved to strike the first blows without longer delay. Wishing, in the first place, to secure a post which might serve in case of need as a place of retreat, and to furnish the means of subsistence for so powerful an army, they decided to attack Long Island, in which they depended for success upon the superiority of military talents which they believed themselves to have, and which they really had, over the Americans. Accordingly, having made all their dispositions, the twenty-second of August, the fleet approached the west coast of the island near the strait, called the *Narrows*, which separates it from Staten Island; all the troops found an easy and secure landing place between the villages of Gravesend and New Utrecht, where they debarked without meeting any resistance on the part of the Americans.

A great part of their army, under the command of general Putnam, encamped at Brookland or Brooklyn, in a part of the island itself which forms a sort of peninsula. He had strongly fortified the entrance of it with moats and intrenchments; his left wing rested upon the *Wallabout* bay, and his right was covered by a marsh contiguous to another bay, called *Gowan's Cove*. Behind him he had Governor's Island, and the arm of the sea which separates Long Island from the island of New York, and which gave him a direct communication with the city, where the other part of the army was stationed under Washington himself. The commander-in-chief perceiving that battle was approaching, continually exhorted his men



to keep their ranks, and summon all their courage; he reminded them that in their valor rested the only hope that remained to American liberty; that upon their resistance depended the preservation or the pillage of their property by barbarians; that they were about to combat in defence of their parents, their wives, their children, from the outrages of a licentious soldiery; that the eyes of America were fixed upon her champions, and expected from their success on this day either safety or total destruction.

The English having effected their landing, marched rapidly forward. The two armies were separated by a chain of hills, covered with woods, called the heights of Guan, and which, running from west to east, divide the island into two parts. They are only practicable upon three points; one of which is near the Narrows, the road leading to that of the centre passes by a village named *Flatbush*, and the third is approached, far to the right, by the route of another village called *Flatland*. Upon the summit of the hills is found a road which follows the length of the range, and leads from *Bedford* to *Jamaica*, which is intersected by the two roads last described; these ways are all interrupted by precipices, and by excessively difficult and narrow defiles.

The American general wishing to arrest the enemy upon these heights, had carefully furnished them with troops, so that if all had done their duty, the English would not have been able to force the passages without extreme difficulty and danger. The posts were so frequent upon the road from *Bedford* to *Jamaica*, that it was easy to transmit, from one of these points to the other, the most prompt intelligence of what passed upon the three routes.

Colonel Miles, with his battalion, was to guard the road of *Flatland*, and to scour it continually with his scouts, as well as that of *Jamaica*, in order to reconnoitre the movements of the enemy. Meanwhile, the British army pressed forward, its left wing being to the north, and its right to the south; the village of *Falmouth* was found in its centre. The Hessians, commanded by general Heister, formed the main body; the English, under major-general Grant, the left; and other corps, conducted by general Clinton, and the two lords, *Percy* and *Cornwallis*, composed the right. In this wing the British generals had placed their principal hope of success; they directed it upon *Flatland*. Their plan was, that while the corps of general Grant, and the Hessians of general Heister, should disquiet the enemy upon the two first defiles, the left wing, taking a circuit, should march through *Flatland*; and endeavor to seize the point of intersection of this road with that of *Jamaica*; and then rapidly descending into the plain which extends at the foot of the heights, upon the other side, should fall upon the Americans in flank and rear. The English hoped, that as this post was the most distant from the centre of the army, the advanced guards would be found more feeble there,

and perhaps more negligent; finally, they calculated that, in all events, the Americans would not be able to defend it against a force so superior. This right wing of the English was, in effect, the most numerous, and entirely composed of select troops.

The evening of the twenty-sixth of August, general Clinton commanding the vanguard, which consisted in light infantry; lord Percy the centre, where were found the grenadiers, the artillery, and the cavalry; and Cornwallis the rear guard, followed by the baggage, some regiments of infantry and of heavy artillery; all this part of the English army put itself in motion with admirable order and silence, and leaving Flatland, traversed the country called New Lots. Colonel Miles, who this night performed his service with little exactness, did not perceive the approach of the enemy; so that two hours before day the English were already arrived within a half mile of the road of Jamaica, upon the heights. Then general Clinton halted, and prepared himself for the attack. He had met one of the enemy's patrols and made him prisoner.

General Sullivan, who commanded all the troops in advance of the camp of Brooklyn, had no advice of what passed in this quarter. He neglected to send out fresh scouts; perhaps he supposed the English would direct their principal efforts against his right wing, as being the nearest to them.

General Clinton learning from his prisoners that the road of Jamaica was not guarded, hastened to avail himself of the circumstance, and occupied it by a rapid movement. Without loss of time, he immediately bore to his left towards Bedford, and seized an important defile which the American generals had left unguarded. From this moment the success of the day was decided in favor of the English.

Lord Percy came up with his corps; and the entire column descended by the village of Bedford from the heights into the plain which lay between the hills and the camp of the Americans. During this time general Grant, in order to amuse the enemy and divert his attention from the events which took place upon the route of Flatland, endeavored to disquiet him upon his right; accordingly, as if he intended to force the defile which led to it, he had put himself in motion about midnight, and had attacked the militia of New York and of Pennsylvania who guarded it. They at first gave ground; but general Parsons being arrived, and having occupied an eminence, he renewed the combat, and maintained his position till brigadier-general lord Sterling came to his assistance with fifteen hundred men. The action became extremely animated, and fortune favored neither the one side nor the other. The Hessians, on their part, had attacked the centre at break of day; and the Americans, commanded by general Sullivan in person, valiantly sustained their efforts. At the same time the English ships, after having made several move-



ments, opened a very brisk cannonade against a battery established in the little island of Red Hook, upon the right flank of the Americans, who combated against general Grant.

This also was a diversion, the object of which was to prevent them from attending to what passed in the centre and on the left. The Americans defended themselves, however, with extreme gallantry, ignorant that so much valor was exerted in vain, since victory was already in the hands of the enemy. General Clinton being descended into the plain, fell upon the left flank of the centre, which was engaged with the Hessians. He had previously detached a strong corps in order to intercept the Americans.

As soon as the appearance of the English light infantry apprised them of their danger, they sounded the retreat, and retired in good order towards their camp, bringing off their artillery. But they soon fell in with the party of royal troops which had occupied the ground on their rear, and who now charged them with fury; they were compelled to throw themselves into the neighboring woods, where they met again with the Hessians, who repulsed them upon the English, and thus the Americans were driven several times by the one against the other with great loss.

They continued for some time in this desperate situation, till at length several regiments, animated by an heroic valor, opened their way through the midst of the enemy, and gained the camp of general Putnam; others escaped through the woods. The inequality of the ground, the great number of positions which it offered, and the disorder which prevailed throughout the line, were the cause that for several hours divers partial combats were maintained, in which many of the Americans fell.

Their left wing and centre being discomfited, the English, desirous of a complete victory, made a rapid movement against the rear of the right wing, which, in ignorance of the misfortune which had befallen the other corps, was engaged with general Grant. Finally, having received the intelligence, they retired. But encountering the English who cut off their retreat, a part of the soldiers took shelter in the woods, others endeavored to make their way through the marshes of Gowan's Cove; but here many were drowned in the waters, or perished in the mud; a very small number only escaped the hot pursuit of the victors, and reached the camp in safety. The total loss of the Americans, in this battle, was estimated at more than three thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Among the last were found general Sullivan, and brigadier-generals lord Sterling and Woodhull. Almost the entire regiment of Maryland, consisting of young men of the best families in that province, was cut in pieces. Six pieces of cannon fell into the power of the victors. The loss of the English was very inconsiderable; in killed, wounded, and prisoners, it did not amount to four hundred men.

The Americans, in this day, assuredly committed a great fault, since they were forced to combat with a part of their forces against all those of the enemy. They omitted to use the requisite diligence to inform themselves of the quantity of troops disembarked; they neglected to cause the roads of the heights to be properly scoured by their scouts, and especially those upon their left, which was the menaced part; finally, they had not sufficiently guarded the difficult passes upon the road of Jamaica. There even arose some rumors which threw suspicions of treachery upon those who were charged with this guard; but it is certain that they were culpable rather of negligence than of evil intentions. Colonel Miles enjoyed a reputation that placed him above suspicion. It appears, indeed, that general Sullivan, either from too much confidence or too much mildness, did not employ all the rigorous means which so important a circumstance exacted, to prevent the secret intelligence of the loyalists with the English; these were, therefore, diligently informed of the weakest places, and of the negligence with which the service was performed. The English and the Hessians combated not only with courage, but even with an impetuous ardor, excited by their reciprocal emulation, and by the desire to efface the stains of former defeats.

In the height of the engagement, general Washington had crossed over to Brooklyn from New York, and seeing some of his best troops slaughtered or taken, he uttered, it is said, an exclamation of anguish. He could, if he saw fit, draw out of their encampment all the troops, and send them to succour the corps that were engaged with the enemy; he might also call over all the forces he had in New York, and order them to take part in the battle. But all these reinforcements would by no means have sufficed to render his army equal to that of the English. Victory having already declared in their favor, the courage with which it inspired them, and the superiority of their discipline, cut off all hope of being able to restore the battle. If Washington had engaged all his troops in the action, it is probable that the entire army would have been destroyed on this fatal day, and America reduced to subjection. Great praise, therefore, is due him for not having allowed himself, in so grave an occurrence, to be transported into an inconsiderate resolution, and for having preserved himself and his army for a happier future.

The English were so elated with victory, that eager to profit by their advantages they would fain have immediately assaulted the American camp. But their general manifested more prudence; whether he believed the intrenchments of the enemy stronger than they really were, or whether he considered himself already sure of entering New York without encountering new perils, he repressed the ardor of his troops. Afterwards, having encamped in front of the enemy's lines in the night of the twenty-eighth, he broke ground



within six hundred paces of a bastion upon the left. His intention was to approach by means of trenches, and to wait till the fleet could cooperate with the land troops.

The situation of the Americans in their camp became extremely critical. They had in front an enemy superior in number, and who could attack them at every moment with a new advantage. Their intrenchments were of little moment, and the English, pushing their works with ardor, had every probability of success in their favor.

For two days and two nights the rain had fallen by torrents; the arms and ammunition suffered from it alike. The soldiers, overwhelmed with fatigue and discouraged by defeat, would have made but a feeble resistance. The English ships were in readiness to enter the East river. They had hitherto been prevented by a north-east wind, which for them was as contrary as it was propitious for the Americans. But it might change the next moment, and the English once masters of this river, retreat was intercepted to the soldiers of Congress, and the whole army would have incurred the danger of being forced to surrender to the superior force of the enemy. The council of war being assembled, the American generals resolved to evacuate their position, and to withdraw into New York. All the dispositions having been made, the retreat across the East river was undertaken. Colonel Glover commanded the vessels and flat boats of transport, general Macdougall was charged with the embarkation, and colonel Mifflin was to cover the rear guard. The twenty-ninth, at eight in the evening, the troops began to move with the greatest silence. But they were not on board before eleven. A violent northeast wind and the ebb tide, which rendered the current very rapid, prevented the passage; the time pressed however. Fortunately, the wind suddenly veered to the northwest; they immediately made sail, and landed in New York. Providence appeared to have watched over the Americans; about two o'clock in the morning, a thick fog, and at this season of the year extraordinary, covered all Long Island, whereas the air was perfectly clear on the side of New York.

Notwithstanding the entreaties of his officers, Washington remained the last upon the shore; he refused to embark till he saw his troops all on board. They amounted in all to nine thousand men.

The artillery, baggage, camp equipage, munitions, every thing was safely transported to the other side. It was not till the next morning, the sun being already high, and after the mist was dissipated, that the English discovered, to their great surprise, that the Americans had abandoned their camp, and were already sheltered from all pursuit. They perceived only a part of the rear guard, out of reach in their boats, who had returned to carry away some munitions which had been left in the island.

Whoever will attend to all the details of this retreat, will easily believe that no military operation was ever conducted by great captains with more ability and prudence, or under more favorable auspices.

It still remained to evacuate Governor's Island, situated at the mouth of the East river; it was occupied by two regiments, with a numerous artillery and abundant munitions. The Americans had fortified it to interdict the entrance of this river to the English. But after the loss of Long Island, it could not be hoped to defend the passage, and the garrison was in danger of falling into the power of the enemy. The evacuation of Governor's Island was also effected without accident, notwithstanding the vicinity of the English ships. Thus all the American army, after the defeat of Long Island, found itself united in the island of New York.

The check of Brooklyn had made upon the Americans a profound impression of terror, and their position actually became very alarming.

Until then, they had flattered themselves that heaven would constantly favor their arms; and it was, in truth, the first time that fortune had betrayed them so cruelly. But not having been accustomed to her rigors, from the excess of confidence which intoxicated them in prosperity, they fell all at once into that of dejection.

They had persuaded themselves that personal valor completely supplied the want of discipline; and they had gone so far as even to hold in derision the European system of tactics. But since they had found, by fatal experience, of how much utility it was in regular battles, their eyes were opened, and they had lost all confidence in themselves. At first they had believed that courage, without discipline, could do all; they now thought it could do nothing. At every moment they were apprehensive of some new surprise; at every step of falling into an ambuscade. Thus, from discouragement, they became still more negligent of order. The militia, especially, according to the usage of multitudes armed in moments of emergency, became every day more disorderly and intractable. Not content with enjoying a liberty without bounds in the camp, they abandoned their colors by hundreds, and entire regiments deserted to return to their provinces. Their example became fatal to the regular troops themselves; their subordination diminished, and desertion enfeebled them daily. Their engagement was but for one year, and even in some corps only for a few weeks; the hope of soon returning to their families and friends so acted upon these soldiers that they avoided dangers. Ardor and enthusiasm had at first overruled these domestic affections; but they now triumphed over a zeal extinguished by ill fortune.

The fidelity of the generals was not suspected, but their talents were distrusted, and every thing appeared to threaten a total dissolu-



tion. Confounded by the blows of fortune, and little used to support them, the Americans thus gave themselves up for lost. Washington contended earnestly with exhortations, with persuasions, and with promises, to arrest the progress of the disorganisation. Wherein, if he did not succeed according to his desires, he obtained, however, more than his hopes. The greater part, yielding to his authority, and the benevolence they bore him, consented to remain. He had not neglected to address the Congress an energetic picture of the deplorable situation of his army; he represented to them how important it was to accept no more engagements, but for the total duration of the war; and he assured them that he must despair of American liberty, unless he was furnished with an army that should stand by him till the conclusion of the enterprise. The remonstrances and instances of the commander-in-chief, were seconded by all the military chiefs of distinction that were found at that time in America, and the Congress at length yielded to their desires. They decreed that a regular army should be formed, in which the soldiers should be enlisted to serve during the present war; and that it should be composed of eighty-eight battalions, to be raised in all the provinces according to their respective abilities.\* To induce the inhabitants to enlist, the Congress decreed, besides, that a bounty of twenty dollars should be given to each man at the time of engagement, and portions of unoccupied lands were promised to the officers and soldiers.† But from the difficulty of finding men who would enlist for the whole term of the war, this resolution was afterwards modified, so as to admit of engagements either for three years or during the war; specifying, however, that such as enlisted only for three years had no right to grants of land. This measure was of great utility. Here also is seen the power of good or ill fortune over nations. If those who allow themselves to be over elated by prosperity, are without courage in adversity, those who use the favors of fortune with moderation, are able to support its reverses with fortitude.

General Howe, wishing to take advantage of the terror which victory inspires, and persuading himself that the Americans, disheartened by so many checks, would be more modest in their pretensions, despatched general Sullivan to the Congress with a message purporting, that though he could not consistently treat with that assembly in the character they had assumed, yet he would gladly confer with some of their members in their private capacity, and would meet them

\* The eighty-eight battalions decreed by Congress, were to be furnished in the following proportion. Three in New Hampshire, fifteen in Massachusetts, two in Rhode Island, eight in Connecticut, four in New York, four in New Jersey, twelve in Pennsylvania, one in Delaware, eight in Maryland, fifteen in Virginia, nine in North Carolina, six in South Carolina, and one in Georgia.

† The grant of lands was thus regulated. Five hundred acres to a colonel, four hundred to a major, three hundred to a captain, two hundred to a lieutenant, one hundred and fifty to an ensign, and one hundred to noncommissioned officers and soldiers.

at any place they would appoint. He informed them that he was empowered, with the admiral his brother, to terminate the contest between Great Britain and America upon conditions equally advantageous to both; these conditions, he added, he had not been able to obtain till after two months delay, which had prevented him from arriving before the declaration of independence. He expressed an earnest desire that an arrangement might take place before the events of the war became so decisive as to render it no longer a matter of choice for one of the parties to treat. He assured them, that if they were inclined to enter into an agreement, much might be granted to them which they had not required. He concluded by saying, that should the conference produce the probability of an accommodation, the authority of Congress would be acknowledged in order to render the treaty valid and complete in every respect. The commissioners hoped thus, by insidious words, to dispose the Americans to resume the yoke of England without dread.

It would be difficult to decide whether these propositions announced, on the part of the English, more hope than despair of victory. Perhaps the commissioners, not being authorised to grant all the conditions they offered, merely threw them out to create parties, or to amuse the Americans and to divert them from their preparations of war. However this may be, the Congress deliberated maturely upon this overture. Their refusal to listen to the proffered terms might alienate the minds of many; and their consenting to enter into negotiation was a tacit admission that the declaration of independence was not irrevocable, or that ill fortune began to shake their constancy. The Congress, to avoid either of these inconveniences, though persuaded of the insincerity of the commissioners, decided for a middle course. They made answer, through general Sullivan, that the Congress of the free and independent states of America could not, consistently with the trust reposed in them, send any of their members to confer with whomsoever, otherwise than in their public capacity. But that as they desired that peace might be concluded upon equitable conditions, they would depute a committee of their body to learn whether the commissioners were authorised to treat, and what proposals they had to offer. Washington was instructed, at the same time, to answer any overtures that might be made him, by saying that the United States having taken arms to defend their existence and their liberty, would willingly consent to peace, provided the terms of it were reasonable, and drawn up first in writing, in order to be laid before Congress.

Thus the Americans appeared to incline for independence, without insisting, however, upon this point as an indispensable condition of peace, in order to reserve a way open to reconciliation if the fate of arms should prove too adverse. The deputies, appointed by Congress to hear the propositions of the commissioners, were Benja-



min Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge, all three zealous partisans of independence. The interview took place the eleventh of September, in Staten Island, opposite Amboy. Admiral Howe spoke the first, saying, that though he could not treat with them as a committee of Congress, yet as he was authorised to confer with any gentlemen of influence in the colonies, on the means of restoring peace, he felt a real gratification in the present occasion to discourse with them upon this important subject.

The deputies replied, that since they were come to hear him, he was at liberty to look upon them in what light he pleased; that they could not, however, consider themselves in any other character than that in which the Congress had placed them. Howe then entered upon the subject of the meeting; he demanded that the colonies should return to their allegiance and duty towards the British crown; he assured them of the earnest desire of the king to make his government easy and acceptable to them in every respect; that those acts of parliament which were so obnoxious to them would undergo a revival, and the instructions to governors would be reconsidered; that if any just causes of complaint were found in the acts or instructions, they might be removed.

After having recounted the tyrannical acts of parliament, of which all their supplications had failed to procure the repeal, the deputies added, in reply, that a return to the domination of Great Britain was not now to be expected. 'There was no doubt, they said, that the Americans were inclined to peace, and willing to enter into any treaty with Britain that might be advantageous to both countries. If there was the same good disposition on her part, it would be easier for the commissioners, though not empowered at present to treat with them as independent states, to obtain fresh powers from their government for that purpose, than it would be for the Congress to procure them from the colonies to consent to submission.'

Howe then put an end to the conference, by saying that he deeply regretted there was no longer any hope of an accommodation.

The three deputies made their report to Congress of the issue of this interview, observing that the powers of the English commissioners were insufficient, and that it was impossible to place any dependence upon their offers or their promises. The Congress approved their conduct. This attempt at negotiation, therefore, served only to demonstrate, on the one hand, that the Congress persevering in their resolution and undaunted by reverses, were determined not to receive conditions from their enemies; and on the other, how greatly the English government was still deceived with respect to the spirit which prevailed in America, and as to the means proper to be employed for the reestablishment of the ancient order of things.

But it seems in this revolution to have been the destiny of things, that the remedies should always arrive after the evils were become

incurable; and that the government refusing out of pride at the favorable moment, to acquiesce in useful concessions, should afterwards have to submit to the rejection of its useless propositions.

The English generals, convinced by experience, that they must renounce all hope of accommodation, now turned their attention exclusively to military operations. The royal army found itself separated from that of the Congress only by the East river, which communicating with *Harlem Creek* flows between Long Island and Morrisania on the one part, and the island of New York on the other. The intention of the English was to land in some part of this last, where the least resistance could be opposed to them. Their ships cruised along the coasts, threatening sometimes one place and sometimes another, in order to keep the enemy at all points in uncertainty, and afterwards to attack upon one only with more advantage. A part of the fleet having doubled Long Island appeared in the Sound, a gulf of great breadth which separates this island from the coast of Connecticut, and communicates with the East river, by means of a narrow channel, which a very dangerous navigation and frequent shipwrecks have caused to receive the name of *Hell Gate*.

The English had taken possession of the island of *Montesoro*, situated in this strait, where they had erected a battery to answer that which the Americans had planted upon the opposite side of the river at *Hovenshook*. Two frigates, passing between Governor's Island and the point of *Red Hook*, had ascended into the East river, without receiving any injury from the artillery of the enemy, and had anchored out of its reach near a little island. The main body of the English fleet was moored in the waters of Governor's Island, ready to attack the city of New York itself, or to enter either the East river, or the Hudson.

Meanwhile, the ships were continually engaged with the batteries on shore, and frequent actions ensued for the possession of the little islands which are found in the first of these rivers. The English had need of them for the execution of their projects, and the Americans saw the necessity of defending them. But whether the English artillery was better served, or that the soldiers of this nation had acquired more confidence from their victory, and especially owing to the assistance of their ships, they succeeded in carrying, one after another, such of these islands, as their convenience acquired, and thus secured for themselves the entrance of the East river.

Washington had furnished the two shores of the island of New York with a numerous artillery, and had thrown up intrenchments in different places. He had four thousand five hundred men in the city; six thousand five hundred at *Harlem*, a village situated in front of the opening of the sound; and twelve thousand at *Kingsbridge*, at



the extremity of the island. He had been particularly careful to fortify this passage, in order to secure a free communication with the continent, and to prevent the enemy from seizing it by surprise, and thus entirely locking up the American army within the island itself. But the commander-in-chief felt extreme apprehensions for the city, and began to despair of preserving it in the power of the confederation. The enemy being considerably reenforced in the northern parts of Long Island, and having the command of the sound, it was to be feared he might disembark in the centre of the island of New York, near the mouth of the sound, in which case the garrison of the city, and all the troops encamped in its environs, having their retreat intercepted, would have been compelled to surrender; or else that, traversing the sound and Morrisania, he would go and establish himself with the greater part of his army in the rear of Kingsbridge.

In this last hypothesis the Americans losing all communication with the continent, would be forced either to capitulate, or to fight a battle whose success appeared secure in advance to the English by the choice of ground and of time, and the discouragement which still prevailed among the troops of the Congress.

The fortune of the Americans would then be past all hope, as well in consequence of the terror with which they would be seized, as from the loss of arms, of munitions, and of baggage. Washington had, therefore, signified to Congress his apprehensions, praying them to inform him of their intentions relative to the city of New York, if he found himself constrained to evacuate it. The Congress humanely replied, that it should be left entire and safe. Having afterwards assembled a council of war, he invited them to deliberate upon the necessity of an immediate evacuation of the city, and it evidently appeared that he was himself in favor of this measure. Some were of the same opinion, for the reasons above mentioned, in which they were confirmed by another consideration; they calculated, that by retiring further into the country, the English would be deprived of the important advantage they derived from the cooperation of their fleets. Other members of the council manifested a contrary sentiment, because they considered that the defence of New York would cause the enemy to consume time, and that, in the meanwhile, the season for military operations would have elapsed. They also thought that the evacuation of New York would have too much the appearance of cowardice, and that it might have the most fatal influence upon the spirit of the soldiers and of the inhabitants; the opinion of these prevailed. But at length the English having reenforced themselves greatly at the entrance of the sound, and in the islands of *Montesoro* and of *Buchanan*, a second council of war decided that it was not only prudent but even necessary to abandon New York. Accordingly, no time was lost in removing, by way of the Hudson river, the sick, the baggage, and the munitions, which were landed far above,

upon the shore of New Jersey. Some days after, the garrison marched out of the city, leaving it entirely in the power of the enemy.

While this evacuation was effected with great order on the part of the troops, but with much terror on the part of the inhabitants; a report was suddenly spread that the enemy had landed in the island. The soldiers hastened to make their junction with those stationed at Harlem.

While some of the English ships had entered the Hudson river, in order to draw the attention of the American generals on that side, and to interrupt the transportation of baggage and munitions, the first division of the British army, commanded by general Clinton, had embarked at the head of the bay at Newtown, and proceeding by the sound, entered the East river through Hell Gate; thence descending with the current, it had gone to disembark at Kipps Bay, three miles north of New York. This point was the weakest of all; and the English troops, protected by the fire of the ships, effected a landing there almost without resistance. When Washington was apprised of the debarkation, he detached the brigades of generals Parsons and Fellows to reenforce the corps that defended Kipps Bay. But they had already turned their backs; the others imitated them and shamefully fled, in defiance of the efforts of their officers to retain them. Washington arrived himself, and rallied them; but at sight of the English troops these militia disbanded anew. If the English had immediately pressed forward they would, without any doubt, have intercepted the retreat of the garrison of New York. But whether their generals could not credit so much pusillanimity on the part of the Americans, and were unwilling to risk themselves between two fires; or whether, as some writers assert, being elated with their success, they halted for the space of full two hours to divert themselves in the house of a gentlewoman of the country, it is certain that they gave time to general Putnam, who commanded the garrison, to defile and to rejoin the rest of the army. The Americans, however, left in the power of the enemy their heavy artillery, a great proportion of their baggage and munitions, and particularly their tents, of which they had the greatest need. They lost but few soldiers, and those in a skirmish near Bloomingdale.

The British army having despatched a strong detachment to take possession of the city of New York, which affords accommodation for a considerable garrison, went to encamp in the centre of the island, its right wing being posted at Horen's Hook, upon the East river, and its left at Bloomingdale, upon the Hudson. It thus occupied the entire breadth of the island, from one shore to the other, which in this place is more than a mile. The Americans were strongly entrenched in the northern part of the island, and especially at Kingsbridge; they had, besides, a position upon the heights of Harlem, distant only a mile and a half from the English outposts. They



occupied another difficult passage between Harlem and Kingsbridge, as well as the fort they had named Washington, upon the left bank of the Hudson.

There resulted, from the respective situation of the armies, frequent rencounters, in which the Americans gradually resumed courage, and accustomed themselves anew to look the enemy in the face. Washington ardently desired that his troops should often have these affairs with the English. Among others, there ensued one very hot action in the plain of Harlem, where some corps of English and Hessians, led on too far by their ardor, fell into an ambuscade which the Americans had laid for them, and were handled very roughly. Washington in his official letters, highly commended the valor displayed by his troops on this occasion.

A few days after the important position of New York was come into the power of the royal troops, there broke out in it a conflagration, which some attributed to the malice of certain individuals among the inhabitants themselves, to deprive the English of the resources offered them by this great city; others merely to chance. It was published at the time, that the fire had been kindled in various places at once, by means of combustibles disposed with great dexterity; but the Americans positively denied it. Such was the rapidity of the flames, the wind being violent and the weather very dry, that notwithstanding the speed and activity with which the garrison exerted themselves, a fourth part of the city was consumed. In the fury which transported them, they seized several of those whom they considered as the authors of this disaster, and precipitated them into the midst of the fire.

The English general, perceiving that the strength of the enemy's intrenchments was such as to render the attempt to dislodge him by an attack, both extremely hazardous and of doubtful success, took the resolution which, perhaps, he should have taken at first, that is, to go and encamp behind the position which the Americans occupied at Kingsbridge, and thus compel him to combat with disadvantage, to retire with loss, or to remain with peril. Accordingly, having left lord Percy with two English brigades, and one of Hessians in the encampment of Harlem, for the protection of New York, he embarked with the rest of the army in flat bottomed boats; and having safely entered the sound through Hell Gate, proceeded to disembark at Frogs Neck, in the vicinity of West Chester, upon the confines of New York and Connecticut.

This movement of general Howe has been the object of some criticisms; it was pretended that the Americans might have overwhelmed, by a sudden attack, the corps left at Harlem, and thus recovered possession of New York. But, perhaps, he founded the success of his operation upon the discouragement of the colonial troops, and upon the presence of the fleet, which in any event could afford a

shelter to the corps of Harlem, if they should find themselves too hard pressed. General Howe had also strongly fortified Gowans Hill, in order to cover the city. Then, with a view to prevent the enemy from receiving provisions from New Jersey by means of the Hudson river, he had ordered three frigates to pass up the river above forts Washington and Lee; the first situated upon the left bank, and the second upon the right. This order was executed with extreme ability, notwithstanding the artillery of the two forts, and the obstructions with which the Americans had endeavored to impede the navigation.

The English general remained several days at Frogs Neck, as well to repair the bridges which the enemy had broken, as to wait for a considerable reenforcement which he had called from Staten Island. The road from Frogs Neck to Kingsbridge is excessively rough with continual masses of small stones, and the Americans had also obstructed it in many places. Washington, who had assembled all his army at Kingsbridge, sent forward his light infantry to scour the country, and to harass the enemy in his march.

General Howe, having received his reenforcements, put himself in motion with all his troops; he crossed Pelham Manor, and went to encamp at New Rochelle, where he was joined by the second division of Hessians, and of the troops of Waldeck under general Knyphausen, and by a regiment of cavalry lately arrived at New York from Ireland. As the principal project of the expedition was to intercept the communication of Washington with the eastern provinces, and then, if he declined to venture an engagement, to shut him up in the island of New York, consequently it was necessary to occupy the two roads leading into Connecticut; the one upon the coast of the sound, and the other more inland. The first was already in the power of the English; but in attempting to occupy the second, it was requisite to traverse the difficult country of which we have already made mention, in order to secure the post of the highlands, known by the name of White Plains, upon the rear of Kingsbridge. General Howe determined to take this route; he marched, however, slowly and with extreme caution, after leaving at New Rochelle the German corps, lately arrived, to secure the lower road, and the communication with those places whence stores and necessaries were to arrive.

Washington examined, with attention, the danger of his position. He penetrated the designs of the enemy, and consequently decided to abandon, with the main body of his army, the encampment of Kingsbridge. Extending, therefore, his left wing, he took post with it in the White Plains, while the right occupied the heights of Valentine's Hill, near Kingsbridge; the centre exactly filled the space comprehended between these two points. Here he intrenched himself with the greatest care. His army thus formed a well secured



line, parallel to the river Brunx, which lay on its front, and separated it from the English, who marched up along the left bank of this stream.

Washington had behind him the great river Hudson, into which the English frigates had not yet been able to penetrate so far as to intercept the supplies of provisions which he received from the upper parts. With his left wing he occupied the upper road of Connecticut, by which he was also abundantly supplied with provisions and munitions. He had left sufficient garrisons at Kingsbridge, at Harlem, and in fort Washington; in this last place, however, against his own opinion. Meanwhile, he detached numerous parties, over the Brunx, in order to retard the motions of the enemy. Hence frequent skirmishes ensued, and though the royalists had generally the advantage in these rencounters, they still served to dissipate the terror of the Americans, who every day showed themselves more bold in defying the enemy.

Upon the approach of the English to the White Plains, Washington, all at once, called in his detachments, and abandoning the positions he had occupied along the Brunx, assembled all his troops in a strong camp upon the heights, near these plains, in front of the enemy. His right flank was protected by the Brunx, which, by its windings, also covered the front of the right wing. The main body was nearly parallel to the river, and the left wing being placed at a right angle upon the centre, and consequently parallel to the right, extended towards the north upon the hills, as much as was necessary to guard the defiles leading to the upper mountainous regions, into which the army, if expedient, might retire. But the right wing, being posted in more level and less difficult ground, found itself more exposed; wherefore general Macdougall was ordered to occupy, with a strong detachment, a mountain about a mile distant from the camp; he intrenched himself there as well as the time would admit of.

Such was the position of the American army when the English arrived within seven or eight miles of White Plains, and prepared themselves to attack without loss of time. On the morning of the twenty-eighth of October, they advanced in two columns, the right commanded by general Clinton, and the left by general Heister. At noon, all the outposts being driven back by the English and Hessian light infantry, the British army appeared before the American camp. Immediately there ensued a cannonade, but to very little effect. The English drew up in order of battle; their right occupied the road which leads to Merrineck, about a mile distant from the centre of the enemy; while the left, equally distant from his right, bordered the Brunx. The English general having observed the importance of the position taken by general Macdougall, and being persuaded that the right of the enemy, which was his only

assailable point, could not be forced so long as it should be protected by a post of such strength, resolved to wrest it from the Americans. He ordered a Hessian regiment, commanded by colonel Ralle, to ford the Brunx, and by a circuitous movement to fall upon the flank of general Macdougall, while general Leslie should attack him in front with a brigade of English and Hessians. Colonel Ralle having arrived at the point indicated, Leslie, who had also crossed the Brunx, furiously assaulted the intrenchments of Macdougall. The militia soon fled, but the regular troops made a valiant resistance. A regiment of Maryland, conducted by colonel Smallwood, and a regiment of New York, under colonel Ratzemar, ventured even to come out of the lines and to charge the enemy at the very foot of the mountain, but they were overpowered by number and forced to retire. Then the English and Hessians ascended the heights with singular intrepidity, and took possession of them after a vigorous struggle. The Americans, however, continued for some time to fire from behind the walls of enclosures, and thus retarded the progress of the assailants. But general Putnam, who had been sent to their succour, could not arrive in season. The loss of men in this action was great on the one part as well as on the other.

Washington, calmly expecting that the enemy would come to attack him next, had already sent into his rear the sick and the baggage; but as it grew towards the close of day, the English general determined to defer the assault till the next morning. He caused his troops to encamp within cannon shot of the American lines. Washington took advantage of the night to strengthen them with additional works, and to occupy a stronger position in the rear with his left wing, which, by the loss of the mountain, had become more exposed. When the light appeared, general Howe reconnoitred the intrenchments of the enemy, and found them sufficiently formidable to determine him to wait the arrival of some battalions that had been left at New York, under the command of lord Percy, and of several companies from Merrineck. These reinforcements being received on the evening of the thirtieth, he appointed the following morning for the assault, but the excessive rain which fell during the night and also in the morning, compelled him to defer it. The American general, in the meantime, examined his position with his accustomed prudence; he was decided not to risk a pitched battle without the strongest hope of success. He perceived that the English had already erected four or five batteries, and that by turning his right flank they might get possession of the heights situated upon his rear. He concluded, therefore, to break up his camp in the night of the first of November. He removed it into a country still more mountainous in the vicinity of North Castle; having previously set fire to the houses in White Plains and the neighborhood, and to the forage that was found in the camp. He immediately



detached a strong corps to occupy the bridge over the Croton river, which leads to the upper parts of the Hudson. On the following morning the English took possession of the American camp.

General Howe, perceiving that his enemy declined an engagement, and that from the situation of the country, and his knowledge of every advantageous position, it would be impossible to compel him to fight but upon the most unequal and hazardous terms, took the determination to discontinue the pursuit, and to turn his attention to the reduction of the forts and fastnesses still occupied by the Americans in the neighborhood of New York. His views were particularly directed upon fort Washington, which was its principal bulwark. But, though the ground where this fortress had been erected was very rough and difficult, its fortifications were not sufficiently strong to resist heavy artillery. It was incapable, from its little extent, of containing more than a thousand defenders; the outworks that surrounded it, especially to the south, towards New York, might lodge, it is true, a much stronger garrison.

The commander-in-chief, as if he had foreseen the event, had written to general Greene, who commanded in this part, enjoining him to reflect maturely upon his position, and in case he should find that fort Washington was not in a situation to sustain an assault, to cause it to be forthwith evacuated; and to transport the garrison to the right bank of the Hudson. But this general, either believing that the strength of the place and the valor of the troops would assure him a long defence, or from the apprehension that his retreat would increase the already too general discouragement of the Americans, took the resolution to hold out to the last. He was herein the more easily determined, as he believed that the garrison would always be able to retreat into fort Lee, situated upon the other bank of the river. But Washington judged less favorably of the future; he was persuaded that the English would not remain satisfied with the reduction of the first fort; but that crossing the river, and making themselves masters of the second, which was not tenable, they would spread themselves in the province of New Jersey. He left therefore general Lee, with the militia of the eastern provinces, upon the left bank of the Hudson, and having secured the strong positions towards the Croton river, and especially that of Peeks Kill, near the Hudson itself, he crossed that river with the main body of his army, and went to rejoin general Greene in his camp under fort Lee. General Lee himself had orders to come with all speed and join him, in case the enemy, after having taken the forts, should show himself upon the right bank of the Hudson. He afterwards wrote to the governor of New Jersey, requesting him to remove the magazines of provisions into the most remote parts, and to call out all the militia. All these dispositions being made to his wish, Washington watched with an attentive eye the movements of the enemy.

Meanwhile, general Howe had ordered general Knyphausen to march from New Rochelle, and to occupy Kingsbridge. This he executed without obstacles, the Americans, who guarded this position, having fallen back upon fort Washington. The corps of general Knyphausen consequently penetrated into the island of New York, and proceeded to invest the fort, on the part of the north.

A short time after, the English general himself abandoned the White Plains, and descending along the banks of the Hudson, conducted the rest of the army to Kingsbridge. He pitched his camp upon the heights of Fordham, his right wing being covered by the Hudson, and his left by the Bronx.

The royalists then prepared to attack fort Washington; its interior and appertences were defended by full three thousand men, under the command of colonel Magaw, a brave and experienced officer. He was summoned in vain to surrender. The besiegers proceeded to the assault in four divisions, the first from the north, commanded by general Knyphausen, and consisting of Hessians and the troops of Waldeck; the second from the east, composed of English light infantry and two battalions of guards, conducted by general Matthews. This corps was to attack the intrenchments which extended from fort Washington almost to the East river; the third, commanded by colonel Sterling, was destined to pass this river lower down than the second, in order to assail the fort more to the south; but this was only a feint. The fourth, which obeyed the orders of lord Percy, a very strong corps, was directed to aim its assault against the western flank of the fortress. These different divisions were provided with a numerous and excellent artillery. The Hessians, under general Knyphausen, were to pass through a very thick forest, where colonel Rawlings was already posted with his regiment of riflemen. An extremely warm affair was engaged, in which the Germans sustained a severe loss. The Americans ambushed behind the trees and rocks, fired in security; but at last, the Hessians redoubling their efforts, gained a very steep ascent, whence they came down upon the enemy with an irresistible impetuosity; the divisions which followed them were thus enabled to land without molestation. Colonel Rawlings retreated under the cannon of the fort. Lord Percy, on his part, had carried an advanced work, which facilitated the debarkation of the party under colonel Sterling, who, the moment he had landed, forced his way up a difficult height, which was very resolutely defended; he gained the summit, where he took a considerable number of prisoners, notwithstanding their gallant resistance. Colonel Cadwallader, who was charged with the defence of this part, retired also into the fort.

Colonel Ralle, who led the right column of general Knyphausen's attack, surmounted all obstacles with admirable valor, and lodged his column within one hundred yards of the fort. Soon after general



Knyphausen joined him with the left column; having at length extricated himself from the difficulties encountered in the forest. The garrison having thus lost, though not without glory, all their advanced works, found themselves closely invested within the body of the fortress. The besiegers then summoned colonel Magaw to surrender. He had already consumed nearly all his ammunition. The very multitude of defenders pressed into so narrow a space, was prejudicial to defence, and every thing demonstrated that he could not sustain an assault. Accordingly he decided to capitulate. The garrison, amounting to two thousand six hundred men, inclusive of the country militia, surrendered prisoners of war. The Americans had few killed; the royalists lost about eight hundred, the greater part Germans.

The reduction of fort Washington thus gave the royal army entire possession of the island of New York.

Wishing to avail himself to the utmost of the defeat of the Americans, and to prevent them from rallying at another point, general Howe confided to lord Cornwallis the command of a corps of about six thousand men, directing him to pass the Hudson at Dobb's Ferry, and forthwith to invest fort Lee, in order, if possible, to surprisè the garrison, which consisted in two thousand men. They had scarcely time to save themselves by abandoning the place, the moment they heard of the surrender of fort Washington, of the passage of the enemy, and of his force. Their artillery and military stores, their baggage, and particularly their tents, a loss the most sensible, fell into the power of the victors. The vanquished retired to the other side of the Hackensack. The British could now penetrate into the very heart of New Jersey.

These successive checks, the loss of the two forts, Washington and Lee, and especially the excessive vigor of the attack, which had constrained the first to surrender, produced a deplorable change in the fortune of the Americans. They beheld all at once what the fatal battle of Brooklyn had not been able to operate; the dissolution of their army.

The militia disbanded and precipitately retired to their habitations; even the regular troops, as if struck with despair, also filed off, and deserted in parties.

Every thing at this period of the war, threatened America with an inevitable catastrophe.

The army of Washington was so enfeebled that it scarcely amounted to three thousand men, who had lost all courage and all energy, and were exposed in an open country, without instruments to intrench themselves, without tents to shelter them from the inclemency of the season, and in the midst of a population little zealous, or rather hostile towards the republic.

The general of Congress had to face a victorious army, more than twenty thousand strong, composed entirely of disciplined and veteran troops. The excellent generals who commanded it, using the ardor inspired by victory, pursued their advantages with vivacity, and flattered themselves that a few days would suffice to crush the wrecks of the republican army, and put an end to the war. To all the difficulties against which Washington had to contend, should be added, that the English cavalry, though without being very numerous, scoured all the flat country, whereas he had nothing to oppose to it except a few diminutive and feeble hackneys from Connecticut, commanded by major Shelden. So total a deficiency of cavalry, in the immense plains of this country, appeared to extinguish for the Americans their little chance of success. They were no better provided with artillery than with horses. The greater part of their feeble army consisted in militia, almost all from New Jersey. These were either of suspicious fidelity, or desirous of returning to their habitations, to rescue their property and families from the perils that menaced them. The few regular soldiers who still remained with their colors, completed their term of service with the expiration of the year; it was therefore to be feared that this phantom of an army would vanish entirely in the space of a few days.

In so profound a distress, the American general could not hope to receive prompt or sufficient reinforcements. Consternation reigned in all the contiguous provinces; so that each, trembling for himself, refused to succour others. There still remained a few regiments of regular troops upon the frontiers of Canada; but they were necessary there to arrest the progress of the enemy; and, besides, the term of engagement was about to dissolve them shortly. Upon the heel of so many disasters was the imminent danger of seditions on the part of the disaffected, who in various places loudly invoked the name of England. An insurrection appeared ready to explode in the county of Monmouth, in this very province of New Jersey, so that Washington found himself constrained to detach a part of his army, already a mere skeleton, to overawe the agitators. The presence of a victorious royal army had dissipated the terror with which the patriots at first had inspired the loyalists. They began to abandon themselves without reserve to all the fury which animated them against their adversaries. The English commissioners determined to avail themselves of this disposition of the inhabitants to revolt against the authority of Congress. Accordingly the two brothers Howe drew up a proclamation, which they circulated profusely throughout the country. They commanded all those who had arms in hand to disperse and return to their habitations; and all those who exercised civil magistracies to cease their functions and divest themselves of their usurped authority. But, at the same time, they offered a full pardon to all such as within the space of sixty days



should present themselves before the civil or military officers of the crown, declaring their intention to take the benefit of the amnesty, and promising a sincere return to the obedience due to the laws and to the royal authority. This proclamation had the effect which the commissioners had promised themselves from it. A multitude of persons of every rank, availing themselves of the clemency of the victor, came daily to implore his forgiveness, and to protest their submission.

It was remarked, however, that they belonged for the greater part to the class of the very poor, or of the very rich. The inhabitants of a middle condition manifested more constancy in their opinions. Several of the newly reconciled had occupied the first stations in the popular order of things; they had been members either of the provincial government, or of the council of general safety, or of the tribunals of justice. They excused themselves by saying that they had only acted, in what they had hitherto done, with a view to promote the public welfare, and to prevent greater disorders; they alleged, finally, that they had been drawn in by their parents and friends, whom they were unable to refuse. Those who had contemplated them in all their arrogance, and who saw them then so meek, so submissive, and so humble in their words, could scarcely persuade themselves that they were indeed the same individuals. But men of this stamp dread much less to be considered inconstant and perfidious, than rebels to the laws of the strongest; they much prefer to escape danger with infamy, than to encounter it with honor. Nor was it only in New Jersey, and in the midst of the victorious royal troops, that these abrupt changes of party were observed; the inhabitants of Pennsylvania flocked in like manner to humble themselves at the feet of the English commissioners, and to promise them fealty and obedience. Among others there came the Galloways, the family of the Allens, and some others of the most wealthy and reputable. The example became pernicious, and the most prejudicial effects were to be apprehended from it. Every day ushered in some new calamity; the cause of America seemed hastening to irretrievable ruin. The most discreet no longer dissembled that the term of the war was at hand; and that the hour was come in which the colonies were about to resume the yoke. But Washington, in the midst of so much adversity, did not despair of the public safety. His constancy was an object of admiration. Far from betraying any symptoms of hesitation or of fear, he showed himself to his dejected soldiers with a serene countenance, and radiant, as it were, with a certain hope of a better future. Adverse fortune had not been able to vanquish, nay, not even to shake this invincible spirit. Firmly resolved to pursue their object through every fortune, the Congress manifested a similar constancy. It appeared as if the spirit of these great minds increased with adversity.

America is assuredly indebted to the magnanimity of her chiefs for the victory and independence which have crowned her efforts.

Thus pressed by time and circumstances, Washington took all the measures suggested by prudence in order to reenforce his army, not with the hope of being able to arrest the enemy in his triumphant march, but at least that he might not appear to have entirely abandoned the republic; and finally, to keep his standard waving till Divine Providence, or the benignity of fortune, should offer him an occasion to retrieve the affairs of his country.

He had some time before, as we have already related, directed general Lee to occupy, with a part of the army, the country watered by the Upper Hudson, in order to be at hand to succour the corps of Canada which opposed general Carleton upon the lakes. But on seeing New Jersey unguarded, and the danger which instantly menaced the city of Philadelphia itself, he ordered him to come, by forced marches, to rejoin him. This order was the more easy to be executed, as it was soon known that general Carleton, after having occupied Crown Point and made himself master of Lake Champlain, as will be seen in the course of this history, had retired without having ventured to attack Ticonderoga. The commander-in-chief, therefore, instructed general Schuyler to send him, without delay, the troops of Pennsylvania and of New Jersey, that were upon the frontiers of Canada. General Mercer, who commanded a corps of light infantry at Berghen, likewise received orders to rejoin the principal army with all speed. Little calculation, however, could be made upon these reenforcements in the present state of things; the march was long, the road difficult, the engagement of the soldiers almost expired, and the victorious enemy menaced upon all points at once. The American general neglected not to resort to the succours of the militia. He had represented to the principal authorities of Pennsylvania the critical situation of Philadelphia, which could not be saved unless his army was promptly reenforced; he therefore earnestly pressed them to send him the militia of the province. Washington finding his letters nearly without effect, despatched general Mifflin, who enjoyed great popular favor in this province, to paint, with vivid coloring, the urgency of the danger, and the necessity of a general effort to avert it. He wrote also to the governor of New Jersey, apprising him that unless he assembled the militia and caused them to join the army immediately, he must expect to see the enemy overrun the entire province as a conqueror, pass the Delaware and seize Philadelphia.

All his efforts were equally ineffectual in this part. The lower districts of the province, either wanting zeal or chilled with terror, made no movement; and it was not without a sort of repugnance that the inhabitants of the upper countries took arms for the defence of country.



Reduced to the uncertain hope of these feeble reinforcements, the Americans saw their enemies redoubling activity to render their triumph more complete. The army of Congress, after its retreat, had the Hackensack upon its front; but this narrow stream could not be considered as a sufficient defence against the keen pursuit of the English. Besides, as the Passaic flowed at no great distance in the rear of Washington, and the light troops of the enemy inundated the country, he ran the risk of being locked in between these two rivers. He therefore crossed the Passaic over the bridge of Aquakannuck, and took up his quarters at Newark, upon the right bank. The English immediately also passed the Hackensack, and overran the country up to the Passaic. Washington seeing lord Cornwallis approach with rapidity, abandoned the borders of this river, and retiring behind the Rariton took post at New Brunswick. Here the troops of Maryland and of New Jersey declared their term of engagement was expired, and deserting the rest of the army, retired to their respective homes. Some corps of the Pennsylvania militia followed this example; and the army, already so feeble, found itself upon the point of ceasing to exist. The English showed themselves every where, and always equally animated.

Washington, with the few regiments he had left, ventured to make some demonstrations as if he intended to resume the offensive; but this manœuvre was, in fact, designed to cover his retreat to Trenton, upon the left bank of the Delaware. Lord Sterling was left at Princeton, with twelve hundred men, to observe the motions of the enemy. Having little hope of being able to maintain even this position long, he sent across the river the sick, the baggage, and the munitions, and caused all the boats to be withdrawn to the opposite bank, that the English might not use them to effect their passage. He determined, however, to remain upon the frontiers of New Jersey, in order to be always at hand to retard the progress of the enemy. At length having received a reinforcement of two thousand men, composed of the armed citizens of Philadelphia, and of the German battalion already mentioned, he pressed forward with the intention of returning to Princeton. But upon the rumor, continually increasing, that lord Cornwallis was on his march from New Brunswick with a formidable force, divided in several columns so as to endanger his communications with the river, he retreated anew, and the eighth of December, leaving the frontiers of New Jersey entirely in the power of the enemy, he withdrew upon the right bank of the Delaware, having first, however, cut the bridges, broken the roads, and removed all the ferry boats. Scarcely had the rear guard gained the right bank, when the English light troops began to appear upon the left; but finding no means to cross the river, they could pursue no further.

The river Delaware was now the last defence that remained to the American troops ; if the English could pass it, they infallibly became masters of Philadelphia. And the acquisition of a city of such importance, which was at once the capital of the confederation, the seat of government, as well as of the principal authorities, and the central repository of military stores and provisions, must have produced such an effect upon the minds of the people, as perhaps would have given the English a complete triumph, or at least would have authorised them to expect a prompt termination of the war in their favor.

But lord Cornwallis, following the orders of general Howe, who did not proceed in this operation with the requisite ardor, had remained too long at New Brunswick ; he thus left Washington at liberty to interpose every obstacle to the passage of the river. It is impossible here not to blame the negligence of the English generals, who had not seasonably collected all the materials for laying bridges, and who even never thought of constructing rafts in order to gain the other bank. They might have done it in these first moments. Perhaps, no longer doubting of the certain success of their arms, they imagined they could pass the river whenever they pleased, and that Philadelphia would immediately open its gates to them. A memorable example, which proves that in war, more than in any other circumstance of life, it should never be thought that all is done, while there still remains something to do ! It is perfectly certain that this unexpected delay of the English operated to their prejudice through the whole course of the war, and that it was to this capital fault the Americans owed their safety.

The English general established his head-quarters at Trenton, extending his two wings, above and below, along the left bank of the Delaware. This river, after having run from northwest to southeast till it reaches Bordentown, there makes a sudden bend, and flows to the southwest towards Philadelphia ; if the English, therefore, had passed it above Trenton, at a place called *Coriell's Ferry*, or in its vicinity, they would have found themselves as near to this capital as the Americans themselves, who guarded the banks of the Delaware opposite Trenton. That they had formed this design is demonstrated by the attempt they made to seize certain boats at *Coriell's Ferry*, which, however, was defeated by the vigilance of lord Sterling. To oppose an obstacle to this passage, the commander-in-chief directed general Putnam, an engineer of great ability, to draw lines from the Schuylkill to the heights of Springatsburgh. But as the enemy had repaired the bridges below Trenton, and the corps he had at Bordentown were daily reenforced, the Americans became apprehensive that he would attempt to pass the river at once above them at *Coriell's Ferry* and below them at Burlington ; which would have enabled him to close upon their rear, and thus to shut up their



whole army in the point of land formed by the flexure of the Delaware. To obviate this danger, Washington stationed his galleys in places the most proper to observe the motions of the English, and to repulse them if they attempted the passage. The upper parts being the most menaced, he detached his best troops to guard them. Redoubts were erected from distance to distance, and furnished with artillery. Finally, the order was given, in case of misfortune, and if the enemy passed the river, that all the troops should fall back upon Germantown, a large village, but a few miles distant from Philadelphia.

The English generals seeing the enemy's preparations of defence, and perhaps hoping to be able to pass the Delaware in safety, when it should be frozen, which, as the season was now advanced, might be expected very shortly; instead of following the Americans in their retreat, and of allowing them no time to rally, distributed their troops in winter quarters. Four thousand men took their lodgings upon the very bank of the river, at Trenton, at Bordenton, at Blackhorse and at Burlington. Strong detachments occupied Princeton and New Brunswick, where were found their magazines of provisions and of munitions. The rest of the troops were cantoned about in the villages of New Jersey.

While the English army was thus arrested upon the banks of the Delaware, either by the negligence or presumption of its chiefs, or by the firmness and prudence of Washington, this general omitted no exertions to reenforce his army with militia, as well as with regular troops.

Generals Mifflin and Armstrong, who both enjoyed a great influence in Pennsylvania, went through the province, exhorting the people to take arms and fly to the defence of the capital, and of the country. Their exhortations and the approach of danger produced the desired effect. Many of the inhabitants repaired to the republican standard, though without manifesting all of them a very ardent zeal. That the regular troops might serve as a nucleus, for the militia to rally about, Washington ordered general Gates to bring him promptly the best of the troops he commanded in Canada, after having posted the militia of New England to guard the most important passes. Gates arrived the twentieth of December at the army of Pennsylvania. General Lee had received the same order; but he executed it with great slowness and a sort of repugnance; whether his ambition led him to prefer the command of a separate army, or that he considered it as more advisable to maintain himself in the upper and mountainous parts of New Jersey, in order to be always ready to annoy the right flank of the British army. He was drawn from this langor by an event which threw him into a painful captivity, and which filled all America with profound regret, where his zeal, his intelligence, and his military skill, were held in the highest consideration.

Being at a place called Baskinbridge, distant about twenty miles from the quarters of the enemy, he thought himself so out of all danger that he neglected the usual precautions. He took up his quarters at a house considerably removed from the main body, where he remained with a slender guard. Colonel Harcourt, who scoured the country with his cavalry, was informed of this circumstance by a loyalist, and immediately galloped towards the place where Lee was so incautiously lodged. The colonel appearing suddenly, secured the sentinels without noise, and darting into the house, arrested the general. He caused him immediately to mount a very swift horse, and with the same promptness and good fortune conducted him prisoner to New York. This news spread as much consternation among the Americans, as alacrity among the English; who boasted that they had seized the *Palladium* of America. This capture of general Lee occasioned transports of joy even at the court of Saint James, as if some great victory had been obtained, or as if this incident was more fortunate than the conquest of New Jersey itself, and the fair prospect opened of soon entering the city of Philadelphia. From this time there arose a violent controversy between the chiefs of the two parties, relative to the manner in which general Lee and the other prisoners of war should be treated. General Gage, when he was invested with the command, had always refused to consent to the exchange of prisoners. There resulted from it a deplorable system of cruelty on the one part as well as on the other. But when general Howe appeared at the head of the British army, either because his character was more humane than that of his predecessor, or that he had received particular instructions from his government, or finally, that he was constrained to it by the great number of English who were fallen into the power of the Americans, he had agreed from time to time to make exchanges. But when he found himself in possession of general Lee, he refused to fulfil with respect to him the laws of war, and caused him to be closely confined, as if he had been a prisoner of state. He advanced as a reason for his conduct, that Lee being invested with the rank of an officer in the English army, he was to be considered as a deserter, and a traitor. He had formerly received, it is true, his half pay as a British officer; but upon the breaking out of hostilities, he had resigned his rank in England, to be at liberty to enter the service of America. But this resignation had not perhaps arrived seasonably; or the hatred borne him by the government and British generals having more power over them than the usage of civilised nations, they affected to consider and treat him rather as a prisoner of state than as a prisoner of war. As Washington had no British officer in his power of equal rank with general Lee, he had proposed to general Howe to give six Hessian officers in exchange for him; adding, that in case this offer should not be accepted, he demanded at least that Lee should be



treated in a manner suitable to his rank, and this not only in conformity with the laws of nations, but also in reciprocity for the good treatment which the English officers that were prisoners received on the part of the Americans. General Howe persisted in his refusal; the Congress then resorted to reprisals. They ordered that lieutenant-colonel Campbell and five Hessian officers should be imprisoned and treated as general Lee. This order was executed even with more rigor than it prescribed. The lieutenant-colonel, being then at Boston, was thrown into a dungeon destined for malefactors. Washington blamed this excess; he knew that Lee was detained but not ill treated. He also apprehended reprisals, since there were more Americans in the hands of the English, than English in the hands of the Americans. He wrote with great earnestness to Congress upon this subject, but without effect; lieutenant-colonel Campbell and the Hessians were not liberated until general Howe had consented to consider Lee as a prisoner of war.

During these altercations the exchange of prisoners was entirely suspended. Those in the hands of the English at New York had to experience every sort of ill treatment. They were shut up in churches and in other places, exposed to all the inclemency of the air. They were not allowed sufficient nourishment; their fare was scant even of coarse bread, and certain aliments which excited disgust. The sick were confounded with the healthy, both equally a prey to the most shocking defect of cleanliness, and exposed to the outrages of the soldiers, and especially of the loyalists. Nothing alleviated their sufferings. A confined and impure air engendered mortal diseases; more than fifteen hundred of these unfortunate men perished in a few weeks. It was believed that so much cruelty was purposely exercised with a view of constraining the prisoners to enlist under the royal standard. It is certain, at least, that the officers of the king incessantly exhorted them to it. But they all refused; preferring a certain death to the desertion of their country. The fate of the officers was not much less deplorable. Despoiled of every thing by the rapacity of the English soldiers, they were abandoned to all wants. Some of them, though wounded and without clothing, were carted through the streets of New York for the sport of the populace. In the midst of hisses and imprecations, they were denominated rebels and traitors. Several were even caned for having attempted to procure some relief for their soldiers, who were perishing with hunger and disease in their infected dungeons. Washington had addressed frequent and bitter complaints to general Howe of this barbarous conduct towards prisoners of war. The English general answered by denials, by excuses, and even by recriminations. But that he was culpable, is proved by his having refused the offer of the American general, who proposed to send an agent to New York to provide for the wants of the prisoners.

Hence the hatred between the two people acquired a new degree of violence. At length, those who had survived so many evils, were exchanged, and set at liberty. But such was their miserable condition that many died on the way before they could revisit their country and all the objects of their affection. There arose new difficulties upon this subject between the two generals; the Englishman insisting that his prisoners should be restored even in exchange for the dead, and the American refusing it. All this affair of prisoners proves but too clearly that in civil wars, friends become worse than natural enemies, and the most civilised nations no better than barbarians. But the greater part of these inhuman excesses are incontestably attributable to the English.

After general Lee had fallen into the hands of the enemy, general Sullivan, who succeeded him, manifested greater promptitude in obeying the orders of Washington. He crossed the Delaware at Phillipsburgh, and joined him about the last of December; this reinforcement carried the American army to not far from seven thousand men. But the greater part of these troops completed their engagement with the year, and they were upon the point of a total dissolution.

While the English pursued the relics of the American army through the plains of New Jersey, and the latter, happy in having been able to cross the Delaware, found itself almost without hope, fortune did not show herself more propitious to the cause of the revolution upon the coasts of Rhode Island. Admiral sir Peter Parker, and general Clinton with four brigades of English as well as Hessians, had undertaken an expedition against this province, on board a numerous squadron. The provincials not expecting this attack, were totally unprepared for defence; they consequently abandoned Rhode Island without resistance to the English, who occupied it the same day that Washington passed the Delaware. This loss was of great importance, as well from the situation of the province as because the American squadron, under commodore Hopkins, was compelled to withdraw as far up the Providence river as it was practicable, and to continue there blocked up and useless for a long time. The English also occupied the two neighboring islands of Conanicut and of Prudence. Two pieces of cannon fell into their power, but they made few prisoners. The conquest of Rhode Island was of great utility for their ulterior operations; from this province they could harass Massachusetts; and the reinforcements that general Lincoln had assembled with the intention of conducting them to the army of Washington, were detained in that province, to observe general Clinton, and prevent him from disturbing its tranquillity. Even Connecticut shared the alarm, and retained the reinforcements it was upon the point of sending to the camp of the Delaware.



The English, in like manner desirous to prevent the colonies of the south from transmitting succours to those of the middle, which they intended to attack, renewed, during the summer of the present year, their negotiations with the loyalists and with the savages of the upper parts, in order to induce them to act against Georgia, the two Carolinas and Virginia. Notwithstanding the little success which had, in the preceding year, attended the enterprises of the *Regulators* and the Scotch emigrants, the English agents, and particularly one Stuart, a man of extreme activity and audacity, flattered themselves with the hope of obtaining a more efficacious cooperation on the part of the Indian tribes. They were as lavish of exhortations and promises as of gold and presents. They gave out that a strong corps of English would disembark in West Florida; that traversing the territory of the Creeks, the Chickasaws, and the Cherokees, they would join with the warriors of these nations, and invade the two Carolinas and Virginia; while, at the same time, a numerous fleet and powerful army should attack the coasts. Stuart addressed circulars to the loyalists, inviting them to come and put themselves under the royal standard, erected in the country of the Cherokees; he urged them to bring with them their horses, their cattle, and provisions of every sort, for which they should be paid a liberal price. The loyalists, who remembered too well their recent defeat, made no movement of importance. But the Indians, excited by the words and presents of the emissaries, no less than by the probabilities of success, and their thirst of pillage, assembled in considerable numbers, and manifested great animosity against the colonies. The Six Nations themselves, who till this epoch had observed a strict neutrality, began to waver, and had already committed hostilities upon their borders. The Creeks, still more audacious, took the field, and displayed their accustomed ferocity. But having found that deeds did not correspond with words, and that the promised succours did not appear, they desisted, and demanded a pardon, which was easily granted them. They manifested afterwards so much regard for their oaths, or so much distrust for the promises of the English, or finally, such profound terror, that when the Cherokees not long after urged them for succours, they answered that they had buried the hatchet so deep that it could not be found. But the Cherokees listened only to their fury; they fell furiously upon the colonies, exercising frightful ravages, scalping and mutilating their prisoners. They massacred with the same barbarity those who were able to carry arms, and those who were not; old men, women, and children, were butchered without discrimination. Their security was increased by the appearance of the fleet under sir Peter Parker, which had arrived in the waters of Charleston. But when this fleet after the unsuccessful attack of fort Moultrie, had abandoned the shores of Carolina, the Cherokees found themselves in a very critical situation.

Having no longer any thing to fear, upon their coasts, the inhabitants of the two Carolinas and of Virginia devoting all their cares to free themselves from this scourge, turned their forces against the savages, who devastated their country. These barbarians were not only defeated in several rencounters, but the Americans pursued them even into their own territory, putting all to fire and sword, burning their habitations, cutting their trees, destroying their corn, and slaying all those who had borne, or still bore arms. This expedition was almost the total ruin of the nation of Cherokees. Those who survived it, submitted to all the conditions of the conqueror, or wanting provisions, took refuge with this Stuart, the author of the war and of their disasters, in West Florida, where the British government was forced to support them. Thus terminated this year the campaign against the savages; it may be observed, that no chastisement was ever more severe, or more deserved, than that which was inflicted upon the nation of the Cherokees. The avaricious and cruel men who excited these barbarians to commit so many horrors, were the more inexcusable, inasmuch as they had received their birth and education under the more clement sky of Europe.

But the order of events recalls us to Canada, where military operations, far from being suspended, were pursued with extreme vigor. We have related in the preceding book, that the Americans had been constrained by the superiority of the British arms, to evacuate all Lower Canada, and even Montreal and fort St. John. They had retired to Crown Point, whither the English were unable to follow them for want of the necessary vessels not only to cross Lake Champlain, but also to combat those the Americans had armed for their defence. Such, however, was the importance to the designs of the English of obtaining an absolute control of the lakes, that general Carleton set himself with all diligence to the equipment of a fleet. His plan was, according to the instructions of the ministry, to penetrate by way of the lakes to the Hudson river, and thus to effect a junction with the army of New York, at Albany. By the execution of this plan, the provinces of New England would have found themselves separated from the others by a powerful and victorious army, and the cause of America would have been exposed to the most imminent perils. Long deliberated in the councils of the British ministers, it was their favorite scheme. And, in effect, the very nature of the places between Canada and New York, appeared to favor this enterprise. With the exception of the heights which are found between the upper extremity of Lake George and the left bank of the Hudson, and which only occupy a space of sixteen miles, the entire passage from one of these provinces to the other, can easily be made by water, first by ascending from the Saint Lawrence into the Sorel, and then traversing the Lakes Champlain and George, or Wood Creek, to the lands which separate it



from the Hudson. This river afterwards leads directly to the city of New York. The English having an immense superiority at sea, Canada being entirely in their power, and as the principal seat of resistance was found in the provinces of New England, while the coasts of New York were peculiarly accessible to maritime attacks, it cannot be denied that this plan of campaign presented great advantages. But the difficulty of the enterprise of general Carleton was equal to its importance. It was requisite to construct, or at least to equip a fleet of thirty vessels of different dimensions, and to arm them with artillery; the want of materials rendered either of these objects difficult to accomplish. The transportation afterwards in certain places by land, and drawing up the rapids of Saint Theresa and Saint John, of thirty large long boats, a gondola of thirty tons, a number of flat bottomed boats of considerable burthen, with above four hundred batteaux, was an operation which offered not only great obstacles, but even an appearance of impossibility. But the English seamen, from their skill and patience, were not intimidated by it. The soldiers seconded them, and the peasants taken from their rustic labors, were compelled to share the toil. The generals urged forward this laborious undertaking on account of the lateness of the season; as the winter already approached. It was necessary to pass two lakes of considerable extent; they had no certain intelligence respecting the force of the enemy in the fortresses of Crown Point and Ticonderoga; finally, after having worsted him upon Lake Champlain, by means of large vessels, it was to be feared that the squadron would not be able to pass the strait which joins this lake to Lake George, into which however it was absolutely necessary that it should enter. Meanwhile, if it should be possible to surmount so many obstacles, there still would remain to be effected the passage of the woods, the marshes, and the defiles which are found between the point of debarkation and the banks of the Hudson, in order to gain the city of Albany, where only they could meet with such accommodations as would enable them to winter commodiously. But far from appearing discouraged, the English seemed to be animated with new ardor, and the soldiers rivalled their officers in zeal. They felt all the importance of the enterprise, and persuaded themselves that if they could reach Albany before winter, their definitive success would be secured. The brilliant advantages obtained by the army of New Jersey, filled them with emulation; they were eager to share them, and fearful of arriving too late upon the theatre of glory. They labored therefore with incredible activity; but notwithstanding all their efforts, the preparations could not be completed, nor the armament fully equipped, till the middle of the month of October. It was numerous, and superior in strength to any that had ever been seen upon these lakes, and would have made no contemptible figure even upon the European seas. The admiral's ship, called the *Inflexible*, carried

eighteen twelve pounders, and was followed by two stout schooners, the one mounting fourteen, the other twelve six pounders; a large flat bottomed radeau, with six twenty-four and six twelve pounders. Twenty vessels of less size carried each a brass piece of ordnance, from nine to twenty-four pounders, or howitzers. Several long boats were equipped in the same manner. Besides these, there was a great number of boats and tenders of various sizes, to serve as transports for the troops, baggage, warlike stores, provisions, and arms of every sort.

The whole fleet was commanded by captain Pringle, a sea officer of great experience; it was manned by a select body of seamen, animated with an extreme desire of victory. The land troops encamped in the environs, prepared, as soon as the navigation of the lake should be secured, to fall upon the enemy. Three thousand men occupied Ile aux Noix, and as many were stationed at Fort Saint John, the remainder was distributed either in the vessels or in the neighboring garrisons.

The Americans united all their forces to resist such formidable preparations. Generals Schuyler and Gates were at their head, and Arnold showed himself every where, inspiring the soldiers with that ardent courage for which he was himself distinguished.

As the event of the campaign upon this frontier depended totally upon naval operations, the Americans exerted themselves to the utmost of their power to arm and equip a fleet capable of opposing that of the enemy. But their success little corresponded with their efforts. Besides the want of materials for construction, they had not a sufficiency of other stores, and their seaports were so occupied in the building of privateers and ships for the service of Congress, that few carpenters could be spared. Accordingly, notwithstanding the activity and perseverance of the American generals, their squadron amounted to no more than fifteen vessels of different sizes, two brigs, one corvette, one sloop, three gallies, and eight gondolas. Their largest vessel mounted only twelve six, and four pounders. But that this armament might not want a chief whose intrepidity equalled the danger of the enterprise, the command of it was given to general Arnold. It was expected of him to maintain, upon this new element, the reputation he had acquired upon land. The American army, notwithstanding all the obstacles it had encountered, and the ravages of the smallpox, still amounted to eight or nine thousand men; it was assembled under the cannon of Ticonderoga, after having left a sufficient garrison at Crown Point.

All the dispositions being made on both sides, general Carleton, impatient to conquer, ordered all his naval forces to advance towards Crown Point, intending to attack the enemy there. He had already reached the middle of the lake without having been able to discover him, and was proceeding without any distrust, when all at once the



English perceived the American squadron, which was drawn up with great skill, behind the Island of Valincour, and occupied the passage between the island and the western shore of the lake. This unexpected interview caused a violent agitation on both sides. A fierce engagement immediately ensued. But the wind being unfavorable to the English, they could not display their whole line; the *Inflexible*, and their other vessels of the largest class, took no part in the action. The brig *Carleton*, accompanied by several gun boats, assailed the enemy with singular courage and ability. The Americans supported the combat with equal bravery; it lasted above four hours. The wind continuing to be contrary for the English, captain Pringle perceived that he could not hope to obtain advantages with a part of his forces against all those of the enemy, and accordingly gave the signal of retreat; ordering the fleet to be anchored in a line, in presence of the American squadron.

The Americans had lost in the action their largest brig, which took fire and was consumed, as also a gondola which went to the bottom. They considered it as extremely dangerous to await a second engagement in the anchorage they occupied, and consequently determined to retire under the walls of Crown Point, hoping that the artillery of the fortress would counterbalance the superiority of the enemy's force. Fortune seemed inclined to favor this design of general Arnold; and already his vessels, having lost sight of those of the English, sailed rapidly towards their new station; when suddenly the wind became favorable to the enemy, who pursued and came up with them before their arrival at Crown Point. The battle was immediately renewed with greater fury than at first; it continued upwards of two hours. Those vessels in the meanwhile which were most ahead, crowded sail, and passing Crown Point, ran for Ticonderoga. Only two galleys and five gondolas, remained with general Arnold. With these he made a desperate defence; but his second in command, brigadier general Waterburgh, being taken with his vessel, and the others making but a faint resistance, he determined, in order to prevent his people and shipping from falling into the power of the enemy, to run these ashore and set them on fire. He executed his intention with great address. He remained on board the vessel he commanded, and kept her colors flying, till she was on fire. Though he had been unsuccessful on this occasion, the disparity of strength duly considered, he lost no reputation, but rose on the contrary in the estimation of his countrymen. He had, in their opinion, acquitted himself with no less ability in this naval encounter, than he had done at land before. The Americans, having destroyed whatever could not be carried off, evacuated Crown Point and withdrew to Ticonderoga. General Carleton occupied the former immediately, and the rest of his army came soon after to join him there.

Such was the issue of the expedition which the Americans had undertaken in Canada, with a view of establishing the theatre of war upon the territory of their enemies, before they could attempt to invade their own. Completely masters of Lake Champlain, the English had now no other obstacle to surmount besides the fortress of Ticonderoga, in order to penetrate into Lake George. If Carleton, rapidly availing himself of his advantage, had pushed forward against the enemy, thrown into confusion by defeat, perhaps he might have seized this important place without difficulty. But he was prevented from doing it by a south wind, which prevailed for several days. The Americans made the best use of this time in preparing and increasing their means of defence. They mounted their cannon, constructed new works, and repaired the old, surrounding them with moats and palisades. The garrison was reenforced with extreme expedition; and conformably to the orders of Washington, the oxen and horses were removed into distant places, that the English might not seize them for provision or draught. Meanwhile, general Carleton had not neglected to detach scouting parties upon the two banks of the lake; and, when the wind permitted, some light vessels were also sent towards Ticonderoga to reconnoitre the force of the enemy and the state of the fortress. All the reports agreed that the fortifications were formidable, and the garrison full of ardor. He reflected, therefore, that the siege must be long, difficult, and sanguinary, and concluded accordingly that the possession of this fortress would not indemnify him for all it might cost. The severe season approached; the want of provisions, the difficulty of direct communications with Canada, and the little hope of success from an expedition in the cold and desert regions which separate the river Hudson from Lake George, rendered the wintering upon this lake extremely perilous. In consequence of these considerations, the English general deemed the reduction of Ticonderoga of little utility in his present circumstances, whereas the command of the lakes secured him a clear passage to return in the spring to the attack of this fortress, without exposing his troops to the hardships of a siege, undertaken in the midst of the rigors of winter. After having taken the advice of a council of war, he renounced the project of an attack, and early in November conducted his army back towards Montreal, leaving his advanced posts in Ile aux Noix. But prior to his retreat, from the singular courtesy and humanity of his character, he sent to their homes the American officers who had fallen into his power, administering generously to all their wants. He exercised the same liberality towards the common soldiers. The greater part were almost naked; he caused them to be completely clothed, and set them at liberty, after having taken their oath that they would not serve against the armies of the king. General Carleton was blamed for having taken winter quarters; this resolution



was considered as a mark of weakness, and as highly prejudicial to the success of ulterior operations; since if he had immediately made himself master of Ticonderoga, his troops, after having passed the winter in its vicinity, would have been able to enter the field early the following spring. It is probable, in effect, that the war would, in that case, have had a very different result from what it actually had. But the conquest of a place so strong by nature and by art as Ticonderoga, depended on the resistance which the Americans would have made; and certainly their number, the valor they had displayed in the naval actions, the extreme confidence they had in their chiefs, all announced that their defence would have been long and obstinate. Nor should the consideration be omitted of the difficulty of subsistence, and of the communications with Canada. Be this as it may, the retreat of the English general, and his inaction during the winter, had the most happy results for the Americans. The army which had made the campaign under general Lee, was enabled to effect its junction with that of Washington, upon the banks of the Delaware; and a part of the army of Canada itself could take the same direction, under the conduct of general Gates.

It cannot be doubted, however, that the Americans at this time trod upon the brink of precipices; a single reverse might have completed their ruin. Two important provinces, New York and Rhode Island, as well as the greater part of New Jersey, were fallen into the power of the victorious army. And though the arms of Clinton, equally successful, had arrested their course under the walls of Ticonderoga, it was but too probable that on the return of spring he would make a new effort to carry this fortress, and to penetrate to the banks of the Hudson, in order to operate his junction with the army of New York. As to Washington, it was not to be expected that, while inferior himself to his adversary, he would be in a situation to send back to the army of Canada the troops that were enabled by the cessation of hostilities upon the lakes, to come to join him upon the Delaware.

Though he had received, as we have seen, some reenforcements, he was still as far from being able to match the enemy either in the number, spirit, or discipline of his soldiers, as in the quantity and quality of his munitions of every sort. He was also continually subject to that scourge of the American army, desertion, authorised by the expiration of engagements, which incessantly menaced it with an approaching, and almost total dissolution. It was no slight motive of alarm for the most influential members of Congress, to remark the promptitude with which the inhabitants of the conquered provinces, and especially of New York, hastened to change sides and to take advantage of the proffered pardon.

Some individuals were even seen to enrol themselves under the royal standard; it seemed that they were determined to add to

English civil war, the horrors of American civil war. It was to be feared that their example would prove contagious for the other provinces, and that disaffection would manifest itself on all parts.

The intrigues of governor Tryon, to compass this object, were no longer a secret ; for this very purpose he had been appointed brigadier-general, and his manœuvres had already succeeded in many places. On the contrary, the business of recruiting moved very heavily on the part of the Americans, whereas desertion enfeebled their armies from day to day. To so many evils was joined another more fatal still ; the bills of credit began to depreciate. The government, however, had no other source of revenue. It was not yet sufficiently confirmed to hazard the imposition of taxes, payable in specie ; and this measure would besides have produced only an increase of the evil, by augmenting the discredit of paper ; it was therefore much to be apprehended that money, this principal sinew of war, would ere long be totally wanting. The emission of new bills of credit would infallibly accelerate their daily depreciation ; and yet it was impossible, by reason of the ever increasing exigencies of the public service, to abstain from continual issues. Already there were not wanting those who refused not only to receive them at a discount, but even at any rate whatever. The present time was painful, and the future appeared still more alarming. It was feared by all, and asserted by many, that the tomb of independence was not far from its cradle ; some even openly blamed the Congress for having declared independence, and thereby closed all avenue to an honorable accommodation ; before this declaration, they said, we could treat with honor, but since, not without shame, and even becoming the fable of the universe.

Surrounded by obstacles so numerous and so fearful, the Congress lost none of their firmness, and resolved to set fortune at defiance. Far from betraying any symptoms of despair, they manifested greater confidence than ever, and appeared to admit no doubt respecting the eventual success of the great enterprise in which they were engaged. They knew that constancy triumphs over fate. Full of a noble ardor, they preferred the dangers of war to those of peace. The admirable fortitude with which they sustained the assaults of adverse fortune, when a common ruin seemed ready to engulf them with the cause they supported, must eternally attach to their names the glory of having laid the foundations of a new state. The nations of the earth rendered the homage of their admiration to so much magnanimity.

When at first, the ship of America, impelled by propitious breezes, seemed about to enter the port in safety, the wisdom of the pilots was universally applauded ; but in the midst of a tremendous tempest, their intrepidity and their constancy shone with a splendor still more dazzling. The people of Europe felt an increase of affection



for the Americans, and of hatred against England, for attempting to reduce to slavery so generous a nation. So natural it is to the human heart to take an interest, from the sentiment of its independence, in the efforts made by the weak against the powerful, or from commiseration to sympathise with the brave in their struggles against the perversity of fate. Thus the Americans honored their reverses by virtues, at the epoch when the public fortune appeared upon the verge of ruin, and no cheering ray was seen to gleam in the perspective.

We have already mentioned the measures taken by the Congress, in order to reenforce the army by new levies, to remedy the danger resulting from the shortness of engagements, and to call into the field the provincial militia. As if they had intended to defy the presence and the menaces of a formidable enemy, they employed themselves in drawing up various articles of confederation and perpetual union between the states, that each of them might know its particular authority within, and its reciprocal duties towards the others; as also to ascertain the extent of executive power with which it was requisite that Congress should be invested. These articles were adopted in the sitting of the fourth of October, and immediately sent to the respective assemblies of each state for approbation. The principal were the following;

‘The thirteen states confederated under the name of the *United States of America*.

‘They all and each obligated themselves to contribute for the common defence, and for the maintenance of their liberties.

‘Each particular state preserved the exclusive right of regulating its internal government, and of framing laws in all matters not included in the articles of the confederation, and which could not any way be prejudicial to it.

‘No particular state was either to send or to receive ambassadors, enter into negotiations, contract engagements, form alliances, or make war, excepting in case of sudden attack, with any king, prince, or power whatsoever, without the consent of the *United States*.

‘No individual holding any magistracy, office or commission whatsoever from the *United States*, or from any one of them, was allowed to accept of any presents, nor any offices, or titles of any kind whatever, from any foreign king, prince, or potentate.

‘No assembly was to confer titles of nobility.

‘No state was to make alliances or treaties of what kind soever with another, without the consent of all.

‘Each particular state had authority to maintain in peace as well as in war the number of armed ships and of land troops, judged necessary by the general assembly of all the states, and no more.

‘There should be a public treasury for the service of the confederation, which was to be replenished by the particular contributions

of each state ; the same to be proportioned according to the number of inhabitants of every age, sex or condition, with the exception however of Indians.

‘ A general Congress was to be convoked every year on the first Monday of November, to be composed of deputies from all the states ; it was invested with all the powers that belong to the sovereigns of other nations.’ These powers were exactly enumerated.

‘ Every individual holding any office, and receiving either salary, wages, or emolument whatsoever, was thereby excluded from Congress.

‘ There was to be a council of state, composed of one deputy for each province, nominated annually by his colleagues of the same state, and in case these should not agree, by the general Congress.’ Each state was to have but one vote.

‘ During the session as well as the recess of the general Congress, the council of state was to be charged with the management of the public affairs of the confederation, always restricting itself however within the limits prescribed by the laws, and particularly by the articles of the confederation itself.

‘ The province of Canada was invited to enter into the Union.

The Congress afterwards desiring to revive the courage of those who had suffered themselves to be intimidated by reverses, and to prevent their sentiments from changing with fortune, issued a proclamation wherein they represented anew the justice of their cause, their long and fruitless supplications, the cruel proceedings of the ministers, the necessity of the declaration of independence, and the unanimous approbation with which it had been received. Then followed the enumeration of all the successes which had attended the American arms in the northern provinces ; the English driven from Boston, repulsed before Charleston, arrested in their progress at Ticonderoga. Finally, the American people were invited to consider the immense value of the prizes made at sea, the abundance of provisions, and the probability of soon seeing the army suitably clothed and equipped. All the citizens, and especially those of Pennsylvania, of New Jersey, and of the neighboring states, were exhorted to show themselves united and firm in the defence of country. ‘ Consider,’ said the proclamation, ‘ that the present state of our affairs is not to be attributed to any faults of the generals, or want of valor in the soldiers, but to the shortness of the term of enlistments. Reflect, that foreign princes have already furnished us with a multitude of articles necessary to war, and be assured that we shall receive from them succours still more efficacious. Be not wanting to yourselves, nor suffer the rich and populous city of Philadelphia to fall into the power of the enemy ; let not the occasion escape of overwhelming his principal army, now it is far from the ships which form so great



a part of its force. The loss of Philadelphia would not be followed by the ruin of our cause, but wherefore should the enemy enjoy this triumph? Let us arrest his career, let us baffle his efforts; let us prove to the friends of America, even the most distant, that we are all animated with one same spirit, and with one only will, to defend against cruel enemies what man holds, and ought to hold, the most dear. Remember, that the success of our efforts will secure the eternal repose and safety of the United States, and attach to our names an immortal glory; stand firm, therefore, and preserve yourselves for the day of victory; be prepared for a happier destiny.'

Desirous that the authority of religion should encourage and confirm the people in their fidelity, the Congress recommended, that the assemblies of the different states should appoint a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, to obtain from the clemency of the Most High, prosperity for the arms and success for the just cause of America.

But the danger increasing continually, and the enemy approaching the banks of the Delaware, the Congress upon the representations of generals Putnam and Mifflin took the resolution on the twelfth of December, to withdraw from Philadelphia, and adjourned themselves to the twentieth of the same month at Baltimore, in Maryland.

The departure of Congress spread great consternation in the city, from fear as well of the English as of the loyalists, who were very numerous there, though a part of them had repaired to the commissioners, to avail themselves of the amnesty. It was greatly apprehended that they would seek to disturb the public tranquillity; already, by their cries and menaces, they had prevented the fortification of the city, which it had been intended to accomplish. The greater part of the Quakers belonged to this party. Washington had found it necessary to send to Philadelphia a numerous corps under the command of lord Sterling, in order to support the friends of the revolution, and to repress its adversaries.

The Congress being assembled at Baltimore, in consideration of the imminent peril, which seemed to exact the dictatorial authority, decreed, that having the most entire confidence in the wisdom, vigor, and uprightness of general Washington, they invested him with the most ample and complete powers to levy and organise in the most expeditious mode, from any or all of the United States, sixteen battalions of infantry, in addition to those already voted by Congress, and to appoint the officers; to raise, equip, and provide with officers, three thousand light horse, three regiments of artillery, and a corps of engineers; and to establish their pay; to call into service the militia of the several states; to form such magazines of provisions, and in such places, as he should think proper; to displace and appoint all officers under the rank of brigadier-general, and to fill up all va-

cancies in every other department in the American armies ; to take, wherever he might be, whatever he might want for the use of the army, if the inhabitants would not sell it, allowing a reasonable price for the same ; to arrest and confine persons who refused to take the continental currency, or were otherwise disaffected to the American cause ; returning to the states of which they were citizens, their names and the nature of their offences, with the proofs to substantiate them. It was resolved that these extraordinary powers should be vested in general Washington during the term of six months, unless sooner determined by Congress.

Thus the rulers of America, urged by extreme peril, and confiding in the virtue of the captain-general, reposed on him alone the entire weight of the war. In the midst of so many reverses, not a single American was heard to hint a suspicion of treason, or even of negligence or incapacity in the chiefs of the army ; nothing especially diminished the respect and confidence of which the commander-in-chief was the object. A remarkable example of moderation and popular reserve. Pride had not persuaded this people that they were invincible, and ambition had not rendered them suspicious. They attributed their defeats to the force of things, and not to the faults of their generals. This confidence in the good faith of their defenders entitled them to find, and they did find, those that were faithful. Too often, on the contrary, the people of other countries, prone to suspicions, lending a credulous ear to the suggestions of envy, irritated by reverses, or intoxicated by success, experience to their cost, that whoever has no confidence in others, finds none in return.

As it was essential to provide pecuniary resources, the Congress passed a law authorising a loan of five millions of dollars, at the annual interest of four per cent. The faith of the United States was pledged for the reimbursement of the capital, at the end of three years, and of the interest annually. For this purpose they established a loan office in each of the United States, to be superintended by a commissioner appointed by the said states respectively, who should receive a commission of one eighth per cent. on all monies that should be brought into the office. A short time after, observing that the loan made little progress, the interest was raised to six per cent.

With the same intention, the Congress also created a lottery, consisting of one hundred thousand tickets, each ticket divided into four billets at ten, twenty, thirty or forty dollars each, and to be drawn in four classes. This lottery, after deduction of the prizes, was to raise the sum of fifteen hundred thousand dollars. The holders of the fortunate billets might receive under certain conditions, a treasury bank note for the prize or prizes drawn, payable at the end of five years, and an annual interest on the same of four per cent. It was hoped thus to amass a considerable sum, as well by the gain of the lottery, as by the loan of the prizes. These operations had besides



another object ; by obviating the necessity of emitting new bills of credit, they tended to enhance the value of those in circulation. But the evil was already so great, that if these remedies were not altogether useless, at least they could afford but little palliation. It was therefore deemed necessary to resort to more efficacious means. As it was especially in Pennsylvania that the paper money was depreciated, the Congress decreed, that the council of safety of this province, should take the most prompt and effectual measures for punishing those who should refuse the bills, and that the general should lend assistance to carry into effect the resolutions of the council. This committee resolved that whoever should refuse to receive the bills of credit in payment of any debt or contract, or as the price of any commodity or merchandise whatsoever, or who should demand a greater price in bills, than in coined money, should be considered for the first time, as an enemy of society, and should lose either the amount of his debt, or of the article sold ; which should be considered thenceforth as the property of the debtor or of the purchaser. He was punished besides with a fine more or less considerable, according to the value of the sums stipulated. But in case of relapse, independently of the penalties above mentioned, the delinquents were to be banished or confined in such mode and place as the council of safety should think proper. Several offenders against this law, having been condemned to shut their shops and to cease their traffic, some even having been banished ; the former were permitted to return to their commerce, and the latter to their homes, in the hope that the remembrance of past punishment, and the apprehension of future, would determine them to abstain from these practices, so prejudicial to the public credit, and to the cause of independence.

A short time after, the Congress perceived that not only the authority of the council of safety in Pennsylvania, had proved insufficient to check the depreciation of the continental paper in that province, but that the evil began to manifest itself also in the others. They deemed it therefore expedient to labor directly themselves to prevent this scourge, and decreed that whoever in any purchase, sale or bargain, of whatsoever nature, should presume to rate gold and silver coin at a higher value than the bills of credit issued by Congress, should be declared an enemy to the liberty of the United States, and should lose the price stipulated of the transaction in which this difference of value should have been made. They further decreed, that the provincial assemblies should be requested to constitute the bills lawful money, that could not be refused in payment of debts, whether public or private ; and that the refusal should operate the extinction of the debt. The assemblies took the measures which appeared to them proper to fulfil the intentions of Congress. The first effect of these different regulations was, that all vendible articles rose in proportion to the depreciation of paper ; which seemed to

increase in the ratio of the efforts that were made to prevent it. Another consequence was, that the debtors liberated themselves from the claims of their creditors with a money continually declining in value; and though this year the discount was not considerable, since an hundred dollars in specie might be had for one hundred and four in paper, many private fortunes suffered from it; and the example became pernicious. In order to arrest so serious an evil, the Congress invited the provincial assemblies to become responsible for the redemption of the bills it had emitted, hoping that the guaranty of each state for its proportional part, added to that of Congress, might restore the public confidence. It was also thought very proper that the assemblies of the several states should impose without delay, such taxes as they might judge, from the condition of the people, could be best supported, and collected with the least difficulty. The Congress promised, that the sums produced by these taxes should be passed to the credit of each state in liquidation of their proportion of the public debt. The assemblies conformed to the recommendations of Congress; and this body also decreed another loan of two millions of dollars. But all these measures produced little or no effect, from the pressure of the times, the uncertainty of the future, and the abundance of bills already emitted, from the facility and the need which the Congress had, as well as the particular states, to put more into circulation every day.

But whatever might prove to be the success of the efforts of Congress to raise troops, to maintain the public credit, and to wrest victory from the hands of the enemy, they well knew that if the European powers came not promptly to the succour of America, she could cherish but a feeble hope of triumph. Fortunately it was known that these powers, and especially those whose naval forces rendered their assistance of the most importance, at the head of whom was France, were all disposed to favor America, either out of hatred towards England, or from the prospect of private advantages. Independently of the general inclinations of the European nations, these political sentiments manifested themselves by no equivocal tokens. The American ships were received in the French and Spanish ports, in Europe as well as in the West Indies, as belonging to a nation not only friendly, but moreover as belonging to a nation really and absolutely independent. The French and the Spaniards derived an immense advantage from it; they began to reap the fruits of this commerce with America, whereof England had hitherto monopolised the exclusive benefit. Nor did they restrict themselves to receiving the Americans with cordiality in their ports; they also permitted their privateers publicly to sell therein the prizes they had taken from the English, whether in Europe or in the West Indies. The remonstrances which the British ministers had addressed upon this subject to the courts of Versailles and of Madrid, had not produced any



sensible effect. It was no longer a secret that there daily departed from the ports of France, ships laden with munitions of war for America. There was also a fact which the English could in no shape endure, and against which they raised a violent clamor; not only, as we have related, were the American privateers received into the ports of the French West Indies, where they sold their prizes, and provided themselves with all necessary articles, but no small number of the French themselves fitted out privateers under the American flag, and, furnished with the commissions of Congress, infested every sea, and depredated upon the English commerce; which procedure, as the French government did not interdict, it was necessary to conclude that it approved. There was remarked also in France a general inclination in all classes, and especially among the noblesse, to enter into the service of the United States; already several of these last were arrived in America, and had treated with the Congress; among others, the *Chevalier de Fermoy*, appointed brigadier-general in the American armies, and M. de Portail, an officer of distinguished talents and valor, who was placed at the head of the engineers, a corps as yet very imperfectly organised in America. Never, in any other war, had the French, naturally so propense to military enterprises, manifested an equal ardor to place themselves under the colors of a foreign power. If this enthusiasm may be attributed in part to the political opinions which then prevailed generally in Europe, nevertheless, it must chiefly be imputed to the known disposition of the government. It is even extremely probable that France would have declared war against Great Britain sooner than she did, if Louis XVI. had been of a less pacific character. England saw with as much solicitude, as the Americans with hope, the preparations that were made with incredible activity in the ports of France and of Spain.

If the British ministers demanded the reason of them, they were answered, that a discussion with Portugal rendered an approaching rupture with that kingdom a thing to be apprehended; that the seas were covered with English fleets, and American privateers, and that independently of so furious a maritime war, such armies were sent by England into the New World as there never had been example of; that consequently France and Spain owed it to themselves to increase their forces, for the protection of their commerce and the security of their colonies. It was observed, also, that it appeared sufficiently surprising that those, who, not content with putting in motion all their national troops, had also despatched to America a large army of foreign mercenaries, should find it extraordinary that their neighbors should stand upon their guard against all the events with which they might be menaced. These explanations were by no means satisfactory to the English government, and in no degree diminished the hopes of the Americans, who saw clearly that the

motives alleged were far from corresponding with the immensity of the preparations. It had never been questioned that the family compact, concluded in 1761, between his most christian majesty and the catholic king, was chiefly designed to unite and confederate all the branches of the house of Bourbon, in order to reduce the power of England; and what more favorable occasion could present itself than the American war?

Such evidently was the object of the extraordinary preparations of France and Spain; and if, instead of those profound lawyers who then directed the counsels of England, the energetic earl of Chatham, or some other statesman of his stamp, had guided the helm of state, it is impossible to doubt that England would at that very time have declared war against the house of Bourbon. Experience has proved, this time, that fortune assists the bold, and that this world belongs to him that can seize it. As to Holland, if, being less warlike than France and Spain, she made no armaments that could give umbrage, at least her merchants, attracted by the lure of gain, supplied the Americans abundantly with munitions, with arms, and with whatever they had need of to sustain the war. All the other powers of Europe appeared to be animated, more or less, with the same spirit. Portugal alone persisted in fidelity to England, and would never consent to supply the Americans with arms or munitions, or that their privateers should be received into any Portuguese port.

Maturely reflecting upon this state of things, and urged by necessity, the Congress resolved to make the most of the present occasion. The entire league that was forming against England had France for its foundation, or rather for its heart; accordingly, so early as the beginning of the year 1776, the Congress had sent Silas Deane to reside near the French government, in order to penetrate its intentions respecting America. He was instructed to neglect no efforts to dispose minds in her favor, and to obtain immediately all the succours of arms and munitions that circumstances might admit of. He acquitted himself of his mission with extreme diligence, especially in what related to the material part. He succeeded in obtaining supplies from private companies as well as from individual contractors, among whom should be mentioned *Caron de Beaumarchais*, who manifested in this transaction an activity no less advantageous to himself, than to the Americans. These arms and warlike stores were openly shipped in American vessels, or privately put on board those of France. Silas Deane did more; he found means to obtain them from the royal arsenals. They delivered him fifteen thousand muskets, which he hastened to expedite for America, where they were of essential utility. He treated with all those French gentlemen who were desirous of serving under the standard of Washington, but not always to the satisfaction of Congress, who sometimes could not confirm the conditions, or even the choice of persons, made by their envoy.



But independence being declared, and military operations having taken an alarming turn, the Congress had thought it expedient to send men of greater authority, that a solemn embassy, worthy to represent the republic, might bear to the king, Lewis XVI, the homage of their singular attachment and respect. They wished, especially, that, by the agency of these new ministers, what was only a simple desire, might be rendered an efficacious will, and that the effect should finally follow the intention. Accordingly, in their sitting of the twenty-sixth of September, they appointed commissioners to the court of France, Franklin, Jefferson and Deane, all men of singular address, and excellent judgment. But Jefferson having excused himself, he was replaced by Arthur Lee. Their instructions were, to continue to procure arms and munitions; to obtain permission from the government to fit out in the French ports, at the expense of the United States, a number of ships of war, in order to harass the commerce of England; and finally, to use all proper means to induce the court of France to conclude a treaty of alliance, of which the Congress had communicated the plan to their commissioners. They were also directed to solicit a loan of ten millions of francs, or at least of six, and even of four, in case they should not be able to obtain more. But, above all things, they were to endeavor to procure the recognition of the independence of the United States. The Congress, knowing that what caused the indecision of foreign princes on this point, was the fear that the Americans might abandon them all at once, after having engaged them to espouse their cause, and return to their ancient submission, enjoined it upon their commissioners to exert all their endeavors to persuade his most christian majesty that the United States would never again come under the sceptre of the king of England; that the confidence he might deign to place in their efforts and constancy, should not in any time be deceived; that there never should be granted to the English any exclusive traffic, or any commercial advantages and privileges greater than those that should be conceded to the subjects of France. The Congress proposed, besides, that, in case of war between France and Great Britain, the United States and France should reciprocally obligate themselves to communicate to each other the negotiations of peace that might take place, in order that each party might, if so disposed, participate therein. The commissioners were ordered to solicit a new supply of twenty or thirty thousand muskets, with a certain quantity of artillery, and abundant munitions, all to be conveyed to America in French vessels, but at the expense of the United States. Finally, that the hopes of advantages to be derived from an alliance with the Americans, might be seconded by the fear of the detriment that would result from their reunion with England, the Congress strictly charged their envoys to give out that notwithstanding the good will of the United States, they would not be able unassisted, to hold out for any length of time against

the greatly superior power of Great Britain; that therefore it was to be feared, if they were abandoned to themselves, that they would be forced to submit, and that the British government would gain by conquest what would never have been yielded by consent. Then, as to Spain, in order to remove the apprehensions she might have conceived of a revolt in her colonies, the commissioners were authorised to assure her by the most energetic protestations, and to persuade her, that the Spanish colonies should, in no event, ever receive any molestation from the United States. Finally, it was prescribed them to use all vigilance, in order to discover whether the British cabinet had opened any new negotiations in Europe for subsidising still other mercenary troops to be sent against America; and in such case they were to endeavor to obtain the interference of France, to defeat so pernicious a design.

Furnished with these instructions, the American envoys commenced their voyage. Franklin arrived at Nantz the thirteenth of December, and a few days after, at Paris. For a long time there had not appeared in this city a man more venerable or more venerated, as well in consideration of his age, which already exceeded seventy years, as for the superiority of his genius, the vast extent of his knowledge, and the brilliant renown of his virtues. At no epoch, perhaps, have the French, naturally so fond of novelties, manifested an equal expectation. Their conversations, their writings, even their thoughts, appeared to have no other object but the cause of America. It found among them only admirers and zealous partisans. Accordingly, from the moment the American envoy was arrived in their capital, his person, his actions, his words, his opinions, became the object of public curiosity. Nor can it be denied that he assumed with sagacity a demeanor well suited to the situation of his country and to his own. He presented himself in every place as the citizen of an unfortunate country, reduced to extremities by the cruelty of England. Who could remark his hoary locks, and tottering walk, without reflecting that this aged man had traversed an immense ocean to recommend the cause of his country to those who were able to embrace its defence? 'Never before,' it was exclaimed, 'has so meritorious a work been proposed to French generosity; France is the refuge of the unfortunate, the protectress of the oppressed. The war waged by England against her colonies is impious and barbarous; the blood she sheds, is innocent blood; it is only by the tutelary assistance of our king that the Americans can hope to be extricated from their cruel embarrassments, and to enjoy at length a secure and tranquil existence.' Franklin soon made choice of a retreat at Passy, situated near Paris; he appeared to deplore in this retirement the misfortunes of America. A rumor got abroad, and perhaps it was purposely circulated, that the British government, taking umbrage at his presence, had demanded of the court of France that he should



be sent away. Hence that compassion which is naturally felt for persecuted virtue, was excited among all classes. He became the object of a still more eager curiosity. Whether accompanied by several of his countrymen, cruelly banished or proscribed by the English government, he appeared in the public walks, or whether he presented himself in places of public or private resort, or in the meetings of the literary academies, the multitude thronged to get sight of him. In all places the portraits of Franklin were exhibited; they represented him with a venerable countenance, and dressed, as usual, in rather a singular costume, the more to attract attention. He lived at Passy in a certain style of simplicity, much resembling that of the ancient philosophers. His humorous sayings, and grave aphorisms, caused many to compare him to Socrates. The name of Franklin was upon the lips of every body; and the mode, which so often in France directs public attention upon vain frivolities, had this time attached itself to an object worthy of all the consideration of the observer.

But the politic sage, however he might have been gratified in having drawn upon himself and upon his country the attention and interest of a people so renowned for the gentleness of their manners, desired to obtain more real advantages. Employing as much dexterity as mystery, he visited the ministers assiduously, and availed himself of the distinguished reception he found with them, to promote the interests of his constituents. His efforts were crowned with the most rapid success; and the moment appeared already at hand, when France would no longer dissemble the vigorous cooperation she had determined to afford the Americans.

But, in the meantime, fortune had shown herself so unpropitious to the Americans in New York and New Jersey, that even the capital of the confederation was in great danger of falling into the hands of the victor. The Congress became apprehensive that when this disastrous intelligence should arrive in Europe, it might have a fatal influence upon the negotiations opened by their envoys with the governments of France and of Spain; and that the interest they had hitherto manifested in favor of America, might be totally extinguished. The Congress therefore determined to renew their protestations to the courts of Versailles and Madrid, and with more energy than before, to assure them that the Americans would persist in their enterprise at all hazards; and at the same time to suggest to these powers that the advantages they would derive from their cooperation should be more considerable than had been promised them at first. The envoys of Congress were instructed to use all their endeavors that France should declare herself against England, by attacking the electorate of Hanover, or any other part of the British possessions, as well in Europe as in the East or West Indies. To arrive at this object, they were ordered to promise the most christian king, that if

his majesty consented to break with Great Britain, the United States would join their forces with his to effect the conquest of the island of Newfoundland and of Cape Breton; that the subjects of the British king, as well as those of every other power, should be forever excluded from the cod fishery upon these banks, so that the French and the Americans only should have the right to carry it on; that the king of France should possess in absolute property the half of the island of Newfoundland, provided he would furnish the United States with the naval forces necessary to subdue the province of Nova Scotia; and that this province, as well as the remaining part of Newfoundland, and the island of Cape Breton, should belong to the American republic. If these offers proved insufficient to decide France, they were to propose further, that the United States were ready to consent that all the English islands of the West Indies that should be conquered in the course of the war by the joint forces of France and America, should become the entire property of his most christian majesty, and moreover, to effectuate these different conquests, that the Americans would furnish provisions at their own expense to the value of two millions of dollars, as also six frigates, completely rigged and equipped, ready for sea; in a word, that they would deport themselves in all respects as good and faithful allies. Finally, they were authorised to stipulate that all the commerce which should in future be carried on between the United States and the French West Indies, should be exercised exclusively by the vessels belonging to the subjects of his most christian majesty, or to the citizens of the United States. As to the king of Spain, the Congress proposed to engage, in case he would declare war against Great Britain, to assist him in reducing the city and port of Pensacola; they offered, besides, to conclude with him a treaty of alliance and commerce, similar to that which had been proposed to the king of France. The Americans added, that in case it was true, as it was already reported, that the king of Portugal had driven from his ports with outrage, or confiscated their vessels, the United States would immediately declare war against him, if such was the desire of the courts of France and of Spain. The Congress extended their views still further; they sent commissioners to the courts of Vienna, of Berlin, and of Tuscany, in all which they had recognised a sincere interest for the cause of America. They desired that these sovereigns should be persuaded of the determination of the United States to maintain their independence. Their agents were ordered, especially to exert themselves with assiduity, in order to induce the emperor of Germany and the king of Prussia to interfere in behalf of America to prevent new levies of German or Russian troops, to its prejudice. They had it also in charge to propose to the court of Berlin a treaty of commerce and amity, provided it was perfectly agreeable to the kings of France and of Spain. Such were the



resolutions adopted by the Congress to confirm the state, threatened, in its infancy, with approaching ruin. But the assiduity with which they prosecuted their political negotiations, in no degree diminished the vigor of their military preparations. They not only manifested no disposition to abandon the design of independence, and come to an arrangement with England, but it is also seen that they made no proposition to the foreign powers that was either demonstrative of despair, or unworthy of a state enjoying the entire plenitude of its force and of its freedom. Certain members of Congress, it is true, proposed resolutions that denoted less confidence and firmness; one, for example, was disposed to authorise the commissioners at the court of France to transfer in favor of that power the absolute monopoly of commerce which had been enjoyed by England; another suggested that France should be offered the exclusive commerce of certain articles; others, finally, proposed a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive. But the fortune of the republic prevailed, which had reserved it a higher destiny. All these propositions were rejected by the wiser and more numerous part of the members of Congress. It was evident that if they had been adopted, they might have been considered as a tacit avowal of the desperate state of affairs, and must consequently have produced an effect directly contrary to that which their authors expected from them. Besides, France had quite other and far more cogent motives for breaking with England, and such as would suffice to induce her to take this resolution, provided the Americans only manifested a determination to combat to the last with unshaken constancy.

The instructions sent by the Congress to their commissioners, were intercepted by the English, who caused them to be published. This gave the Congress no regret; they had no doubt that such an evidence of their unalterable resolution to maintain their independence, in the midst of so many reverses, would convince the European princes who desired the dismemberment of the British empire, that it was time to declare themselves, unless they were willing to see the resistance of the Americans rendered fruitless by the inferiority of their forces, and the conquest of their country.

But whatever was the constancy of Congress, or the attraction of their proposals to foreign sovereigns, they could little expect that, in so deplorable a state of their affairs, they would consent to espouse the cause of the Americans; it being but too natural, in policy, to abandon those who appear to be sinking. Words little avail, when they are unsupported by arms and the smiles of fortune. But she had shown herself so hostile to America towards the conclusion of the present year, as to render it but too probable that two or three cold nights, by freezing the waters of the Delaware, would place in the power of the English, in spite of all the Americans could do to prevent it, the capital of the entire confederation. And even if the

cold should not prove so rigorous as was usual at this season, the army of Washington, already so weak, would be dissolved with the expiration of the engagement of the soldiers, at the end of the year. Nor could it be expected, that in so much adversity new recruits would come forward to replace the disbanded troops. In this state of things, the best that could be expected was, that after the entire submission of the more open provinces, the miserable fragments of the American army would seek refuge in the strongest places, in the forests and inaccessible mountains, when a partisan war would commence, that could have no decisive effect upon the final issue of the war. But Washington was not discouraged; and before the coming of severe frost, or the departure of the greater part of his soldiers deprived him of all power, he resolved by a bold and well directed movement, to make a new trial of the fortune of the republic, by attacking a strong and victorious enemy, who was far from suspecting that he could have the thought of such an attempt. An heroic resolution, for which posterity ought to bear him an eternal gratitude! From this moment, the war suddenly assumed a new face, and victory began at length to incline in favor of the Americans.

Washington had observed that general Howe, either to procure more commodious quarters for his troops in this rigorous season, or to impede the Americans in recruiting, or finally because he believed the war at an end, and his enemy no longer in a condition to act, had too far extended the wings of his army, which occupied the entire province of New Jersey and the left bank of the Delaware, from Trenton down to Burlington. Colonel Ralle, a Hessian officer of great merit, was cantoned in the first of these places, with his brigade of infantry and a detachment of English dragoons, the whole constituting a corps of fourteen or fifteen hundred men. Bordentown, a few miles below, was occupied by colonel Donop, with another brigade of Hessians; and still lower down within twenty miles of Philadelphia, was stationed another corps of Hessians and English. Knowing the extreme weakness of their enemy, and holding him as it were degraded by his recent defeats, they kept a negligent guard. The rest of the army was lodged in places more distant, and principally at Princeton, at New Brunswick, and at Atmboy. Washington having attentively considered the extent of the enemy's quarters, conceived the hope of surprising the corps that were nearest to the river, and too remote from the others to be succoured in season. In order to make his attack with more order and effect, he divided his army, which consisted almost entirely in the militia of Pennsylvania and Virginia, into three corps, the first and most considerable of which was to pass the Delaware at Mackenky's Ferry, about nine miles above Trenton. The commander-in-chief, accompanied by generals Sullivan and Greene, had reserved to himself the conduct of this corps, to which a few pieces of artillery



were attached. It was destined to attack Trenton. The second division, under the command of general Irwin, was directed to cross at Trenton Ferry, about a mile below the village of this name, and having reached the left bank, to seize without loss of time, the bridge over the little river Assumpink, in order to intercept the retreat of the enemy when he should be dislodged from Trenton by the division under Washington. Finally, the third corps, commanded by general Cadwallader, was ordered to pass the river at Bristol, and proceed to take post at Burlington. The night of Christmas was appointed for the expedition. The dispositions being made according to the plan above mentioned, the Americans proceeded with admirable order and silence towards the Delaware. The chiefs exhorted their soldiers to be firm and valiant, to wash out the stains of Long Island, of New York, and of New Jersey; they represented to them the necessity, the glory, and the brilliant fruits of victory; they incessantly reminded them that this night was about to decide the fate of their country. An extreme ardor manifested itself throughout the ranks. The three columns arrived in the dusk of evening at the bank of the river. Washington had hoped that the passage of the troops, and transportation of the artillery, might have been effectuated before midnight, so as to have time to reach the destined points by break of day, and to surprise the enemy at Trenton. But the cold was so intense, and the river so obstructed with floating ice, that it was impossible to cross and to land the artillery earlier than four in the morning. All the troops having at length gained the left bank, the first corps was parted into two divisions, one of which, turning to the right, marched towards Trenton, by the road which runs along the river; the other, guided by Washington in person, took the upper or Pennington road. The distance, by either route, being nearly equal, it was hoped that the two columns might arrive at the same time. It was enjoined them to engage in combat without any delay, and after having driven in the outposts, to fall immediately upon the main body of the enemy, at Trenton, without giving him time to recover from his surprise. They exerted all their efforts to arrive before day; but a thick fog, and a mist mingled with sleet, which rendered the road slippery, retarded their march. The two divisions, however, reached Trenton at eight o'clock. Notwithstanding so many obstacles, and the hour already so late, the Hessians of colonel Ralle had no suspicion of the approach of the enemy.

The Americans having, therefore, fallen unexpectedly upon the advanced guards, routed them immediately. Colonel Ralle sent his regiment to their succour, in order to sustain the first shock, and to give time for the rest of his forces to arrange themselves for defence. But the first line involved the second in disorder, and both fell back tumultuously upon Trenton. Colonel Ralle having hastily drawn

out his Hessians, advanced to encounter the enemy in the open field; but he was mortally wounded in the first onset, and the Americans charging the Germans with great fury, the latter betook themselves to flight, leaving upon the field six pieces of light artillery. They attempted to escape by the road of Princeton, but Washington perceiving it, despatched several companies to preoccupy the way, who received the fugitives in front. Thus, surrounded on every side, the three German regiments of Ralle, of Anspach, and of Knyphausen, were constrained to lay down arms and surrender at discretion. Some few, and chiefly cavalry or light infantry, in all not exceeding five hundred men, succeeded in effecting their escape by the lower road which leads to Bordentown. Another detachment of Hessians, who were out this same morning upon a foraging excursion, at some distance from their camp, warned by the noise, and afterwards by the flight of their countrymen, retired precipitately to Princeton. General Irwin had exerted his utmost endeavors to pass the river at the time prescribed, in order to take part in the action; but the floating ice was so accumulated, in this part of the river, as to render the passage absolutely impracticable. This part of the Hessians, therefore, had the facility of retiring in safety to Bordentown. General Cadwallader was not more fortunate in the attempt he made to cross lower down, and to take post at Burlington, pursuant to the plan of attack. When a part of his infantry had reached the left bank, it was found impossible to advance with the artillery; unable, therefore, to act with any effect, and finding himself in a perilous situation, he repassed to the right bank of the Delaware. Thus the design of the commander-in-chief was accomplished only in part; but the event demonstrated, that if the rigorous cold of this night had not prevented its entire execution, all the royal troops that were stationed in the vicinity of the river, would have been surrounded and taken. The loss of the Hessians, in killed and wounded, amounted only to thirty or forty, but the number of prisoners was at first upwards of nine hundred, and even exceeded a thousand, when all those were collected who had concealed themselves in the houses. After having obtained this success, Washington paused; not willing to lose by imprudence the advantages he owed to the wisdom of his measures. His forces were not sufficient to cope with those which the English generals could have assembled in a few hours. A strong corps of light infantry was quartered at Princeton, a town only a few miles distant from Trenton; to this might easily have been joined the brigade of Donop, and other battalions that were cantoned in the neighboring places. The Americans consequently evacuated Trenton, and passed over to the right bank of the river, with their prisoners, and the trophies of their victory. Their generals resolved to make the most of it, in order to revive the courage and confidence of the dispirited people. They caused the captive Hessians to



defile, with a sort of triumphal pomp, through the streets of Philadelphia, followed by their arms and banners. And yet such was the terror inspired by the very name of these Germans, that even at the moment in which they traversed the city as vanquished and prisoners, many of the inhabitants suspected it was only a stratagem of their own leaders to animate them; so impossible it seemed to them that warriors from Germany should have been overcome by American soldiers. The English appeared to them far less formidable, because they knew them. Man is naturally disposed to fear most those objects of which he has the least knowledge; the uncouth language, the novel manners, and even the dress of the German soldiers, inspired a certain dread. But when they were satisfied that the spectacle they beheld was not an illusion, words cannot describe their exultation at so unexpected a success; having at first rated the Hessians far above the English, they now held them as much below. And, in effect, this affair of Trenton had so changed the face of things, that the public mind was rapidly elevated from despondency to an extreme confidence. The English themselves could not remark without astonishment this sudden metamorphosis in an enemy whom they considered as already vanquished and quelled. They were unable to conceive how troops of such high renown had been compelled to lay down arms before militia, hastily collected, ill provided with arms, and totally devoid of discipline. Hence, as it happens in reverses, suspicions, reproaches, and accusations arose on all parts. It was vociferated that the English general had too far extended his quarters; that colonel Ralle had committed an imprudence, finding himself the weaker, in marching out of his quarters to charge the enemy; that he had, besides, neglected his guard; and that his soldiers, instead of being at their posts, were gone out in quest of plunder. However this might have been, the entire British army put itself in motion; colonel Donop, trembling for himself and for his corps, retired with precipitation, by the way of Amboy, to unite with general Leslie at Princeton; and general Grant, who with the main body of the army occupied New Brunswick, advanced upon Princeton to join the vanguard, stationed at that place. Lord Cornwallis himself, who was then at New York, on the point of embarking for England, at the news of this fatal event, returned with the utmost expedition into New Jersey. But the Americans felt their courage revive; on all parts they ran to arms, and the forces of Washington were so increased that he conceived the design of more extensive operations, and thought himself in a situation to attempt an expedition upon the frontiers of New Jersey. Accordingly, he ordered general Cadwallader to pass the Delaware, and take a strong position upon the left bank; but to advance with extreme caution, and to avoid unexpected rencounters. General Mifflin, with a considerable corps of Pennsylvania militia, had joined

general Irwin, and they both crossed the river. Washington himself followed them immediately, and concentrated all his troops at Trenton. Here the militia of New England, whose term of service was expired, were inclined to quit the army, and go to their homes; but the instances of their generals, and a bounty of ten dollars, induced the greater part of them to remain. The English, who had assembled in great strength in Princeton, resolved to lose no time, but to go and attack Washington in his quarters at Trenton, before he should receive new reinforcements; they also hoped that the expiration of engagements would greatly reduce the number of his soldiers.

1777. The second of January, lord Cornwallis marched with the vanguard towards Trenton, where he arrived about four in the morning. The rear guard was posted at Maidenhead, a village situated half way between Princeton and Trenton; other regiments were on the march from New Brunswick, to reenforce the principal army. Washington, finding the enemy in such force, and so near, retired behind the river of Trenton, also called the Assumpink, where he set about intrenching himself, having first secured the bridge. The English attempted the passage at various points, but every where without success; all the fords being diligently guarded. A cannonade was engaged, which produced little effect, though it lasted until night; the Americans stood firm in their intrenchments. Cornwallis waited for reinforcements, intending to advance to the assault the day following; but his adversary was not disposed to put so much at stake. On the other hand, to repass the Delaware, then more than ever obstructed with floating ice, in the presence of a formidable enemy, was too perilous an operation to be attempted without temerity. Washington therefore found himself anew in a very critical position; but it was then that he embraced a resolution remarkable for its intrepidity. Reflecting that he was advanced too far to be able to retreat without manifest danger, he determined to abandon all at once the banks of the Delaware, and to carry the war into the very heart of New Jersey. He considered that Cornwallis, in all probability, would apprehend being cut off from the province of New York, and fearing besides for the magazines at New Brunswick, which were abundantly stocked for the service of the whole British army, would himself also retire from the river; and thus the city of Philadelphia would be preserved, a great part of New Jersey recovered, and defensive war changed into offensive; advantages which could not but animate the inhabitants with new courage. If the English general persisted in his design, he passed the river, indeed without obstacle, and became master of Philadelphia. But whatever were to be the effects of this disastrous event, it was better to abandon Philadelphia, and preserve the army entire, than to lose at the same time both the one and the other. This plan having been



approved in a council of war, composed of all the generals of the army, dispositions were immediately commenced for carrying it promptly into effect. The baggage was sent down to Burlington; and at one o'clock in the morning, the enemy appearing perfectly tranquil, the Americans rekindled the fires of their camp, and leaving guards at the bridge and fords, with orders to continue the usual rounds and patrols, they defiled with equal promptitude and silence. Taking the road of Allentown, which is the longest, in order to avoid the Assumpink, and the encounter of the enemy at Maidenhead, they proceeded towards Princeton. Three English regiments had lodged there this same night; two of them, at break of day, had renewed their march for Maidenhead. The Americans suddenly appeared and charged them with great impetuosity. But the English defended themselves so vigorously, that the American militia, faced about, and retired in disorder. General Mercer in attempting to rally them, was mortally wounded. Washington seeing the rout of the vanguard, and perfectly aware that the loss of the day would involve the total ruin of his army, immediately advanced at the head of his select corps, composed of the conquerors of Trenton, and restored the battle. The two English regiments overwhelmed by the number and fury of the assailants, were separated, the one from the other, and found themselves in the most perilous position. Colonel Mawhood, who commanded one of them, after having intrepidly sustained the attack for some moments, made a violent effort, and opening his way with the bayonet through the ranks of the enemy, retired in safety to Maidenhead. The other, which formed the rear guard, finding itself, after a vigorous struggle, unable to follow the first, returned by the way of Hillsborough to New Brunswick. The third, which was found still at Princeton, retreated also, after a light conflict, with great precipitation to Brunswick. About one hundred of the English were killed in this affair, and upwards of three hundred made prisoners. The loss of the Americans in slain, was nearly equal; but of this number was general Mercer, an able and experienced officer of the province of Virginia. He was universally regretted, but especially by Washington, who bore him great esteem and affection.

After the combat, the Americans occupied Princeton. At break of day, lord Cornwallis having perceived that the Americans had deserted their camp of Trenton, and soon penetrating what was their design, abandoned in like manner his own, and marched with all expedition towards Brunswick, fearing, lest the baggage and munitions he had accumulated there, should fall into the hands of the enemy. He arrived at Princeton almost at the same time with the American rear guard. Washington, found himself again in imminent danger. His soldiers fell with sleep, having taken no repose for the two preceding days; hunger tormented them, and

they were almost naked in this rigorous season. The enemy who pursued them, besides the advantage of number, had every thing in abundance. Thus situated, far from the hope of continuing to act offensively, it was much for him if he could retire without loss to a place of security; wherefore, departing abruptly from Princeton, he moved with rapidity towards the upper and mountainous parts of New Jersey. To retard the enemy, he destroyed the bridges over the Millstone river, which runs between Princeton and Brunswick. Having afterwards passed the Rariton, a more considerable river, he proceeded to occupy Pluckemin, where his troops refreshed themselves, after so many toils and sufferings. But soon finding that his army was too feeble, and also that it was daily diminished by maladies and desertion, he resolved to encamp higher up, and in a place of more security. After necessity had constrained him to make trial of fortune by adventurous feats, he was disposed to become again the master of his movements, and to take counsel of prudence alone. He retired, accordingly, to Morristown, in upper Jersey. Cornwallis, despairing of being able to continue the pursuit with success, directed his march to New Brunswick, where he found general Matthews, who, in the violence of his terror, had commenced the removal of the baggage and warlike stores. But Washington, having received the few fresh battalions of infantry, and his little army being recovered from their fatigues, soon entered the field anew, and scoured the whole country as far as the Rariton. He even crossed this river, and penetrating into the county of Essex, made himself master of Newark, of Elizabethtown, and, finally, of Woodbridge; so that he commanded the entire coast of New Jersey, in front of Staten Island. He so judiciously selected his positions, and fortified them so formidably, that the royalists shrunk from all attempt to dislodge him from any of them. Thus the British army, after having overrun victoriously the whole of New Jersey, quite to the Delaware, and caused even the city of Philadelphia to tremble for its safety, found itself now restricted to the two only posts of New Brunswick and Amboy, which, moreover, could have no communication with New York, except by sea. Thus by an army almost reduced to extremity, Philadelphia was saved, Pennsylvania protected, New Jersey nearly recovered, and a victorious and powerful enemy laid under the necessity of quitting all thoughts of acting offensively, in order to defend himself.

Achievements so astonishing acquired an immense glory for the captain-general of the United States. All nations shared in the surprise of the Americans; all equally admired and applauded the prudence, the constancy, and the noble intrepidity of general Washington. An unanimous voice pronounced him the savior of his country; all extolled him as equal to the most celebrated commanders of antiquity; all proclaimed him the Fabius of America. His



name was in the mouth of all; he was celebrated by the pens of the most distinguished writers. The most illustrious personages of Europe lavished upon him their praises and their congratulations. The American general, therefore, wanted neither a cause full of grandeur to defend, nor occasion for the acquisition of glory, nor genius to avail himself of it, nor the renown due to his triumphs, nor an entire generation of men perfectly well disposed to render him homage.

Reposing new confidence in their general, and having seen that it was his arm which had retrieved the public fortune, the Congress decreed that in all councils of war, Washington should not be bound by the plurality of voices, nor by the opinion of the general officers he might think proper to consult. They even preferred that in all circumstances he should take such resolutions as might appear to him the most likely to prove advantageous. The Congress immediately after returned to Philadelphia, with a view of encouraging the people still more. There passed nothing of importance during the rest of the winter and the greater part of the spring, with the exception of some skirmishes, of which the usual effect was to harass and fatigue the English army, and to inspire the Americans with greater confidence in themselves. The royal troops, as we have said, were locked up in the two villages of Brunswick and Amboy, whence they rarely ventured to make excursions; they could not go out to plunder, nor even to forage, without extreme peril. Not only the soldiers of Washington, but even the inhabitants of New Jersey, transported with rage at the shocking excesses committed by the English, and especially by the Hessians, prepared frequent ambuscades for these predatory bands, and exterminated them by surprise. Those who could not bear arms, performed the office of spies, so that whenever the royalists made a movement, the republicans were apprised of it, and prepared to oppose it. This sudden change in the disposition of the inhabitants, who after the occupation of New York, had shown themselves so favorable to the royal cause, must be attributed entirely to the unheard of ferocity with which the English carried on the war. An universal cry was heard in America against the cruelties, the massacres, the rapes, and the ravages, perpetrated by their soldiers. And even supposing that their crimes were exaggerated, the truth is still but too horrible. The Hessians, as if they had believed themselves released from all respect for humanity and justice, knew no other mode of making war but that of carrying devastation into the midst of all the property, whether public or private, of their adversaries. It was published at the time, that the Germans had been taught to believe, that all the lands they could conquer in America should become their own property, which led them to consider the possessors of them as their natural enemies, whom they were bound to exterminate in every possible mode. But, that finding themselves not likely to profit by this expectation, they set about plundering and

destroying whatever they could lay their hands upon. It was also affirmed, that this rapacious soldiery had so burthened themselves with booty, as to become almost incapable of service. The violent hatred which the Americans manifested for the Hessians, rendered them but the more outrageous in their depredations. Men accustomed to liberty, could not behold without abhorrence these brutal mercenaries, 'who, not content,' they said, 'with submitting to be slaves in their own country, are willing, for a few pence, to become the instruments of tyranny with others, and come to interfere in a domestic quarrel, in which they have no interest.' 'Why,' added the Americans, 'have they left their homes in the old world to contribute in the new to the butchery of an innocent and generous people, who had never offended them; who, on the contrary, had exercised a noble hospitality towards a multitude of their ancestors, who sought refuge from a tyranny similar to what their countrymen were now attempting to establish in America?' This language did but the more exasperate the Germans; they manifested their fury by the most atrocious actions. It was a terrible and lamentable spectacle, to behold these fertile fields covered with ashes and with ruins. Friends and foes, republicans and loyalists, all shared a common fate. Wives and daughters suffered violence in the houses, and even before the eyes of their husbands and fathers; many fled into the forests; but could find no refuge even there from the brutal rage of these barbarians, who pursued them. The houses were either burnt or demolished; the cattle either driven off or killed; nothing escaped their thirst of devastation. The Hessian general Heister, far from endeavoring to repress this licentious soldiery, seemed to have given them a free rein. The English general wished, but had not the power, to curb them. The Hessians were as numerous as the English themselves, and it was not thought prudent to offend them. Their example became infectious for the British troops, and they were soon found to vie with the Germans in all the scenes of violence, outrage, cruelty, and plunder. New Jersey presented only the vestiges of havoc and desolation. Complaints arose from all parts of America; and they were echoed throughout Europe, to the heavy reproach of England. Among the indignant nations, the French were especially distinguished; naturally humane, enemies to the English, and partisans of the Americans. It was exclaimed every where, that the English government had revived in the new world the fury of the Goths, and the barbarity of the northern Hordes. But so much immanity returned upon its source, and became more fatal to its authors than to their victims. The few remaining friends that England had, became enemies, and her enemies were filled with new hatred, and a more vehement desire of vengeance.

Citizens of all classes flew to arms with a sort of rage, to expel from their territory, as they said, these infamous robbers. Thus the



excesses of the royal army were not less, and perhaps more, prejudicial to the British cause than even the efforts of Washington and the resolutions of Congress. But it must be admitted, that this ardor of pillage had also contaminated the American army. The houses and property of the unfortunate inhabitants of New Jersey were sacked under pretext that they belonged to loyalists; the officers themselves gave their soldiers the example of depredation. Thus they were pillaged by the Hessians and English as rebels to the king, and by the Americans as being his partisans. These excesses became so revolting, that Washington, to whom they caused infinite pain, was constrained, in order to put a stop to them, to issue a proclamation denouncing the most rigorous penalties against the perpetrators of such enormities.

At this epoch, the loyalists manifested a spirit of revolt in the counties of Somerset and Worcester, in Maryland, and in that of Sussex, in the state of Delaware; as also in the neighborhood of Albany, and in the country of the Mohawks. Troops were sent to these places, in order to overawe the disaffected; the Congress ordered that suspected persons should be arrested and detained in secure places.

About the same time, general Heath, who guarded the high lands of New York, summoned Fort Independence, situated in the vicinity of Kingsbridge. But the commander of the garrison answered with intrepidity, and prepared himself for a vigorous resistance. The Americans despairing of success by assault, abandoned the enterprise, and returned to their high and inaccessible positions.

General Howe not making any movement at the commencement of the year, indicative of an intention to enter the field very shortly, Washington resolved to avail himself of this interval of repose to deliver his army from the smallpox, a scourge so formidable in these climates. It had made such terrible ravages the preceding year in the army of the north, that but for the obstacles the English had encountered upon the lakes, nothing would have prevented them from penetrating to the Hudson. The army of the middle was threatened with a similar calamity. Washington therefore judged it necessary to subject all his troops, as well as the militia that joined him from different parts, to a general inoculation. The affair was conducted with so much prudence in the camp that no occasion was offered the enemy to disturb its tranquillity. The physicians of the hospital of Philadelphia were ordered at the same time, to inoculate all the soldiers who traversed that city, on their way to join the army. The same precautions were taken in the other military stations, and thus the army was totally exempted from an evil, which might have clashed with the success of the ensuing campaign. The example of the soldiery proved a signal benefit to the entire population; the salutary practice of inoculation soon became general; and, by little and little, this fatal malady disappeared entirely.

Meanwhile, the month of March was near its conclusion, and the defect of tents and other camp equipage which general Howe expected from England, had not yet permitted him to open the campaign. He resolved, nevertheless, to attempt some expedition, which might occasion a sensible prejudice to the enemy. The Americans during the winter, had formed immense magazines of provisions, forage, and stores of all sorts, in that rough and mountainous tract called Courtland Manor. The great natural strength of the country, the vicinity of the Hudson river, with its convenience in respect to the seat of war, had induced the American generals to make choice of these heights for their general repository. A little town called Peek's Kill, which lies about fifty miles up the river from New York, served as a kind of port to this natural citadel, by which it both received provisions, and dispensed supplies. As a general attempt upon Courtland Manor presented insurmountable difficulties, not only from the strength of the country and impracticability of the ground, but from the force of the corps that were stationed in that quarter, the English general confined his views to an attack upon Peek's Kill. His troops were sent on board transports up the river for this service; the Americans, upon the approach of the British armament, finding themselves unequal to the defence of the place, and that there was no possible time to evacuate the magazines, set fire to them, and retired. The English landed without delay. The damage was considerable; but not so great as general Howe had been led to expect, though greater than the Americans would acknowledge. The English a few days after undertook a similar expedition, upon the borders of Connecticut. The Americans had deposited large quantities of stores and provisions in the town or village of Danbury, in the county of Fairfield. The charge of this enterprise was committed to general Tryon; who, besides the destruction of these stores, had flattered himself with finding a junction of many loyalists in that quarter, as soon as he should appear with the troops of the king. He appeared not to doubt it, in consequence of the confidence he placed in the assertions of the refugees; always prompt to believe what they strongly desire. The twenty-fifth of April, a detachment of two thousand men, having passed through the sound, landed after sun-set upon the coast of Connecticut, between Fairfield and Norwalk. They advanced without interruption, and arrived at Danbury the following day. Colonel Huntingdon, who occupied this place with a feeble garrison, retired at the approach of the enemy, to a stronger position in the rear. As the English could procure no carriages, to bring off the stores and provisions, they immediately proceeded to the destruction of the magazine. The loss was serious to the American army, and particularly in the article of several hundred tents, of which it had great need, and which were the more regretted as the materials were wanting to replace them. The loyalists made not the least movement.



Meanwhile, the whole country was in agitation. The militia, eager to manifest their devotion to the republic, had assembled at Reading under the banners of Congress. Arnold, who happened to be in the vicinity, engaged in the business of recruiting, at the sound of arms, always so grateful to his ear, had hastened to join the companies at Reading. General Wooster, who from the immediate service of Congress had passed into that of the state of Connecticut, as brigadier-general of militia, arrived from another quarter, with considerable reinforcements. All these troops were impatient to engage the enemy. The English, perceiving their danger, retreated with great precipitation, by the way of Ridgefield. The Americans endeavored 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. General Wooster hung upon the rear of the British, and using every advantage of ground, harassed them exceedingly, notwithstanding they had large covering parties, well furnished with field pieces, both on their flanks and rear. In one of these skirmishes, Wooster, at an age approaching closely to seventy, and in the active exertion of a valor which savored more of youthful temerity than of the temperance and discretion of that time of life, was mortally wounded, and being carried out of the field, died shortly after, with the same resolution that he had lived. Filled with consternation at the loss of their commander, his soldiers immediately dispersed. But in the meantime, Arnold had got possession of Ridgefield, where he had already thrown up some sort of an intrenchment, to cover his front. The English presented themselves, and a hot action ensued, which lasted a considerable time. The English having carried the heights which covered the flanks of the Americans, overwhelmed them with their fire. The latter were immediately thrown into confusion, and notwithstanding the efforts of Arnold to rally them, retired with extreme precipitation to Pangatuck, three miles from Norwalk. Tryon lay that night at Ridgefield, and having set fire to some houses, renewed his march on the morning of the twenty-eighth, towards the Sound. He was again encountered by Arnold, who had assembled fresh troops, with some pieces of artillery. Continual skirmishes took place from the one bank to the other of the river Sagatuck, and a sharp contest at the bridge across this stream. But, finally, the English, superior in number and discipline, surmounted all obstacles, and arrived at the place where their ships waited to receive them; they were unable to embark, however, without new difficulties and other combats.

The Congress decreed that a monument should be erected to Wooster, and testified their satisfaction towards Arnold by the gift of a horse, richly caparisoned.

This expedition, entered upon with so much parade, furnished little indemnity for the expense it had occasioned.

The stores destroyed, with the exception of the tents, were of inconsiderable value ; and the burning of the houses of Danbury and Ridgefield, together with the other brutalities committed by the royal troops, did but increase the fury of the people, and confirm them in resistance. This occasion served also to demonstrate, how vain were the hopes which general Tryon had placed in the loyalists. Not one of them ventured to declare himself in favor of the English ; the inhabitants rose, on the contrary, in all parts to repulse the assailants. It is even probable, that this enterprise of the English gave origin to another, full of audacity, on the part of the Americans. The generals of Connecticut had been informed that a commissary of the British army had formed immense magazines of forage, grain, and other necessaries for the troops, at a little port called *Sagg Harbor*, in Long Island ; it was defended only by a detachment of infantry, and a sloop of twelve guns. The English, however, believed themselves sufficiently protected by their armed vessels which cruised in the Sound ; they could never persuade themselves that the Americans would dare to pass it, and attempt any thing upon Long Island. But the latter were nowise intimidated by the obstacles, and resolved to surprise Sagg Harbor, by a sudden incursion. Accordingly, colonel Meigs, one of the intrepid companions of Arnold in the expedition of Canada, crossed the Sound with as much rapidity as ability, and arrived before day at the place where the magazines were situated. Notwithstanding the resistance of the garrison and the crews of the vessels, he burned a dozen brigs and sloops which lay at the wharf, and entirely destroyed every thing on shore. Having accomplished the object of the expedition, he returned without loss to Guilford, in Connecticut, bringing with him many prisoners. The Americans manifested, in this enterprise, the greatest humanity ; they abstained from the pillage of private property, and even permitted the prisoners to retain their effects.

The winter had completely elapsed in the midst of these operations, and the season approached in which the armies were about to take the field anew. No one doubted that the English would exert their utmost endeavors to terminate the war in the present year. A formidable corps was prepared to attack the American provinces on the side of Canada, and a still more numerous army menaced those of the middle. All minds were suspended with the expectation of approaching events.

If the English generals could have commenced the campaign as soon as the season for action was arrived, it is certain, they might have obtained the most important advantages. When the spring opened, the army of Washington was still extremely feeble. If a part of those whose term of service was expired, had been induced to remain from a consideration of the weakness of the army, and the ruin which must attend their departure before it was reenforced, the



greater number, unable to endure the severity of winter in the fields, had returned home. In the meantime, the business of recruiting under an engagement to serve during the war, or even for three years, went on but slowly, notwithstanding the promised advantages; the genius and habits of the people being averse to all subjection. The making of draughts from the militia, which was the final resource, was considered as a dangerous innovation.

As a further check upon the increase of the force in New Jersey, the New England provinces, which abounded with men of a warlike spirit, were taken up with their domestic concerns, fearing for Ticonderoga, the river Hudson, and even for Boston itself. A multitude of American privateers had gone into that port with their prizes, and the English retained all their ancient hatred against the inhabitants. The British troops cantoned in Rhode Island, afforded continual room for apprehension; they might attack Massachusetts in flank, and make inroads with impunity into the neighboring provinces. Such, in effect, was the difficulty of raising men, that in some of the provinces the enlisting of apprentices and Irish indented servants was permitted, contrary to the former resolutions and decrees, with a promise of indemnification to their masters. The winter and spring had been employed in these preparations, but towards the latter end of May, the mild weather having commenced, the Americans took arms with promptitude, and Washington found himself daily reinforced from all quarters. The English thus lost the occasion of an easy victory; perhaps, as some have written, by the delay of tents. However this may have been, they deferred taking the field till obstacles were multiplied around them.

Washington, unable as yet to penetrate the designs of general Howe, sought with vigilance to observe the direction he was about to give to his arms. It was apprehended that renewing the war in New Jersey he would endeavor to penetrate to the Delaware; and, passing the river by means of a bridge, known to be constructed for the purpose, make himself master of Philadelphia. It was conjectured also, and this was the expectation of Washington, that the English general would proceed up the Hudson river into the upper parts of the province of New York, in order to cooperate with the British army of Canada, which was at the same time to attack the fortress of Ticonderoga, and after its reduction, to operate a junction with general Howe in the vicinity of Albany. This movement of the enemy was the more to be apprehended, as besides the advantages it promised, it was known to have been prescribed by the instructions of the British ministers. General Howe had been diverted from following them by the successes he had obtained in New Jersey, and the hope he had conceived of being able, of himself, to bring the war to a successful conclusion.

In so great an uncertainty in respect to the future operations of the enemy, Washington, having received his reinforcements, determined to take such positions as should be equally proper to oppose them, whether the English should move towards Albany, or should resolve to march against Philadelphia, by way of New Jersey. According to this plan, the troops raised in the northern provinces, were stationed partly at Ticonderoga, and partly at Peek's Kill, those of the middle and southern provinces, as far as North Carolina, occupied New Jersey, leaving a few corps for the protection of the more western provinces.

In this manner, if general Howe moved against Philadelphia, he found in front all the forces assembled in New Jersey, and in addition, those encamped at Peek's Kill, who would have descended to harass his right flank. If, on the other hand, he took the direction of Albany, the corps of Peek's Kill defended the passages in front, while his left flank might also be attacked by the troops of New Jersey, upon the banks of the Hudson. If, on the contrary, the English army of Canada came by way of the sea, to join that of general Howe upon the shores of New Jersey, the troops of Peek's Kill could immediately unite with those that occupied the same province, and thus compose a formidable army for the defence of Philadelphia. If, finally, the army of Canada attacked Ticonderoga, the camp of Peek's Kill might carry succours to those who were charged with the defence of that fortress. But as it was of inexpressible importance to preserve Philadelphia in the power of the United States, the Congress ordained the formation of a camp upon the western bank of the Delaware, with the double object of receiving all the troops that arrived from the south and west, and of serving, in case of need, as a reserve. Here also were to assemble all the recruits of Pennsylvania, reenforced by several regiments of regular troops. This army was placed under the command of general Arnold, who was then at Philadelphia. All these arrangements being made, on the twenty-eighth of May, Washington quitted his former position in the neighborhood of Morristown, and advancing within a few miles of Brunswick, upon the left bank of the Rariton, took possession of the strong country along Middlebrook. He turned this advantageous situation to every account of which it was capable; his camp, winding along the course of the hills, was strongly intrenched and covered with artillery; nor was it better secured by its immediate natural or artificial advantages, than by the difficulties of approach which the ground in front threw in the way of an enemy. In this situation he commanded a view of the British encampment on the hills of Brunswick, and of most of the intermediate country towards that place and Amboy. The American army, at this epoch, amounted to fifteen thousand men, inclusive of the North Carolinians, and the militia of New Jersey; but this number



comprehended many apprentices, and some totally undisciplined companies.

Always controlled by a sort of fatal necessity, which was the manifest cause of all the reverses of his party, general Howe would never ascend the river Hudson towards Canada to cooperate and join with the northern British army. He persisted in his favorite object of invading New Jersey and Pennsylvania, according to the design he had conceived of penetrating through the first of these provinces to the Delaware, driving Washington before him, and reducing the whole country to so effectual a state of subjection as to establish a safe and open communication between the army and New York.

He presumed, either that Washington would hazard a battle, and in that case he entertained no doubt of success; or that the Americans would constantly retire, which appeared to him the most probable. In the latter case, having by the reduction of New Jersey, left every thing safe in his rear, and secured the passage of the Delaware; he became, of course, master of Philadelphia, which from its situation, was incapable of any effectual defence, and could only be protected by Washington at the certain expense and hazard of a battle; than which nothing was more coveted by the English.

If the obstacles in New Jersey were found so great that they could not be overcome without much loss of time and expense of blood, his intention was to profit of the powerful naval force, and the great number of transports and vessels of all sorts which lay at New York. By means of this numerous marine, the army might be conveyed either to the mouths of the Delaware and thence to Philadelphia, or into the bay of Chesapeake, which opened the way into the heart of the central provinces, and led either directly, or by crossing a country of no great extent to the possession of that city. That point gained, Philadelphia was to become the place of arms and centre of action, whilst every part of the hostile provinces of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland would, from their deep bays and navigable rivers, be exposed to the continual attacks of an enemy so powerful by sea. But it is evident that the first object of the views of the English general, was the destruction of the army of Washington, and therefore before resorting to the aid of his marine, he resolved to make trial of fortune in New Jersey, by using all the resources of art to force the enemy to an action. Accordingly, having received from Europe his tents, and other field equipage, with some reinforcements composed principally of German troops, he passed over to the frontiers of New Jersey, and moved with his whole army to Brunswick, having left however a sufficient garrison at Amboy. When he had accurately examined the strength of the posts which Washington occupied, he renounced the scheme of assaulting him in his camp. He continued for several days in front of his lines, offering him battle; but the American general refusing it, he pushed on detachments,

and made movements as if he intended to pass him, and advanced to the Delaware, hoping that his enemy, alarmed for the safety of Philadelphia, would have abandoned this impregnable post to follow him. But Washington, firm in his resolution of never committing the fortune of America to the hazard of a single action, made no movement.

Meanwhile, having observed by the demonstrations of the English, that their design was to prosecute their operations, not against the passages leading to Canada, but in the province of New Jersey, he ordered the troops at Peek's Kill to march to his succour. He gave colonel Morgan, the same who had displayed so brilliant a valor at the assault of Quebec, the command of a troop of light horse, destined to annoy the left flank of the English army, and to repress, or cut off its advanced parties. General Sullivan, who occupied Princeton with a strong detachment, was ordered to fall back to a more secure position, upon the heights of Rocky Hill. But general Howe, perceiving that Washington was not to be enticed by these demonstrations to quit his fastnesses, resolved to put himself in motion, and to approach nearer to the Delaware. Accordingly, in the night of the fourteenth of June, the entire British army, with the exception of two thousand soldiers, who remained for the protection of Brunswick, began to move, in two columns, towards the river. The van of the first, conducted by lord Cornwallis, and which had taken the road to the right, arrived by break of day at Somerset Court House, nine miles distant from New Brunswick, having passed without obstacle the little river Millstone. The column of the left, under general Heister, reached at the same time the village of Middlebush, situated lower down upon the road of Princeton. But Washington, faithful to his temporising plan, had too much penetration to be diverted from it by circumvention or sleight. He reflected, that without supposing in the enemy a temerity, which was absolutely foreign to the prudent and circumspect character of general Howe, it could not be imagined that he would venture to advance upon the Delaware, and to cross that river, having to combat an army on the opposite bank, and another, still more formidable, in his rear. It was, besides, evident that if the real intention of the English had hitherto been to pass the Delaware, they would have marched rapidly towards it, without halting, as they had done, at half way. He was not ignorant, moreover, that they had advanced light to this point, leaving at Brunswick their baggage, batteaux, and bridge equipage. Having well pondered these circumstances, Washington concluded that the project of the enemy was not to proceed to the Delaware, but to allure him from his camp of Middlebrook, in order to reduce him to the necessity of fighting. Wherefore he made no movement, but continued to remain quietly within his intrenchments. Only, as the enemy was so near, he drew up his army in order of battle, upon the



heights which defended the front of his camp, and kept it all the following night under arms.

Meanwhile, the militia of New Jersey assembled from every quarter, with great alacrity; and general Sullivan with his detachment marching upon the left bank of the Millstone, had approached the Rariton, so as to be able to disquiet the enemy by frequent skirmishes in front, and to join, if necessary, with the commander-in-chief.

General Howe having ascertained that his adversary was too wary to be caught in the snares that he had hitherto laid for him, and that his menaces to pass the Delaware would be fruitless, resolved next to try whether the appearance of fear, and a precipitate retreat towards Amboy, might not have the effect of drawing him into the plain, and consequently, of forcing him to an engagement. According to this new plan, in the night of the nineteenth, he suddenly quitted his position in front of the enemy, where he had begun to intrench himself; he retired in haste to Brunswick, and thence, with the same marks of precipitation, towards Amboy. The English, as they retreated, burned a great number of houses, either from personal rage, or with a view to inflame the passions of the Americans, and increase the ardor of their pursuit. When they had gained Amboy, they threw the bridge, which was intended for the Delaware, over the channel which separates the continent from Staten Island, and immediately passed over it their heavy baggage, and all the incumbrances of the army. Some of the troops followed, and every thing was in immediate preparation for the passage of the rest of the army, as if all hope had been lost of its making any further progress in New Jersey. Washington, with all his caution and penetration, allowed himself to be imposed upon by this stratagem of his adversary. He ordered generals Greene, Sullivan, and Maxwell, to pursue the enemy with strong detachments; but the two latter were not in season. Colonel Morgan infested the rear of the retreating army with his cavalry; and lord Sterling, with colonel Conway, harassed its left flank. The advantages they gained, however, were trifling, as the English marched in good order, and had taken care to place a great part of their forces in the rear guard. Finally, Washington himself, to be more at hand for the protection and support of his advanced parties, descended from the impregnable heights of Middlebrook, and advanced to a place called Quibbletown, six or seven miles nearer to Amboy.

Lord Sterling, with a strong division, occupied the village of Mettuckin, lower down towards that city.

General Howe lost no time in endeavoring to profit of the occasion he had opened for himself so shrewdly. In the night of the twenty-fifth of June, he drew back his troops from Staten Island to the continent, and on the morning of the twenty-sixth, marched them with great expedition against the Americans. His army formed two distinct divisions. He had three objects in view. To cut off some of

the principal advanced parties of the enemy; to bring his main body to an engagement; and finally, by a rapid movement upon his left, to seize the defiles of the mountains which led to the encampment of Middlebrook, in order to prevent Washington from resuming that strong position. The column of the right, commanded by lord Cornwallis, was destined to accomplish this last operation; accordingly it moved with extreme celerity, by the way of Woodbridge, to the Scotch Plains. The left, under the immediate orders of general Howe, took the route of Metuckin. It was the intention of the English generals, that these two corps should reunite beyond the village of Metuckin, upon the road leading from that place to the Scotch Plains, and that thence, having separated anew, the left should rapidly turn against the left flank of the American army, posted at Quibbletown, while the right should endeavor to occupy the hills situated upon the left of the camp of Middlebrook. Four battalions with six pieces of artillery, remained at Bonhampton to secure Amboy against any unforeseen attack.

According to these dispositions, the English army advanced with a rapid step, sanguine in the hope of victory. But fortune, who was pleased to reserve the Americans for a better destiny, all at once deranged the well concerted scheme of the British generals. Lord Cornwallis having passed Woodbridge, fell in with a party of seven hundred American riflemen. A warm skirmish ensued, which soon terminated in the flight of the republicans. But the noise of the musketry, and afterwards the fugitives themselves gave Washington warning of the extreme danger that menaced him. His resolution was immediately taken to recover with celerity what he had abandoned, perhaps, with imprudence. He quitted accordingly his position at Quibbletown, and with all possible expedition repossessed himself of the encampment of Middlebrook. When arrived, he instantly detached a strong corps to secure those passes in the mountains upon his left, through which he perceived it was the intention of lord Cornwallis to approach the heights. This general having dispersed without difficulty the smaller advanced parties of the enemy, fell in at length with lord Sterling, who, with about three thousand men, strongly posted in a woody country, and well covered by artillery judiciously disposed, manifested a determination to dispute his passage. But the English and Hessians, animated by a mutual emulation, attacked with such impetuosity, that the Americans, 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. The English continued their pursuit as far as Westfield, but the woods and the intense heat of the weather, prevented its effect. Lord Cornwallis having discovered that the defiles were diligently guarded, and despairing of being able to accomplish his design, returned by the road of Raway, to Amboy. General Howe



in like manner, finding his plan entirely defeated by the sudden retreat of Washington into his strong camp of Middlebrook, also marched back to that city. The brigades of Scott and Conway followed the English step by step as far as the frontiers, but without finding an opening to attack them, so close and cautious was their order of march.

The British generals now reflected that the continuation of hostilities in New Jersey, with a view of penetrating to the Delaware, would not only be fruitless, since the enemy was evidently resolved not to hazard a general engagement, but that it would even be attended with extreme danger, as well from the strength of his positions as from the general enmity of the inhabitants. In effect, the season was already advanced, and there was no more time to be wasted in unprofitable expeditions. They resolved therefore to attack Pennsylvania by way of the sea; thus persevering in their scheme of acting by themselves, and not in conjunction with the Canadian army, which it was known had invested Ticonderoga; and which probably would soon be, if it was not already, in possession of that fortress. Accordingly all the troops of general Howe were passed over the channel to Staten Island, and the Americans soon after entered Amboy. The great preparations made by the English in Staten Island, and in all the province of New York, for the embarkation of the army, and the uncertainty of the place against which the storm would be directed, excited a general alarm throughout the continent. Boston, the Hudson river, the Delaware, Chesapeake bay, and even Charleston, in Carolina, were alternately held to be the objects of the expedition. General Washington exerted the utmost vigilance; he maintained a secret correspondence with the republicans in New York, who advised him daily of whatever they saw and heard. In pursuance of this intelligence, he was continually despatching expresses to put those places upon their guard, which, from immediate information, he supposed for the time to be the threatened point. But herein the English had greatly the advantage, for having the sea always open, they could fall unawares upon the destined place, before the inhabitants could be prepared to resist them, and before the soldiery could possibly come to their succour. But among all the objects that general Howe might have in view, the Americans knew very well, that the two which he must consider of most importance, were consequently the most probable. These were evidently either the conquest of Philadelphia, or the cooperation, by the Hudson river, with the army of Canada. But to which of these two operations he would give the preference, it was not easy to penetrate. In this perplexity, Washington continued stationary in his encampment at Middlebrook, where he could securely persist in his defensive system, and be equally near at hand to march to the succour of Philadelphia, or to ascend the Hudson.

In this posture of things, a movement of general Howe led him to believe that the English had in view the expedition of Albany. Their fleet, moored at Princesbay, a place not far from Amboy, moved higher up towards New York, and came to anchor at Wateringplace, while their whole army, with its munitions and baggage, withdrew from the coast opposite Amboy, and took post at the north point of Staten Island. Washington, thereupon, having posted two regiments of infantry and one of light horse between Newark and Amboy, to cover this part against desultory incursions, moved with the main body of his army to reoccupy his old camp of Morristown. He there found himself nearer to the Hudson, without being at such a distance from Middlebrook, as to prevent him from promptly resuming that position, if the enemy made any demonstration against New Jersey. He, moreover, detached general Sullivan with a numerous corps to occupy Prompton, upon the road to Peek's Kill, in order that he might, according to circumstances, either advance to the latter place, or return to Morristown.

In the meantime, it was confidently reported that general Burgoyne, who commanded the British army upon the lakes, had appeared in great force under the walls of Ticonderoga. Washington, therefore, still more persuaded of the intended cooperation of the two armies, under Howe and Burgoyne, upon the banks of the Hudson, ordered general Sullivan to advance immediately and post himself in front of Peek's Kill, while he proceeded himself as far as Prompton, and afterwards to Clove. The news soon arrived of the surrender of Ticonderoga, and at the same time, intelligence was received that the English fleet was anchored under New York, and even that a great number of transports were come up the Hudson as far as Dobbs Ferry, where the river widens so as to form a species of lake, called Tappan Bay. These different movements confirmed Washington in his conjectures respecting the project of the enemy; he therefore directed general Sullivan to pass the Hudson, and to intrench himself behind Peek's Kill upon the left bank. In like manner, lord Sterling was ordered to cross the river and unite with general Putnam, who guarded the heights that were the object of so much jealousy for the two armies. But, as the larger ships, and a part of the light vessels, were returned from Wateringplace to Sandy Hook, as if the fleet was preparing for sea, in order to gain the Delaware, and as the whole British army still remained in Staten Island, Washington began to suspect that general Howe meditated embarking with a view to the conquest of Philadelphia.

In the midst of these uncertainties, and while the American general endeavored to penetrate the intentions of the English, and the latter to deceive him by vain demonstrations upon the banks of the Hudson, the news arrived of an adventure which, though of little importance in itself, produced as much exultation to the Americans as regret to



the English. The British troops stationed in Rhode Island were commanded by general Prescott, who, finding himself in an island surrounded by the fleet of the king, and disposing of a force greatly superior to what the enemy could assemble in this quarter, became extremely negligent of his guard. The Americans, earnestly desiring to retaliate the capture of general Lee, formed the design of surprising general Prescott in his quarters, and of bringing him off prisoner to the continent. Accordingly, in the night of the tenth of July, lieutenant-colonel Barton, at the head of a party of forty of the country militia, well acquainted with the places, embarked in whale boats, and after having rowed a distance of above ten miles, and avoided with great dexterity the numerous vessels of the enemy, landed upon the western coast of Rhode Island, between Newport and Bristol Ferry. He repaired immediately, with the utmost silence and celerity, to the lodging of general Prescott. They adroitly secured the sentinels who guarded the door. An aid-de-camp went up into the chamber of the general, who slept quietly, and arrested him, without giving him time even to put on his clothes; they conducted him with equal secrecy and success to the main land. This event afforded the Americans singular satisfaction, as they hoped to exchange their prisoner for general Lee. It was, however, particularly galling to general Prescott, who not long before had been delivered by exchange from the hands of the Americans, after having been taken in the expedition of Canada. In addition to this, he had lately been guilty of an action unworthy of a man of honor, in setting a price upon the head of general Arnold, as if he had been a common outlaw and assassin; an insult which Arnold immediately returned, by setting an inferior price upon the person of Prescott. The Congress publicly thanked lieutenant-colonel Barton, and presented him with a sword.

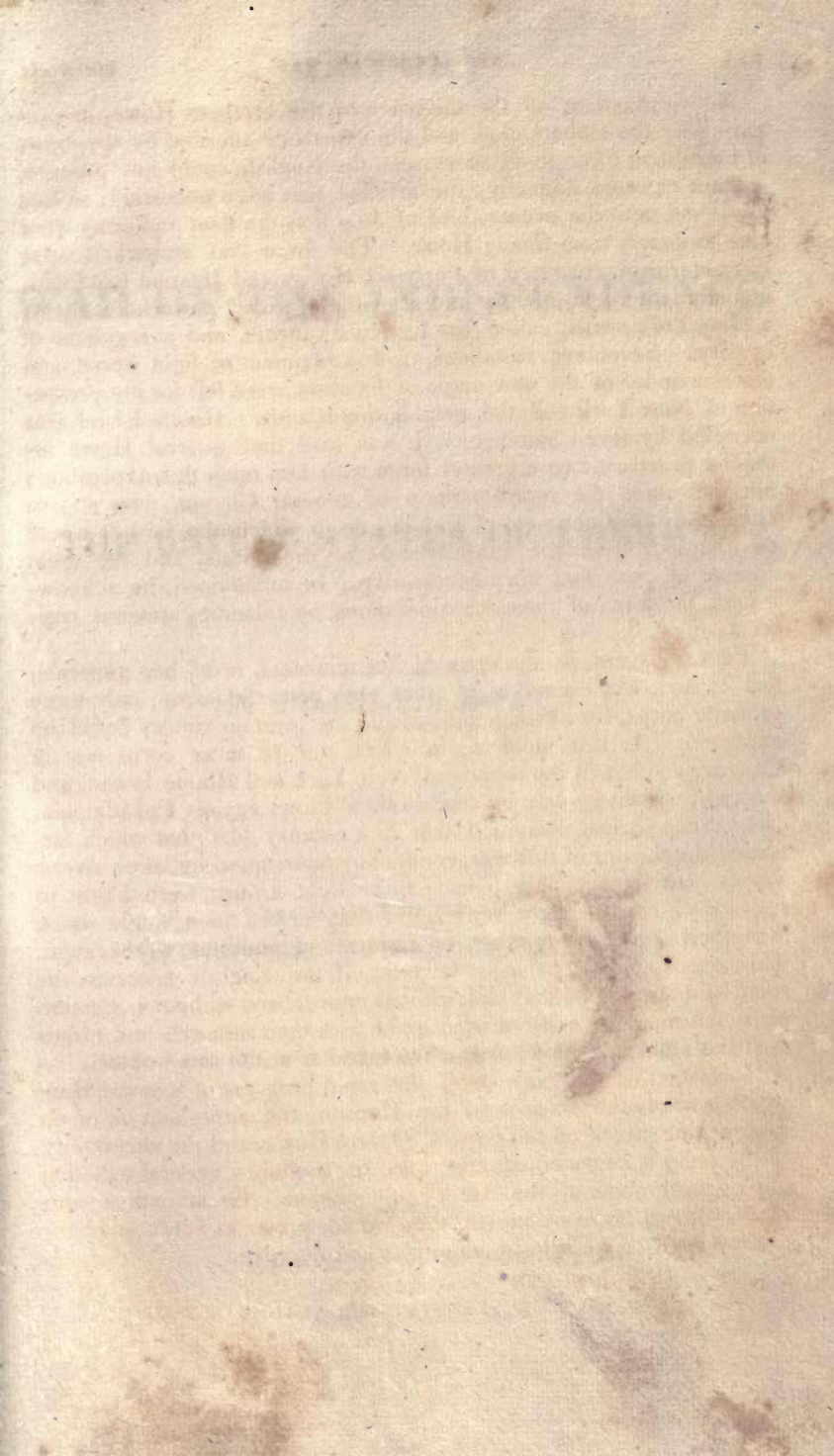
Meanwhile, the immensity of the preparations made by general Howe for fitting out the fleet, as well as several movements it executed, strengthened the suspicion of Washington that the demonstrations of the English upon the Hudson were no other than a mere feint. Every day he was more and more convinced that their real plan was to embark and proceed to the attack of Philadelphia, as the capital of the confederation. He therefore retired progressively from Clove, and divided his army into several corps, in order to be able to succour the places attacked with the more expedition. He prayed the Congress to assemble the militia of Pennsylvania, without loss of time, at Chester, and those of the lower counties of Delaware, at Wilmington. He directed watches to be stationed upon the capes of the Delaware, to keep a look out, and give early notice of the arrival of the enemy. The governor of New Jersey was exhorted to call out the militia of the districts bordering upon this river, directing them to make head at Gloucester, situated upon the left bank, a little below Philadelphia.

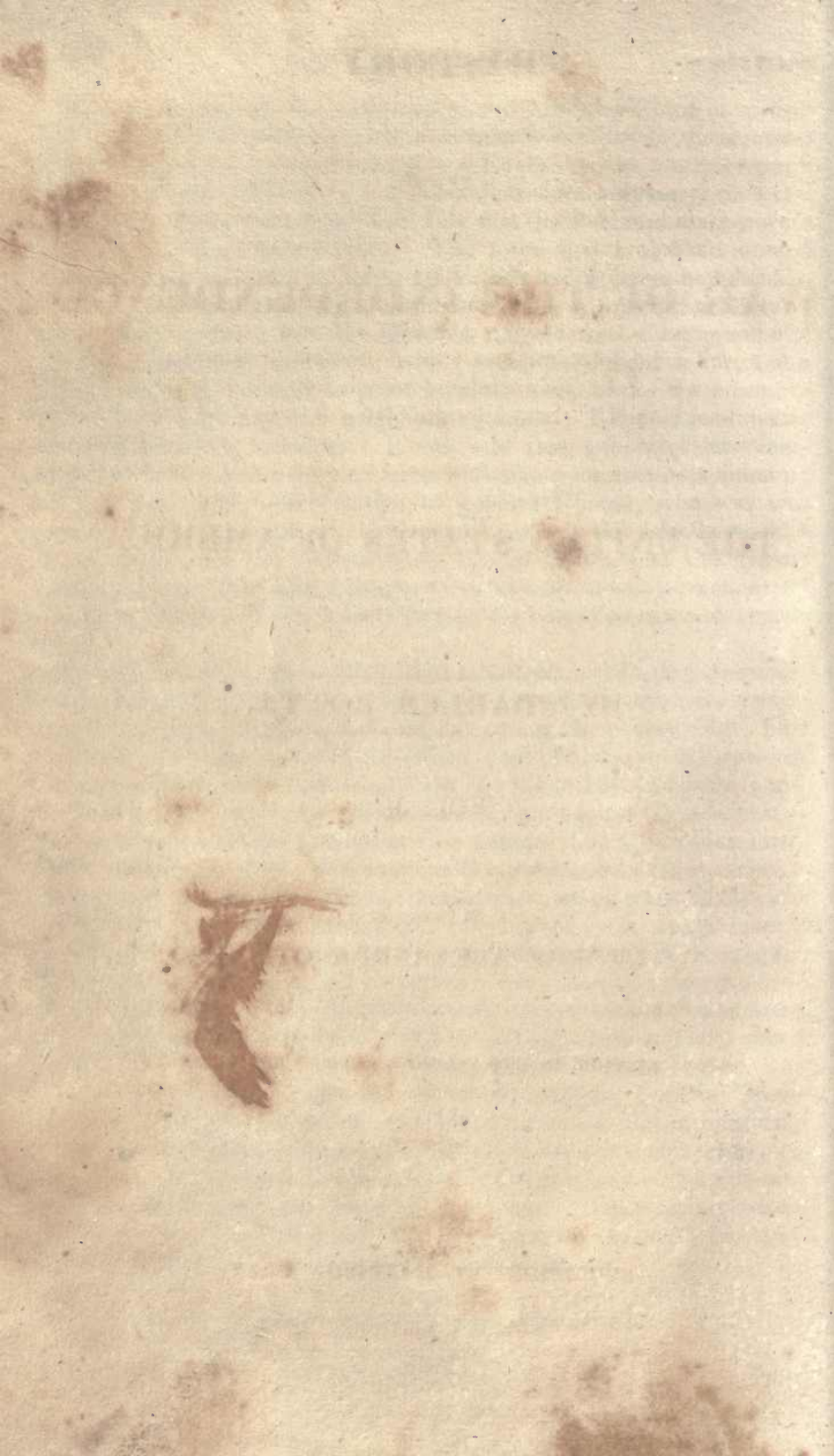
Notwithstanding all the diligence of the brothers Howe, in preparing for the embarkation, and the assistance afforded by the crews of more than three hundred vessels, the English could not procure, without extreme difficulty, the articles that were necessary, so that it was not until the twenty-third of July that the fleet and army were able to depart from Sandy Hook. The force that embarked upon this enterprise, consisted of thirty-six 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 cavalry. Seventeen battalions, with a regiment of light horse, and the remainder of the new corps of loyalists, were left for the protection of New York and the neighboring islands. Rhode Island was occupied by seven battalions. It was said that general Howe intended to have taken a greater force with him upon this expedition; but that upon the representation of general Clinton, who was to command in his absence, of the danger to which the islands would be exposed, from the extensiveness of the coasts, and the great number of posts that were necessarily to be maintained, he acknowledged the force of these considerations by relanding several regiments.

Thus, England, by the error of her ministers, or of her generals, had in America, instead of a great and powerful army, only three separate corps, from which individually no certain victory could be expected. At this moment, in effect, one of these corps was in Canada, another in the islands of New York and Rhode Island, and the third was on its way by sea, destined to act against Philadelphia. But perhaps it was imagined that in a country like that which furnished the theatre of this war, continually interrupted by lakes, rivers, forests, and inaccessible places, three light armies were likely to operate with more effect separately, than united in a single mass, incumbered by the number of troops, and multitude of baggage. This excuse would, perhaps, be valid, if the English generals, instead of operating as they did, without concert and without a common plan, had mutually assisted each other with their counsels and forces to strike a decisive blow, and arrive together at the same object.

However this may be viewed, the rapid progress of general Burgoyne towards the sources of the Hudson, the apprehension of an approaching attack on the part of general Howe, and the uncertainty of the point it menaced, all concurred to maintain a general agitation and alarm throughout the American continent. Great battles were expected, and no one doubted they would prove as fierce and sanguinary, as they were to be important and decisive.









# HISTORY

OF THE

# WAR OF THE INDEPENDENCE

OF

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

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BY CHARLES BOTTA.

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VOL. II.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN,  
BY GEORGE ALEXANDER OTIS, ESQ.

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SECOND EDITION, IN TWO VOLUMES, REVISED AND CORRECTED.



BOSTON:  
PUBLISHED BY HARRISON GRAY.

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William L. Lewis, Printer.

1826.

DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, to wit:

*District Clerk's Office.*

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the sixth day of March, A.D. 1826, in the fiftieth year of the Independence of the United States of America, GEORGE ALEXANDER OTIS, Esq. of the said district, has deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit:

'History of the War of the Independence of the United States of America. By Charles Botta. Vol. II. Translated from the Italian, by George Alexander Otis, Esq. Second edition, in two volumes, revised and corrected.'

In conformity to the Act of the Congress of the United States, entitled, 'An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned,' and also to an act entitled, 'An act supplementary to an act entitled, an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned,' and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.

JNO. W. DAVIS,

*Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.*



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# HISTORY

OF

## THE AMERICAN WAR.



### BOOK EIGHTH.

1777. THE British ministers, as we have before related, had long since formed the scheme of opening a way to New York by means of an army, which should descend from the lakes to the banks of the Hudson, and unite in the vicinity of Albany with the whole, or with a part, of that commanded by general Howe. All intercourse would thus have been cut off between the eastern and western provinces, and it was believed that victory, from this moment, could no longer be doubtful. The former, where the inhabitants were the most exasperated, crushed by an irresistible force, would have been deprived of all means of succouring the latter. These consequently, however remote from the Hudson, would also have been constrained to submit to the fortune of the conqueror, terrified by the reduction of the other provinces, abounding with loyalists, who would have joined the victor, and also swayed perhaps by a jealousy of the power of New England, and irritated by the reflection that it was her obstinacy which had been the principal cause of their present calamities. This expedition, besides, presented few difficulties, since with the exception of a short march, it might be executed entirely by water. The French themselves had attempted it in the course of the last war. It was hoped that it would have been already effected by the close of the preceding year; but it had failed in consequence of the obstacles encountered upon the lakes, the lateness of the season, and especially because while general Carleton advanced upon Ticonderoga and consequently towards the Hudson, general Howe, instead of proceeding up the river to join him, had carried his arms to the west, against New Jersey.

At present, however, this scheme had acquired new favor, and what in preceding years had been only an incidental part of the plan of campaign, was now become its main object. The entire British

nation had founded the most sanguine expectations upon this arrangement; nothing else seemed to be talked of among them but this expedition of Canada, which was shortly to bring about the total subjection of America. The junction of the two armies appeared quite sufficient to attain this desired object; the Americans, it was said, cannot oppose it without coming to a general battle, and in such case, there can exist no doubt of the result. The ministers had taken all the measures which they deemed essential to the success of so important an enterprise; they had furnished with profusion whatever the generals themselves had required or suggested. General Burgoyne, an officer of uncontested ability, possessed of an exact knowledge of the country, and animated by an ardent thirst for military glory, had repaired to England during the preceding winter, where he had submitted to the ministers the plan of this expedition, and had concerted with them the means of carrying it into effect. The ministry, besides their confidence in his genius and spirit, placed great hope in that eager desire of renown by which they knew him to be goaded incessantly; they gave him therefore the direction of all the operations. In this appointment, little regard was manifested for the rank and services of general Carleton; what he had already done in Canada, seemed to entitle him to conduct to its conclusion the enterprise he had commenced. No one, assuredly, could pretend to govern that province with more prudence and firmness. He possessed also an accurate knowledge of the country, as he had resided in Canada for several years, and had already made war there. But perhaps the ministers were dissatisfied with his retreat from Ticonderoga, and the repugnance he was said to have manifested to employ the savages. Perhaps also, his severity in the exercise of his command had drawn upon him the ill will of some officers, who endeavored to represent his actions in an unfavorable light. Burgoyne, impatient to make his profit of the occasion, was arrived in England, where, being well received at court, and besieging the ministers with his importunities, he made such magnificent promises, that in prejudice of Carleton he was entrusted with the command of all the troops of Canada. But the governor, finding himself, contrary to his expectation, divested of all military power, and restricted in his functions, requested leave to resign.

General Burgoyne arrived at Quebec in the beginning of the month of May, and immediately set himself to push forward the business of his mission. He displayed an extreme activity in completing all the preparations which might conduce to the success of the enterprise. Meanwhile, several ships arrived from England, bringing arms, munitions, and field equipage, in great abundance. General Carleton, exhibiting an honorable example of moderation and patriotism, seconded Burgoyne with great diligence and energy; he exerted in his favor not only the authority with which he was still



invested as governor, but even the influence he had with his friends and numerous partisans. His zealous cooperation proved of signal utility, and every thing was soon in preparation for an expedition which was to decide the event of the war, and the fate of America. The regular force placed at the disposal of general Burgoyne, consisting of British and German troops, amounted to upwards of seven thousand men, exclusive of a corps of artillery, composed of about five hundred. To these should be added a detachment of seven hundred rangers, under colonel St. Leger, destined to make an incursion into the country of the Mohawks, and to seize Fort Stanwix, otherwise called Fort Schuyler. This corps consisted of some companies of English infantry, of recruits from New York, of Hanau chasseurs, and of a party of Canadians and savages. According to the plan of the ministers and of the general himself, the principal army of Burgoyne was to be joined by two thousand Canadians, including hatchetmen, and other workmen, whose services, it was foreseen, would be much needed to render the ways practicable. A sufficient number of seamen had been assembled, for manning the transports upon the lakes and upon the Hudson. Besides the Canadians that were to be immediately attached to the army, many others were called upon to scour the woods in the frontiers, and to occupy the intermediate posts between the army which advanced towards the Hudson, and that which remained for the protection of Canada; the latter amounted, including the Highland emigrants, to upwards of three thousand men. These dispositions were necessary, partly to intercept the communication between the enemy and the ill affected in Canada; partly to prevent desertion, to procure intelligence, to transmit orders, and for various other duties essential to the security and tranquillity of the country in the rear of the army. But these were not the only services exacted from the Canadians; a great number of them were assembled to complete the fortifications at Sorel, St. Johns, Chambly, and Ile aux Noix. Finally, they were required to furnish horses and carts, to convey from the different repositories to the army all the provisions, artillery stores, and other effects of which it might have need. Under this last head was comprehended a large quantity of uniforms, destined for the loyalists, who, it was not doubted, would after victory flock from all quarters to the royal camp.

But it was also thought that the aid of the savages would be of great advantage to the cause of the king; the government had therefore ordered general Carleton to use his utmost weight and influence to assemble a body of a thousand Indians, and even more if it was possible. His humanity, which could ill endure the cruelty of these barbarians, and experience, which had taught him that they were rather an incumbrance than an aid, in regular operations, would have induced him to decline their alliance; but, in obedience to his

orders, he exerted an active zeal in bringing them forward to support the expedition. His success was answerable to his efforts. Whether by the influence of his name, which was extreme among these tribes, from their avidity to grasp the presents of the English, or from their innate thirst for blood and plunder, their remote as well as near nations poured forth their warriors in such abundance, that the British generals became apprehensive that their numbers might render them rather a clog than any real addition of strength to the army. They hastened therefore to dismiss such as appeared the least proper for war, or the most cruel or intractable. Never, perhaps, was an army of no greater force than this accompanied by so formidable a train of artillery, as well from the number of pieces, as from the skill of those who served it. This powerful apparatus was considered eminently requisite to disperse without effort an undisciplined enemy in the open country, or to dislodge him from strong and difficult places. The generals who seconded Burgoyne in this expedition, were all able and excellent officers. The principal were, major-general Phillips, of the artillery, who had distinguished himself in the wars of Germany; the brigadier-generals Frazer, Powel, and Hamilton, with the Brunswick major-general Baron Reidesel, and brigadier-general Specht. The whole army shared in the ardor and hopes of its chiefs; not a doubt was entertained of an approaching triumph, and the conquest of America.

The preparations being at length completed, and all the troops, as well national as auxiliary, having arrived, general Burgoyne proceeded to encamp near the little river Bouquet, upon the west bank of Lake Champlain, at no great distance to the north of Crown Point. As the time for commencing hostilities was near at hand, and dreading the consequences of the barbarity of the savages, which, besides the dishonor it reflected upon the British arms, might prove essentially prejudicial to the success of the expedition, he resolved to assemble those barbarians in congress, and afterwards, in compliance with their customs, to give them a war feast. He made a speech to them on that occasion, calculated, in terms of singular energy, to excite their ardor in the common cause, and at the same time to repress their ferocious propensities. To this end, he endeavored to explain 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 the faithful were intermixed with rebels, and traitors with friends. He recommended and strictly enjoined them, that they should put none to death but such as actually opposed them with arms in their hands; that old men, women, children, and prisoners, should be held sacred from the knife or tomahawk, even in the heat of action; that they should scalp only those whom they had slain in battle; but that under no pretext, or color of prevarication, they should scalp the wounded, or even the



dying, and much less kill them, by way of evading the injunction. He promised them a due reward for every prisoner they brought him in, but denounced the severest penalties against those who should scalp the living.

While, on the one hand, general Burgoyne attempted to mitigate the natural ferocity of the Indians, he endeavored, on the other, to render them an object of terror with those who persisted in resistance. For this purpose, on the twenty-ninth of June, he issued a proclamation from his camp at Putnam Creek, wherein he magnified the force of the British armies and fleets which were about to embrace and to crush every part of America. He painted, with great vivacity of coloring, the excesses committed by the chiefs of the rebellion, as well as the deplorable condition to which they had reduced the colonies. He reminded the Americans of the arbitrary imprisonments and oppressive treatment with which those had been persecuted who had shown themselves faithful to their king and country; he enlarged upon the tyrannic cruelties inflicted by the assemblies and committees upon the most quiet subjects, without distinction of age or sex, for the sole offence, and often for the sole suspicion of having adhered in principle to the government under which they were born, under which they had lived for so long a time, and to which, by every tie divine and human, they owed allegiance. He instanced the violence offered to their consciences, by the exaction of oaths and of military services, in support of an usurpation they abhorred. He had come, he continued, with a numerous and veteran army, and in the name of the king, to put an end to such unheard of enormities. He invited the well disposed to join him, and assist in redeeming their country from slavery, and in the reestablishment of legal government. He promised protection and security to all those who should continue quietly to pursue their occupations; who should abstain from removing their cattle, or corn, or any species of forage; from breaking up the bridges, or obstructing the roads, and in a word, from committing any act of hostility; and who, on the contrary, should furnish the camp with all sorts of provisions, assured as they might be, of receiving the full value thereof, in solid coin. But against the contumacious, and those who should persist in rebellion, he denounced the most terrible war; he warned them that justice and vengeance were about to overtake them, accompanied with devastation, famine, and all the calamities in their train. Finally, he admonished them not to flatter themselves, that distance or coverts could screen them from his pursuit, for he had only to let loose the thousands of Indians that were under his direction to discover in their most secret retreats, and to punish with condign severity, the hardened enemies of Great Britain and America.

This manifesto, so little worthy of the general of a civilised nation, was justly censured, not only in the two houses of parliament and throughout Great Britain, but excited the indignation of every mode-

rate and generous mind in all Europe. In vain did Burgoyne attempt to excuse himself, by pretending that he had merely intended to intimidate the people he was about to combat; he should have employed for this purpose the arms that are in use among polished nations, and not the menaces appropriate to barbarians. Moreover his soldiers, and especially the savages, were already but too much disposed to ravage and massacre, and to take in earnest what their general would have it believed he only announced as an artifice or feint. This was not a race to be sported with, and the thing itself was no light matter. Be this as it may, the proclamation produced an effect entirely contrary to its author's expectations. That fearless people who inhabit New England, far from allowing it to terrify them, were much inclined to deride it; they never met with each other without contemptuously inquiring what vent the vaunting general of Britain had found for his pompous and ridiculous declamations? These preliminary dispositions accomplished, general Burgoyne made a short stop at Crown Point, for the establishment of magazines, an hospital, and other necessary services, and then proceeded with all his troops to invest Ticonderoga. The right wing took the western bank of the lake, the left advanced upon the eastern, and the centre was embarked upon the lake itself. The reduction of this fortress, without which it was impossible for the army to advance a step further, was of course the first object of its operations. Art had added to the natural strength of Ticonderoga, and the unfortunate issue of the attempt made upon it by the British in 1758, when occupied by the French, was still fresh in remembrance. But general Burgoyne, either impatient to avenge this affront, or because the ardor of his army seemed to promise him an easy triumph over the most formidable obstacles, persuaded himself that its reduction would detain him but a very short time. He arrived under the walls of the place on the first of July. At the same time, the detachment of light troops which, as we have mentioned above, was destined to scour the country of the Mohawks, under the command of sir John Johnson and colonel St. Leger, advanced from Oswego, in order to attack Fort Stanwix. It was intended, after the acquisition of this fortress, to occupy the ground which extends between the same and Fort Edward, situated upon the banks of the Hudson, with a view to intercept the retreat of the garrison of Ticonderoga, and to rejoin the main army as it advanced.

The American army, destined to oppose the progress of the royal troops, and to defend Ticonderoga, was altogether insufficient. The garrison had experienced such a diminution during the winter, that it was much feared the English would seize that fortress by assault. The spring being arrived, and the rumors of the enemy's approach receiving daily confirmation, general Schuyler, to whom the Congress had recently given the command of all the troops in that quarter, employed



every possible means to procure reenforcements. He desired and hoped to assemble an army of at least ten thousand men, as a smaller number would not be adequate to guard his extensive line of defence. But the affair of recruiting proceeded very tardily. The inhabitants manifested at this time an extreme backwardness to enlist under the banners of Congress, whether from a natural coldness, or because the policy of the English, or the persuasion of the American generals themselves, had given currency to an opinion that the royal army was not to undertake the siege of Ticonderoga; but, that embarking upon the Saint Lawrence, it would proceed by sea, to operate its junction with that under general Howe. Hence, when the royal troops made their sudden appearance under the walls of Ticonderoga, the troops of general Schuyler amounted, at the utmost, to not over five thousand men, including the garrison of the fortress, which consisted of little above three thousand, a number quite inadequate to the defence of so vast a circuit of walls, and of so many outworks.

Ticonderoga lies upon the western bank of that narrow inlet, by which the water from Lake George is conveyed to Lake Champlain. Crown Point lies about a dozen miles further north, at the opposite 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 steep and difficult 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 northwest quarter. The Americans had strengthened these lines with additional works and a blockhouse. In like manner, on the left, towards Lake George, and at the place where the sawmills were situated, they had erected new works and blockhouses, as also to the right of the French lines, in the direction of Lake Champlain. On the eastern bank of the inlet, and opposite to Ticonderoga, rises a high circular hill, to which the Americans gave the name of Mount Independence. On the summit of this hill is a small plain, where they had erected a star fort; the sides and foot of the mountain were strengthened with works to the water's edge, and the intrenchments well lined with heavy cannon. In order to maintain a free communication between the fortress and Mount Independence, the Americans had constructed a bridge over the inlet, a work of difficult and laborious execution. The bridge was supported on twenty-two timber piers of vast dimensions, sunken at nearly equal distance; the spaces between these were filled with separate floats, each about fifty feet long and twelve feet wide, and the whole was held together by chains and rivets of immense size. To prevent the enemy from approaching with his numerous ships, and attempting to force the bridge, it was defended on the side towards Lake Champlain by a boom composed of very large pieces of timber, joined together with iron bolts and chains of prodigious thickness. Thus, not only the passage was kept open between these two posts, but all access by

water from the northern side was totally cut off. The part of the inlet which is below Ticonderoga, and which may be considered as the head of Lake Champlain, widens considerably and becomes navigable to vessels of burthen; but the other part, which is above the fortress, and is the issue of Lake George, besides being narrow, is also rendered impracticable 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, and higher up towards its source, as we have already said in a preceding book, 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, otherwise known by the name of Mount Defiance. From this mountain the fort of Ticonderoga is overlooked and effectually commanded. This circumstance occasioned a consultation among the Americans, in which it was proposed to fortify that mountain; but finding themselves too feeble to man the fortifications they had already erected, they renounced the design. It was likewise hoped, that the extreme steepness of its ascent, and the savage irregularity of the ground on its summit and sides, would prevent the enemy from attempting to occupy it, at least with artillery. The defence of Ticonderoga was committed to the charge of general St. Clair, with a garrison of three thousand men, one third of whom were militia from the northern provinces. But they were ill equipped, and worse armed, particularly in the article of bayonets, an arm so essential in the defence of lines; not having one to ten of their number.

On the second of July, the British right wing under general Phillips, having appeared upon the left flank of the fortress, St. Clair, too weak to defend all the outworks, or believing the enemy stronger than he was in reality, immediately ordered the evacuation of the intrenchments which had been erected upon the banks of the inlet of Lake George, above Ticonderoga. This order was executed with promptitude, not, however, without having first burnt or destroyed whatever was found in this part, and especially, the blockhouses and sawmills. General Phillips profiting of the occasion, took possession, without the least opposition on the part of the besieged, of a post of great importance, called Mount Hope, which besides commanding their lines in a great and dangerous degree, totally cut off their communication with Lake George. Mount Hope being thus secured, the British corps which had advanced upon the western bank of Lake Champlain, extended itself from the mountain to the lake, so as completely to invest the fort on the part of the northwest, and to cut off its communication with the land. The German column, commanded by Reidesel, which had marched along the eastern shore of the lake, was also arrived under the walls of the fortress, and was established at Three-miles Point, extending itself from the bank of the lake, be-



hind Mount Independence, as far as East Creek. From this place, by stretching more forward, it might easily occupy the ground comprehended between East Creek and South River, or Wood Creek, and thus deprive the Americans of their communication with Skeenesborough by the right bank of the latter stream. But the most interesting post for the English, was that of Mount Defiance, which so completely commanded the fortress that it was beyond all doubt, if batteries were planted there, that the garrison must immediately evacuate the place, or surrender at discretion. This eminence being therefore attentively examined by the British generals, they believed it possible, though with infinite labor and difficulty, to establish their artillery upon its summit. This arduous task was immediately undertaken and pushed with such spirit and industry, that on the fifth day, the road was completed, the artillery mounted, and ready to open its fire on the following morning. The garrison were afraid to sally out, in order to annoy, or even to retard the besiegers, in these works; they were, therefore, in danger of losing all way of retreat. St. Clair knew very well that after the loss of Mount Defiance, there was no longer any resource for Ticonderoga, and that he could not even aspire to the honor of a short resistance. The only way of escape that he had left, was the narrow passage between East Creek and Wood Creek, which Reidesel could shut up at any moment. In these circumstances, St. Clair, having convened in council the principal officers of the garrison, represented to them the critical situation in which they were placed, thus pressed by the enemy, and upon the very point of being hemmed in on every side. He asked them if they did not think it would be proper to evacuate the place without loss of time; they were all in favor of the measure.

It is impossible to blame this determination of the council of war of Ticonderoga; for, independently of the progress already made by the besiegers, the garrison was so feeble that it would not have been able to defend one half of the works, or to sustain, for any length of time, the consequent excess of fatigue. By remaining, therefore, the fortress and the garrison were both lost, by departing, only the first and the second might be saved. It was known also to St. Clair, that general Schuyler, who was then at Fort Edward, far from being able to bring him succour, had not even forces sufficient for his own defence. But here an objection presents itself which has never yet been satisfactorily answered. Since the American generals found their force insufficient for the defence of the place, why did they not evacuate it in time, and when they might have done so with safety? They would thus have been sure of saving at least their baggage, stores and artillery. If they were deceived respecting the real force of the enemy, and therefore, at first, believed themselves able to resist him, even this error, could only have proceeded from a defect of military skill, so extraordinary as to admit of no excuse.

However it was, having taken their resolution, they thought of nothing but executing it with promptitude, and in the night of the fifth of July, they put themselves in motion. General St. Clair led the vanguard, and colonel Francis the rear. The soldiers had received orders to maintain a profound silence, and to take with them sustenance for eight days. The baggage of the army, the furniture of the hospital, with all the sick, and such artillery, stores and provisions as the necessity of the time would permit, were embarked with a strong detachment under colonel Long, on board above two hundred batteaux and five armed gallies. On beginning to strike the tents, the lights were extinguished. These preparations were executed with much order at Ticonderoga; but not without some confusion at Mount Independence. The general rendezvous was appointed at Skeenesborough, the batteaux proceeding under convoy of the gallies, up Wood Creek, and the main army taking its route by the way of Castletown, upon the right bank of that stream. St. Clair issued from Ticonderoga at two in the morning; Francis at four. The English had no suspicion of what was passing, and the march commenced under the most favorable auspices. But all at once a house which took fire on Mount Independence, roused by its glare of light the attention of the English, who immediately perceived all that had taken place. The Americans finding themselves discovered, could not but feel a certain agitation. They marched, however, though in some disorder, as far as Hubbardston, where they halted to refresh themselves, and rally the dispersed. But the English were not idle. General Frazer, at the head of a strong detachment of grenadiers and light troops, commenced an eager pursuit by land, upon the right bank of Wood Creek. General Reidesel, behind him, rapidly advanced with his Brunswickers, either to support the English, or to act separately, as occasion might require. General Burgoyne determined to pursue the enemy by water. But it was first necessary to destroy the boom and bridge which the Americans had constructed in front of Ticonderoga. The British seamen and artificers immediately engaged in the operation, and in less time than it would have taken to describe their structure, those works, which had cost so much labor and so vast an expense, were cut through and demolished. The passage thus cleared, the ships of Burgoyne immediately entered Wood Creek, and proceeded with extreme rapidity in search of the enemy; all was in movement at once upon land and water. By three in the afternoon, the van of the British squadron, composed of gun boats, came up with, and attacked the American gallies, near Skeenesborough Falls. In the meantime, three regiments which had been landed at South Bay, ascended and passed a mountain with great expedition, in order to turn the enemy above Wood Creek, to destroy his works at the falls of Skeenesborough, and thus to cut off his retreat to Fort Anne. But the Americans



eluded this stroke by the rapidity of their flight. The British frigates having joined the van, the galleys, already hard pressed by the gun boats, were completely overpowered. Two of them surrendered; three were blown up. The Americans now despaired; having set fire to their works, mills, and batteaux, and otherwise destroyed what they were unable to burn, they escaped as well as they could up Wood Creek, without halting till they reached Fort Anne. Their loss was considerable; for the batteaux they burnt were loaded with baggage, provisions and munitions, as necessary to their sustenance as to military operations. The corps which had set out by land was in no better situation. The vanguard, conducted by St. Clair, was arrived at Castletown, thirty miles distant from Ticonderoga, and twelve from Skeenesborough; the rear, commanded by colonels Francis and Warner, had rested the night of the sixth at Hubbardston, six miles below Castletown, towards Ticonderoga.

At five o'clock in the morning of the seventh, the English column under general Frazer made its appearance. The Americans were strongly posted, and appeared disposed to defend themselves. Frazer, though inferior in point of number, had great confidence in the valor of his troops. He also expected every moment to be joined by general Reidesel; and being apprehensive that the enemy might escape if he delayed, he ordered the attack immediately. The battle was long and sanguinary. The Americans being commanded by valiant officers, behaved with great spirit and firmness; but the English displayed an equal obstinacy. After several shocks with alternate success, the latter began to fall back in disorder; but their leaders rallied them anew, and led them to a furious charge with the bayonet; the Americans were shaken by its impetuosity. At this critical moment, general Reidesel arrived at the head of his column, composed of light troops and some grenadiers. He immediately took part in the action. The Americans, overpowered by numbers, fled on all sides, leaving their brave commander, with many other officers, and upwards of two hundred soldiers, dead on the field. About the same number, besides colonel Hale, and seventeen officers of inferior rank, were made prisoners. Above six hundred were supposed to be wounded, many of whom, deprived of all succour, perished miserably in the woods. The loss of the royal troops in dead and wounded amounted to about one hundred and eighty. General St. Clair, upon intelligence of this discomfiture, and that of the disaster at Skeenesborough, which was brought him at the same time by an officer of one of the galleys, apprehending that he should be interrupted if he proceeded towards Fort Anne, struck into the woods on his left, uncertain whether he should repair to New England and the upper part of Connecticut, or to Fort Edward. But being joined two days after at Manchester by the remains of the corps of colonel Warner, and having collected the fugitives, he proceeded to Fort Edward, in order to unite with general Schuyler.

While these events were passing on the left, the English generals resolved to drive the Americans from Fort Anne, situated higher up towards the sources of Wood Creek. Colonel Hill was detached for this purpose from Skeenesborough, and to facilitate his operations, the greatest exertions were made in carrying batteaux over the falls of that place; which enabled him to attack the fort also by water. Upon intelligence that the Americans had a numerous garrison there, brigadier Powell was sent with two regiments to the succour of colonel Hill. The American colonel Long, who with a great part of his corps had escaped the destruction of the boats at the falls, commanded the garrison of Fort Anne. Having heard that the enemy was approaching, he gallantly sallied out to receive him. The English defended themselves with courage, but the Americans had already nearly surrounded them. Colonel Hill finding himself too hard pressed, endeavored to take a stronger position. This movement was executed with as much order as intrepidity, amidst the reiterated and furious charges of the enemy. The combat had lasted for more than two hours, and victory was still doubtful, when all at once the Americans heard the horrible yells of the savages, who approached; and being informed at the same instant that the corps of Powell was about to fall upon them, they retired to Fort Anne. Not thinking themselves in safety even there, they set it on fire, and withdrew to Fort Edward on the river Hudson.

General Schuyler was already in this place, and St. Clair arrived there on the twelfth, with the remains of the garrison of Ticonderoga. It would be difficult to describe the hardships and misery which these troops had suffered, from the badness of the weather and the want of covering and provisions, in their circuitous march through the woods, from Castletown to Fort Edward. After the arrival of these corps, and of the fugitives, who came in by companies, all the American troops amounted to little over four thousand men, including the militia. They were in want of all necessaries, and even of courage, by the effect of their recent reverses. The Americans lost in these different actions, no less than one hundred and twenty-eight pieces of artillery, with a prodigious quantity of warlike stores, baggage and provisions, particularly of flour, which they left in Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. To increase the calamity, the whole of the neighboring country was struck with terror by this torrent of disasters, and the inhabitants thought more of providing for their own safety, than of flying to the succour of their country in jeopardy.

In a conjuncture so alarming, general Schuyler neglected none of those cares which become an able commander, and an excellent citizen. Already, while the enemy was assembling at Skeenesborough, he had endeavored to interrupt, with all manner of obstacles, the navigation of Wood Creek, from that place to Fort Anne, where it



determined even for batteaux. The country between Fort Anne and Fort Edward (a distance of only sixteen miles) is excessively rough and savage; the ground is unequal, and broken with numerous creeks, and with wide and deep morasses.

General Schuyler neglected no means of adding by art to the difficulties with which nature seemed to have purposely interdicted this passage. Trenches were opened, the roads and paths obstructed, the bridges broken up; and in the only practicable defiles, immense trees were cut in such a manner, on both sides of the road, as to fall across and lengthwise, which, with their branches interwoven, presented an insurmountable barrier; in a word, this wilderness, of itself so horrible, was thus rendered almost absolutely impenetrable. Nor did the American general rest satisfied with these precautions; he directed the cattle to be removed to the most distant places, and the stores and baggage from Fort George to Fort Edward, that articles of such necessity for his troops, might not fall into the power of the enemy. He urgently demanded that all the regiments of regular troops found in the adjacent provinces, should be sent, without delay, to join him; he also made earnest and frequent calls upon the militia of New England and of New York. He likewise exerted his utmost endeavors to procure himself recruits in the vicinity of Fort Edward and the city of Albany; the great influence he enjoyed with the inhabitants, gave him, in this quarter, all the success he could desire. Finally, to retard the progress of the enemy, he resolved to threaten his left flank; accordingly he detached colonel Warner, with his regiment, into the state of Vermont, with orders to assemble the militia of the country, and to make incursions towards Ticonderoga. In brief, general Schuyler neglected no means that could tend to impede or defeat the projects of the enemy.

While he thus occupied himself with so much ardor, general Burgoyne was detained at Skeenesborough, as well by the difficulty of the ground he had to pass, as because he chose to wait for the arrival of tents, baggage, artillery and provisions, so absolutely necessary before plunging himself into these fearful solitudes. His army at this time was disposed in the following manner; the right occupied the heights of Skeenesborough, the German division of Reidesel forming its extremity; the left, composed of Brunswickers, extending into the plain, rested upon the river of Castletown, and the brigade of Frazer formed the centre. The regiment of Hessians, of Hanau, was posted at the source of East Creek, to protect the camp of Castletown, and the batteaux upon Wood Creek, against the incursions of Colonel Warner. In the meantime, indefatigable labor was exerted in removing all obstacles to the navigation of this stream, as also in clearing passages, and opening roads through the country about Fort Anne. The design of Burgoyne was, that the main body of the army should penetrate through the wilderness we have just

described, to Fort Edward, while another column, embarking at Ticonderoga, should proceed up Lake George, reduce the fort of that name, situated at its extremity, and afterwards rejoin him at Fort Edward. Upon the acquisition of Fort George, the stores, provisions and necessaries were to be conveyed to the camp by way of the lake, the navigation of which is easier and more expeditious than that of Wood Creek, and there was, besides, a good wagon road between the two forts. Such were the efforts exerted by the two belligerents; the English believing themselves secure of victory; the Americans hardly venturing to hope for better fortune. Nothing could exceed the consternation and terror which the victory of Ticonderoga, and the subsequent successes of Burgoyne, spread throughout the American provinces, nor the joy and exultation they excited in England. The arrival of these glad tidings was celebrated by the most brilliant rejoicings at court, and welcomed with the same enthusiasm by all those who desired the unconditional reduction of America. They already announced the approaching termination of this glorious war; they openly declared it a thing impossible, that the rebels should ever recover from the shock of their recent losses, as well of men as of arms and of military stores; and especially that they should ever regain their courage and reputation, which, in war, contribute to success, as much, at least, as arms themselves. Even the ancient reproaches of cowardice were renewed against the Americans, and their own partisans abated much of the esteem they had borne them. They were more than half disposed to pronounce the colonists unworthy to defend that liberty, which they gloried in, with so much complacency. The ministers, pluming themselves upon their good fortune, marched through the court as if to exact the tribute of felicitation. No praises were refused them; their obstinacy was denominated constancy; their projects, which had appeared full of temerity, were now acknowledged to have been dictated by the profoundest sagacity; and their pertinacity in rejecting every proposition for accommodation, was pronounced to have been a noble zeal for the interests of the state. The military counsels of the ministers having resulted in such brilliant success, even those who had heretofore inclined for the ways of conciliation, welcomed with all sail this prosperous breeze of fortune, and appeared now rather to wish the reduction, than the voluntary reunion of the Americans.

But in America, the loss of the fortress and the lakes, which were considered as the keys of the United States, appeared the more alarming, as it was unexpected; for, the greater part of the inhabitants, as well as the Congress, and Washington himself, were impressed with a belief, that the British army in Canada was weaker, and that of general Schuyler stronger, than they were in effect. They entertained no doubt in particular, that the garrison left in



Ticonderoga was sufficient for its entire security. Malignity began to assail the reputation of the officers of the northern army; its envenomed shafts were especially aimed at St. Clair. Schuyler himself, that able general and devoted patriot, whose long services had only been repaid by long ingratitude, escaped not the serpent tongue of calumny. As the friend of the New Yorkers, he was no favorite with the inhabitants of New England, and the latter were those who aspersed him with the most bitterness. The Congress, for the honor of their arms, and to satisfy the people, decreed an inquiry into the conduct of the officers, and that successors should be despatched to relieve them in command. The result of the investigation was favorable to them; by the intercession of Washington, the appointment of successors was waived. But what was not a little remarkable, is, that in the midst of all these disasters, no sort of disposition to submit appeared in any quarter. No public body discovered symptoms of dismay, and if a few individuals betrayed a want of firmness, they were chiefly persons without influence, and without character.

Meanwhile, the Congress apprehending that the news of these sinister events might operate to the prejudice of the negotiations opened with the court of France, and, as it too often happens, being more tender of their own interests than of the reputation of their generals, they hesitated not to disguise the truth of facts, by throwing upon St. Clair the imputation of imbecility and misconduct. Their agents were accordingly instructed to declare that all these reverses were to be attributed to those officers who, with a garrison of five thousand men, well armed and equipped, had wanted capacity to defend an almost impregnable fortress; that, as for the rest, the Americans, far from being discouraged, only waited for the occasion to avenge their defeats. Washington, who in this crisis as in all the preceding, manifested an unshaken constancy, was entirely occupied in providing means to confirm the tottering state of the republic; he exerted the utmost diligence in sending reinforcements and necessaries to the army of Schuyler. The artillery and warlike stores were expedited from Massachusetts. General Lincoln, a man of great influence in New England, was sent there to encourage the militia to enlist. Arnold, in like manner, repaired thither; it was thought his ardor might serve to inspirit the dejected troops. Colonel Morgan, an officer whose brilliant valor we have already had occasion to remark, was ordered to take the same direction with his troop of light horse. All these measures, conceived with prudence and executed with promptitude, produced the natural effect. The Americans recovered by degrees their former ardor, and their army increased from day to day.

During this interval, general Burgoyne exerted himself with extreme diligence in opening a passage from Fort Anne to Fort

Edward. But notwithstanding the ardor with which the whole army engaged in the work, their progress was exceedingly slow; so formidable were the obstacles which nature as well as art had thrown in their way. Besides having to remove the fallen trees with which the enemy had obstructed the roads, they had no less than forty bridges to construct, and many others to repair. Finally, the army encountered so many impediments in measuring this inconsiderable space, that it could not arrive upon the banks of the Hudson, near Fort Edward, until the thirtieth of July. The Americans, either because they were too feeble to oppose the enemy, or that Fort Edward was no better than a ruin, unsusceptible of defence, or finally, because they were apprehensive that colonel St. Leger, after the reduction of Fort Stanwix might descend by the left bank of the Mohawk to the Hudson, and thus intercept their retreat, retired lower down to Stillwater, where they threw up intrenchments. At the same time they evacuated Fort George, having previously burned their vessels upon the lake, and interrupted in various places the road which leads thence to Fort Edward. The route from Ticonderoga to this fortress by Lake George was thus left entirely open by the republicans. The English, upon their arrival on the Hudson river, which had been so long the object of their wishes, and which had been at length attained at the expense of so many toils and hardships, were seized with a delirium of joy, and persuaded themselves that victory could now no longer escape them. But ere it was long, their brilliant hopes were succeeded by anxiety and embarrassment: All the country around them was hostile, and they could obtain no provisions but what they drew from Ticonderoga. Accordingly, from the thirtieth of July to the fifteenth of August, the English army was continually employed in forwarding batteaux, provisions, and ammunition, from Fort George to the first navigable part of the Hudson, a distance of about eighteen miles. The toil was excessive in this operation, and the advantage gained by it in no degree an equivalent to the expense of labor and time. The roads were in some parts steep, and in others required great repairs. Of the horses that were expected from Canada, scarcely one third were yet arrived, and it was with difficulty that fifty pair of oxen had been procured. Heavy and continual rains added to these impediments; and notwithstanding all the efforts which had been used, it was found difficult to supply the army with provisions for its current consumption, and utterly impracticable in this mode to establish such a magazine as would enable it to prosecute the further operations of the campaign. On the fifteenth, there was not above four days' provision in store, nor above ten batteaux in the Hudson river.

General Burgoyne was severely censured, as well for having lost so much time by crossing the wilderness of Fort Anne, as for having exposed himself to want subsistence in his camp at Fort Edward.



It was alleged that, instead of entangling himself in those dangerous defiles, he should, after the occupation of Skeenesborough and the total discomfiture of the enemy's army, have returned immediately down the South river to Ticonderoga, where he might again have embarked the army on Lake George, and proceeded to the fort which takes its name; this being reduced, a broad firm road lay before him to Fort Edward. In this manner, it was added, would have been avoided delays as detrimental to the British army, as propitious to the Americans. Thus, it was maintained, the army might have made itself master of Albany, before the enemy would have had time to recollect himself. But, in justification of Burgoyne, it was advanced, that a retrograde motion in the height of victory, would have diminished the spirit of his troops, and revived the hopes of the enemy; that the Americans would undoubtedly have made a stand at Fort George, and in the meantime would have broken up the road leading to Fort Edward; that by passing, as he had done, through the desert of Fort Anne, besides inuring his troops to the war of the woods, a war so embarrassing and difficult, he compelled the enemy to evacuate Fort George without striking a blow; that having already opened himself a road, it was to be hoped the Americans would not interrupt the other; that the route by land left the vessels, which would have been required for the transport of the troops, upon Lake George, at liberty to be employed in that of arms, ammunition, provisions, and baggage. Finally, it was represented, that by preferring the way upon the left to that upon the right by Lake George, he had enabled himself to detach a strong corps under the command of general Reidesel, to agitate alarms in Connecticut and throughout the country of Vermont.

However, the truth was, Schuyler profited with great dexterity of these delays. Several regiments of regular troops from Peek's Kill were already arrived at the camp, and although it was then the season of harvest, the militia of New England assembled from all quarters, and hastened to join the principal army. These reinforcements placed it in a situation, if not to resume the offensive, at least to occupy all the tenable positions, and defend them with energy and effect.

In the meantime, general Burgoyne received intelligence that colonel St. Leger, whose detachment had been reinforced by a considerable party of savages, after descending by the Lake Oneida from Oswego, in the country of the Mohawks, had arrived before, and was closely besieging, Fort Stanwix. He immediately conceived the hope of deriving an important advantage from this operation. For if the American army in his front proceeded up the Mohawk to the relief of Fort Stanwix, the English found the way open to Albany, and thus attained the first object of their desires. Moreover, if St. Leger succeeded, the Americans would find themselves between

two royal armies, that of St. Leger in front, and that of Burgoyne in rear. If, on the other hand, the republicans abandoned Fort Stanwix to its fate, and withdrew towards Albany, the country on the Mohawk would fall into the power of the English, and they might form a junction with colonel St. Leger. Their army thus reenforced, and victualled by the Mohawks, would be in a situation to move forward. From these operations it must result, either that the enemy would resolve to stand an action, and, in this case, Burgoyne felt assured of victory; or, that he would gradually retire down the Hudson, and thus abandon to the English the city of Albany. If the propriety of a rapid movement forward was therefore evident, the difficulty of finding means to execute it was not less manifest, as the want of subsistence still continued; and this want would of necessity increase with the distance of the army from the lakes, through which it received its provisions. To maintain such a communication with Fort George, during the whole time of so extensive a movement, as would secure the convoys from being intercepted by the enemy, was obviously impracticable. The army was too weak to afford a chain of posts for such an extent; and continual escorts for every separate supply, would be a still greater drain. Burgoyne therefore perceived distinctly that he must have recourse to some other source of supply, or totally relinquish the enterprise. He knew that the Americans had accumulated considerable stores of live cattle, corn, and other necessaries, besides a large number of wheel carriages, at a village called Bennington, situated between two streams, which, afterwards uniting, form the river Hosack. This place lies only twenty miles distant from the Hudson; it was the repository of all the supplies intended for the republican camp, which were expedited from New England by the upper part of Connecticut river, and thence through the country of Vermont. From Bennington they were conveyed, as occasion required, to the different parts of the army. The magazines were only guarded, however, by detachments of militia, whose numbers varied continually, as they went and came at discretion. Though the distance was considerable from the camp of Burgoyne to Bennington, yet as the whole country through which the corps of Reidesel had lately passed appeared peaceable, and even well inclined to submission, the English general, impelled by necessity, and allured by an ardent thirst of glory, did not despair of being able to surprise Bennington, and bring off the provisions of the enemy by means of his own carriages. Having taken this resolution, he entrusted the execution of it to lieutenant-colonel Baum, a German officer of great bravery, and well versed in this sort of partisan war.

The force allotted to this service, amounted to about five hundred men, consisting of two hundred of Reidesel's dismounted dragoons, captain Frazer's marksmen, the Canada volunteers, a party of pro-



vincials who were perfectly acquainted with the country, and about a hundred Indians; the corps took with them two light pieces of artillery. At the same time lieutenant-colonel Breyman, with his regiment of Brunswick grenadiers and light infantry, marched down towards Bennington, and took post at Batten Kill, in order, if necessary, to support Baum. The latter had received from general Burgoyne very suitable instructions; he was to exercise extreme caution in the choice of his posts; to have the country diligently explored by the Indians, on the part of Otter Creek, and towards Connecticut river; he was not to allow his regular troops to scatter, but to keep them always in a compact body; he was to march light troops in front and rear of his column, to guard against ambuscades; he was ordered not to hazard dubious rencounters, but if the enemy came upon him in superior force, to take a strong position and intrench himself; he was to give out that the whole army was upon the march for Connecticut; finally, he was to rejoin the army at Albany. Burgoyne, in order to facilitate this operation, and to hold the republican army in check, moved with all his troops down the left bank of the Hudson, and established his camp nearly opposite to Saratoga, having, at the same time, thrown a bridge of rafts over, by which the advanced corps were passed to that place.

These demonstrations tended to inspire the belief that all the British army was about to cross the river, in order to attack the enemy, who still continued to occupy his encampment at Stillwater.

According to the plan which had been traced for him, lieutenant-colonel Baum set forward upon his march with equal celerity and caution. He very shortly 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; but that evil fortune soon began to appear, which had already so fatally retarded the royal army. The want of horses and carriages, and the roads now become heavy and slippery, in consequence of the bad weather, rendered the advance of Baum excessively tedious. Hence the enemy, who stood upon their guard at Bennington, were seasonably informed of his approach. Colonel Stark, who had lately arrived with a corps of militia he had assembled in New Hampshire, commanded in that town. He sent with all speed to request colonel Warner, who, since the defeat of Hubbardston, had taken post at Manchester, to march to his assistance. All these troops, reinforced with some of the neighboring militia, amounted to about two thousand men. Upon the intelligence that the enemy approached, Stark detached colonel Gregg upon the lookout; supposing at first it might be only a party of savages who were scouring the country. When he had discovered that they were regular troops, he fell back to his principal position at Bennington. Lieutenant-colonel Baum, on his part, having learnt that the enemy were too strong to be attacked by his

present force without temerity, sent immediately to Breyman, apprising him of his situation, and pressing him to hasten to his succour. In the meantime, he took an excellent post near Santcoick Mills, on the banks of Walloon Creek, about four miles from Bennington, and there intrenched himself.

But Stark, not choosing to wait for the junction of the two parties, determined to attack him. Accordingly, on the morning of the sixteenth of August, he issued from Bennington, and advanced with his troops divided in several corps, in order to surround the posts of Baum, and assault them on all sides at once. The latter, on seeing the Americans approach, persuaded himself that they were bodies of loyalists coming up to join him. A number of refugees, who made part of his detachment, had prevailed upon an officer, more familiar with arms than with civil contentions, to adopt the absurd hopes and chimerical conceits with which they habitually deceived themselves. Having at length discovered his error, he defended himself with great valor. But such was the impetuosity, and even the superiority of the Americans, that he could not resist them long; having carried all before them, and taken his two pieces of cannon; they poured on every side into his intrenchments. The savages, Canadians and British marksmen, profiting of their activity, escaped in the woods. The German dragoons still kept together, and when their ammunition was expended, were bravely led by their commander to charge with their swords. But they were soon overwhelmed, and the survivors, among whom was their wounded colonel, were made prisoners.

In the meantime, Breyman had set forward from Batten Kill to the succour of Baum; and although he was on the march by eight in the morning of the fifteenth, had continued it without intermission, and the distance was not over twenty-four miles; yet, so many and so formidable were the impediments he encountered, from the badness of the roads, rendered still more difficult by the continual rain, and from the weakness and tiring of horses in getting forward the artillery, that he was unable to reach the camp of Baum, till after fortune had already pronounced in favor of the Americans. It is asserted that he had received no timely information of the engagement, and that his first knowledge of it was brought him by the fugitives. It was four in the afternoon when he appeared before the intrenchments of Baum, where, instead of meeting his friends, he found his detachment attacked on all sides by enemies. Though his men were excessively fatigued, they defended themselves with great spirit and resolution. As many of the provincial militia had disbanded to pillage, the action was maintained at first with an equality of advantage, and there was even danger that Breyman would recover what Baum had lost.



He had already dislodged the Americans from two or three different hills on which they had posts, and he pressed them so vigorously that they began to exhibit symptoms of disorder. But the affair soon assumed a quite different aspect; colonel Warner arrived at the head of his regiment of the line, and falling upon the rear of the English and Germans, restored the battle with increase of vehemence. The militia that were dispersed in quest of plunder, on hearing the report of the cannon, immediately rallied. Victory, however, remained doubtful till the dusk of evening; on one side combated valor and discipline, on the other, number and fury.

At length the soldiers of Breyman, overpowered by numbers, having expended all their ammunition, and lost the two pieces of artillery they had been at such pains to bring with them, began to give ground, and afterwards to break. They abandoned the field of battle, and in the precipitation of their retreat, left in the power of the conqueror all their baggage, a thousand muskets and nearly as many sabres. The obscurity of night covered their retreat. The royalists lost, in these two engagements, seven hundred men, the greater part prisoners; the number of killed was probably about two hundred. The loss of the republicans was inconsiderable. The Congress addressed their public thanks to colonel Stark and the militia who took part in the actions of this day. Stark was moreover promoted to the rank of brigadier-general.

In the country of the Mohawks the affairs of the English took, at first, the most favorable turn. Colonel St. Leger had encamped, the third of August, under Fort Stanwix. The force under his command, consisting of English, Germans, Canadians and American loyalists, amounted to about eight hundred men. He was followed by a train of savages, with their wives and children, thirsting indeed for carnage and plunder, but feeble auxiliaries in besieging fortresses. Colonel Gansevort, on being summoned by the English, answered that he should defend himself to the last. Apprised of this state of things, and knowing the importance of this fort to the United States, general Harkimer, a leading man in the county of Tryon, assembled the militia and marched with all expedition to the relief of Gansevort. He sent an express from his camp of Erick, six miles from the fort, to inform him, that he was about to advance and make every exertion to effect his junction with the garrison. Gansevort directed lieutenant-colonel Willet to make a sally upon the British lines, in order to favor the attempt of Harkimer; but the English commander perceiving how dangerous it was to receive the enemy in his intrenchments, and knowing full well how much better the Indians were adapted for the attack than for acting upon the defensive, detached colonel Johnson, with a part of the regular troops and the Indians, to intercept the Americans upon their approach. General Harkimer advanced with extreme negligence, without examination of his

ground, without a reconnoitring party in front, and without rangers upon his flanks; a thing the more surprising, as he could not have been ignorant how liable he was to ambuscades from the nature of the country, and the singular adroitness of the savages in that mode of war. These barbarians soon found occasion to give him a sanguinary proof of it. They concealed themselves with a detachment of regulars in the woods near the road by which the Americans approached. The moment the column had passed, they suddenly fell upon the rear guard with inconceivable fury. After the first fire the Indians rushed on with their spears and hatchets, and killed with the same cruelty those who resisted and those who surrendered. The disorder became extreme; the carnage was frightful; and even the horrible aspect of the principal actors, contributed to heighten the terrors of the scene. The republicans, however, recovered from their first surprise, and forming themselves into a solid column, attained an advantageous ground, which enabled them to maintain a spirited resistance. They would, nevertheless, have been overborne by the number and fury of the enemy, if the intelligence of the attack upon his camp by colonel Willet had not induced him to retire. Four hundred Americans were slain, and among them general Harkimer. Many of the most distinguished men of the province, and several of the most considerable magistrates shared the same fate. The royalists looked upon this success as a sure pledge of the approaching reduction of the rebels. Their victory, however, was not bought without blood; besides a certain number of regulars, about sixty Indians were killed and wounded, among whom were several of their principal chiefs, and of their most distinguished and favorite warriors. It appears also, that in the heat and confusion of the conflict, several savages were killed by the English themselves. Thus, these intractable and undisciplined barbarians, by nature ferocious, and inclined to suspicion, irritated at finding a resistance to which they had not been accustomed, became still more refractory and still more ruthless. They wreaked the first transports of their rage upon the unhappy prisoners, whom they inhumanly butchered in cold blood. Submission to European officers became insupportable to them, and they refused to obey. It was now perceived, that their presence was more prejudicial, and even more dangerous, than useful to the British army.

Meanwhile, colonel Willet had conducted his sally with great spirit and ability. He entered the enemy's camp at the first onset, killed a great number of his men, and drove the rest into the woods or into the river. But his sole object being to make a diversion in favor of Harkimer, as soon as he had accomplished it, he returned into the fort, carrying with him in triumph the spoil and besieging utensils that he had taken from the enemy. The English were desirous of intercepting his retreat, and had prepared an ambuscade for the pur-



pose ; but his vigilance eluded the danger ; he kept the assailants at a distance by a violent fire of musketry, and of artillery with grape-shot. He led back his whole corps without loss, and raised a trophy composed of the conquered arms and baggage under the American standard, which waved upon the walls of the fortress. He afterwards undertook, in company with another officer, named Stockwell, a much more perilous expedition. They passed by night through the English camp, and in contempt of the danger and cruelty of the savages made their way for fifty miles through pathless woods and unexplored morasses, in order to raise the country and bring relief to the fort ; an action so magnanimous it is impossible to commend too much.

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. After prodigiously magnifying his own force, as well as that of Burgoyne, he promised the Americans, that, in case of an immediate surrender, they should be treated according to the practice of civilised nations ; at the same time he declared, that if, through an incorrigible obstinacy, they should continue a hopeless and fruitless defence, not only the soldiers would fall victims to the fury of the savages, but that, however against his will, every man, woman, and child, in the Mohawk country, would be massacred and scalped without mercy.

Colonel Gansevort replied with great firmness, that he had been entrusted with the charge of that garrison by the United States of America ; that he should 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. He had very judiciously conjectured, that if the force of the British commander had been sufficient, he would have made a more simple summons, or would have attacked the fort immediately, without wasting his time in drawing up so extraordinary a bravado. The British commander, finding that neither ambushes nor threats could effect his purpose, turned all his thoughts upon a regular siege. But he was not long in perceiving that the fort was stronger, and much better defended, than it had been reported. He also found by experience, that his artillery was not sufficient in weight to make much impression at a certain distance. The only remedy was, to bring his approaches so near that they must take effect ; which he set about with the greatest diligence. But the savages, from the dissatisfaction they felt at their late losses, and from the disappointment of their hopes of plunder, became every day more sullen and ungovern-

able. The English commander was in continual apprehension that they would pillage his camp, and abandon the British standard. In this disagreeable situation, he was informed that general Arnold was rapidly approaching, at the head of a strong detachment, to relieve the fort. It appears that general Schuyler, upon intelligence that the fort which had taken his name, was besieged, had despatched Arnold to its succour, with a brigade of regular troops commanded by general Larned, which was afterwards reenforced by a thousand light infantry detached by general Gates. Arnold had advanced with his usual celerity up the Mohawk river, but before he had got half way, having learnt that Gansevort was hard pushed by the enemy, and knowing all the importance of expedition, he quitted the main body, and with a light armed detachment of only nine hundred men, set forward by forced marches towards the fortress. The Indians, who were incessantly upon the lookout, were soon informed of his approach, either by their own scouts, or by the spies that were despatched by Arnold himself, who prodigiously exaggerated his strength. At the name of Arnold, and in their present temper, they were seized with terror and dismay. Other scouts arrived immediately after with a report, which probably grew out of the affair of Bennington, that Burgoyne's army was entirely cut to pieces. They would now stay no longer, and assembled tumultuously, intending to abandon the camp. Colonel St. Leger endeavored to dissipate their terrors and detain 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. Finally, the British commander called a council of their chiefs, hoping, that by the influence which colonel Johnson, and the superintendents Claus and Butler had over them, they might still be induced to make a stand. He was disappointed. A part of the savages decamped whilst the council was sitting, and the remainder threatened peremptorily to abandon him if he did not immediately retreat. The English were forced to comply with their demands. They raised the siege the twenty-second of August, and retreated, or rather fled, towards Lake Oneida. Their tents, artillery, and stores, fell into the hands of the enemy; who, issuing from the fort, assailed their rear guard, and treated it very roughly. But the British troops were exposed to greater danger from the fury of their savage allies, than even from the pursuit of the republicans. During the retreat, they robbed the officers of their baggage, and the army in general of their provisions. Not content with this, they first stripped of their arms, and afterwards murdered with their own bayonets, all those who, from an inability to keep up, fear, or any other cause, were separated from the main body. It would be in vain to attempt a description of the confusion, the terror, and all the miseries which attended this discomfiture of the royal troops. They



arrived, however, at length, upon the lake, where they found some repose. St. Leger returned to Montreal, and afterwards passed to Ticonderoga, on his way to join Burgoyne. Arnold arrived at the fort in the evening of the twenty-fourth, two days after the siege had been raised; he and his soldiers were welcomed by the garrison, with the acknowledgment of deliverance, and the exultation of victory.

By the affairs of Bennington, and this of Fort Schuyler, it appeared that fortune began to smile upon the cause of the Americans. These successes produced the more happy effect upon their minds, the more they were unexpected; for since the fatal stroke which deprived them of Montgomery, they had found this war of Canada but one continued series of disasters. Their late discouragement and timidity, were instantly converted into confidence and ardor. The English, on the contrary, could not witness without apprehension, the extinction of those brilliant hopes, which, from their first advantages, they had been led to entertain.

Thus the face of things had experienced a total change; and this army, of late the object of so much terror for the Americans, was now looked upon as a prey which could not escape them. The exploit of Bennington, in particular, had inspired the militia with great confidence in themselves; since they had not only combated, but repulsed and vanquished, the regular troops of the royal army, both English and German.

They began now to forget all distinctions between themselves and troops of the line, and the latter made new exertions and more strenuous efforts to maintain their established reputation for superiority over the militia. Having lost all hope of seizing the magazines at Bennington, general Burgoyne experienced anew the most alarming scarcity of provisions. But on the other hand, the successes of the Americans under the walls of Fort Schuyler, besides having inspired the militia, produced also this other happy effect, that of enabling them, now liberated from the fear of invasion in the country upon the Mohawk, to unite all their forces on the banks of the Hudson against the army of Burgoyne. The country people took arms in multitudes, and hastened to the camp. The moment was favorable; the harvests were ended, and the arrival of general Gates to take the command of the army, gave a new spur to their alacrity. This officer enjoyed the entire esteem and confidence of the Americans; his name alone was considered among them as the presage of success. The Congress, in their sitting of the fourth of August, had appointed him to the command of the army of the north, while affairs still wore the most lowering aspect; but he had not arrived at Stillwater till the twenty-first.

General Schuyler was promptly apprised that a successor had been given him; but this good citizen had continued until the arrival of

Gates to exert all his energies to repair the evil. Already, as we have seen, his efforts had not been fruitless, and victory inclined in his favor. He bitterly complained to Washington, that the course of his fortune was interrupted, and that the fruit of his toils was given to another, who was about to enjoy that victory for which he had prepared the way. But the Congress preferred to place at the head of an army, dismayed by its reverses, a general celebrated for his achievements. Moreover they were not ignorant that if Schuyler was agreeable to the New Yorkers, he was nevertheless in great disrepute with the people of Massachusetts, and the other provinces of New England.

This necessarily counteracted that alacrity with which it was desired that the militia from that quarter should hasten to reenforce the army of the north, which was then encamped in the islands situated at the confluence of the Mohawk with the Hudson.

Another and very powerful cause contributed to excite the mass of the Americans to rise against the English army, which was the cruelties committed by the savages under St. Leger and Burgoyne, who spared neither age nor sex nor opinions. The friends of the royal cause, as well as its enemies, were equally victims to their indiscriminate rage. The people abhorred and execrated an army, which consented to act with such ferocious auxiliaries. Though too true, their deeds of barbarity were aggravated by the writers and orators of the patriot party, which carried the exasperation of minds to its utmost height. They related, among others, an event, which drew tears from every eye, and might furnish, if not too horrible, an affecting subject for the dramatic art.

A young lady, by the name of M'Crea, as distinguished for her virtues as for the beauty of her person and the gentleness of her manners, of respectable family, and recently affianced to a British officer, was seized by the savages in her father's house, near Fort Edward, dragged into the woods, with several other young people of both sexes, and there barbarously scalped and afterwards murdered. Thus, this ill fated damsel, instead of being conducted to the hymeneal altar, received an inhuman death at the very hands of the companions in arms of that husband she was about to espouse. The recital of an atrocity so unexampled, struck every breast with horror, as well in Europe as America, and the authors of the Indian war were loaded with the bitterest maledictions.

The Americans represent the fact as it is stated above; other writers relate it differently. According to their account, young Jones, the British officer, fearing that some ill might betide the object of his love, as well in consequence of the obstinate attachment of her father to the royal cause, as because their mutual passion was already publicly talked of, had, by the promise of a large recompense, induced two Indians, of different tribes, to take her under their



escort, and conduct her in safety to the camp. The two savages went accordingly, and brought her through the woods; but at the very moment they were about to place her in the hands of her future husband, they fell to quarrelling about their recompense, each contending that it belonged entirely to himself; when one of them, transported with brutal fury, raised his club and laid the unhappy maiden dead at his feet. General Burgoyne, on being informed of this horrid act, ordered the assassin to be arrested, that he might suffer the punishment due to his crime. But he soon after pardoned him upon the promise made him by the savages of abstaining for the future from similar barbarities, and of strictly observing the conditions to which they had pledged themselves upon the banks of the river Bouquet. The general believed that this act of clemency would be more advantageous than the example of chastisement. It even appears that he did not think himself sufficiently authorised, by the laws of England, to try and punish with death the murderer of the young lady; as if there existed not other laws besides the English, which bound him to inflict a just chastisement upon the perpetrator of a crime so execrable. But if he was warned by prudence to abstain from it, then was he to be pitied for the state of weakness to which he was reduced, and the weight of censure and detestation must fall exclusively upon the counsels of those who had called these barbarians into a civil contest. However the truth was, the condescension of general Burgoyne recoiled upon himself; for the savages finding they were no longer permitted, as at first, to satiate their passion for pillage and massacre, deserted the camp and returned to their several homes, ravaging and plundering whatever they found in their way. Thus terminated, almost entirely, this year, the Indian war; a war impolitic in principle, atrocious in execution, and bootless in result. The Canadians themselves, and the loyalists who followed the royal army, terrified at the sinister aspect of affairs, deserted with one consent; so that Burgoyne, in his greatest need, was left nearly destitute of other force except his English and German regular troops.

Such was his situation, when a party of republicans undertook an enterprise upon the rear of his army, which, if it had succeeded, would have entirely cut off his provisions and retreat towards Canada; and at least demonstrated the danger to which he had exposed himself, in having advanced with so small an army to so great a distance from the strong posts upon the lakes.

General Lincoln, with a strong corps of the militia of New Hampshire and Connecticut, conceived the hope of recovering for the confederation the fortresses of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and consequently the command of Lake George. He knew that these places were guarded only by feeble garrisons. He advanced from Manchester to Pawlet. He parted his corps into three

divisions ; the first, commanded by colonel Brown, was to proceed to the northern extremity of Lake George, and thence to fall by surprise upon Ticonderoga ; the second, led by colonel Johnston, was destined to scour the country about Fort Independence, in order to make a diversion, and even an attack, if occasion should favor it ; the third, under the orders of colonel Woodbury, had it in view to reduce Skeenesborough, Fort Anne, and even Fort Edward. Colonel Brown, with equal secrecy and celerity, surprised all the posts upon Lake George and the inlet of Ticonderoga, Mount Hope, Mount Defiance, and the old French lines. He took possession of two hundred batteaux, an armed brig, and several gun boats ; he also made a very considerable number of prisoners. Colonel Johnston arrived at the same time under the walls of Fort Independence. The two fortresses were summoned to capitulate. But brigadier Powell, who held the chief command, replied, that he was resolved to defend himself. The Americans continued their cannonade for the space of four days ; but their artillery being of small caliber, and the English opposing a spirited resistance, they were constrained to abandon the enterprise, and to recover their former positions.

Meanwhile, general Burgoyne continued in his camp, on the left bank of the Hudson, where he used the most unremitting industry and perseverance in bringing stores and provisions forward from Fort George. Having at length, by strenuous efforts, obtained about thirty days' provision, he took a resolution of passing the river with his army, in order to engage the enemy, and force a passage to Albany. 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. Towards the middle of September, he crossed with his army to the right bank of the Hudson, and encamped on the heights and in the plain of Saratoga ; Gates being then in the neighborhood of Stillwater, about three miles below. The two armies of course faced each other, and a battle was expected soon to follow.

This measure of passing the Hudson was by many censured with great vehemence ; it was considered as the principal cause of the unfortunate issue of this campaign. Some were of the opinion that after the affairs of Bennington and Stanwix, Burgoyne would have acted more wisely, considering the daily increase of the American army, if he had renounced the project of occupying Albany, and made the best of his way back to the lakes. It appears, however, to us but just to remark for his excuse, that at this time he had not yet received any intelligence either of the strength of the army left at New York, or of the movements which sir Henry Clinton was to make, or had made, up the North river towards Albany. He calculated upon a powerful cooperation on the part of that general. Such was the plan of the ministers, and such the tenor of his own peremptory instructions. And to what reproaches would he not



have exposed himself, if, by retiring towards Ticonderoga, he had abandoned Clinton to himself, and thus voluntarily relinquished all the advantages that were expected from the junction of the two armies? We may, however, consider as vain the apology which was advanced by Burgoyne himself, when he alleged, that if he had returned to the lakes, Gates might have gone to join Washington, who, falling upon Howe with the combined armies, must have overpowered him, and decided the fate of the whole war. Gates would never have abandoned the shores of the Hudson, so long as the army of Burgoyne was opposed to him, whether in the position of Saratoga, or in that of Ticonderoga. It is, besides, to be observed, that as a great part of the army of Gates consisted in the New England militia, these, at least, would not have followed him, even if he had marched upon the Delaware. But, though we think that Burgoyne committed no error in resolving to prosecute his expedition, it nevertheless appears that he ought not to have passed the Hudson. By continuing upon the left bank, he could retire at will towards Ticonderoga, or push forward towards Albany. It was evidently more easy to execute this movement, while having between himself and the now formidable army of Gates, so broad a river as the Hudson. The roads above, from Batten Kill to Fort George, were much easier upon the left than those upon the right bank; and in going down towards Albany, if they were not better, at least they were not worse. The city of Albany, it is true, is situated upon the right bank; but when Burgoyne should have arrived opposite to that city, upon the left, the English from below might have come up with their boats, and transported the troops to the right bank. At any rate, Burgoyne might thus have operated his junction with Clinton. But the former, either confiding too much in his army, which was, in truth, equally brave and flourishing, or not esteeming the Americans enough, notwithstanding the more favorable opinion of them which the actions of Bennington and of Stanwix should have given him, resolved to quit the safer ground and try the fortune of a battle; he considered victory as certain and decisive. In like manner as the British ministers, erroneously estimating the constancy of the colonists, had persuaded themselves that they could reduce them to submission by rigorous laws, the generals deceiving themselves as strangely with respect to their courage, had no doubt that with their presence, a few threats, and a little rattling of their arms, they could put them to flight. From this blind confidence in victory, resulted a series of defeats, and the war was irretrievably lost from too sanguine an assurance of triumph.

But let us resume the course of events. The nineteenth of September was reserved by destiny for an obstinate and sanguinary action, in which it was at length to be decided whether the Americans, as some pretended, could only resist the English when protected

by the strength of works, or of woods, rivers and mountains, or if they were capable of meeting them upon equal ground, in fair and regular battle. General Burgoyne having surmounted the obstacles of thick woods and broken bridges, by which his progress was continually interrupted, at length arrived in the front of the enemy, some woods only of no great extent separating the two armies. Without a moment's delay, the English formed themselves in order of battle; their right wing rested upon some high grounds, which rise gradually from the river; it was flanked by the grenadiers and light infantry, who occupied the hills. At some distance in front, and upon the side of these, were posted those Indians, Canadians and loyalists, who had still remained in the camp. The left wing and artillery, under general Phillips and Reidesel, kept along the great road and meadows by the river side. The American army drew up in the same order from the Hudson to the hills; Gates had taken the right, and given the left to Arnold. Smart skirmishes immediately ensued between the foremost marksmen of either army. Morgan, with his light horse, and colonel Durbin with the light infantry, had attacked and routed the Canadians and savages; but the latter having been supported, they were both in their turn compelled to resume their place in the line. Meanwhile, Burgoyne, either intending to turn the left flank of the enemy, or wishing to avoid, by passing higher up, the hollows of the torrents which fall into the Hudson, extended his right wing upon the heights, in order to fall upon Arnold in flank and rear.

But Arnold was, at the same time, endeavoring to execute a similar manœuvre upon him; while neither of them was able, on account of the woods, to perceive the movements of his enemy.

The two parties met; general Frazer repulsed the Americans. Finding the right flank of the enemy's right wing so well defended, they left a sufficient guard to defend this passage, made a rapid movement to their right, and vigorously assailed the left flank of the same wing. Arnold exhibited upon this occasion all the impetuosity of his courage; he encouraged his men with voice and example. The action became extremely warm; the enemy fearing that Arnold, by cutting their line, would penetrate between their wings, as was manifestly his intention, hastened to reenforce the points attacked. General Frazer came up with the twenty-fourth regiment, some light infantry and Breyman's riflemen; he would have drawn more troops from the right flank, but the heights on which it was posted, were of too great importance to be totally evacuated. Meanwhile, such was the valor and impetuosity of the Americans, that the English began to fall into confusion; but general Phillips soon appeared with fresh men and a part of the artillery; upon hearing the firing he had rapidly made his way through a very difficult wood to the scene of danger. He restored the action at the very moment it was about being decided in favor of the enemy.



The Americans, however, renewed their attacks with such persevering energy that night only parted the combatants. The royalists passed it under arms upon the field of battle; the republicans retired. They had lost from three to four hundred men in killed and wounded; among the former were colonels Adams and Coburn. The English had to regret more than five hundred, and among others, captain Jones, of the artillery, an officer of great merit.

Both parties claimed the honor of victory. The English, it is true, kept possession of the field of battle; yet, as the intention of the Americans was not to advance, but to maintain their position, and that of the English not to maintain theirs, but to gain ground, and as besides it was a victory for the republicans not to be vanquished, it is easy to see which had the advantage of the day. On the other hand, the English were now convinced, to the great prejudice of their hopes, and even of their courage, that they would have to grapple with a foe as eager for action, as careless of danger, and as indifferent with respect to ground or cover as themselves.

The day following, general Burgoyne finding that he must abandon all idea of dislodging the enemy by force, from its intrenched positions, endeavored to console himself with the hope, that time might offer him some occasion, to operate with more effect.

He was, besides, in daily expectation of news from general Clinton, with respect to whose movements he was still entirely in the dark. Resolving, therefore, to pause, he pitched his camp within cannon shot of the American lines. He threw up numerous intrenchments, both upon his right, the part which had been attacked, and upon his left, in order to defend the meadows near the river, where he had established his magazines and hospitals. An English regiment, the Hessians of Hanau, and a detachment of loyalists were encamped in the same meadows for greater security. General Gates continued to occupy his first position, taking care, however, to fortify himself strongly on the left. With the return of success, his army was continually reenforced by the accession of fresh bodies of the militia. General Lincoln joined him with two thousand men, well trained and disciplined, from the New England provinces. The English exerted the greatest vigilance to avoid surprise; and the Americans to prevent them from going out of their camp to forage. The skirmishes were animated and frequent.

The British general had for a long time been expecting news from New York; and his impatience was at its height, when, the twentieth of September, he received a letter of the tenth, written in cyphers, by general Clinton, informing him that about the twentieth of the month, he should with two thousand men attack Fort Montgomery, situated on the right bank of the Hudson, and upon the declivity of the highlands. He excused himself upon account of weakness for not doing more; and even declared, that if the enemy made any

movement towards the coasts of New York, he should be forced to return thither. Burgoyne immediately despatched an emissary, two officers in disguise, and some other trusty persons, by different routes, to general Clinton, with a full account of his present situation, urging him to a speedy execution of the diversions he had proposed, and informing him that he was provided with sufficient necessaries, to hold out in his present position till the twelfth of October. Although the assistance promised by Clinton was much less effectual than Burgoyne had kept in view, nevertheless, he still cherished a hope that the attack on Fort Montgomery, and the apprehension that the English after its reduction might make their way up the river, would induce Gates either to change the position of his camp, or to send large detachments down the river, to oppose the progress of Clinton, and that in either case, some occasion would be offered him to gain a decisive advantage, and open his passage to Albany. But whoever considers the great superiority, in spirit as well as number, of the army of Gates over that of Burgoyne, and that the former was continually increasing in force, will readily perceive how vain were the expectations of the British general. It appears, therefore, that the mere survey of his own weakness, of that of Clinton, and of the preponderant force of Gates, should have determined him for retreat, if, however, retreat was still in his power. For to cross the river in sight of so formidable an army, would have been too perilous an enterprise; and here it is again perceived how imprudent had been the measure of passing it at first, since from that moment it became alike impossible to advance or recede.

In the beginning of October, general Burgoyne thought it expedient, from the difficulty of his situation and the uncertainty of succour, to lessen the soldiers' rations of provisions; to this measure, from its necessity, they submitted with great cheerfulness. But the twelfth of October was approaching, the term limited for the stay of the army in its present encampment. The seventh was already arrived, and no tidings came of the operations that had been proposed for its relief. In this alarming state of things, the English general resolved 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. He was impelled by necessity to attempt a decisive stroke. Accordingly he put himself at the head of a detachment of fifteen hundred regular troops, with two twelve pounders, two howitzers, and six six pounders. He was seconded by general Phillips, Reidesel and Frazer, all officers distinguished for their zeal and ability. The guard of the camp upon the high grounds was committed to the brigadiers general Hamilton and Speight, that of the redoubts and plain near the river, to brigadier Goll.



The force of the enemy immediately in the front of his lines was so much superior, that Burgoyne could not venture to augment his detachment beyond the number we have stated. He had given orders that during this first attack, several companies of loyalists and Indians should be pushed on through byways, to appear as a check upon the rear of the enemy's left flank. The column of regulars having already issued from the camp, were formed within three quarters of a mile of the enemy's left, and manifested an intention to turn it. But general Gates, who observed this movement, instantly penetrated the design of the English, and with exquisite discernment resolved to make a sudden and rapid attack upon the left of this corps, hoping thus to separate it from the remainder of the army, and to cut off its retreat to the camp. The Americans advanced to the charge with incredible impetuosity, but they were received with equal resolution by major Ackland, at the head of the grenadiers. Gates immediately detached a fresh and powerful reenforcement to the aid of the first, and the attack was soon extended along the whole front of the Germans, who were posted immediately on the right of Ackland's grenadiers. Hence the British general found it impracticable to move any part of that body, as he would have desired, for the purpose of forming a second line to support this left flank, where the great weight of the fire still fell. As yet the right was unengaged, when the British generals perceived that the enemy were marching a strong body round their flank, in order to cut off their retreat. To oppose this dangerous design of the American general, the light infantry, with a part of the twenty-fourth 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 movement was yet in process, Arnold came up with three regiments, and fell upon this right wing. Gates, at the same time, sent a strong reenforcement to decide the action on the English left, which being at length totally overpowered, fell into disorder and fled. The light infantry and the twenty-fourth advanced with all speed to check the victorious Americans, whose riflemen pursued the fugitives with great eagerness; there ensued an extremely warm affair, and many perished on both sides.

Upon this occasion, brigadier-general Frazer was mortally wounded, an officer whose loss was severely felt by the English, and whose valor and abilities justified their regrets. Their situation now became exceedingly critical; even their camp was threatened; the enemy, emboldened by victory, was advancing to storm it, and if he arrived before the retreating detachment, there could be little hope of defending it. Phillips and Reidesel were ordered to rally with all expedition those troops which were nearest, or most disengaged, to cover the retreat of the others, while Burgoyne himself, fiercely pursued by Arnold, retired with great precipitation towards the camp

The detachment at length, though with extreme difficulty, regained the intrenchments, having left, however, upon the field of battle a great number of killed and wounded, particularly of the artillery corps, who had, with equal glory to themselves and prejudice to the enemy, displayed the utmost ability in their profession, along with the most undaunted resolution. Six pieces of cannon also remained in the power of the Americans.

But the business of the day was not yet terminated: The English had scarcely entered the camp, when the Americans, pursuing their success, assaulted it in different parts with uncommon fierceness; rushing to the lines through a severe fire of grape-shot and small arms, with the utmost fury. Arnold especially, who in this day appeared intoxicated with the thirst of battle and carnage, led on the attack against a part of the intrenchments occupied by the light infantry, under lord Balcarres. But the English received him with great vigor and spirit. The action was obstinate and sanguinary. At length, as it grew towards evening, Arnold having forced all obstacles, entered the works with some of the most fearless of his followers. But in this critical moment of glory and danger, he was grievously wounded in the same leg which had been already shattered at the assault of Quebec. To his great regret, he was constrained to retire. His party still continued the attack, and the English sustained it with obstinacy, till night separated the combatants.

The royalists were not so fortunate in another quarter. A republican detachment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Brooks, having succeeded by a circuitous movement in turning the right wing of the English, fell, sword in hand, upon the right flank of their intrenchments, and made the most desperate efforts to carry them. This post was defended by lieutenant-colonel Breyman, at the head of the German reserve. The resistance at first was exceedingly vigorous; but Breyman being mortally wounded, his countrymen were damped, and at length routed, with great slaughter. Their tents, artillery, and baggage, fell into the power of the assailants. The Americans established themselves in the intrenchments. General Burgoyne, upon hearing of this disaster, ordered them to be dislodged immediately. But either in consequence of the approach of night, or from the discouragement of his troops, he was not obeyed, and the victors continued to occupy the positions they had gained with so much glory. They had now acquired an opening on the right and rear of the British army. The other American divisions passed the night under arms, at the distance of half a mile from the British camp. The loss in dead and wounded was great on both sides; but especially on the part of the English, of whom no few were also made prisoners. Majors Williams of the artillery, and Ackland of the grenadiers, were among the latter. Many pieces of artillery, all the baggage of the Germans, and many warlike stores, fell into the power of the republicans, who



needed them greatly. They were impatient for the return of day, to renew the battle. But deplorable, and perilous beyond expression, was the situation of the British troops; they bore it, however, with admirable temper and firmness. It was evidently impossible to continue in their present position, without submitting to a certainty of destruction on the ensuing day. The Americans, invigorated and encouraged, would certainly have profited of the access they had already opened to themselves on the right, and of other untenable points, to carry every part of the camp, and completely surround the British army. Burgoyne therefore determined to operate a total change of ground. He executed this movement with admirable order, and without any loss. The artillery, the camp and its appertences, were all removed before morning to the heights above the hospital. The British army in this position had the river in its rear, and its two wings displayed along the hills upon the right bank. The English expected to be attacked the following day. But Gates, like the experienced general he was, would not expose to the risk of another battle that victory of which he was already certain. He intended that time, famine, and necessity, should complete the work which his arms had so fortunately commenced. There were frequent skirmishes, however, engaged in the course of the day; but of little importance. Towards night, the obsequies of general Frazer were celebrated in the British camp; a ceremony mournful of itself, and rendered even terrible by the sense of recent losses, of future dangers, and of regret for the deceased. The darkness and silence of night, aided the effect of the blaze and roar of the American artillery; while at every moment the balls spattered earth upon the face of the officiating chaplain.

General Gates, prior to the battle, had detached a strong division of his army to take post upon the left bank of the Hudson, opposite to Saratoga, in order to guard the passage and prevent the enemy's escape on that side. He now despatched a second detachment to occupy a passage higher up. He ordered at the same time, a selected corps of two thousand men to push forward and turn the right flank of the enemy, so as to enclose him on every side. Burgoyne, on intelligence of this motion, determined to retire towards Saratoga, situated six miles up the river, on the same bank. The army accordingly began to move at nine o'clock at night; but such was the badness of the roads, rendered still more difficult by a heavy rain which fell that night, and such was the weakness of the teams for want of forage, that the English did not reach Saratoga till the evening of the ensuing day; the soldiers were harassed with fatigue and hunger. The hospital, with three hundred sick and wounded, and a great number of wheel carriages, were abandoned to the enemy. The English, as they retired, burnt the houses, and destroyed whatever they could use no longer.

The rain having ceased, Gates followed them step by step, and with extreme caution, as they had broken all the bridges, and he was resolved not to give them any opportunity to engage him with advantage.

Fearing that Burgoyne would hasten to detach his light troops, in order to secure the passage of the river near Fort Edward, he rapidly threw several companies of militia into that fort, in order to prevent it. Scarcely had they arrived there, when the English rangers appeared; but finding themselves anticipated, they returned disappointed and dejected. During this time, the main body of the English army having passed the night of the ninth at Saratoga, left it on the morning of the tenth, and forded Fish Kill Creek which falls into the Hudson a little to the northward of that town. The British generals had hoped that they should here be able to cross the river at the principal ford, and escape pursuit upon its left bank. But they found a body of republicans already arrived, and throwing up intrenchments on the heights to the left of Fish Kill Creek. These Americans, however, when they observed the great superiority of the English, retired over the Hudson, and there joined a greater force, which was stationed to prevent the passage of the army. Having lost all hope of passing the river in the vicinity of Saratoga, the British generals had it in mind to push forward upon the right bank, till they arrived in front of Fort Edward, and then to force a passage to the left bank, in defiance of the troops stationed there for its defence. For this purpose a company of artificers, under the escort of a regiment of the line, with a detachment of marksmen and loyalists, 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 enemy appeared in great force upon the heights on the opposite side of Fish Kill Creek, and seemed preparing to cross it, in order to bring on an immediate engagement.

The regulars and marksmen were immediately recalled. The workmen had only commenced the repair of the first bridge, when they were abandoned by the loyalists, who ran away, and left them to shift for themselves, only upon a very slight attack of an inconsiderable party of the enemy. Hence it became necessary to abandon all hopes of saving the artillery and baggage.

Amidst all these embarrassments, still a new difficulty presented itself; the republicans who lined the further shore of the Hudson, kept up a continual fire upon the batteaux loaded with provisions and necessaries which had attended the motions of the army up the river, since its departure from Stillwater. Many of these boats had been taken, some retaken, and a number of men lost on both sides. At length, to avoid these inconveniences, the English were forced to and the provisions and transport them up the hill to the camp; a  
257 which they accomplished under a heavy fire with great fatigue



and loss. Nothing could now exceed the distress and calamity of the British army; the soldiers as well as the generals were reduced to brood upon the prospect of an ignominious surrender, or total destruction. To attempt the passage of so wide a river, while its shore was guarded with so much vigilance by a formidable body of troops, and in the presence of a powerful enemy, flushed with victory, was an enterprise savoring rather of madness than temerity. On the other hand, the retreat upon the right bank, with the same enemy at the rear, through ways so difficult and impracticable, was a scheme which presented obstacles absolutely insurmountable. Every thing announced therefore an inevitable catastrophe. Nevertheless, in the midst of so much calamity, a ray of hope suddenly gleamed upon the English; and they were near gaining an opportunity of retrieving their affairs all at once. The two armies were only separated by the Fish Kill Creek; report, which magnifies all things, had represented to general Gates the feeble detachment which Burgoyne had sent to escort his pioneers upon the route to Fort Edward, as the entire vanguard and centre of the British army, already well on their way towards that fort. He concluded, therefore, that only the rear guard remained near the Fish Kill, and instantly conceived the hope of crushing it by an attack with all his forces. He made all his preparations in the morning of the eleventh of October. His scheme was to take advantage of a thick fog, which in those regions, and at this season, usually obscures the atmosphere till a little after sunrise, to pass the Fish Kill very early, to seize a battery which Burgoyne had erected upon the opposite bank, and then to fall immediately upon the enemy. The English general had notice of this plan; he furnished the battery with a strong guard, and posted his troops in ambush behind the thickets which covered the banks of the creek. In this position he waited the enemy's approach, and calculating upon their supposed error, he had little doubt of victory. The brigade of the American general Nixon had already forded the Fish Kill, and that of general Glover was about to follow it. But just as the latter entered the water, he was informed by a British deserter, that not only the rear guard, but the whole royal army, was drawn up in order of battle upon the other bank. Upon this intelligence Glover halted, and sent to apprise Nixon of the danger he was in of being cut in pieces, unless he hastened to recover the left bank. General Gates was immediately informed of the incident; he revoked all the orders he had given, and directed that the troops should be reconducted to their positions. General Nixon received the message of Glover in good time; for a quarter of an hour later he would have been lost irrecoverably. He fell back with all expedition; but the fog being dissipated before he was out of sight of the enemy, his rear guard was annoyed by the English artillery, with the loss of a few soldiers.

Frustrated of this hope, general Burgoyne applied his thoughts to devise, if possible, some other way to save the army. He called a council of war, in which it was resolved to attempt by a rapid retreat in the night up the Hudson, to gain the fords of that river at or above Fort Edward, and there having forced a passage, to press on to Fort George. That nothing might retard the march, it was determined to abandon the artillery, baggage, carriages, and all incumbrances. The soldiers were to carry upon their backs a sufficient quantity of provisions, to support them till they could arrive at Fort George. All the troops prepared to execute the plan of their general.

But Gates had already, with great foresight, taken all his measures to defeat it. He had recommended the utmost vigilance to the parties that were stationed to guard the opposite shore of the river; he had posted a strong detachment to guard the fords near Fort Edward, with orders to oppose any attempt of the enemy to pass them, till he should arrive with the army upon his rear. In addition to this, he had established a camp in force, and provided with artillery, upon the high and strong grounds between Fort Edward and Fort George. General Burgoyne had sent forward scouts, to examine the route, and especially to ascertain whether it was possible to force the passage opposite to Fort Edward. They returned with an account that the roads were inconceivably rough and difficult; that the enemy were so numerous and vigilant upon the left bank, that no movement of the army upon the right could escape immediate discovery; and that the passages at the fort were so diligently defended, that it was absolutely impossible to force them without artillery. They also mentioned the intrenched camp on the hills between the two forts. Burgoyne had no sooner received this afflicting intelligence, than he was also informed that general Gates, with the main body of his army, was so near, and observed him with such steady attention, that it would be impossible for him to move a step without being instantly followed; he then saw that he must relinquish all hope of saving himself by his own efforts.

In this deplorable extremity, his only refuge from despair was the faint hope of cooperation from the parts down the river; and with the most intense desire he looked for the aid of Clinton.

It exceeds the power of words to describe the pitiable condition to which the British army was now reduced. The troops, worn down by a series of hard toil, incessant effort and stubborn action; abandoned by the Indians and Canadians; the whole army reduced by repeated and heavy losses of many of their best men and most distinguished officers from ten thousand combatants to less than five thousand effective fighting men, of whom little more than three thousand were English. In these circumstances, and in this state of weakness, without a possibility of retreat, 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 own condition; and who from the nature of the ground, could not be attacked in any part. In this helpless situation, 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 their lines, the troops of Burgoyne retained their ordinary constancy, and while sinking under a hard necessity, they showed themselves worthy of a better fate. Nor could they be reproached with any action or word which betrayed a want of temper, or of fortitude.

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 morning of the thirteenth, when it was found that the whole stock would afford no more than three days bare subsistence for the army. In such a state, it was alike impossible to advance or to remain as they were; and the longer they delayed to take a definitive resolution, the more desperate became their situation. Burgoyne, therefore, immediately called a council of war, at which not only the generals and field officers but all the captains of companies were invited to assist. While they deliberated, the bullets of the Americans whistled around them, and frequently pierced even the tent where the council was convened. It was determined unanimously to open a treaty and enter into a convention with the American general.

Gates used his victory with moderation. Only he proposed that the royal troops should lay down their arms in camp; a condition which appeared too hard to the English, and which they peremptorily refused. They all preferred to be led against the enemy, notwithstanding the disadvantage of number, rather than submit to such a disgrace. After several conferences, the articles of capitulation were settled the fifteenth. They were to be signed by the two contracting parties on the morning of the seventeenth. In the night, captain Campbell arrived at the British camp, sent express by general Clinton, with the intelligence that he had moved up the Hudson, reduced Fort Montgomery, and penetrated as far as *Æsopus*. The hope of safety revived in the breasts of some.

The officers were invited to declare, whether in a case of extremity, the soldiers were in a situation to fight, and whether they considered the public faith as pledged by the verbal convention. A great number answered, that the soldiers debilitated by fatigue and hunger, were unable to make resistance; all were decidedly of the opinion, that the public faith was engaged. Burgoyne alone manifested a contrary opinion. But he was constrained to acquiesce in the general suffrage. Meanwhile, Gates, apprised of these hesitations of his enemy, and the new hopes which occasioned them, formed his troops

in order of battle on the morning of the seventeenth, and sent to inform Burgoyne that the stipulated time being arrived, he must either sign the articles, or prepare himself for battle.

The Englishman had taken his resolution; he signed the paper, which had this superscription; *Convention between lieutenant-general Burgoyne and major-general Gates.* The principal articles, 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 honors of war and its camp artillery, to a fixed place, where they were to deposit their arms and leave the artillery; 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 be separated, particularly the men from the officers; roll calling, and other duties of regularity, to be permitted; the officers to be admitted on parole, and to wear their side arms; all private property to be retained, and the public delivered upon honor; no baggage to be searched or molested; all persons, of whatever 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.

Assuredly, these conditions were very honorable for the British army, considering its ruined state and irretrievable circumstances; but it obtained still more from the magnanimity of general Gates. From tenderness towards the feelings of the vanquished, he ordered his army to retire within their lines, that they might not witness the shame of the English, when they piled their arms.

This conduct demonstrated not only the humanity but the clemency and elevation of character which distinguished the American general; for he was already informed of the horrible ravages recently committed by general Vaughan, upon the right bank of the Hudson, where, imitating the usage of barbarians, he had laid in ashes, and utterly destroyed, the fine village of *Æsopus*. It is our duty not to pass without mention, that while Gates, in the whole course of this campaign upon the Hudson, displayed all the talents which constitute an able and valiant general, he proved himself not to want any of those qualities which characterise a benevolent and generous heart. Humane towards all whom the fortune of war had thrown into his hands, he was eminently attentive to those who were sick, and suffered them to want for no succour within his power to administer.

The day of the capitulation, the American army amounted to near fifteen thousand men, of whom about ten thousand were regular troops; the English army to five thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, of whom two thousand four hundred and twelve were Germans, and three thousand three hundred and seventy-nine English.



The Americans acquired a fine train of brass artillery, amounting to forty-two pieces of different sorts and sizes, four thousand six hundred muskets, an immense quantity of cartridges, bombs, balls, and other implements of war.

Such was the fate of the British expedition upon the banks of the Hudson. It had been undertaken with singular confidence of success, but the obstacles proved so formidable that those who had expected from it such brilliant results, were themselves its victims; and those it had alarmed at first, derived from it the most important advantages. There can be no doubt, that, if it was planned with ability, as to us it appears to have been, it was conducted with imprudence by those who were intrusted with its execution. For, it is to be remarked, that its success depended entirely on the combined efforts of the generals who commanded upon the lakes, and of those who had the management of the war in the state of New York. But far from moving in concert, when one advanced, the other retired. When Carleton had obtained the command of the lakes, Howe, instead of ascending the Hudson, towards Albany, carried his arms into New Jersey, and advanced upon the Delaware. When, afterwards, Burgoyne entered Ticonderoga in triumph, Howe embarked upon the expedition against Philadelphia; and thus the army of Canada was deprived of the assistance it expected from New York.

Perhaps Howe imagined that the reduction of such a city as Philadelphia, would so confound the Americans, and so derange their plans, that they would either immediately submit, or make but a feeble resistance. Perhaps also he believed that by attacking the centre, and as it were, the very heart of the confederation, he effected the most useful diversion in favor of the army of the north, thereby depriving the Americans of the ability to oppose it with a sufficient force upon the Hudson. Finally, it is not impossible, that, listening to his ambition, he had flattered himself that with his own means alone he could acquire the exclusive glory of having put an end to the war. But whatever might have been the importance of the acquisition of Philadelphia, every one must readily perceive how much greater was that of the junction at Albany, of the two armies of Canada and of New York. It was very doubtful whether the conquest of a single city could decide the issue of the war; whereas the juncture of the armies, offered almost an assurance of it. It should also be considered that the Americans, in order to prevent this junction, would have risked a pitched battle, the success of which could scarcely be doubtful, and which could have formed no obstacle to the eventual union. Besides, when two armies have the same object in view, is it not evident that they can operate with more concert and effect, when they are near to each other, than while remotely separated? We may therefore consider this expedition as having been wisely calculated in its design, and even in the means

of execution, if we except that scourge of the savages, which must be imputed to the British ministers. Bating this fault, they did not, in our opinion, deserve the reproaches with which they were loaded, as well in parliament as by the writers of the opposite party. Perhaps also they erred in this, that having too great confidence in the reputation, rank, and military experience of sir William Howe, they neglected to send him more precise instructions. For it appears from the best information we have found upon this subject, that the orders given to that general in regard to his cooperation with the army of Canada, were rather discretionary than absolute; but all the ruin of the enterprise is clearly attributable to this want of cooperation. Gates, after the victory, immediately despatched colonel Wilkinson to carry the happy tidings to Congress. On being introduced into the hall, he said; 'The whole British army has laid down arms at Saratoga; our own, full of vigor and courage, expect your orders; it is for your wisdom to decide where the country may still have need of their services.' The Congress voted thanks to general Gates and his army. They decreed that he should be presented with a medal of gold, to be struck expressly in commemoration of so glorious a victory. On one side of it was the bust of the general, with these words around; *Horatio Gates, Duci strenuo*; and in the middle, *Comitia Americana*. On the reverse, Burgoyne was represented in the attitude of delivering his sword; and in the back ground, on the one side and on the other were seen the two armies of England and of America. At the top were these words; *Salus regionum septentrion*; and at the foot, *Hoste ad Saratogam in deditione accepto. Die XVII Oct. MDCCLXXVII*. It would be difficult to describe the transports of joy which the news of this event excited among the Americans. They began to flatter themselves with a still more happy future; no one any longer entertained a doubt of independence. All hoped, and not without much reason, that a success of this importance would at length determine France, and the other European powers that waited for her example, to declare themselves in favor of America. *There could no longer be any question respecting the future; all danger had ceased of espousing the cause of a people too feeble to defend themselves.*

While Burgoyne found himself in the most critical situation, Clinton, in the beginning of October, had embarked at New York, with about three thousand men, upon his expedition up the Hudson for his relief. The Americans, commanded by general Putnam, occupied the steep mountains between which this river flows with rapidity, and which begin to rise in the vicinity of Peek's Kill. In addition to the natural strength of the places in the midst of these mountains, the banks of the Hudson being almost inaccessible, the Americans had secured the passages in divers modes. About six miles above Peek's Kill, upon the western bank, they had two forts, called the one



Montgomery, and the other Clinton, separated only by a torrent, which, gushing from the neighboring heights, falls into the river. Their situation, upon heights so precipitous that it was impossible to climb them, entirely commanded the course of the Hudson. There was no other way by which the enemy could approach them, but that of penetrating into the mountains a little below, towards Stony Point, and marching through narrow and difficult paths. But such were these defiles, that if they had been suitably guarded, it would have been not only dangerous, but absolutely impracticable to thread them. To prevent the enemy from passing above the forts by water, chevaux-de-frize were sunken in the river, and a boom extended from bank to bank. This boom was covered by an immense chain, stretched at some distance in its front. These works were remarkable for their perfection, and had been executed with equal industry and difficulty. They were defended by the artillery of the forts, by a frigate, and by several galleys, stationed a little above the boom. Such were the fortifications which the Americans had constructed upon the right bank, and even in the bed of the Hudson, in order to secure these passages, which had been the object of their solicitude from the commencement of hostilities; they being in effect the most defensible barriers against a descent of the enemy from Canada. Upon the left bank, on a high point of land, four or five miles below Forts Montgomery and Clinton, they had erected a fort to which they gave the name of *Independence*, and another called *Constitution*, about six miles above the same forts, on an island near the eastern shore. They had also there interrupted the navigation of the river by chevaux-de-frize and a boom.

General Putnam guarded these different passages with a corps of six hundred regular troops, and some militia, of whom the number was uncertain. An American officer named Clinton, commanded in the forts.

The British general knew perfectly well that to attack Forts Clinton and Montgomery in front, would have been a vain attempt. He therefore formed the design of marching to the assault upon their rear, by the defiles which commence near Stony Point. But in order to divert the Americans from the thought of reenforcing the garrisons, he resolved to make such motions upon the left bank, as should alarm them for the safety of Fort Independence. On the fifth of October he landed all his troops at Verplank's Point, a little below Peek's Kill, where general Putnam had established his head quarters. Putnam immediately retired to the strong heights in his rear. The English having reembarked the greater part of their troops in the night, landed by break of day upon the right bank, at Stony Point; without loss of time they entered the defiles, and marched towards the forts. In the meantime, the manœuvres of the vessels, and the appearance of the small detachment left at Verplank's Point,

persuaded Putnam that the enemy meditated an attack on Fort Independence. The English during this interval were making the best of their way through the mountains. Governor Clinton had not discovered their approach till very late. They appeared before the two forts at nearly the same time, and having without difficulty repulsed the advanced parties which had been sent out to retard them, they furiously began their attack. Their ships of war had also now made their appearance, and supported them with a near fire. The Americans, though surprised, defended themselves with courage for a considerable length of time; but at length, unable to sustain the reiterated efforts of the assailants, and too feeble to man their fortifications sufficiently, after a severe loss in killed and wounded, they retired.

Those who knew the ground, among whom was governor Clinton, escaped. The slaughter was however great, the English being irritated by the opposition they met, and by the loss of some favorite officers. The Americans set fire to their frigates and gallies, which, with their stores and ammunition, were all consumed; but the English got possession of the boom and chain.

In a day or two after, Forts Independence and Constitution, upon the approach of the enemy with his land and naval forces, were set on fire, and evacuated by their defenders. Tryon was sent on the ninth, at the head of a detachment, to destroy a thriving settlement, called Continental Village, where the republicans had deposited a great quantity of stores.

Thus fell into the power of the English these important passages of the mountains of the Hudson, which the Americans had labored to defend by every mode of fortification. They were justly considered as the keys of the county of Albany. It is therefore evident, that if the royalists had been more numerous, they might have extended an efficacious succour to the army of Burgoyne, and perhaps, decided in their favor the final issue of the northern war. But they could not take part in it, as well because they were much too weak, as that Putnam, whose army was now increased by the militia of Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey, to six thousand men, menaced them both in front and rear.

Unable to conquer, the English set themselves to sack the country. The thirteenth of October, Sir James Wallace, with a flying squadron of light frigates, and general Vaughan with a considerable detachment of troops, made an excursion up the river, carrying slaughter and destruction wherever they went; a barbarity of conduct the more execrable, as it was not justified by the least necessity or utility. They marched to a rich and flourishing village, called Kingston or Æsopus, upon the western bank of the river; having driven the republicans out of it by a furious cannonade, they set fire to it on every side. All was consumed; not a house was left standing. Exten-



sive magazines of provisions and military stores, were also consigned to the flames. In order to justify these atrocities it was alleged by Vaughan that the Americans had fired through the windows; a fact which they denied with greater probability of truth. For it appears that they evacuated the town as soon as they saw the royal troops were disembarked upon the neighboring shore. The English committed these excesses at the very time that Burgoyne was receiving from general Gates the most honorable conditions for himself and a ruined army.

The American wrote Vaughan a letter full of energy and just indignation; he complained in sharp terms of the burning of *Æsopus*, and of the horrible devastations committed upon the two banks of the Hudson. He concluded with saying; 'Is it thus that the generals of the king expect to make converts to the royal cause? Their cruelties operate a contrary effect; independence is founded upon the universal disgust of the people. The fortune of war has delivered into my hands older and abler generals than general Vaughan is reputed to be; their condition may one day become his, and then no human power can save him from the just vengeance of an offended people.'

But Vaughan and Wallace having heard that Gates was marching rapidly upon them, resolved not to wait his approach. Having dismantled the forts, and carrying off their booty, they retired from this quarter, and uniting with the remainder of the troops of Clinton, returned with no ordinary speed to New York.

Upon the whole, the loss which the United States sustained from this expedition of the English upon the banks of the Hudson, was extremely severe; for it being universally believed that these elevated and precipitous places were absolutely inaccessible to the fury of the enemy, the Americans had deposited there an immense quantity of arms, ammunition and stores of all sorts.

The artillery lost, including that of the forts, and that of the vessels destroyed or taken, amounted to more than a hundred pieces of different sizes. To which must be added, fifteen or twenty thousand pounds of powder, balls in proportion, and all the implements necessary to the daily service of the artillery.

Meanwhile, the captive army was marched towards Boston. On its departure from Saratoga, it passed in the midst of the ranks of the victorious troops, who were formed in order of battle for this purpose along the road and upon the hills which border the two sides of it. The English expected to be scoffed at and insulted. Not an American uttered a syllable; a memorable example of moderation and military discipline! The prisoners, particularly those incorrigible Germans, ravaged whatever they could lay their hands on during the march; the inhabitants could judge by what they did, being vanquished, of what they would have done, had they been victors. They

arrived at Boston, and were lodged in the barracks of Cambridge. The inhabitants held them in abhorrence; they could not forget the burning of Charlestown, and the late devastations.

Burgoyne, after the capitulation, experienced the most courteous attentions on the part of the American generals. Gates invited him to his table; he appeared silent and dejected. The conversation was guarded, and to spare his feelings nothing was said of the late events; only he was asked how he could find in his heart to burn the houses of poor people. He answered that such were his orders, and that, besides, he was authorised to do it by the laws of war. Certain individuals in New England, without delicacy as without reserve, loaded him with insults. But this was confined to the populace. Well educated men treated him with marked civility. General Schuyler, among others, politely despatched an aid-de-camp, to accompany him to Albany. He lodged him in his own house, where his wife received him in the most flattering manner. Yet Burgoyne, in the neighborhood of Saratoga, where Schuyler possessed extensive estates, had devoted to the flames his magnificent villa, with its moveables and dependencies, valued at more than thirty-seven thousand dollars. At Boston, Burgoyne was likewise lodged in the habitation of general Heath, who commanded in Massachusetts; he there wanted for no attention. He walked at his pleasure through the city, without ever having found occasion to complain of outrage.

But the other officers did not experience the same reception; the Bostonians would not lodge them in their houses, and therefore it became necessary to distribute them in the barracks. Burgoyne complained of it, at first, to general Heath, and afterwards to Gates. He insisted that a treatment of his officers so little conformable to their rank, was a violation of the convention of Saratoga. Moreover, fearing that the season, already advanced, might not permit the transports to arrive soon enough at Boston, where the embarkation was appointed by the capitulation, he requested Washington to consent that it should take place at Newport, in Rhode Island, or at some other port of the Sound. Washington, not thinking himself authorised to decide upon this request, submitted it to the determination of Congress. That body was much displeased at this verbal discussion, and especially at the imputation of a breach of faith; apprehending it might be a pretext which Burgoyne was inclined to use for not keeping his own.

It appeared, besides, to the Congress, that the vessels assembled at Boston for the transport of the troops, were neither sufficient for so great a number, nor furnished with provisions enough for so long a voyage. Finally, they observed that the English had not strictly fulfilled the stipulation in respect to the surrender of arms, as they had retained their cartridge boxes, and other effects, which, if not actually arms, are of indispensable use to those who bear them.



Gates undertook to justify the English upon this point, and with complete success. But the Congress had need of a quarrel, and therefore sought the grounds. They wished to retard the embarkation of the prisoners, under the apprehension that, in defiance of treaties, they would go to join general Howe, or at least, that arriving too early in England, the government would be able to fill their place immediately by an equal number in America. They decreed, therefore, that general Burgoyne should furnish the rolls of his army, that a list might be taken of the name and rank of every commissioned officer; with the name, former place of abode, occupation, size, age and description of every noncommissioned officer and private soldier.

Burgoyne considered this demand extraordinary, and therefore resorted to various subterfuges in order to evade compliance. General Howe, on his part, proceeded with much subtlety and illiberality in the exchange of prisoners; and thus the discontents and suspicions were continually increased.

The ambiguous conduct of each of these generals alarmed the Congress exceedingly; they decreed, therefore, that the embarkation of Burgoyne and all the captive troops should be suspended, until a distinct and explicit ratification of the convention of Saratoga should be properly notified to Congress by the court of Great Britain. At the same time they sent directions to general Heath, to order any vessels which might have arrived, or which should arrive, for the transportation of the army, to quit the port of Boston without delay. An additional force was also provided to guard the British army. Burgoyne then addressed a letter to Congress, in which he endeavored to justify his conduct; he protested that he had never thought himself released from the conditions of the convention of Saratoga, and affirmed that all his officers individually were ready to give their written promise to observe all the articles of that capitulation. All was in vain; Congress was inflexible; and the prisoners had to make up their minds to remain in America. This decision they took in great dudgeon; and it served as a pretext for the partisans of the ministry to charge the Americans with perfidy. We shall not undertake to decide whether the fears manifested by Congress had a real foundation; and we shall abstain as well from blaming the imprudence of Burgoyne, as from praising the wisdom, or condemning the distrust of the Congress.

It is but too certain that in these civil dissensions and animosities, appearances become realities, and probabilities demonstration. Accordingly, at that time the Americans complained bitterly of British perfidy, and the English of American want of faith.

Finding that he could obtain nothing for others, Burgoyne solicited for himself, and easily got permission to return to England. As soon as he was arrived in London, he began to declaim with virulence

against those ministers, whose favor a little before he had used every means to captivate, and who had given him, to the prejudice of a general approved by long services, an opportunity to distinguish his name by a glorious enterprise. Burgoyne wanted neither an active genius nor military science and experience; but formed in the wars of Germany, his movements were made with caution, and extreme deliberation, and never till all circumstances united to favor them. He would, upon no consideration, have attacked an enemy, until the minutest precepts of the military art had all been faithfully observed. This was totally mistaking the nature of the American war, which required to be carried on with vigor and spirit. In a region like America, broken by so many defiles and fastnesses, against an enemy so able to profit of them, by scouring the country, by preparing ambuscades, by intercepting convoys and retreats, the celerity which might involve a transient peril, was assuredly preferable to the slowness which, under its apparent security, concealed a future and inevitable danger.

This general lost the opportunity to conquer, because he would never run the risk of defeat; and as he would put nothing in the power of fortune, she seemed to have thought him unworthy of her favors. Moreover, the employment of savages in the wars of civilised nations, was never the source of durable success; nor was it ever the practice of prudent generals to provoke the enemy by threats, or to exasperate him by ravages and conflagrations.

While these events were passing in the north, admiral and general Howe were at sea, undecided whether to enter the Delaware, or to take the route of the Chesapeake bay, in order to march against Philadelphia. Washington continued in New Jersey, prepared to defend the passages of the Hudson, if the British army should have taken that direction, or to cover Philadelphia, should it threaten that city. But while waiting for certain information respecting the movements and plans of the British generals, he neglected none of those measures which were proper to place his army in a situation to resist the storm that was about to burst upon it. He collected arms and ammunition, called out the militia of the neighboring provinces, and ordered to join him all the regiments of regular troops that were not necessary for the defence of the Hudson. These different corps were continually exercised in arms and military evolutions; wherein they derived great advantage from the example and instructions of the French officers who had recently entered the service of the United States. Among these, the splendor of rank added to the fascination of his personal qualities, eminently distinguished the marquis de la Fayette. Animated by the enthusiasm which generous minds are wont to feel for great enterprises, he espoused the cause of the Americans with a partiality common to almost all the men of that time, and particularly to the French. He considered it not only just,



but exalted and sacred ; the affection he bore it was the more ardent, as independently of the candor of his character, he was of that age, not exceeding nineteen years, in which good appears not only good, but fair, and man not only loves, but is enamored. Inflamed with desire to take part in events which were echoed by all Europe, he had communicated, about the close of 1776, to the American commissioners his intention of repairing to America ; they had encouraged him in that resolution. But when they were informed of the reverses of New Jersey, compelled almost to despair of the success of the revolution, they, with honorable sincerity, endeavored to dissuade him from it. They even declared to him that their affairs were so deranged by this unhappy news, that they were not able to charter a vessel for his passage to America. It is said the gallant youth replied, that it was then precisely the moment to serve their cause ; that the more people were discouraged the greater utility would result from his departure, and that if they could not furnish him with a ship, he would freight one at his own expense to convey himself and their despatches to America. And as he said, he also did. The people were astonished, and much conversation was excited by this determination on the part of so illustrious a personage. The court of France, either to save appearances, and avoid giving umbrage to England, or being really displeased at this departure, forbade La Fayette to embark. It is even asserted, that ships were despatched with orders to arrest him in the waters of the West Indies. Tearing himself, however, from the arms of his beloved wife, who was in all the bloom of youth, he put to sea, and steering wide of those islands, arrived in Georgetown. The Congress omitted none of those demonstrations which could persuade the young Frenchman, and all the American people, in what esteem they held his person, and how much they felt the sacrifices he had made, and the dangers to which he had exposed himself, and was still exposed, for being come to offer his support to the tottering cause of America.

Touched by this flattering reception, he promised to exert himself to the utmost of his knowledge and ability ; but requested permission to serve at first only as a volunteer and at his own expense. This generosity and modesty of the marquis de la Fayette, delighted the Americans the more, as some of the French who had entered their service were never to be satisfied in the articles either of pay, or of rank. It was Silas Deane who had encouraged these exorbitant expectations, by entering in France into such engagements with those officers, as could not be confirmed in America. This conduct had greatly displeased the Congress, and was what chiefly determined them to send him, soon after, a successor in the person of John Adams. The Congress decreed, that 'Whereas the marquis de la Fayette, out of his great zeal to the cause of liberty, in which the United States were engaged, had left his family and connections,

and at his own expense come over to offer his services without pension or particular allowance, and was anxious to risk his life in their defence, they accepted his services; and that in consideration of his zeal, illustrious family and connections, he was invested with the rank of major-general in the army of the United States.' The marquis having repaired to the camp, was received with consideration by general Washington, and soon there was established between them that warm friendship which subsisted until the death of the American general.

The American army was at this time strong in number; it amounted, including however the militia, little accustomed to regular battle, to fifteen thousand men. It was full of confidence in its chiefs; and animated by their example and exhortations. The news was then received that the British fleet was in sight of Cape May, at the mouth of the Delaware, steering eastward. Washington immediately conceived some alarm for the banks of the Hudson, which he had always watched with care from the commencement of the war. He ordered the troops that were to come from Peek's Kill to join him in New Jersey, not to move; and those who were already on the march, to halt in their positions.

The seventh of August, the British squadron was perceived anew at the entrance of the Delaware; but it disappeared a little after, and was not heard of again for several days. The commander-in-chief could not penetrate the design of the enemy; still in doubt, he continued stationary, not knowing where the tempest was to strike. But after a certain lapse of time, even the length of delay led him to suspect that the views of Howe were by no means directed towards the Hudson; for the winds having prevailed for a long time from the south, if such had been his intention he would already have been arrived at the destined spot. Washington was therefore inclined to believe that the English meditated an expedition against some part of the southern provinces. He felt indeed some solicitude for the bay of Chesapeake; but, as it was at no great distance from the mouths of the Delaware, the enemy ought already to have made his appearance there. Upon these considerations, he more feared for the safety of Charleston, South Carolina; but even if so, he was unable to arrive in time to the relief of that city. Besides, that country was naturally unhealthy, and especially at the present season.

There was also danger that Howe might reembark his troops, and make a sudden push against Philadelphia, which, in the absence of the army, must inevitably fall into his power. It therefore appeared much more prudent to maintain a position which admitted of watching over Pennsylvania, and to leave the Carolinas with their own means only to defend themselves as well as they could against the invasions of the enemy. But in order to compensate the losses



which might perhaps ensue in that quarter, Washington resolved to march with all his troops towards the Hudson, to be ready to turn his arms according to circumstances, either against Burgoyne towards Fort Edward, or against Clinton towards New York, then divested of the greater part of its defenders.

He had scarcely formed this determination, when he was informed that the enemy had appeared with all his forces in the Chesapeake. This intelligence put an end to all his uncertainties, and he then saw distinctly the course he had to pursue. He despatched orders to all the detached corps to join him by forced marches in the environs of Philadelphia, for the purpose of proceeding thence to the head of the Chesapeake. The militia of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, and the northern parts of Virginia, were ordered to take arms and repair to the principal army.

While these preparations were making on the part of the Americans, the English fleet entered with full sails into the Chesapeake bay, and profiting of a favorable wind, proceeded as far up as the point called Elk Head. From the time of its departure from Sandy Hook this squadron had experienced the most contrary winds, and had been more than a week in doubling the capes of Delaware. The English generals were there informed that the Americans had so effectually obstructed the navigation of that river that it would be equally dangerous and fruitless to attempt the passage up to Philadelphia.

Though some persons maintain that they might easily have disembarked at Wilmington, whence there was an excellent road leading directly to that city. However this was, they preferred to proceed further south, and to sail up the Chesapeake bay as far as that part of Maryland which borders on Pennsylvania, and is at no great distance from Philadelphia. But in the passage from the Delaware to the Chesapeake the winds were so constantly unfavorable that they could not enter the bay till towards the last of August. This delay was excessively prejudicial to the English army; the troops being crowded into the vessels along with the horses and all the baggage, in the midst of the hottest season of the year. The health of the soldiers would have suffered still more, if the generals had not taken the precaution to put on board a large stock of fresh provisions and a copious supply of water. The sea became more propitious in the Chesapeake, and the squadron soon gained the coasts of Maryland. Thus the two armies advanced, each towards the other, amidst the anxious expectation of the American people.

About this time an expedition was undertaken by general Sullivan, against Staten Island, the commencement of which had created hopes of a more happy termination. He landed without opposition and took many prisoners, but was afterwards repulsed with heavy loss. He then rapidly retired towards Philadelphia. On the twenty-fifth

of August, the British army, eighteen thousand strong, was disembarked not far from the head of the river Elk. It was plentifully furnished with all the equipage of war, excepting the defect of horses, as well for the cavalry as for the baggage. The scarcity of forage had caused many of them to perish the preceding winter, and a considerable number had died also in the late passage.

This was a serious disadvantage for the royal troops; who, in the vast plains of Pennsylvania, might have employed cavalry with singular effect. On the twenty-seventh, the English vanguard arrived at the head of the Elk, and the day following at Gray's Hill. Here it was afterwards joined by the rear guard under general Knyphausen, who had been left upon the coast to cover the debarkation of the stores and artillery.

The whole army took post behind the river Christiana, having Newark upon the right, and Pencada or Atkins on the left. A column commanded by lord Cornwallis having fallen in with Maxwell's riflemen, routed and pursued them as far as the further side of White Clay Creek, with the loss of some dead and wounded.

The American army, in order to encourage the partisans of independence and overawe the disaffected, marched through the city of Philadelphia; it afterwards advanced towards the enemy, and encamped behind White Clay Creek. A little after, leaving only the riflemen in the camp, Washington retired with the main body of his army behind the Red Clay Creek, occupying with his right wing the town of Newport, situated near the Christiana, and upon the great road to Philadelphia; his left was at Hockesen. But this line was little capable of defence.

The enemy reenforced by the rear guard under general Grant, threatened with his right the centre of the Americans, extended his left as if with the intention of turning their right flank. Washington saw the danger and retired with his troops behind the Brandywine; he encamped on the rising grounds which extend from Chadsford, in the direction of northwest to southeast. The riflemen of Maxwell scoured the right bank of the Brandywine, in order to harass and retard the enemy. The militia under the command of general Armstrong, guarded a passage below the principal encampment of Washington, and the right wing lined the banks of the river higher up, where the passages were more difficult. The passage of Chadsford, as the most practicable of all, was defended by the chief force of the army. The troops being thus disposed, the American general waited the approach of the English. Although the Brandywine, being fordable almost every where, could not serve as a sufficient defence against the impetuosity of the enemy, yet Washington had taken post upon its banks, from a conviction that a battle was now inevitable, and that Philadelphia could only be saved by a victory. General Howe displayed the front of his army, but not however



without great circumspection. Being arrived at Kennen Square, a short distance from the river, he detached his light horse to the right upon Wilmington, to the left upon the Lancaster road, and in front towards Chadsford. The two armies found themselves within seven miles of each other, the Brandywine flowing between them.

Early in the morning of the eleventh of September, the British army marched to the enemy. Howe had formed his army in two columns; the right commanded by general Knyphausen, the left by lord Cornwallis. His plan was, that while the first should make repeated feints to attempt the passage of Chadsford, in order to occupy the attention of the republicans, the second should take a long circuit to the upper part of the river, and cross at a place where it is divided into two shallow streams. The English marksmen fell in with those of Maxwell, and a smart skirmish was immediately engaged. The latter were at first repulsed; but being reenforced from the camp, they compelled the English to retire in their turn. But at length, they also were reenforced, and Maxwell was constrained to withdraw his detachment behind the river. Meanwhile, Knyphausen advanced with his column, and commenced a furious cannonade upon the passage of Chadsford, making all his dispositions as if he intended to force it. The Americans defended themselves with gallantry, and even passed several detachments of light troops to the other side, in order to harass the enemy's flanks. But after a course of skirmishes, sometimes advancing, and at others obliged to retire, they were finally, with an eager pursuit, driven over the river. Knyphausen then appeared more than ever determined to pass the ford; he stormed, and kept up an incredible noise. In this manner the attention of the Americans was fully occupied in the neighborhood of Chadsford. Meanwhile, lord Cornwallis, at the head of the second column, took a circuitous march to the left, and gained unperceived the forks of the Brandywine. By this rapid movement, he passed both branches of the river at Trimble's and at Jeffery's Fords, without opposition, 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 right flank of the American army. The republican general, however, received intelligence of this movement about noon, and, as it usually happens in similar cases, the reports exaggerated its importance exceedingly; it being represented that general Howe commanded this division in person. Washington therefore decided immediately for the most judicious, though boldest measure; this was, to pass the river with the centre and left wing of his army, and overwhelm Knyphausen by the most furious attack. He justly reflected that the advantage he should obtain upon the enemy's right, would amply compensate the loss that his own might sustain at the same time. Accordingly, he ordered general Sullivan to pass the Brandywine with his division at an upper ford, and attack the left of

Knyphausen, while he, in person, should cross lower down and fall upon the right of that general.

They were both already in motion in order to execute this design, when a second report arrived, which represented what had really taken place as false, or in other words, that the enemy had not crossed the two branches of the river, and that he had not made his appearance upon the right flank of the American troops. Deceived by this false intelligence, Washington desisted; and Greene, who had already passed with the vanguard, was ordered back. In the midst of these uncertainties, the commander-in-chief at length received the positive assurance, not only that the English had appeared upon the left bank, but also that they were about to fall in great force upon the right wing. It was composed of the brigades of generals Stephens, Stirling, and Sullivan; the first was the most advanced, and consequently the nearest to the English; the two others were posted in the order of their rank, that of Sullivan being next to the centre. This general was immediately detached from the main body, to support the two former brigades; and, being the senior officer, took the command of the whole wing. Washington himself, followed by general Greene, approached with two strong divisions towards this wing, and posted himself between it and the corps he had left at Chadsford, under general Wayne, to oppose the passage of Knyphausen. These two divisions, under the immediate orders of the commander-in-chief, served as a corps of reserve, ready to march, according to circumstances, to the succour of Sullivan or of Wayne.

But the column of Cornwallis was already in sight of the Americans. Sullivan drew up his troops on the commanding ground above Birmingham meetinghouse, with his left extending towards the Brandywine, and both his flanks covered with very thick woods. His artillery was advantageously planted upon the neighboring hills; but it appears that Sullivan's own brigade, having taken a long circuit, arrived too late upon the field of battle, and had not yet occupied the position assigned it, when the action commenced. The English having reconnoitred the dispositions of the Americans, immediately formed, and fell upon them with the utmost impetuosity. The engagement became equally fierce on both sides about four o'clock in the afternoon. For some length of time the Americans defended themselves with great valor, and the carnage was terrible. But such was the emulation which invigorated the efforts of the English and Hessians, that neither the advantages of situation, nor a heavy and well supported fire of small arms and artillery, nor the unshaken courage of the Americans, were able to resist their impetuosity. The light infantry, chasseurs, grenadiers, and guards, threw themselves with such fury into the midst of the republican battalions, that they were forced to give way. Their left flank was first thrown into confusion, but the rout soon became general. The vanquished



fled into the woods in their rear ; the victors pursued, and advanced by the great road towards Dilworth. On the first fire of the artillery, Washington, having no doubt of what was passing, had pushed forward the reserve to the succour of Sullivan. But this corps, on approaching the field of battle, fell in with the flying soldiers of Sullivan, and perceived that no hope remained of retrieving the fortune of the day. General Greene, by a judicious manœuvre, opened his ranks to receive the fugitives, and after their passage having closed them anew, he retired in good order ; checking the pursuit of the enemy by a continual fire of the artillery which covered his rear. Having come to a defile, covered on both sides with woods, he drew up his men there, and again faced the enemy. His corps was composed of Virginians and Pennsylvanians ; they defended themselves with gallantry ; the former especially, commanded by colonel Stephens, made an heroic stand.

Knyphausen finding the Americans to be fully engaged on their right, and observing that the corps opposed to him at Chadsford was enfeebled by the troops which had been detached to the succour of Sullivan, began to make dispositions for crossing the river in reality. The passage of Chadsford was defended by an intrenchment and battery. The republicans stood firm at first ; but upon intelligence of the defeat of their right, and seeing some of the British troops who had penetrated through the woods, come out upon their flank, they retired in disorder, abandoning their artillery and munitions to the German general. In their retreat, or rather flight, they passed behind the position of general Greene, who still defended himself, and was the last to quit the field of battle. Finally, it being already dark, after a long and obstinate conflict, he also retired. The whole army retreated that night to Chester, and the day following to Philadelphia.

There the fugitives arrived incessantly, having effected their escape through byways and circuitous routes. The victors passed the night on the field of battle. If darkness had not arrived seasonably, it is very probable that the whole American army would have been destroyed. The loss of the republicans was computed at about three hundred killed, six hundred wounded, and near four hundred taken prisoners. They also lost ten field pieces and a howitzer. 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 French officers were of great utility to the Americans, as well in forming the troops, as in rallying them when thrown into confusion. One of them, the baron St. Ovary, was made a prisoner, to the great regret of Congress, who bore him a particular esteem. Captain de Fleury had a horse killed under him in the hottest of the action. The Congress gave him another a few days after. The marquis de la Fayette, whilst he was endeavoring, by his words and

example, to rally the fugitives, was wounded in the leg. He continued, nevertheless, to fulfill his duty both as a soldier in fighting, and as a general, in cheering the troops and reestablishing order. The count Pulaski, a noble Pole, also displayed an undaunted courage, at the head of the light horse. The Congress manifested their sense of his merit by giving him, shortly after, the rank of brigadier, and the command of the cavalry.

If all the American troops in the action of the Brandywine had fought with the same intrepidity as the Virginians and Pennsylvanians, and, especially, if Washington had not been led into error by a false report, perhaps, notwithstanding the inferiority of number and the imperfection of arms, he would have gained the victory, or, at least, would have made it more sanguinary to the English. However this might have been, it must be admitted that general Howe's order of battle was excellent; that his movements were executed with as much ability as promptitude; and that his troops, English as well as German, behaved admirably well.

The day after the battle, towards evening, the English despatched a detachment of light troops to Wilmington, a place situated at the confluence of the Christiana and the Brandywine. There they took prisoner the governor of the state of Delaware, and seized a considerable quantity of coined money, as well as other property, both public and private, and some papers of importance.

The other towns of lower Pennsylvania, followed the fortune of the victorious party; they were all received into the king's obedience.

The Congress, far from being discouraged by so heavy a reverse, endeavored, on the contrary, to persuade the people that it was by no means so decisive, but that affairs might soon resume a favorable aspect. They gave out, that though the English had remained in possession of the field of battle, yet their victory was far from being complete, since their loss was not less, and perhaps greater, than that of the Americans. They affirmed, that although their army was in part dispersed, still it was safe; and, in a few days, would be rallied, and in a condition to meet the enemy. Finally, that bold demonstrations might inspire that confidence which, perhaps, words alone would not have produced, the Congress appeared to have no idea of quitting Philadelphia. They ordered that fifteen hundred regulars should be marched to that city from Peek's Kill; that the militia of New Jersey, with those of Philadelphia, the brigade of general Smallwood, and a regiment of the line, then at Alexandria, should proceed with all possible despatch to reenforce the principal army in Pennsylvania. They empowered general Washington to impress all wagons, horses, provisions, and other articles necessary for the use of the army, on giving certificates to the owners, who were to be satisfied from the continental treasury. The commander-in-chief exerted himself to inspire



his troops with fresh courage; he persuaded them that they had not shown themselves at all inferior to their adversaries; and that at another time they might decide in their favor what was left in doubt at the Brandywine. He gave them a day for refreshment, in the environs of Germantown; but took care to send out the lightest and freshest corps upon the right bank of the Schuylkill, as far as Chester, in order to watch the motions of the enemy, to repress his excursions, and at the same time to collect the dispersed and straggling Americans. As to himself, he repaired to Philadelphia, where he had frequent conferences with the Congress, in order to concert with them the measures to be pursued for the reestablishment of affairs. But the fifteenth he returned to camp, and repassing, with all his forces, from the left to the right bank of the Schuylkill, proceeded on the Lancaster road as far as the Warren tavern, with the intention of risking another engagement. Conjecturing that the enemy must be much incumbered with their sick and wounded, he ordered Smallwood to hang with his light troops on their flank or rear, as occasion might require, and do them all the harm he could. At the same time, the bridge over the Schuylkill was ordered to be loosened from its moorings, to swing on the Philadelphia side; and general Armstrong, with the Pennsylvania militia, was directed to guard the passes over that river, for the defence of which M. de Portail, chief of engineers, constructed such sudden works as might be of immediate use.

General Howe, having passed the night of the eleventh on the field of battle, sent the following day a strong detachment to Concord, commanded by general Grant, who was joined afterwards by lord Cornwallis. They marched together towards Chester, upon the bank of the Delaware, as if they intended to surprise Philadelphia. Howe, with the main body of his army, advanced to gain the Lancaster road, and had arrived on the sixteenth near Goshen, when he received intelligence that Washington was approaching with all his troops to give him battle, and was already within five miles of Goshen. With great alacrity both armies immediately prepared for action; the advanced parties had met, when there came up so violent a fall of rain, that the soldiers were forced to cease their fire. The Americans, especially, suffered exceedingly from it in their arms and ammunition. Their gunlocks not being well secured, many of their muskets were rendered unfit for use. Their cartridgeboxes had been so badly constructed as not to protect their powder from the severity of the tempest.

These circumstances compelled Washington to defer the engagement. He therefore recrossed the Schuylkill at Parker's Ferry, and encamped upon the eastern bank of that river, on both sides of Perkyomy Creek. But as this retreat left general Smallwood too much exposed to be surrounded by the enemy, general Wayne, with

his division, was detached to the rear of the British with orders to join him; and carefully concealing himself and his movements, to seize every occasion which their march might offer, of engaging them to advantage.

The extreme severity of the weather entirely stopped the British army, and prevented any pursuit. They made no other movement than merely to unite their columns, and then took post at Tryduffin, whence they detached a party to seize a magazine of flour and other stores, which the republicans had deposited at Valley Forge. Howe discovered by his spies, that general Wayne, with fifteen hundred men, was lying in the woods in the rear, and not far from the left wing of his army. Suspecting some scheme of enterprise, he determined to avert the stroke, by causing Wayne to experience the check he destined for him. Accordingly, in the night of the thirteenth, he detached general Grey, with two regiments and a body of light infantry, to surprise the enemy. That general conducted the enterprise with great prudence and activity. Stealing his way through the woods, he arrived undiscovered, about one in the morning, before the encampment of Wayne. Having forced his pickets without noise, the British detachment, guided by the light of their fires, rushed in upon the enemy, torpid with sleep and chilled with terror. In the midst of this obscurity and confusion, a shocking slaughter was executed with bayonets. The Americans lost many of their men, with their baggage, arms, and stores. The whole corps must have been cut off, if Wayne had not preserved his coolness; he promptly rallied a few regiments, who withstood the shock of the enemy, and covered the retreat of the others. The loss of the English was very inconsiderable. When this attack commenced, general Smallwood, who was coming up to join Wayne, was already within a mile of the field of battle; and, had he commanded troops who were to be relied on, might have given a very different turn to the night. But his militia, who were excessively alarmed, thought only of their own safety; and having fallen in with a party returning from the pursuit of Wayne, they instantly fled in confusion.

Having thus secured his rear, the British general resolved to bring the Americans to action, or to press them so far from Philadelphia as should enable him to push suddenly across the Schuylkill, and turn without danger to his right, in order to take possession of that city. To this end he made such movements upon the western bank, as to give the enemy jealousy that he intended to cross higher up, where the river was more shallow, and after turning his right flank, to seize the extensive magazines of provisions and military stores, which had been established at Reading. In order to oppose so great a mischief, Washington retired with his army up the river, and encamped at Potts Grove. Howe, on intelligence of this change of the enemy's position, immediately crossed the Schuylkill without opposition; a



part of his troops being passed at Gordon's Ford, and the rest lower down at Flatland Ford. On the night of the twenty-third, the whole British army encamped upon the left bank; thus finding itself between the army of Washington and the city of Philadelphia.

It was now selfevident that nothing could save that city from the grasp of the English, unless the American general chose to risk a battle for its rescue.

But Washington, more guided by prudence than by the wishes and clamors of the multitude, abstained from resorting to that fatal experiment. He deemed it a measure of blind temerity to commit the fate of America to the uncertain issue of a general engagement. He daily expected the arrival of the remaining troops of Wayne and Smallwood, the continental troops of Peek's Kill and the provincial militia of New Jersey, under the command of general Dickinson. The soldiers were less fatigued than worn down by continual marches, bad roads, want of food and sufferings of every denomination. A council of war being assembled, and the condition of the army considered, it was unanimously decided to remain on the present ground, until the expected reinforcements should arrive, and to allow the harassed troops a few days for repose.

Washington resolved to proceed in every point with extreme circumspection, holding himself ready to seize the occasions which Heaven might offer him for the glory of its own cause, and for the good of the republic. Philadelphia was therefore abandoned as a prey which could not escape the enemy.

When it was known in that city that the violent rain which fell on the sixteenth, had prevented the two armies from coming to action, and that Washington had been constrained to retire behind the Schuylkill, Congress adjourned itself to the twenty-seventh, at Lancaster. At the same time, the public magazines and archives were evacuated with all diligence; the vessels lying at the wharves were removed up the Delaware. About twenty individuals were taken into custody, the greater part of them Quakers, avowed enemies to the state; having positively refused to give any security in writing, or even verbal attestation, of submission or allegiance to the present government. They were sent off to Staunton, in Virginia, as a place of security.

With unshaken confidence in the virtue of Washington, as a sufficient pledge for the hope of the republic, the Congress invested him with the same dictatorial powers that were conceded him after the reverses of New Jersey. At length, the rumor of the approach of the English increasing from hour to hour, they left the city. Lord Cornwallis entered Philadelphia the twenty-sixth of September, at the head of a detachment of British and Hessian grenadiers. The rest of the army remained in the camp of Germantown. Thus the rich and populous capital of the whole confederation fell into the

power of the royalists, after a sanguinary battle, and a series of manœuvres, no less masterly than painful, of the two armies. The Quakers, and all the other loyalists who had remained there, welcomed the English with transports of gratulation. Washington, descending along the left bank of the Schuylkill, approached within sixteen miles of Germantown. He encamped at Skippach Creek, purposing to accommodate his measures to the state of things.

The loss of Philadelphia did not produce among the Americans a particle of that discouragement which the English had flattered themselves would be the consequence of this event. The latter, on finding themselves masters of that city, erected batteries upon the Delaware, in order to command the whole breadth of the river, prevent any sudden attack by water, and interdict to the republicans all navigation between its upper and lower parts. While they were engaged in these works, the Americans, with the frigate Delaware anchored within five hundred yards of the unfinished batteries, and with some smaller vessels, commenced 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; for upon the falling of the tide the Delaware grounded so effectually that she could not be got off, which being perceived by the English, they brought their cannon to play upon her with so much effect that she was soon obliged to strike her colors. The same fire compelled the other vessels to retire up the river, with the loss of a schooner which was driven ashore.

The Americans, under the apprehension of what afterwards happened, that is, of not being able to preserve Philadelphia, had, with great labor and expense, constructed all manner of works to interrupt the navigation of the river, in order to prevent the British fleet from communicating with the troops that might occupy the city. They knew that the army of Washington, when it should have received its reinforcements, would soon be in a condition to take the field anew, and to cut off the enemy's supplies on the side of Pennsylvania; if, therefore, unable to procure them by water, the English must in a short time be compelled to evacuate the city. Pursuant to this reasoning, the Americans 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, the construction of which we have already described in a foregoing book. About three miles lower down, they had sunk other ranges of these machines, and were con-



structing 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.

The English well knew the importance of opening for themselves a free communication with the sea, by means of the Delaware; since their operations could never be considered secure, so long as the enemy should maintain positions upon the banks of that river; and accordingly they deliberated upon the means of reducing them. Immediately after the success of the Brandywine, lord Howe, who commanded the whole fleet, had made sail for the mouth of the Delaware, and several light vessels had already arrived in that river, among others the Roebuck, commanded by captain Hammond. That officer represented to general Howe, that if sufficient forces were sent to attack the fort at Billings Point, on the Jersey shore, it might be taken without difficulty; and that he would then take upon himself to open a passage for the vessels through the chevaux-de-frize. The general approved this project, and detached two regiments under colonel Stirling, to carry it into effect. The detachment, having crossed the river from Chester, the moment they had set foot upon the Jersey shore, marched with all speed to attack the fort in rear.

The Americans, not thinking themselves able to sustain the enemy's assault, immediately spiked their artillery, set fire to the barracks, and abandoned the place with precipitation. The English waited to destroy or to render unserviceable those parts of the works which fronted the river, and this success, with the spirit and perseverance exhibited by the officers and crews of the ships under his command, enabled Hammond, through great difficulties, 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 passage for the shipping through this lower barrier.

The two regiments of Stirling returned, after their expedition to Chester, whether another had been sent to meet them, in order that they might all together form a sufficient escort for a large convoy of provisions to the camp.

Washington, who had not left his position at Skippach Creek, being informed that three regiments had been thus detached, and knowing that lord Cornwallis lay at Philadelphia with four battalions of grenadiers, perceived that the army of Howe must be sensibly weakened. He determined, therefore, to avail himself of this favorable circumstance, and to fall unexpectedly upon the British army encamped at Germantown.

He took this resolution with the more confidence, as he was now reenforced by the junction of the troops from Peek's Kill and the Maryland militia.

Germantown is a 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 British line of encampment crossed Germantown at right angles about the centre, 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, who were stationed a little above towards the American camp; a battalion of light infantry, and the Queen's American rangers were in the front of the right. The centre being posted within the town, was guarded by the fortieth regiment, and another battalion of light infantry stationed about three quarters of a mile above the head of the village. Washington resolved to attack the British by surprise, not doubting that, if he succeeded in breaking them, as they were not only distant, but totally separated from the fleet, his victory must be decisive.

He so disposed his troops, that the divisions of Sullivan and Wayne, flanked by Conway's brigade, were to march down the main road, and entering the town by the way of Chestnut Hill, to attack the English centre, and the right flank of their left wing; the divisions of Greene and Stephens, flanked by Macdougall's brigade, were to take a circuit towards the east, by the Limekiln road, and entering the town at the markethouse, to attack the left flank of the right wing. The intention of the American general in seizing the village of Germantown by a double attack, was effectually to separate the right and left wings of the royal army, which must have given him a certain victory. In order that the left flank of the left wing might not contract itself, and support the right flank of the same wing, general Armstrong, with the Pennsylvania militia, was ordered to march down the bridge road upon the banks of the Schuylkill, and endeavor to turn the English, if they should retire from that river. In like manner, to prevent the right flank of the right wing from going to the succour of the left flank, which rested upon Germantown, the militia of Maryland and Jersey, under generals Smallwood and Forman, were to march down the Old York road, and to fall upon the English on that extremity of their wing. The division of lord Sterling, and the brigades of generals Nash and Maxwell, formed the reserve. These dispositions being made, Washington quitted his camp at Skippach Creek, and moved towards the enemy, on the third of October, about seven in the evening. Parties of cavalry silently scoured all the roads to seize any individuals who might have given notice to the British general of the danger that threatened him. Washington in person accompanied the column of Sullivan and Wayne. The march was rapid and silent.



At three o'clock in the morning, the British patrols discovered the approach of the Americans; the troops were soon called to arms; each took his post with the precipitation of surprise. About sunrise the Americans came up. General Conway having driven in the pickets, fell upon the fortieth regiment and the battalion of light infantry. These corps, after a short resistance, being overpowered by numbers, were pressed and pursued into the village. Fortune appeared already to have declared herself in favor of the Americans; and certainly if they had gained complete possession of Germantown, nothing could have frustrated them of the most signal victory. But in this conjuncture, lieutenant-colonel Musgrave threw himself, with six companies of the fortieth regiment, into a large and strong stone house, situated near the head of the village, from which he poured upon the assailants so terrible a fire of musketry that they could advance no further. The Americans attempted to storm this unexpected covert of the enemy, but those within continued to defend themselves with resolution. They finally brought cannon up to the assault, but such was the intrepidity of the English, and the violence of their fire, that it was found impossible to dislodge them. During this time, general Greene had approached the right wing, and routed, after a slight engagement, the light infantry and Queen's rangers. Afterwards, turning a little to his right, and towards Germantown, he fell upon the left flank of the enemy's right wing, and endeavored to enter the village. Meanwhile, he expected that the Pennsylvania militia, under Armstrong, upon the right, and the militia of Maryland and Jersey, commanded by Smallwood and Forman on the left, would have executed the orders of the commander-in-chief, by attacking and turning, the first the left, and the second the right, flank of the British army. But either because the obstacles they encountered had retarded them, or that they wanted ardor, the former arrived in sight of the German chasseurs, and did not attack them; the latter appeared too late upon the field of battle.

The consequence was, that general Grey, finding his left flank secure, marched, with nearly the whole of the left wing, to the assistance of the centre, which, notwithstanding the unexpected resistance of colonel Musgrave, was excessively hard pressed in Germantown, where the Americans gained ground incessantly. The battle was now very warm at that village, the attack and the defence being equally vigorous. The issue appeared for some time dubious. General Agnew was mortally wounded, while charging with great bravery, at the head of the fourth brigade. The American colonel Matthews, of the column of Greene, assailed the English with so much fury that he drove them before him into the town. He had taken a large number of prisoners, and was about entering the village, when he perceived that a thick fog and the unevenness of the ground had caused him to lose sight of the rest of his division. Being soon

enveloped by the extremity of the right wing, which fell back upon him when it had discovered that nothing was to be apprehended from the tardy approach of the militia of Maryland and Jersey, he was compelled to surrender with all his party; the English had already rescued their prisoners. This check was the cause that two regiments of the English right wing were enabled to throw themselves into Germantown, and to attack the Americans who had entered it in flank. Unable to sustain the shock, they retired precipitately, leaving a great number of killed and wounded. Lieutenant-colonel Musgrave, to whom belongs the principal honor of this affair, was then relieved from all peril. General Grey, being absolute master of Germantown, flew to the succour of the right wing, which was engaged with the left of the column of Greene. The Americans then took to flight, abandoning to the English throughout the line, a victory of which, in the commencement of the action, they had felt assured.

The principal causes of the failure of this well concerted enterprise, were the extreme haziness of the weather; which was so thick, that the Americans could neither discover the situation nor movements of the British army, nor yet those of their own; the inequality of the ground, which incessantly broke the ranks of their battalions; an inconvenience more serious and difficult to be repaired for new and inexperienced troops, as were most of the Americans, than for the English veterans; and, finally, the unexpected resistance of Musgrave, who found means, in a critical moment, to transform a mere house into an impregnable fortress.

Thus fortune, who at first had appeared disposed to favor one party, suddenly declared herself on the side of their adversaries. Lord Cornwallis, being at Philadelphia, upon intelligence of the attack upon the camp, flew to its succour with a corps of cavalry and the grenadiers; but when he reached the field of battle, the Americans had already left it. They had two hundred men killed in this action; the number of wounded amounted to six hundred; and about four hundred were made prisoners. One of their most lamented losses was that of general Nash, of North Carolina. The loss of the British was little over five hundred in killed and wounded; among the former were brigadier-general Agnew, an officer of rare merit, and colonel Bird. The American army saved all its artillery, and retreated the same day about twenty miles, to Perkyomy Creek.

The Congress expressed in decided terms their approbation, both of the plan of this enterprise and the courage with which it was executed; for which their thanks were given to the general and the army. General Stephens, however, was cashiered for misconduct on the retreat.

A few days after the battle, the royal army removed from Germantown to Philadelphia. The want of provisions would not have



permitted Howe to follow the enemy into his fastnesses, and he was desirous of cooperating with the naval force in opening the navigation of the Delaware. Washington, having received a small reenforcement of fifteen hundred militia, and a state regiment from Virginia, again advanced a few miles towards the English, and encamped once more at Skippach Creek. Thus, the British general might have seen that he had to grapple with an adversary, who, far from allowing himself to be discouraged by adverse fortune, seemed, on the contrary, to gain by it more formidable energies; who, the moment after defeat, was prepared to resume the offensive; and whose firmness and activity were such, that even the victories obtained by his adversaries only yielded them the effects of defeat. Nor was the taking of Philadelphia attended with those advantages which were expected from it.

The inhabitants of the country were not in the least intimidated by that event; and the victorious army, surrounded on all sides by enemies, found itself, as it were, immured within the precincts of the city. Washington, posted on the heights of the Schuylkill, maintained a menacing attitude; he employed his cavalry and light troops in scouring the country between the banks of that river and those of the Delaware. He thus repressed the excursions of the English, prevented them from foraging with safety, and deterred the disaffected or the avaricious among the people of the country from conveying provisions to their camp. Moreover, the Congress passed a resolution, subjecting to martial law and to death all those who should furnish the royal troops with provisions, or any other aids whatsoever.

Compelled to relinquish the hope of supporting his army from the adjacent country, the British general now applied himself with diligence to the task of removing the obstructions of the Delaware, and opening a free communication with the fleet. The enterprise presented difficulties and dangers of no ordinary magnitude. To succeed in this operation, it was necessary to seize Mud Island, which was defended by Fort Mifflin, and the point of Red Bank, where the Americans had erected Fort Mercer. After the reduction of these two fortresses, the upper chevaux-de-frize might be destroyed.

General Howe, therefore, resolved to attack them both at the same time, in concert with those ships which had been able to pass the lower barrier. Batteries of heavy artillery had been erected on the Pennsylvania side, in front of Mud Island, to assist in dislodging the enemy from that position. The garrison of Fort Mifflin was commanded by colonel Smith, and that of Fort Mercer by colonel Greene, both officers in great esteem among the Americans.

General Howe had arranged for the attack of Fort Mifflin, that while the batteries on the western shore should open their fire upon its right flank, the Vigilant ship of war, passing up the narrow channel which separates Hog Island from the Pennsylvania shore, should

cannonade it in the rear, and the frigates, with the ships *Isis* and *Augusta* in front, approaching it by the middle channel, which is considerably wider and deeper. As to *Fort Mercer*, it was also to be attacked in the rear, on the side of *New Jersey*, by landing troops on the left bank of the *Delaware*.

According to these dispositions, the English put themselves in motion on the evening of the twenty-first of October. Colonel *Donop*, a German officer, who had distinguished himself in the course of this campaign, passed the *Delaware* from *Philadelphia*, with a strong detachment of Hessians, at *Cooper's Ferry*. Then marching down upon the *Jersey* shore, along the bank of the river, he arrived at a late hour the following day, in the rear of *Red Bank*. The fortifications consisted of extensive outer works, within which was a strong palisaded intrenchment, well furnished with artillery. *Donop* attacked the fort with the utmost gallantry. The Americans, after a slight resistance in the outer intrenchment, finding their number too small to man it sufficiently, withdrew into the body of the redoubt, where they made a vigorous defence.

Their intrepidity and the want of scaling ladders baffled all the efforts of the Hessians. Colonel *Donop* was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. Several of his best officers were killed or disabled; colonel *Mingerode* himself, the second in command, received a dangerous wound. The Hessians were then severely repulsed; and lieutenant-colonel *Linsing* drew them off with precipitation; but even in their retreat they suffered extremely by the fire of the enemy's galleys and floating batteries. The loss of the Hessians was estimated at not less than four or five hundred men. *Donop* expired of his wounds the next day. The Americans owed much of their success to the *Chevalier du Plessis*, a French officer, who directed the artillery with great ability and valor. The vanquished returned to *Philadelphia*.

Meanwhile, the ships had advanced, in order to be in readiness to attack *Mud Island*. After having made their way with difficulty through the lower barrier, the *Augusta* man of war, several frigates and other smaller vessels, waited above it for the tide; the moment the flood set in, they proceeded towards their destined stations. But a strong northerly wind prevented the *Vigilant* from taking the post assigned her between *Hog Island* and the *Pennsylvania* shore. Moreover, the obstructions which the Americans had sunk in the bed of the river, had, in some degree, altered its natural channel. By this means the *Augusta* and *Merlin* were grounded so fast, at some distance from the *chevaux-de-frize*, that there was no possibility of getting them off. The frigates, however, reached their stations and commenced a cannonade upon *Fort Mifflin*, while the batteries on shore were also opened upon the garrison. The Americans defended themselves with spirit, and night soon put an end to



the engagement. Early next morning the English renewed the attack, not that in the present state of things they expected to reduce the fort, but in the hope that, under cover of their fire, the two ships which were grounded might be got off. Notwithstanding their efforts, the *Augusta* took fire and blew up; the *Merlin*, which could not be removed, was hastily evacuated and laid in a train of destruction. The frigates, despairing of success, and fearing the effect of the explosion, retired with the utmost expedition. The Congress voted their thanks and a sword to colonels Greene and Smith, for having so gallantly defended the two forts.

The ill success of these two attacks did not, however, discourage the British commanders; and such was the importance of opening the navigation of the Delaware, as well to secure the arrival of stores and supplies as to obtain a free communication with the fleet, that they resolved to leave no means unessayed for the attainment of this object.

Fort Mifflin was placed at the lower end of Mud Island, having its principal fortifications in front, for the purpose of repelling ships coming up the river. At the opposite extremity, no attack being expected, as the naval means of the British in Philadelphia were too feeble to excite alarm, the fort was surrounded only by a wet ditch. This part, however, was flanked by a blockhouse at each of its angles, one of which had been much damaged in the late attack. A little above Mud Island is another small morassy island called *Province Island*; this the English had occupied in order to be able to batter Fort Mifflin in its rear, and weakest part. They were incessantly employed in conveying thither heavy artillery, provisions, and stores, by a difficult channel, near the west bank of the river, behind Hog Island. They also erected fortifications, in the most suitable places. The Americans perceived distinctly that when the enemy should have completed his works in this island, their position in Mud Island would no longer be tenable.

Washington would have desired, by a sudden expedition, to dislodge the English from Province Island, but as Howe had thrown a bridge over the Schuylkill, he might, while the Americans were attempting this stroke, have fallen upon their rear and cut off their retreat. If the American general marched with all his army to cover it, he exposed himself to a general battle, which he wished to avoid. It appeared to him imprudent, to put so much at hazard, after the late unfortunate actions. He felt the greater repugnance to embrace adventurous counsels, as he was already apprised of the successes obtained by the northern army; in consequence of which, a great part of the troops employed against Burgoyne, might be drawn to reenforce his own. He abstained, therefore, from undertaking the enterprise against Province Island, hoping however that the courage of the defenders of Fort Mifflin, and the succours that might be sent them secretly, would suffice to prolong their resistance.

But every thing being prepared on the side of the English, they executed their attack the fifteenth of November. All the ships being arrived at their posts, opened a furious cannonade. The Americans answered it, at first, with no less vigor from the fort, from the batteries of New Jersey, and from the galleys which were stationed near that shore. But at length, the works being battered down and the ditches filled up with their ruins, their situation became critical.

They perceived the English were taking measures for storming the body of the fortress the following morning, and being sensible that, in the present state of things, it was not defensible, having sent off their stores, they set fire to every thing that was capable of receiving it, and evacuated the place in the night. They withdrew to Red Bank. The next day the English took possession of the fort.

It still remained to dislodge the soldiers of Congress from Red Bank, before the obstructions of the Delaware could be entirely removed. This operation was of absolute necessity; for, although some vessels of easy burthen, being loaded with provisions from the country about Chester, where the inhabitants were well affected to the royal cause, brought scanty supplies to Philadelphia, yet the scarcity in that city became daily more distressing; and firewood was almost totally wanting.

In consequence of these considerations, general Howe having covered Philadelphia by intrenchments, extending from the Delaware to the Schuylkill, and having received some reinforcements from New York, sent Cornwallis with a strong detachment to the Jersey shore, with instructions to collect provisions, and attack Fort Mercer in the rear. That general, having crossed from Chester to Billings point, prepared to execute the orders he had received. He was there joined by a body of forces just arrived from New York. Washington, upon intelligence of this movement, being earnestly desirous to preserve, if practicable, a position so capable of arresting the progress of the enemy, had ordered major-general Greene, an officer he much esteemed for his talents and intrepidity, to pass, also, at the head of a strong detachment into New Jersey. A hope was entertained that he would be able, not only to protect Fort Mercer, but to obtain some decisive advantage over lord Cornwallis; as the situation of the fort, which the British general could only invest by placing himself between Timber and Manto Creeks, neither of them fordable for a great distance from the Delaware, would expose the assailants to great peril from a respectable force in their rear. General Greene passed the Delaware, and landed at Burlington. He was accompanied by the marquis de la Fayette, who was eager to enter the field again, though not yet well cured of his wound.



This division was to be reenforced by the troops expected from the banks of the Hudson. The march was commenced ; but general Greene being informed that Cornwallis was become greatly superior to him in number, by the junction of the reenforcement from New York, abandoned the plan of giving him battle. Hence colonel Greene, who commanded the garrison, losing all hope of succour, and apprised of the approach of Cornwallis, evacuated Fort Mercer and Red Bank, leaving his artillery, with a considerable quantity of cannon ball and stores in the power of the royalists. The English dismantled the fort, and demolished all the works.

The American shipping having now lost all protection on either side of the river, several galleys and other armed vessels took the advantage of a favorable night to pass the batteries of Philadelphia, and escape to places of security further up. The English, on perceiving this transaction, sent an officer with a party of seamen to man the Delaware frigate, and took 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 two floating batteries, and four fire ships. The English having secured, as we have seen, the command of the river, labored to clear it of all the impediments with which the Americans had obstructed its channel. But the difficulties they had to surmount were extreme, and the season was far advanced, it being already the last of November. With all these efforts they could only obtain such an opening through the upper barrier as admitted vessels of easy burthen. These were accordingly employed for the transport of provisions and stores to Philadelphia. Although the royalists had thus partly succeeded in reestablishing the navigation of the Delaware, the resistance of the republicans had been so strenuous and so long, that general Howe could find no opportunity for attacking the army of Washington before it was reenforced by the victorious troops of the Hudson. Acting always with prudence, the British general would never expose himself to the hazard of a battle until he was sure of being able to communicate freely with the fleet of the admiral, his brother, as well on account of supplies, as for the security of retreat in case of misfortune. General Greene had remained in New Jersey. He had already been joined by several corps sent by general Gates to the assistance of the army of Pennsylvania ; among them was that of Morgan's riflemen, become celebrated by a multitude of brilliant exploits. Washington was not without hopes that Greene would find occasion to gain some advantage that might counterbalance the losses, which it had been impossible to avoid. But Cornwallis had so fortified himself on Gloucester Point, that he was perfectly secure from any enterprise on the part of general Greene. Washington then became apprehensive that the British general, having accomplished all the

objects of his expedition into New Jersey, by the reduction of Fort Mercer, the junction with his reinforcements, and the expediting of a great quantity of provisions to Philadelphia, might suddenly recross the Delaware, and thus enable Howe, with all his forces, to attack the American army while divided. Greene was therefore ordered to repass the river immediately, and join the principal army at Skippach Creek. Similar considerations determined general Howe to direct the detachment of Cornwallis to rejoin him without delay. Before, however, the two parties evacuated New Jersey, Morgan's rifle corps and some detachments of militia, commanded by the marquis de la Fayette, gallantly attacked and routed a body of Hessians and English grenadiers. After this affair, the marquis, who had till then served as a volunteer, was invested by Congress with the command of a division of the army.

Washington had at length been reenforced by the troops which Gates had sent him; their march had experienced difficulties and frequent delays. Gates himself had shown much repugnance to put them in motion; and, besides, they had manifested a mutinous spirit towards their chiefs, declaring that they would not march without money and without clothing. Their officers, however, finally succeeded in persuading them to proceed. This aid was composed of four thousand men of approved courage, and flushed with recent victory; but squalid in their appearance, from fatigues and want of necessaries. After the junction of these troops, Washington advanced within fourteen miles of Philadelphia, to a place called White Marsh, where he encamped in a very strong position, with his right to the Wissahickon creek, and the front partly covered by Sandy Run. At this time the American army consisted of twelve thousand regulars and something over, with about three thousand militia. Howe had with him but little more than twelve thousand fighting men.

He was ardently desirous, however, of giving battle. Hoping that the late reenforcement would animate his adversary with the same desire, he marched on the fourth of December towards the enemy, fully determined to make another trial of the fortune of arms. He took post on Chestnut Hill, in front of the enemy's right, at only three miles' distance. Some skirmishes happened, in which the royalists generally had the advantage. But Howe, finding that the right of the enemy afforded no opening for an attack, changed his ground before day on the seventh, and took a new position opposite to their centre and left, not more than a mile from their lines. He continued to extend upon the enemy's left, as if his intention was to turn it, and attack in the rear. Washington did not shun the battle, but chose to receive it in his lines. According to his invariable plan, he thought, first of all, of the preservation of the army, on which depended the fate of all America. At length, the British general, finding that



nothing could provoke or entice him into the field, and that his camp was in every part inaccessible, after a variety of fruitless manœuvres, returned to Philadelphia. The British army suffered greatly in these marches and counter marches, from the severity of the weather, both officers and soldiers being totally destitute of tents and field equipage; this, added to the fatigues of war, had reduced them to a deplorable condition. Upon this account, and considering the steadiness of the enemy in declining to fight without every probability of success, general Howe determined to place his troops in winter quarters at Philadelphia; having first, however, sent out a strong detachment of cavalry, under lord Cornwallis, to make a general forage on the western side of the Schuylkill. Washington, in like manner, resolved to give his troops winter lodgings; but he was undecided where to choose them. He was not willing to leave the country exposed to the depredations of the enemy, and yet he wished to avoid extending his quarters too much, lest they should be forced at different points by sudden attacks.

On the west side of the Schuylkill, about twenty miles from Philadelphia, is a deep and rugged hollow, called *Valley Forge*. Upon the mountainous flanks of this valley, and upon a vast plain which overlooks it, as well as all the adjacent country, Washington finally concluded to establish his army for the winter.

His soldiers were too ill clothed to admit of their being exposed to the inclemency of that season under mere tents; it was therefore decided that a sufficient number of huts should be erected, to be made of logs and filled in with mortar, in which they would find a more effectual shelter. The whole army began its march towards Valley Forge; some soldiers were seen to drop dead with cold; others, without shoes, had their feet cut by the ice, and left their tracks in blood. After the most painful efforts, the troops at length reached their destined quarters. They immediately set about constructing their habitations, which they erected upon the plan of a regular city. All was movement; some cut down trees, others fashioned them; in a short time all the barracks were completed, and the soldiers comfortably lodged. After a severe and sanguinary campaign of four months, the two armies appeared thus to enjoy some repose, sufficiently protected from the rigors of the season. The British general had derived no other fruit from all his victories, and from all his manœuvres, than simply that of having procured excellent winter quarters for his army.

1778. In this alternation of good and ill success, passed the year 1777 for the two belligerent parties in America. If the Americans, in the war of Canada and upon the banks of the Hudson, gave brilliant proofs of no common valor; if, in their campaign of Pennsylvania, they bore their reverses with an heroic firmness, they exhibited in their quarters of Valley Forge such examples of constancy and resig-

nation, as we should not dare to pronounce ever to have been equalled by other nations, in any age or any country. They had not only to endure the extreme inclemency of the season, but the most distressing destitution of things the most necessary to life. These sufferings of the army originated from several causes, such as the pressure of circumstances, the avarice of the contractors or purchasing commissaries, the adverse dispositions of the inhabitants, and, finally, the little experience of Congress itself in affairs relating to public administration, especially in the military department.

Scarcely were the troops established in their encampment of Valley Forge, when Howe, having sent a strong detachment to forage in the islands of the Delaware, and the country about Derby, Washington, in order to oppose it, was inclined to march a considerable part of his army towards that point. But on viewing the state of the magazines, it was discovered, with surprise and alarm, that they contained no more than one day's provision.

In such pressing danger of a total famine, and the entire dissolution of the army, it became necessary not only to relinquish the design of marching against the English, but instantly to detach parties different ways to seize, as in an enemy's country, the provision requisite to satisfy the present wants of the army. Washington was authorised to take this measure by the urgency of the conjuncture, and by the decree of Congress, which conferred upon him dictatorial powers. The foragers executed their commissions, and by incredible exertions, and not without exciting the greatest discontent among the country people, victualled the camp for a few days; but soon the same distress was felt anew, and the same resource could not the second time afford relief. Whatever efforts were made, little could be gleaned, as well because the adjacent country was already nearly exhausted, as because the inhabitants were careful to conceal in the woods and swamps, their cattle, and other articles, liable to be taken for the use of the army; they acted thus, either from contrariety of opinion, or from love of gain. They preferred to encounter all the perils of carrying their supplies to Philadelphia, where they were paid for them in ready money, to reserving them for the use of their own soldiers, because, in the latter case, they only received certificates to be discharged at some future time. They much doubted whether they would ever be liquidated, so great was their want of confidence in the stability of the government, and they were not ignorant that some of these bills had been refused payment when fully due.

The commander-in-chief had not neglected to write, in the most pressing terms, to the governors of New England, requesting them to send forward subsistence for the army with all possible expedition, and especially supplies of cattle, which abound in those provinces. The purchasing commissaries had repaired thither, and contracted, particularly in Connecticut, for immense quantities of provisions, well



knowing the impossibility of subsisting an army, for any length of time, by compulsory requisitions. But these means were slow in operating the desired relief; and a false measure of Congress had nearly frustrated the effect which was expected from the contracts. The victories of Howe, and the gloomy aspect of affairs in Pennsylvania, and perhaps more than all, the enormous issues of bills of credit, which the Congress, controlled by a fatal necessity, were continually making, had occasioned these bills to fall at that epoch to one fourth of their nominal value, so that one hundred dollars in paper would command no more than twenty-five dollars in specie. The price of articles of the first necessity had advanced nearly in proportion, and the commissaries, in order to conclude their bargains, had been obliged to conform to the current rates. The Congress disapproved of their doings, attributing to the avarice of the citizens what was really the effect of the public distress. Accordingly, they either annulled the contracts or postponed the execution of them. Not satisfied with this, they passed a resolution which could not appear to have been dictated by an indispensable necessity, since, from its very nature, it could never be carried into effect. They invited the different states of the Union to determine, and establish by express laws, not only the price of labor, but also that of all articles of common use in human life. The several states complied with the recommendation of Congress, and appraised things by law. The result was, that the citizens secreted their effects, and buyers could find nothing they wanted, either in the public markets or elsewhere.

Famine began to prevail in the camp of Valley Forge; already the most alarming consequences were apprehended. Notwithstanding their admirable patience, the soldiers murmured, and a mutiny appeared inevitable. The Congress, at length constrained by the force of things, retraced their steps, and recommended to the several state legislatures the repeal of all laws on the subject of prices.

The contracts of the purchasing commissaries were allowed to take effect. But the difficulty of procuring a sufficient number of wheel carriages still delayed the arrival of the convoys. Washington, to prevent the total dissolution of his army, ordered a general forage in the neighborhood of the camp, under the direction of general Greene. Captains Lee and Mac Lane, officers no less sagacious than active, were charged with a similar commission in the states of Maryland and Delaware; and colonel Tilghman in New Jersey. Each of these executed the orders of the commander-in-chief with equal zeal and effect; they penetrated into the most retired places of concealment, where they found grain and cattle in abundance. Captains Mac Lane and Lee, in particular, discovered large droves in the marshy meadows on the Delaware, ready to be expedited for Philadelphia, which they soon caused to take the direction of Valley Forge. Thus the camp found itself again victualled for the present.

It may perhaps appear unaccountable, that the American government should not seasonably have employed those means which might have prevented so urgent a peril. It is, however, certain, that soon after the commencement of hostilities, the Congress had appointed colonel Trumbull, a man of excellent abilities, and a zealous patriot, to superintend the purchasing of necessaries for the troops. But from his want of experience, and perhaps of sufficient support on the part of the government, as yet not well consolidated, it had resulted, that the army was often on the point of suffering from the deficiency of supplies; hence the plans of the commander-in-chief were frequently frustrated, and the movements of his army embarrassed, to the loss of many fair opportunities for the most important strokes.

When afterwards, about the middle of the year 1777, the department of colonel Trumbull began to be administered with more regularity, the Congress, believing that the more officers of supply they had under their control, the better the troops would be served, created two commissaries-general, the one of purchases and the other of issues. They determined that each of these commissaries-general should have four deputies, to be appointed by Congress, not removable by the head of the department, and accountable to themselves only.

They afterwards resolved that the quarter-master-general's department should be executed on the following plan;

'First, the military line, to be styled the quarter-master-general's, is to include the regulating of marches, encampments and order of battle. Second, the commissary of forage. Third, the commissary of horses and wagons. Fourth, the agent for the purchase of tents, intrenching tools, building of barracks, and for all the smaller supplies of the department.' Colonel Trumbull, dissatisfied with this multiplicity of departments, and still more with this independence of the deputies with respect to the head of the department, requested the Congress to appoint him a successor. The Congress persisted in their plan. The old order of things being thus annihilated, and the new not yet organised, there followed those serious inconveniences which we have mentioned above.

Congress at length perceived the inevitable preponderancy in times of war, and especially, in new states, of military men and affairs over civil; they saw there was no possibility of inducing the generals, who all disapproved it, to execute their plan for the administration of the army. It was accordingly abandoned, and general Greene, who enjoyed the entire confidence of the commander-in-chief, was appointed quarter-master-general, and a very suitable person named Wadsworth, commissary-general of purchases; both having power to appoint and remove their assistants. But these measures were not adopted till very late; and before the salutary effects of the new system could be felt, the army was a prey to such mischiefs and miseries, as brought the republic to the very brink of destruction.



The distresses of the troops were far from being confined to dearth of sustenance ; the greatest scarcity, or rather a total want of all other necessaries, was also experienced in the camp. It was utterly unprovided even of clothing, an article so essential to the health, as well as to the spirits of the soldiers ; tattered and half naked, they would sooner have been taken for so many mendicants, than defenders of a generous country.

Some few had one shirt, but many only the moiety of one, and the greater part none at all. Many, for want of shoes, walked bare-foot on the frozen ground. Few, if any, had blankets for the night. Great numbers sickened ; others, unfitted for service by the cold and their nakedness, were excused by their officers from all military duty, and either remained in their barracks, or were lodged in the houses of the neighboring farmers. Near three thousand men were thus rendered incapable of bearing arms. Congress had neglected no care to provide a remedy for so alarming an evil. They had authorised the commander-in-chief, as we have already said, to seize, wherever he might be, and from any person whatever, all articles of necessity for the army ; and nothing could be more essential than to clothe it. But Washington felt great repugnance to using this power ; as, on the one hand, it exasperated the citizens, and, on the other, it accustomed the soldiers to lay hands on the property of others. The Congress considered these scruples unseasonable ; they recommended to the legislatures of each state to enact laws, appointing suitable persons to seize and take for the use of the army, all articles proper for the clothing of soldiers, on condition, however, of paying the proprietors for the articles so taken, at a rate to be fixed by the convention of the committees appointed for this purpose by the several states.

They also created a commissary-general of clothing for the troops, to be assisted by a deputy commissary in each state, as well for the purpose of superintending the compulsory requisitions, as in order, if practicable, to procure all that was necessary by way of contracts. But these measures were slow in producing the desired effect. Many detested the thought of wresting from their fellow-citizens what they would not sell voluntarily. There prevailed, besides, at this time, in all the states, a scarcity of cloths, linens, leather, and generally of all the articles that were most wanted. Nevertheless, the deputy commissary of the clothing department in Massachusetts, had succeeded in concluding contracts with several merchants for large quantities of merchandise, at the rate of ten to eighteen per cent. above the current price. Their terms appeared exorbitant to some, and even to the Congress, and much was said about the avarice of the merchants. It was however just to consider, that the bills they received in payment were already fallen to one fourth of their nominal value ; that the merchandise in question was extremely scarce in the country ;

that the price of labor was greatly advanced, and that it was become extremely difficult to make remittance to foreign countries. Whether it was that these murmurs had piqued the merchants, or that cupidity had really more power over them than the promises of the government, several of those who had entered into contracts refused to furnish, unless they were paid in advance. The Congress, being informed of this determination, addressed a letter to the state government, requesting that the goods should be seized from such as refused to fulfil their contracts, at prices to be fixed by commissioners appointed for that purpose under the state authority. These resolutions of Congress, and the letters written to the states by Washington, urging them in the most earnest language to come to the succour of his suffering army, at length produced all the effect that was desired; yet not so promptly, however, but that the greater part of the winter was already elapsed when the first convoys of clothing arrived at the camp.

To all the miseries of the army already enumerated, must still be added the want of straw. The soldiers, overwhelmed with lassitude, enfeebled by hunger, and benumbed with cold in their service by day and by night, had no other bed in their huts except the bare and humid ground. This cause, joined to the others that have been related, propagated diseases; the hospitals were as rapidly replenished as death evacuated them; their administration was no less defective in its organisation than that of the camp. The unsuitableness of the buildings in which they had been established, the excessive penury of every kind of furniture, and the multitude of sick that crowded them, had generated an insupportable fetor. The hospital fever broke out in them, and daily swept off the most robust as well as the feeble. It was not possible to remedy it by often changing the linen, for of this they were utterly unprovided; nor by a more salubrious diet, when the coarsest was scarcely attainable; nor even by medicines, which were either absolutely wanting, or of the worst quality, and adulterated through the cupidity of the contractors; for such, in general, has been the nature of these furnishers of armies, that they should rather be denominated the *artisans of scarcity*; they have always preferred money to the life of the soldier. Hence it was, that the American hospital resembled more a receptacle for the dying than a refuge for the sick; far from restoring health to the diseased, it more often proved mortal to the well. This pestilential den was the terror of the army. The soldiers preferred perishing with cold in the open air, to being buried alive in the midst of the dead. Whether it was the effect of inevitable necessity, or of the avarice of men, it is but too certain, that an untimely death carried off a multitude of brave soldiers, who, with better attentions, might have been preserved for the defence of their country in its distress.



All these disorders, so pernicious to the republic, took their origin in the causes we have related, and partly also in the military organisation itself. The chiefs appeared to acknowledge no system, and the subalterns no restraint of obedience. Horses were allowed to perish in the highways, or to escape into the fields, without search. The roads were incumbered with carts belonging to the army, and unfit for service. Hence it happened, that when the incredible exertions of the government and of good citizens had succeeded in collecting provisions for the army, they could not be conveyed to the camp, and, by long delays, they were again dispersed, or wasted. This defect of carriages was equally prejudicial to the transportation of arms and military stores, which were, in consequence, abandoned to the discretion of those who either plundered them, or suffered them to be plundered. An incalculable quantity of public effects was thus dissipated or destroyed. In the camp of Valley Forge, men were constrained to perform, as they really did, with inconceivable patience, the service of beasts of draught, as well in procuring firewood as in drawing the artillery. And certainly, nothing could be imagined to equal the sufferings which the American army had to undergo in the course of this winter, except the almost superhuman firmness with which they bore them. Not but that a certain number, seduced by the royalists, deserted their colors, and slunk off to the British army in Philadelphia; but these were mostly Europeans, who had entered the continental service. The trueborn Americans, supported by their patriotism, as by their love and veneration for the commander-in-chief, manifested an unshaken perseverance; they chose rather to suffer all the extremes of famine and of frost, than to violate, in this perilous hour, the faith they had pledged to their country. They were encouraged, it is true, by the example of their generals, who, with an air of serenity, took part in all their fatigues, and shared in all their privations. But can it be dissembled, that if general Howe had seen fit to seize the opportunity, and had suddenly attacked the camp at Valley Forge, he would inevitably have gained a complete victory? Without military stores and without provisions, how could the Americans have defended their intrenchments? Besides, to enter the field anew, in the midst of so rigorous a season, was become for them an absolute impossibility. On the first of February, four thousand of their men were incapable of any kind of service, for want of clothing. The condition of the rest was very little better. In a word, out of the seventeen thousand men that were in camp, it would have been difficult to muster five thousand fit for service.

We pretend not to decide what were the motives of the British general for not taking advantage of a conjuncture so favorable. It appears to us, at least, that the extreme regard he had to the preservation of his troops, did but lead him on this occasion to reserve

them for greater perils ; and his circumspection rather deserves the appellation of timidity than of prudence.

Washington was filled with anguish at the calamities of his army. But nothing gave him more pain than to see his soldiers exposed to the most pernicious example ; the officers openly declared the design of resigning their commissions ; many of them had already left the army, and returned to their families. This determination was principally owing to the depreciation of paper money ; it was become so considerable, and the price of all articles of consumption, as well for this reason as from the difficulties of commerce, was so prodigiously advanced that the officers, far from being able to live as it became their rank, had not even the means of providing for their subsistence. Some had already exhausted their private resources to maintain a decent appearance, and others, destitute of patrimonial fortune, had been forced to contract debts, or restrict themselves to a parsimony little worthy of the rank with which they were invested. Hence a disinclination for the service became almost universal. Nor should it be supposed that only the less deserving or worthless desired to resign ; for the regiments being incomplete, and the number of officers too great, their retreat would not have been an evil ; but it was especially the bravest, the most distinguished, the most spirited, who, disdaining more than others the state of degradation to which they were reduced, were fully resolved to quit the army, in order to escape from it. Alarmed at the progress of the evil, Washington endeavored to resist it by the use of those remedies which he believed the most suitable ; he spared neither promises nor encouragements ; he wrote the most pressing letters to the Congress that they might seriously consider the subject, and take the proper measures thereon. He exhorted them especially, to secure half pay to the officers after the war, either for life or for a definite term. He observed that it was easy to talk of patriotism, and to cite a few examples from ancient history of great enterprises carried by this alone to a successful conclusion ; but that those who relied solely upon individual sacrifices for the support of a long and sanguinary war, must not expect to enjoy their illusion long ; that it was necessary to take the passions of men as they are, and not as it might be wished to find them ; that the love of country had indeed operated great things in the commencement of the present revolution ; but that to continue and complete it, required also the incentive of interest and the hope of reward. The Congress manifested at first very little inclination to adopt the propositions of the commander-in-chief, either because they deemed them too extraordinary, or from reluctance to load the state with so heavy a burden ; or, finally, because they thought the grants of lands to the officers and soldiers, of which we have made mention in its place, ought to satisfy the wishes of men possessed of any moderation. But at length, submitting to



necessity, they decreed an allowance of half pay for life to the officers of the army, with the reservation, however, to the government of the power to commute it, if deemed expedient, for the sum of six years' half pay. A short time after they passed another resolution, which restricted the allowance of half pay to seven years, dating from the end of the war. These measures, though salutary, were not taken till too late, and, moreover, were not sufficiently spontaneous on the part of the government. Already more than two hundred officers of real merit had given up their commissions; and it was again exemplified on this occasion, that a benefit long delayed loses much of its value. Nor should the Congress have forgotten, that the founders of a new state control not, but are controlled by, soldiers; and that since their support is so indispensable, and it is impossible to resist them, the wiser course is to content them.

In the midst of his anxieties, created by the causes we have mentioned, Washington had the additional chagrin of finding that certain intrigues were in agitation against himself. The impatient, who would have events to succeed each other with the same rapidity as their own desires, and the ambitious, who, to raise themselves, are always ready to impute to others the strokes of fortune, or the effects of necessity, gave out on all occasions, and even published in the gazettes, that the reverses of the two preceding years, in New Jersey and in Pennsylvania, were more owing to the incapacity of the commander-in-chief than to any other cause. They enlarged upon the victories of Gates, whom they placed far above Washington, and were continually extolling the heroic valor of the Americans, which rendered them capable of the most splendid achievements, when they were led to battle by an able commander. Nor was it merely among private persons that these slanders were circulated; discontent caused them to be repeated by men in office, gave them admittance into several of the state legislatures, into the midst of the army, and finally, even into the Congress itself. It appeared, that the object of these machinations was to give Washington so many disgusts that he should of himself retire from the head of the army, and thus make room for the immediate promotion of Gates to that exalted station. Whether this general himself had any hand in the intrigue, is a matter of uncertainty. If the rectitude and acknowledged generosity of his character be considered, it will appear more probable that he had not. But ambition is a passion of inconceivable subtilty, which insinuates itself under the appearances of virtue, and too often corrupts and sullies the most ingenuous minds. It is certain that Gates was not ignorant of the object of the combination, and that he threw no difficulties in the way. Perhaps he entertained the opinion, and the authors of these machinations with him, that Washington was not able to sustain so great a weight, and intended, by giving him a successor, to save the country. As for us,

that respect for truth which ought to be our only guide, compels us to declare that the leaders of this combination, very little concerned for the public good, were immoderately so for their own, and that the aim of all their efforts was, to advance themselves and their friends at the expense of others. Among them, and of the first rank, was general Conway, one of the most wily and restless intriguers, that passed in those times from Europe into America. Declaiming and vociferating, incessantly besieging all the members of Congress with his complaints, he pretended that there existed no sort of discipline in the American army, that there was no two regiments which manœuvred alike, and not two officers in any regiment who could execute or command the military exercises; in a word, he had said and done so much, that the Congress appointed him inspector and major-general. This appointment excited loud murmurs in the camp, and the brigadier-generals remonstrated. But this man, bent on attaining his purposes, and whose audacity knew no bounds, openly spake of the commander-in-chief in the most derogatory terms; and, as it always happens in times of adversity, he readily found those who believed him.

The assembly of Pennsylvania was the first to break the ice; on the report that Washington was moving into winter quarters, they addressed a remonstrance to Congress, severely censuring this measure of the commander-in-chief, and expressing in very plain words, their dissatisfaction at the mode in which he had conducted the war. The Pennsylvanians were excessively chagrined at the loss of their capital, forgetful of their own backwardness in strengthening the army which had twice fought superior numbers in their defence. It was, moreover, believed, at the time, that the members of Congress from Massachusetts, and particularly Samuel Adams, had never been able to brook that the supreme command of all the armies should have been conferred upon a Virginian, to the exclusion of the generals of their province, who then enjoyed a reputation not inferior, and perhaps superior to that of Washington. It appeared also that these delegates, being the most zealous partisans of the revolution, were far from approving the moderation of the commander-in-chief. They would have preferred placing at the head of affairs a more ardent and decided republican; and it is asserted that they were on the point of demanding an inquiry into the causes of the unsuccessful issue of the campaigns of the years 1776 and 1777.

This had not effect. But a board of war was created, under the direction of generals Gates and Mifflin, both of whom, if they were not, were thought to be, among the authors of these machinations against Washington. Anonymous letters were circulated, in which he was cruelly lacerated; they made him responsible as well for the disastrous campaigns of Jersey and Pennsylvania, as for the deplorable condition to which the troops were reduced in their winter quar-



ters. One of these letters was addressed to Laurens, the president of Congress; it was filled with heavy accusations against the commander-in-chief. Another, similar, was sent to Henry, the governor of Virginia; both transmitted them to Washington. Supported by that elevated spirit, and by that firmness which no reverses of fortune could abate, the serenity he enjoyed was not even for a moment interrupted. He received with the same temper another determination of Congress, matured in concert with the new board of war, perhaps to let it be seen that they knew how to act by themselves, or because they had really withdrawn from the commander-in-chief a great part of the confidence they had placed in him in times past. They had projected a new expedition against Canada. It was proposed to place at the head of this enterprise the marquis de la Fayette, whose qualifications, as a Frenchman of illustrious rank, promised peculiar advantages for the conquest of a province recently French. But, perhaps also, the authors of this scheme had it principally in view, in separating La Fayette from Washington, to deprive the commander-in-chief of the defence he found in so faithful a friend. He was to have been accompanied by the same Conway mentioned above, and by general Starke. Washington, without having been at all consulted upon this expedition, and even without its being communicated to him, received orders to put Hazen's regiment of Canadians on the march for Albany. He obeyed without delay. The marquis, on his arrival at Albany, found nothing prepared for the expedition; neither men, nor arms, nor munitions. He complained of it to Congress; the enterprise was relinquished. Washington was authorised to recall the young Frenchman to his camp; as to Conway, he was not invited thither. Soon after, having made himself the object of general animadversion by the arrogance of his manners, and his intrigues against Washington, he requested and obtained leave to resign. He was succeeded in the office of inspector-general by the baron Steuben, a Prussian officer of distinguished reputation, who, perfectly versed in the tactics of Frederick II. undertook to teach them to the soldiers of Congress. By his exertions the Americans learned to manœuvre with uniformity, and their discipline was essentially improved.

It would be impossible to express with what indignation the whole army and the best citizens were filled, on hearing of the machinations that were in agitation against the illustrious chief, who possessed their entire affection. An universal outcry arose against the intriguers. Conway no longer durst show himself among the soldiers, who threatened to wreak their vengeance upon him. He repaired to York, in Pennsylvania, where at that time the Congress resided. As to Samuel Adams, hurried away by the enthusiasm of his patriotic sentiments, he had probably acted from no other motive but the good of the state; even he thought it prudent, however, to keep aloof from the officers and soldiers, under the apprehension of injury from the effects

of their fury. If the Congress, yielding to the artifices and importunities of the enemies of Washington, had been induced to take the resolutions we have related, they were nevertheless not ignorant how dangerous, in affairs of state, are changes made without due reflection. They were perfectly aware that France, whose intervention they hoped soon to obtain, would never repose in a man, English born, as was Gates, the unbounded confidence she had already placed in the American chief. They could not but perceive that, though there might be a warrior possessed of talents equal to those of Washington, there was none who could rival him in fidelity, in rectitude, in goodness, and still less in the esteem of the people, and the affection of the soldiers. Upon these considerations, the Congress maintained a firm stand against all intrigues, and manifested no appearance of a disposition to take the supreme command from one who had approved himself so worthy to hold it. Washington was fully apprised of the artifices that were employed to diminish his well earned reputation; far from allowing them to intimidate him, he did not even appear to notice them. He indulged none of that secret discontent which men of weak minds, or whose hearts are devoured by ambition, are too apt, in similar circumstances to cherish against their country; his zeal for his duty never experienced the smallest remission. This conjuncture certainly enabled him to exhibit his moderation and his constancy in all their splendor; it proved that he could vanquish himself. He was in the midst of an army dejected by repeated defeats, destitute of every accommodation, and reduced to the verge of famine. Gates, at the same time, shone with all the lustre of recent victory, and all the renown of his ancient exploits. As to Washington, lacerated by the public prints, denounced in anonymous letters, publicly accused by the representation of different provinces, even the Congress seemed ready to abandon him to the fury of his enemies. In the midst of a storm so formidable, he maintained entire, not only the stability, but even the calmness of his mind; all devotion to his country, he seemed to have forgotten himself. The twenty-third of January he wrote from Valley Forge, that neither interest nor ambition had engaged him in the public service; that he had accepted, and not solicited, the command; that he had not undertaken it without that distrust of himself, felt by every man not destitute of all knowledge, from the apprehension of not being able to perform worthily the part assigned him; that, as far as his abilities had permitted, he had fulfilled his duty, aiming as invariably at the object proposed, as the magnetic needle points at the pole; that as soon as the nation should no longer desire his services, or another should be found more capable than himself, of satisfying its expectations, he should quit the helm, and return to a private station, with as much pleasure as ever the wearied traveller retired to rest; that he wished from the bottom of his heart, his successor might experience more



propitious gales, and less numerous obstacles; that if his exertions had not answered the expectations of his fellow-citizens, no one could lament it more sincerely than himself; but that he thought it proper to add, a day would come, when the interests of America would no longer exact of him an impenetrable mystery; and that until then, he would not be the first to reveal truths which might prejudice his country, whatever wrongs to himself might result from his silence. By the concluding words, he alluded to the insidious proceedings of the ambitious, the shameful malversations of the army contractors, and the peculations or delinquencies of all those by whose fault the army was reduced to such an extremity of distress and calamity.

May this admirable moderation of Washington teach those in elevated stations, that popular rewards and public favor should never be measured by the standard of self love, and that though the rulers of nations are often ungrateful, men who sincerely love their country, may still find consolations and glory in knowing how to control even a just resentment.

Washington, in the midst of so trying a crisis, not only always kept the mastery of himself, but he often also consulted the Congress upon the military operations he meditated, upon the measures to be taken, in order to fill up the regiments, and, finally, upon all the means of placing the army in a condition to commence the ensuing campaign with the necessary resources.

It was known that the British general expected large reinforcements from Europe; Washington was desirous of resuming hostilities early, in order to attack him before they arrived. This plan was of extreme importance; he was accordingly indefatigable in urging the Congress and the governments of the several states, by frequent letters, that the preparations for the campaign might experience no delay. All would equally have wished to comply with the desires of the commander-in-chief; but deliberations are taken of necessity but tardily in popular governments.

What ought to have been ready in the beginning of spring, was but scantily forth coming in the course of all the summer. Even the organisation of the army was not completed until about the last of May. Until then there was observed an extreme disparity, not only between the regiments of different states, but even between those of the same state; a confusion productive of singular detriment to the service. But by a decree of the 27th of May, the infantry, cavalry, artillery, and engineers, were organised upon an uniform system in all parts of the army. These delays might have proved essentially prejudicial to the American arms, if unforeseen events had not prevented the British generals from opening the campaign so soon as they would have desired. They contented themselves with detaching their light troops to scour the country in the neighborhood of Philadelphia and the nearer parts of New Jersey, in order to forage

and secure the roads. These excursions produced nothing remarkable, except it be that an English detachment having surprised, in the month of March, a party of Americans at the bridges of Quinton and Hancock, all the soldiers who composed it were barbarously massacred, while crying for quarter. The English, about the same time, undertook an expedition up the Delaware, in order to destroy the magazines of Bordentown, and to take or burn the vessels which the Americans had withdrawn up the river between Philadelphia and Trenton. In both these enterprises they succeeded to their wishes. They attempted also to surprise the marquis de la Fayette, who was encamped at Baron Hill, on the left bank of the Schuylkill, with a considerable body of troops; but he baffled their enterprise by his activity and judicious dispositions, although in the commencement of the action, general Grant had obtained some advantage over him.

While these events were passing on land, hostilities were also prosecuted upon sea, where the Americans daily acquired reputation. They manifested so bold and enterprising a spirit in their maritime expeditions, that the British commerce suffered on their part incredible losses. Since the commencement of the war in 1776, they had already captured upwards of five hundred English vessels, of different sizes, and all with cargoes of great value. Emboldened by their success, even the coasts of Great Britain were not secure from their insults, where they daily took numerous prizes. The royal navy, however, opposed their enterprises, and took many of their ships in the seas of America and of Europe; but the advantage, nevertheless, remained very decidedly with the Americans.

In the meantime, sir Henry Clinton was arrived at Philadelphia, having been appointed commander-in-chief of all the royal forces, in the place of sir William Howe, who returned to England. Dissatisfied with the ministers, who had not sent him all the reenforcements he considered necessary to the decision of the war, he had offered his resignation, and the ministers had accepted it with promptitude. They did not forgive him for not having more effectually cooperated with Burgoyne, and for not having displayed all the vigor, in the conduct of the war, which they would have desired. And certainly he rather merits the praise of a prudent than of an adventurous commander. If commendation is due him for the vigor and rare ability he actually displayed in certain expeditions, perhaps he will not escape reprehension for not having undertaken any of greater magnitude and of more importance. In the commencement of the war, when the minds in America were most inflamed, and the English had not yet collected their troops, or received their reenforcements, perhaps this circumspection and this dilatory system of war, was well judged; for never should all be committed to fortune with only a partial exertion of force; and the enemy is attacked at the greatest



advantage after his ardor has already cooled. But when a great part of the Americans, exhausted by expenses, wearied by a long war and by the scarcity of every thing, were become more disposed to return to their former condition, and when the English had received all the reinforcements they could expect, the British general should have placed all his hopes of victory in the rapidity and terror of his arms. This course seems to have been recommended to him by prudence itself, when it is considered, that besides the probability of victory which a regular battle always offered to the English, the total defeat of the army of Congress involved, if not infallibly, at least in all likelihood, the absolute submission of America; while, on the other hand, the rout of the British army would not have rendered the Americans more inflexible than they were, and moreover, would not in the least have changed the dispositions of the French government, which, since the capitulation of Saratoga, manifestly tended to war. The consequences of a decisive victory were, therefore, more advantageous than those of the most complete discomfiture could have been detrimental. Howe valued himself upon being thought very sparing of the blood of his soldiers, as he could only draw reinforcements from so great a distance; and, perhaps, he feared that if he lost a pitched battle, the inhabitants might rise in fury and utterly exterminate the relics of his routed army. But so sanguinary an overthrow was not to be apprehended with such soldiers and with such officers. Besides, in the worst event, he was sure of a retreat on board the fleet, by rallying the troops in a place accessible to it.

On any hypothesis, things were now got to such a head, that it was essential to strike a decisive blow; for, upon the continuance of a war in which France was about to take part, the independence of America could scarcely appear doubtful. However the truth was, Howe certainly possessed an elevated and generous mind; he had also the desire, though rarely the power, to prevent the atrocities perpetrated by his troops; no curb could restrain the brutal fury of the Germans who followed his standard. Humane towards his soldiers, affable with his officers, a foe to disorder and violence, he was the object of general esteem and affection.

Before his departure, the officers of the army were disposed to give him a brilliant carousal; it consisted in jousts and tournaments, marches, evolutions, triumphal arches and honorary inscriptions. This entertainment, from the variety of ingredients, was called a medley. The evening terminated with a magnificent exhibition of fireworks. Sir William Howe embarked, a few days after, on board the frigate *Andromeda*. He arrived the second of July at London, where the ministerial party assailed him with torrents of invective, while that in opposition exalted him above the stars.

## BOOK NINTH.

1778. ON hearing of the catastrophe which had befallen Burgoyne, and of the almost fruitless victories of Howe, the British nation was seized with sullen affliction and discontent. The dejection was as profound as the hopes conceived had been sanguine, and the promises of ministers magnificent.

The parliament had acquiesced in all their demands, with respect to the prosecution of the war, and they had not failed to transmit to America, with promptitude, whatever was essential to the success of the preceding campaign. The generals invested with command, and the soldiers who had fought under them, were not inferior in reputation to any that England, or even Europe could produce. Hence it was inferred, that there must exist in the very nature of things, some insurmountable obstacle to victory, and the issue of the war began to be despaired of. For better or stronger armies could not be despatched to America, than those which had already been sent; and if the Americans, in the outset of their revolution, had not only withstood the English troops, but if they had even vanquished and disarmed them, of what might they not be thought capable in future, when, deriving new confidence from their successes, they should have consolidated their state by practice and experience, and availed themselves of the time which had been allowed them, to develope still greater forces against their enemies? Accordingly, so far from there being any prospect of gaining what was not possessed, the danger appeared imminent of loosing what was. Great fears were entertained especially for Canada, where the garrisons were extremely feeble, and the victorious army was upon the frontiers. No little apprehension was also felt, lest, in the heat of parties, some commotion might break out within that province, prejudicial to the interests of the king; independence being an enticing lure for every people, and especially for distant nations, and the example of the Americans was likely to influence their neighbors. Nor could it be dissembled, besides, that the Canadians, being French, for the most part, their national aversion would tend to fortify this natural proclivity, and finally, perhaps, produce some formidable convulsion. The British government beheld with grief, that enlistments became every day more difficult in America, where the loyalists appeared intimidated by the recent victories of the republicans; and even in England, where the spirit of opposition showed itself more powerfully than ever, an extreme repugnance was evidenced to bearing arms in a distant and dangerous war, which many pronounced unjust and cruel, and which, even at that epoch, every thing announced must terminate ingloriously. Nor was the prospect more flattering of obtaining new troops from Germany; for



the enormous armies kept on foot by the emperor, and the king of Prussia, exacted such a multitude of recruits, that the agents of England could not hope to procure them in any considerable number. Moreover, the intervention of France and the commissioners of Congress with those sovereigns, or that disposition to favor the American cause, which unequivocally manifested itself in all parts of Europe, had already determined several German princes to refuse a passage through their states to those feeble parties of recruits which, with incredible pains and expense, were gleaned by the British agents. But there was one consideration which, more than any other, impeded the success of their negotiations; the moment was manifestly approaching when France would declare herself in favor of the Americans, no longer by secret intrigues, or the tacit protection afforded to their privateers, but openly, and with arms in hand. Already all her preparations for war, and especially her maritime armaments, were completed. The late victories of the Americans upon the borders of the Hudson, and even the constancy they had exhibited after their reverses upon the banks of the Delaware, were sufficient pledges that their cause might be espoused without any hazard of finding in them a fickle, a faithless, or a feeble ally. The occasion so long and so ardently desired by the French for humbling the British power and arrogance, was at length offered them by propitious fortune. Their wishes were admirably served by the blind obstinacy of the British ministers and generals, who had judged as erroneously of the nature and importance of things, as of the valor and constancy of the Americans. It was not at all doubted in England, that France would avail herself of the means which presented themselves to her grasp, to repair her ancient losses. This inevitable crisis took strong hold of the public attention, and all perceived the necessity either of a long, and in no common degree perilous struggle, or of an accommodation upon little honorable terms, with that very people whose petitions had always been rejected, and who had been exasperated by so many outrages, before they were assailed by so cruel a war. Though the ministers and their adherents failed not to advance plausible reasons to justify themselves, and to authorise their conduct, yet the general opinion inclined to consider it as the more prudent counsel to listen at length to the demands of the Americans, and to adopt the course of procedure repeatedly proposed by the orators of the opposition, who had recommended that hostilities should be suspended, and a negotiation set on foot, which might lead to an admissible adjustment. Heavy complaints were heard on all parts, that so many favorable occasions for reconciliation, had been allowed to escape, as if it was intended to wait the arrival of that fatal moment when it would no longer be possible either to negotiate with honor, or to fight with glory; and when, instead of any hope of subduing or conciliating America, there was too much reason to fear the loss of other inestimable portions of the British empire.

All the attempts made previous to that time, for reducing the Americans to submission by force of arms, having proved completely abortive, it was bitterly regretted that, before undertaking new efforts, the failure of which must secure the triumph of the enemy, there had not been a disposition to listen to the conciliatory propositions submitted to parliament by the Earl of Chatham, in the sitting of the thirtieth of May, of the year last elapsed. Foreseeing the calamities which were about to fall upon his country, since the ministers were resolved to prosecute extreme measures, and perceiving distinctly that to the dangers of an intestine struggle, would soon be added the perils of a foreign war, this illustrious man, though bowed with age, and laboring under a painful malady, had caused himself to be carried to the House of Lords, where, in that strain of admirable eloquence, which always chained attention, he exerted the most magnanimous efforts to appease animosities, to extinguish the flames of war, to procure the repeal of those disastrous laws which had lighted them, and opposed an insuperable bar to the return of concord.

‘My lords,’ he said, ‘this is a flying moment, perhaps but six weeks left to arrest the dangers that surround us. The gathering storm may break; it has already opened, and in part burst. It is difficult for government, after all that has passed, to shake hands with the defiers of the king, defiers of the parliament, defiers of the people. I am a defier of nobody; but if an end is not put to this war, there is an end to this country. I do not trust my judgment in my present state of health; this is the judgment of my better days; the result of forty years attention to America.

‘They are rebels; but what are they rebels for? Surely not for defending their unquestionable rights? What have these rebels done heretofore? I remember when they raised four regiments on their own bottom, and took Louisburgh from the veteran troops of France. But their excesses have been great. I do not mean their panegyric; but must observe in attenuation, the erroneous and infatuated counsels which have prevailed; the door to mercy and justice has been shut against them. But they may still be taken up upon the grounds of their former submission. I state to you the importance of America; it is a double market; the market of consumption and the market of supply. This double market for millions, with naval stores, you are giving to your hereditary rival. America has carried you through four wars, and will now carry you to your death, if you don’t take things in time. In the sportsman’s phrase, when you have found yourselves at fault, you must try back. You have ransacked every corner of Lower Saxony; but forty thousand German boors never can subdue ten times the number of British freemen; they may ravage, they cannot conquer.



But you would conquer, you say! Why, what would you conquer; the map of America? I am ready to meet any general officer on the subject. What will you do out of the protection of your fleet? In the winter, if together, your troops are starved; and if dispersed, they are taken off in detail. I am experienced in spring hopes and vernal promises; I know what ministers throw out; but at last will come your equinoctial disappointment. They tell you—what? That your army will be as strong as last year, when it was not strong enough. You have got nothing in America but stations. You have been three years teaching them the art of war; they are apt scholars; and I will venture to tell your lordships, that the American gentry will make officers enough, fit to command the troops of all the European powers. What you have sent there, are too many to make peace, too few to make war. If you conquer them, what then? You cannot make them respect you; you cannot make them wear your cloth. You will plant an invincible hatred in their breasts against you. You are giving America to France at the expense of twelve millions a year. The intercourse has produced every thing to her; and England, old England, must pay for all. Your trade languishes, your taxes increase, your revenues dwindle; France, at this moment, is securing and drawing to herself that commerce which created your seamen, which fed your islands, which was the principal source of your wealth, prosperity and power. We have tried for unconditional submission; try what can be gained by unconditional redress. We shall thus evince a conciliatory spirit, and open the way to concord.

‘The ministers affirm there is no sort of treaty with France. Then, there is still a moment left; the point of honor is still safe. The instant a treaty appears you must declare war, though you had only five ships of the line in England; but France will defer a treaty as long as possible, to wait the effect of our selfdestroying counsels. You are now at the mercy of every little German chancery; and the pretensions of France will increase daily, so as to become an avowed party in either peace or war. The dignity of the government is objected; but less dignity will be lost in the repeal of oppressive laws, than in submitting to the demands of German chanceries. We are the aggressors. We have invaded the colonists as much as the Spanish armada invaded England. Mercy cannot do harm; it will seat the king where he ought to be, throned in the hearts of his people; and millions at home and abroad, now employed in obloquy and revolt, would pray for him. The revocation I propose and amnesty, may produce a respectable division in America, and unanimity at home. It will give America an option; she has yet had no option. You have said, “*Lay down your arms,*” and she has given you the Spartan answer, “*Come, take.*”’

Neither the authority of such a man, nor the force of his speech, nor present evils, nor yet the fear of future, were sufficient to procure

the adoption of his proposition. Those who opposed it, contended that it would by no means satisfy the Americans, since from the outset they had aimed at independency. They talked of the dignity of the realm, of the weakness of France, of the number of loyalists ready to declare themselves, the moment an occasion should offer itself; they harangued upon the tyranny of Congress, already become insupportable to all the Americans, upon the emptiness of its treasury, and the rapid depreciation of the bills of credit; finally, they enlarged upon that impatience which was universally manifested for the return of order, and the blessings enjoyed by the rest of the subjects of the British government.

In the midst of these contradictions had been agitated the question of peace and war, while the veil of uncertainty still shaded the future, and experience had not yet ascertained the effect of all the forces sent into America. But now the trial had been made, and the result being on the one hand so calamitous, and so dubious on the other, the obstinacy of ministers was almost universally condemned, while the wisdom and foresight of the earl of Chatham, were extolled to the skies. That such opinions should have been entertained by those whose interests and passions were so immediately concerned, is certainly no matter of astonishment; but it may be advanced with confidence, that the measure proposed by this, in other respects, most sagacious statesman, would have resulted in very doubtful consequences, to use no stronger words.

At this time, the Americans had already declared their independence; what the proposed concessions, seconded by formidable armies, might have operated before this declaration, they could no longer have done after it, especially when by the effect of this very declaration, and of the resistance made to the arms of Howe upon the territory of New Jersey, the Americans confidently expected to obtain the succours of France. Besides, if, at this epoch, the issue of a negotiation was uncertain, it would indubitably have reflected little honor upon the government, to have condescended to an arrangement, without having first made a trial of the efficacy of the armies it had collected and sent to America, with so much effort, and at so heavy an expense. Victory too, as it was reasonable to think, would have produced submission, or at least conditions more favorable to Great Britain.

The ministers therefore being resolved to continue the war, exerted their utmost diligence to repair those evils which the faults of men, or an inauspicious destiny, had drawn upon the state in the course of the preceding year. Their attention was first directed to the means of raising new troops, and of procuring more abundant pecuniary resources than had been granted them by the parliament. They reflected, that although there was a powerful party in the kingdom who condemned the American war, still there existed another who



approved it highly, either from conviction or from their devotion to the ministry. To this class they addressed themselves, not doubting their readiness to assist them with zeal in procuring the men and the funds they wanted. Dreading, however, the clamors of the opposition, who might represent this levy of soldiers and money, though voluntary, as a violation of the constitution, they carried this scheme into effect in the recess of parliament, which happened at the beginning of the current year, and which, with the same object in view, they prolonged beyond the accustomed term. They were the more sanguine in their hopes of success, inasmuch as, since the declaration of independence, and the secret alliance with France, of which every day furnished new evidences, the greater part of those who had shown themselves at first the warmest partisans of the Americans, had now deserted them, and gone over to the ministerial party. The ministers accordingly despatched their agents into the different provinces of the kingdom, and especially those where they had the greatest influence, with instructions to spur the inhabitants to enlist, and to lend their support to the state by voluntary gifts. These emissaries were to expatiate on the ingratitude of the Americans, the enmity of France, the necessities of the country, the glory and splendor of the English name, which must be transmitted unsullied to posterity. Their exertions were attended with success in some cities of the first order, and even in some towns of inferior rank; but none manifested greater zeal than Liverpool and Manchester, each of which raised, at their own expense, a regiment of a thousand men. The Scotch, naturally a warlike people, and much devoted to the cause of government in the present war, exhibited the utmost ardor to engage in the service. Edinburgh levied a thousand men, Glasgow an equal number. The highlanders, a hardy race, descended in hordes from their craggy hills, to follow the royal standard. Equal promptitude was manifested in contributing to the public expense, and free gifts multiplied every day. The government would have wished that the city of London, on account of its population and wealth, and of its importance as the capital of the kingdom, had placed itself at the head of this contribution. It was hoped that city would raise and maintain at its own expense five thousand men for three years, or until the end of the war. This hope proved illusory. The citizens being convened, refused peremptorily. The common council returned an answer equally unfavorable. The partisans of the ministry were not discouraged. They vociferated at every corner that it was a shame for the city of London, that, after having voted, but a few days before, considerable sums for the relief of Americans taken with arms in hand levelled against England, it should now refuse to give the slightest succour to the country. The friends of the ministry assembled, and subscribed twenty thousand pounds sterling. The same manœuvres took place at Bristol, and

with the same success. This city would not furnish troops ; it consented only to give the same sum as London. The ministers experienced still more difficulties in the country ; the landholders being grown sulky at the weight of their assessments, and at having been deceived by promises that the American taxes were to be in diminution of their own. Upon the whole, this project of voluntary levies, and gratuitous contributions, though not absolutely fruitless, was still very far from affording the resources which had been counted upon. It however became the subject of violent declamations in parliament ; but with the usual event ; the ministry triumphed.

While such was the procedure of the English government, in order to sustain the struggle in which it was engaged, the Congress urged with new fervor the negotiations which they had already, a long time back, set on foot with the court of France. The American commissioners had left nothing unessayed that could decide it to declare openly in their favor ; but however pressing were their solicitations with the French ministers to induce them to take a definitive resolution, they had not as yet obtained any thing but evasive and dilatory answers. In this first period of the American revolution, *considering the uncertainty of its issue*, France hesitated to espouse the quarrel of a people whose force appeared insufficient to sustain the pressure of so perilous an enterprise. She feared lest the colonists might all at once desist, and resume all their ancient relations with England. Those who directed the counsels of France were not ignorant, that at the very moment in which she should declare herself, the British ministry, by acquiescing in the concessions demanded by the Americans, might instantly disarm them, and that France would then find herself alone saddled with a war, without motive, and without object.

To this consideration was added, that before coming to an open rupture with Great Britain, it was essential to restore order in the finances, and to reestablish the marine, both having suffered excessively from the disorder, disasters and prodigality of the preceding reign. The declaration of independence, it is true, had removed the danger of a sudden reconciliation ; *but it was still possible to doubt the success of resistance. Nor should we omit to say, that, though France would rather see America independent, than reconciled with England, she relished the prospect of a long war between them, still better than independence. Perhaps, even, she would have liked best of all a conquest by dint of arms, and the consequent subjugation ; for, upon this hypothesis, the English colonies, ravaged and ruined, would have ceased to enrich the mother country, by the benefits of their commerce in time of peace ; and in time of war, the English would no longer have found in their colonists those powerful auxiliaries, who so often had succoured them with so much efficacy.* Should the colonies, though vanquished, preserve their ancient



prosperity, then England would be constrained to maintain in them a part of her force, in order to prevent the revolts she would have continually to dread on the part of a people impressed with the recollection of so many outrages and cruelties.

But upon the second hypothesis, or that of independence, it was impossible to dissemble that the example would be pernicious for the colonies of the other European powers, and that the smallest of the probable inconveniences, would be the necessity of granting them, to the great prejudice of the mother country, a full and entire liberty of commerce. These considerations, carefully weighed by the French ministers, so wrought, that repressing their ardor for war, they covered their projects with an impenetrable veil, and drew the negotiation into length. They restricted themselves to expressions of benevolence toward the Americans, and to granting them clandestinely the succours we have spoken of in another place. And even those succours were furnished with more or less mystery, more or less liberality, as fortune showed herself propitious or adverse to the American arms. Such was the rigor with which France adhered, or appeared to adhere, to this wary policy, either with a view of not breaking before the time with England, or in order the more effectually to place the Americans at her discretion, and constrain them to subscribe to all her demands, that when the news arrived at Paris of the capture of Ticonderoga, and of the victorious march of Burgoyne towards Albany, events which seemed to decide in favor of the English, instructions were immediately despatched to Nantz, and the other ports of the kingdom, that no American privateers should be suffered to enter them, except from indispensable necessity, as to repair their vessels, to obtain provisions, or to escape the perils of the sea. Thus France, pursuing invariably the route prescribed by *reason of state*, which admirably suited her convenience, on the one hand amused the British ministers with protestations of friendship, and on the other encouraged the Americans with secret succours, by the uncertainty and scantiness of them, inflaming their ardor, and confirming their resolution by continual promises of future cooperation. Unshackled in her movements, she thus pledged herself to no party, but tranquilly waited to see what course things would take. The agents of Congress did not fail, however, to urge and besiege the cabinet of Versailles to come at length to a final decision. But the French ministers, with many tosses and shrugs, alleged a variety of excuses in support of their system of procrastination, at one time, that the fleet expected from Newfoundland, crowded with excellent seamen, was not yet arrived; at another, that the galleons of Spain were still at sea, and now some other subterfuge was invented. Thus alternately advancing and receding, never allowing their intentions to be fathomed, they kept the Americans in continual uncertainty. Finally, the commissioners, out of all

patience, and determined, if practicable, without waiting longer, to extricate themselves from this labyrinth, imagined an expedient for reducing the French ministers themselves to the necessity of dropping the vizor; this was to suggest, that if France did not assist them immediately, the Americans could defer no longer a voluntary or compulsory arrangement with England.

To this effect, they waited upon the ministers about the middle of August, 1777, with a memorial in which they represented, that if France supposed that the war could be continued for any considerable time longer without her interference she was much mistaken. 'Indeed,' continued the memorial, 'the British government have every thing to lose and nothing to gain, by continuing the war. After the present campaign, they will therefore doubtless make it their great and last effort to recover the dominion of America, and terminate the war. They probably hope that a few victories may, by the chance of war, be obtained; and that these on one hand, and the wants and distresses of the colonists on the other, may induce them to return again to a dependence, more or less limited, on Great Britain. They must be sensible, that if ever America is to be conquered by them, it must be within the present year; that if it be impossible to do it in this year of the dispute, it will be madness to expect more success afterwards, when the difficulties of the Americans' former situation are removed; when their new independent governments have acquired stability; and when the people are become, as they soon will be, well armed, disciplined and supplied with all the means of resistance.

'The British ministry must therefore be sensible, that a continuation of hostilities against the colonies, after this year, can only tend to prolong the danger, or invite an additional war in Europe; and they therefore doubtless intend, after having tried the success of this campaign, however it may end, to make peace on the best terms which can be obtained. And if they cannot recover the colonies as subjects, to admit their claim of independency, and secure them by a federal alliance. Therefore no means are left for France to prevent the colonists from being shortly reconciled to Great Britain, either as subjects or allies, but to enter immediately into such engagements with them as will necessarily preclude all others; such as will permanently bind and secure their commerce and friendship, and enable them as well to repel the attacks, as to spurn at the offers of their present enemy.

'France must remember,' it was added, 'that the first resistance of the colonists was not to obtain independency, but a redress of their grievances; and that there are many among them who might even now be satisfied with a limited subjection to the British crown. A majority has indeed put in for the prize of independency; they have done it on a confidence that France, attentive to her most important



interests, would soon give them open and effectual support. But when they find themselves disappointed; when they see some of the powers of Europe furnish troops to assist in their subjugation; another power, alluding to Portugal, proscribing their commerce; and the rest looking on, as indifferent spectators; it is very probable that, despairing of foreign aid, and severely pressed by their enemies and their own internal wants and distresses, they may be inclined to accept of such terms as it will be the interest of the British government to grant them. Lord George Germain, but a few weeks since, declared in the house of commons that his hope of ending the American war this year, was principally founded on the disappointment which the colonists would feel, when they discover that no assistance is likely to be given them from France. The British adherents in America will spare no pains to spread and increase that disappointment, by discouraging representations; they already intimate that France, equally hostile to both parties, foments the present war, only to make them mutually instrumental in each others destruction.

‘Should Great Britain, by these and other means, detach the colonies, and reunite them to herself, France will irrecoverably lose the most favorable opportunity ever offered to any nation, of humbling a powerful, arrogant, and hereditary enemy.

‘But it is not simply the opportunity of reducing Great Britain, which France will lose by her present inactivity; for her own safety, and that of all her American possessions, will be endangered the moment in which a reconciliation takes place between Britain and America. The king and ministry of Great Britain know and feel that France has encouraged and assisted the colonists in their present resistance; and they are as much incensed against her, as they would be, were she openly to declare war. In truth, France has done too much, unless she intends to do more.

‘Can any one doubt but that whenever peace with America is obtained by Great Britain, whatever may be the conditions of it, the whole British force now on the continent of America, will be suddenly transported to the West Indies, and employed in subduing the French sugar islands there, to recompense the losses and expenses which Great Britain has suffered and incurred in this war, and to revenge the insult and injury France has done her, by the encouragement and assistance which she is supposed to have secretly given the colonists against Great Britain?’

Such was the purport of the memorial presented to the French government, in order to terminate its hesitations; but this also was without success. The ministers were no less ingenious in discovering new evasions; they chose to wait to see the progress of this war. The news of the taking of Ticonderoga, and the fear of still more decisive operations on the part of general Howe, maintained their

doubts and indecision. They were loath to have no other part to play than extending the hand to insurgents, when already their wreck appeared inevitable. We venture not to say, that in this occurrence was again verified the vulgar maxim; *the unfortunate have no friends*; but it appeared, at least, that the cabinet of Versailles was determined to procrastinate until the distress of the Americans was arrived at such a point as to become their only law; that it might obtain from them the better conditions for France. Besides, as at this time there was much appearance that the British arms would carry all before them, an accommodation between the mother country and the colonies, seemed less probable than ever; and this was what the French government had feared the most. The ministers of England supposing them victorious in America, would have listened to no conditions short of an absolute submission; and the French appeared to desire this extremity even more than independence, provided only, that it was introduced by a long and desolating war.

Disgusted by so many delays, the American commissioners no longer entertained any doubt as to the secret policy which guided the French in this conjuncture. In their despair, they had well nigh broken off all negotiation with a government that reputed their misfortunes a source of prosperity to itself. Unable, therefore, to accomplish their views with France, and discerning no other prospect of safety, the Americans again addressed themselves to England, proposing to her the recognition of their independence. This point conceded, they would have yielded in all others, to such conditions as should most tend to save the honor of the mother country. They represented, that if the British ministry knew how to profit of the occasion, it depended on themselves to stipulate an arrangement so conducive to the prosperity of Great Britain, that she would seek in vain to procure herself similar advantages by any other means. But the British government, elated with the first successes of Burgoyne, and persuaded that fortune could not escape him, refused to listen to any overtures for accommodation, and rejected the proposition with disdain. The blindness of the British ministers was incurable; the Americans, in the midst of the most disastrous reverses, and deprived of all hope of foreign succour, strenuously refusing to renounce their independence, insisting even to make it an indispensable condition of their reconciliation, it was manifest that the reunion of the two states was become impossible; and that since the necessity of things and inexorable destiny pronounced that America should no longer be subject, it was better to have her for ally than for an enemy. But the defeat and capture of Burgoyne, by announcing with such energy the rising greatness of America, had given new ardor to the patriots; new hopes and new fears to the French. Their reciprocal situation become less ambiguous; each



began to manifest more positive resolutions. England herself, if her king and his ministers had yielded less to their individual prepossessions, would have prudently paused; and abandoning an enterprise above her strength, would have resorted to the only way of safety that she had left. But pride, obstinacy and intrigue are too often the ruin of states; and *lord Bute was incessantly smoothing that route for king George*. After the victory of Saratoga, the Americans pursued with rare sagacity the policy prescribed by their new circumstances. Their conduct demonstrated as much ability as experience in affairs of state. They reflected, that as their successes had increased their strength, rendered their alliance more desirable, and banished *all doubts* from enlightened minds respecting their independence, nothing could be better calculated on their part, than to give jealousy to France, by pretending a disposition to make alliance with England; and disquietude to England, by the appearance of courting the strictest union with France. They hoped by this conduct to arrive at length to something conclusive. Accordingly, the same express that carried to England the news of the capitulation of Saratoga, was the bearer of despatches, the drift of which was to insinuate, that the Americans, disgusted by the excessive delays of the French, and indignant at not having received in the midst of their reverses, avowed and more efficacious succours, were eagerly desirous of an accommodation with England, and to conclude with her a treaty of commerce, provided she acknowledged their independence. In order to give more weight to this suggestion, it was added, that the colonists would feel particular gratification in a reconciliation with their ancient country; whereas, in the contrary case, they should be compelled to throw themselves into the arms of the inveterate and implacable enemy of the English name.

General Gates, on whom his recent victory reflected so much lustre, wrote to the same effect, to one of the most distinguished members of parliament. These steps of the chiefs of the American revolution were likewise necessary to satisfy the people, who would not, without extreme repugnance, have seen themselves thrust precipitately into the party of France, before having attempted every probable mode of effecting an adjustment with England. The prejudices they entertained against France were still in all their force; and the persuasion that this power had speculated upon their misfortunes, had greatly exasperated their aversion. These negotiations were no secret to the court of Versailles, as they had been communicated to Franklin, who knew how to make the best use of them; the umbrage they gave the French ministers will be readily conceived. Franklin, about the same time, received instructions to reiterate his expostulations with the government, that it might at length discover itself, since otherwise, it was to be feared that England, convinced by the catastrophe of Burgoyne, and even by the

useless victories of Howe, that the reduction of America, by dint of arms, was absolutely impossible, would acknowledge independence. The Americans, he added, finding themselves deserted by the French, will be constrained to listen to the overtures of the English, and to accept of favor wherever they find it; and such an arrangement could not have effect but to the irreparable prejudice of the interests of France. The ministers perceived clearly that the time was come, in which, if they would not lose the fruit of all their policy, it was necessary finally to lay aside the personage of the fox, and to assume the nature of the lion. Judging the British ministers by themselves, they supposed them entirely exempt from all passion, as statesmen ought to be; consequently, fearing the measures which their wisdom might prescribe, they determined to resume, and bring to a conclusion, the negotiations they had opened already so long since with the Americans, and which they had so shrewdly prolonged.

This decision appeared to them the more urgent, as they were not ignorant that the great body of the inhabitants of America, their independence once established, would much more willingly have coalesced with the English, a people of the same blood, of the same language, of the same manners, and still not entirely forgetful of former friendship, than with the French, a nation not only foreign and rival, but reputed faithless; whose long hesitations had countenanced the imputation, and against whom, from their tenderest childhood, they had fostered the most unfavorable prepossessions. On the other hand, the Americans had supported three entire years of the most trying distress, without having ever discovered the least disposition to relinquish their enterprise, or the least mark of weariness in their conflict with adverse fortune. Their moderation had not deserted them in success; and the perseverance of their efforts had given to the first victories of the English all the consequences of defeats. These considerations had persuaded the ministers of France that America had knowledge, power and will, to keep the faith of treaties.

The resolution of finally taking an active part in this war, by extending an auxiliary hand to the Americans, could not fail, besides, of being highly agreeable to the greater part of the French nation. The motive of it was not merely to be found in the inveterate hatred borne the English, in the remembrance of recent wounds, in the desire of revenge, and in the political opinions which, at that period, had spread throughout the kingdom, but also in numerous and powerful considerations of commercial advantage. The trade which had been carried on between France and America, since the commencement of disturbances, and especially since the breaking out of hostilities, had yielded the French merchants immense gains. All of these, therefore, eagerly desired that the new order of things



might be perpetuated by independence, in order never to see the times revived, in which the prohibitory laws of parliament, and especially the act of navigation, would have deprived them of these benefits. It is true, however, that they had not found this commerce so lucrative as they had anticipated; for several of them, hurried away by the excessive love of gain, and principally those of the maritime cities, had despatched to America ships loaded with valuable merchandise, a great number of which had been taken on the passage by the British cruisers. But even these losses stimulated their desire to be able to continue the same commerce, and to witness the reduction of that British audacity which pretended to reign alone upon an element common to the whole universe. They hoped that the royal navy in open war would afford protection to the ships of commerce; and that force would thus shield the enterprises of cupidity. The French had, besides, in this conjuncture, the hope, or rather the certainty, that Spain would take part in the quarrel. This was a consideration of weight, in addition to the motives which always influenced them. That kingdom had a formidable marine, and was animated with so strong a desire to make trial of it against England, that the French court, rigidly adhering to its plan of circumsppection, had hitherto thought it prudent to check rather than stimulate the cabinet of Madrid. It was not in the least doubted, that all the united forces of the House of Bourbon, already so long prepared, and directed towards the same object, were more than sufficient to take down the intolerable arrogance of the English, to protect rich cargoes from their insults, and even to cause the commerce of the two Indies to pass almost entirely into the hands of the French and Spaniards.

Thus favored by circumstances, and by the voice of the people, the French government had more need of prudence to restrain it from precipitating its resolutions, than of ardor, to incite it to encounter the hazards of fortune. Never, assuredly, had any government to adopt a counsel more recommended by the unanimous and ardent wishes of its subjects, or which promised a more fortunate issue, or more brilliant advantages. Unable, therefore, to resist longer the pressing solicitations of the agents of Congress, the ministers resolved at length to seize the occasion, and to conclude with America the treaty which had been the object of such long negotiations. But as, heretofore, the intention of France had been to elude any positive engagement, the articles of the convention, though often and deliberately discussed, were not yet settled. Under the apprehension, however, that the British government, in case of further delays, might tempt the Americans with conciliatory overtures, the French ministers concluded to signify to the commissioners of Congress the preliminaries of the treaty of friendship and commerce, to be stipulated between the two states. This communication was made the six-

teenth of December, 1777, by M. Gerard, royal syndic of the city of Strasbourg, and secretary of the king's council of state. Its purport was as follows; 'That France would not only acknowledge, but support with all her forces the independence of the United States, and would conclude with them a treaty of amity and commerce; that in the stipulations of this treaty she would take no advantage of the present situation of the United States, but that the articles of it should be of the same nature as if the said states had been long established, and were constituted in all the plenitude of their strength; that his most christian majesty plainly foresaw that in taking this step, he should probably enter upon a war with Great Britain; but that he desired no indemnification upon that score on the part of the United States; not pretending to act solely with a view to their particular interest, since, besides the benevolence he bore them, it was manifest, that the power of England would be diminished by the dismemberment of her colonies. The king expected only, with full confidence, from the United States, that whatever was the peace which might be concluded eventually, they would never renounce their independence, and resume the yoke of British domination.' This declaration on the part of France, reassured the minds of the Americans; it was followed by very active negotiations during all the month of January. They were immediately communicated to Spain, that she might also, if so inclined, become a party to the convention; nor was it long before a favorable answer was received from that court.

All difficulties being surmounted, and the conditions acceded to on the one part and on the other, upon the sixth of February was concluded the treaty of amity between his most christian majesty and the United States of America. It was signed on behalf of the king by M. Gerard, and for the United States by Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee. By this treaty, in which the king of France considered the United States of America as an independent nation, were regulated between the contracting parties, various maritime and commercial interests concerning the duties which merchant vessels were to pay in the ports of the friendly state; it guaranteed the reciprocal protection of vessels in time of war; the right of fishery, and especially that which the French carried on upon the banks of Newfoundland, by virtue of the treaties of Utrecht and of Paris; it exempted from the right of *Aubaine*, as well the French in America, as the Americans in France; it provided for the exercise of commerce, and the admission of privateers with one of the contracting parties, in case the other should be at war with a third power. To this effect, in order to preclude all occasion of dissention, it was determined by an express clause, what articles, in time of war, should be deemed contraband, and what should be considered free, and consequently might be freely transported, and introduced by the subjects of the two powers into enemy



ports; those excepted, however, which should be found at the time, besieged, blockaded or invested. It was also agreed, that the ships and vessels of the contracting parties should not be subject to any visit; it being intended that all visit or search should take place prior to the clearance of the shipping, and that contraband articles should be seized in port, and not upon the voyage, except, however, the cases, where there should exist indications or proofs of fraud. It was stipulated, besides, that in order to facilitate the commerce of the United States with France, his most christian majesty should grant them, as well in Europe as in the islands of America subject to his dominion, several free ports. Finally, the king pledged himself to employ his good offices and mediation with the emperor of Morocco, and with the regencies of Algiers, Tripoli, Tunis, and other powers of the coast of Barbary, in order that provision should be made in the best possible mode for the accommodation and security of the citizens, ships, and merchandise, 'of the United States of America.' It is to be observed, that this treaty, besides the recognition made in it of American independence, was completely subversive of the principles which the British government had uniformly attempted to establish as well with respect to the commerce of neutrals, in time of war, as with regard to the blockade of the ports of an enemy state by the British squadrons. Consequently, it was easy to foresee that, although France had not contracted to furnish succours of any sort to the United States, Great Britain, nevertheless, on being so wounded to the quick in her pride, and in her most essential interests, would manifest a keen resentment, and would probably declare war against France. Hence it was, that the contracting parties concluded the same day another, eventual, treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, which was to take its effect so soon as war should break out between France and England. The two parties engaged to assist each other with good offices, with counsel, and with arms. It was stipulated, a thing until then unheard of, on the part of a king, that the essential and express object of the alliance, was to maintain effectually the liberty, sovereignty, and independence of the United States. It was also covenanted, that if the remaining provinces of Great Britain upon the American continent, or the Bermuda islands, came to be conquered, they should become confederates or dependants of the United States; but if any of the islands were taken situated within, or at the entrance of the gulf of Mexico, these should belong to the crown of France. It was agreed, that neither of the two parties could conclude truce or peace with Great Britain without the consent of the other. They reciprocally obligated themselves not to lay down arms, until the independence of the United States should be either formally or tacitly acknowledged in the treaties which should terminate the war. They guaranteed to each other, that is the United States to the king of France, his pre-

sent possessions in America, as well as those he might obtain by the treaty of peace ; and the king of France, to the United States, liberty, sovereignty and independence, absolute and unlimited, as well in point of government as of commerce, and likewise those possessions, additions and conquests which the confederation might acquire in the domains of Great Britain in North America. A separate and secret article reserved to the king of Spain the faculty of becoming a party to the treaty of amity and commerce, as well as to that of alliance, at such time as he should think proper.

Thus France, ever bearing in mind the wounds received in the war of Canada, and always jealous of the power of England, at first by wily intrigues and distant suggestions, then by clandestine succours, and if convenient disavowed, had encouraged the English colonies in their resistance ; at length, openly taking them by the hand, she saluted them independent. The French government displayed a profound policy, and singular dexterity in the execution of this plan ; it may even be affirmed, that in no other affair, however important, and in no other time, has it ever exhibited so much sagacity and stability. Its operations were covert, while it was perilous to come out, and it threw off the mask so soon as the successes of the colonists permitted them to be looked upon as safe allies. It took the field when its armies and especially its fleets were in perfect preparation, when all its subjects were favorably disposed, when every thing, in a word, promised victory. It would be difficult to paint the transports of exultation which burst forth in France on the publication of the new treaties. The merchants enjoyed in advance those riches which until then had been confined to the ports of England ; the landholders imagined that their taxes would be diminished in proportion to the increased prosperity of commerce ; the soldiers, and especially the seamen, hoped to avenge their affronts, and recover their ancient glory ; the generous spirits exulted that France declared herself, as she should be, the protectress of the oppressed ; the friends of liberal principles applauded her for having undertaken the defence of liberty. All united in blessing the long wished for occasion of repressing the detestable pride of a rival nation. All were persuaded that the losses sustained in the preceding reign were about to be repaired ; it was every where exclaimed, that the destinies promised to the crown of France were about to be accomplished. 'Such,' it was said, 'are the happy auspices which usher in the reign of a clement and beloved prince ; too long have we suffered ; let us hail the dawn of a more fortunate future.' Nor was it only in France that this enthusiasm of joy was witnessed ; the same disposition of minds prevailed in almost all the states of Europe. The Europeans lauded, and exalted to the skies, the generosity and the magnanimity of Lewis XVI. Such, at that time was the general abhorrence excited by the conduct of the British government ; or such was the affection borne to the American cause.



Shortly after the subscription of the treaties, and long before they were made public, the British ministry had knowledge of them. It is asserted that some of its members, wishing to embrace this occasion for the reestablishment of concord between the two parties, proposed in the secret councils to acknowledge immediately the independence of the colonies, and to negotiate with them a treaty of commerce and alliance. But the king, either guided by his natural obstinacy, or docile as heretofore to the instigations of lord Bute, refused his consent to this measure. It was therefore resolved to proceed by middle ways, which, if they are the least painful, lead also the most rarely to success. They consisted, on this occasion, not in acknowledging independence, which, at this time, it was easier to deny than to prevent, but in renouncing the right of taxation, in revoking the laws complained of, in granting pardons, in acknowledging for a certain time the American authorities; and, finally, in negotiating with them. This plan of conduct, which was not less, and perhaps more, derogatory to the dignity of the crown than the acknowledgment of independence, offered, besides, less real advantage to England; it was accordingly blamed by all prudent and intelligent politicians. None could avoid seeing, that if it was questionable, whether these measures would have operated the desired effect before the declaration of independence and the alliance with France, it was indubitable that afterwards they must prove absolutely fruitless. That proclivity which men have by nature towards independence, was likely to prevail in the minds of the Americans over the proposal of resuming their former yoke, whatever were the advantages that could have resulted from it. Another consideration must have acted upon them, and particularly upon their chiefs; they were not ignorant, that in state matters it is little prudent to confide in the pardon of princes; neither had they forgotten that these very ministers, who made them such bland proposals, were the same men who had attempted to starve America, had filled it with ferocious soldiers, with devastation and with blood. Besides, if the Americans should have broken the faith which they had just pledged to France, they would have declared themselves guilty of a scandalous perfidy; abandoned by their new allies, could they have hoped after such treachery, to find in their utmost distress, a single power on earth that would deign to succour them? They would have found themselves exposed without shield or defence, to the fury and vengeance of Great Britain.

But, perhaps, the British ministers believed, that if the measures proposed were not to bring about an arrangement, they might, at least, divide opinions, give birth to powerful parties, and thus, by intestine dissensions, facilitate the triumph of England. Perhaps, also, and probably they persuaded themselves, that if the Americans rejected the propositions for an adjustment, they would at least have a

colorable pretence for continuing the war. But whether the procedure of the ministers at this juncture was free or forced, lord North, in the sitting of the House of Commons, of the nineteenth of February, made a very grave speech upon the present state of affairs. He remarked, that sir William Howe had not only been in the late actions, and in the whole course of the campaign, in goodness of troops, and in all manner of supplies, but in numbers, too, much superior to the enemy; that Burgoyne had been in numbers, until the affair at Bennington, near twice as strong as the army opposed to him; that sixty thousand men and upwards, had been sent to America, a force which even exceeded the demands of the generals; but fortune had shown herself so unpropitious, that it had been impossible to reap those advantages which were reasonably to have been expected from it. He concluded with saying, that although Great Britain was most able to continue the war, not only from the abundance of men, and the strength of the navy, but from the flourishing condition of the finances, which might be still increased by a loan at low interest, yet out of that desire which every good government ought to have, to put an end to war, the ministry had determined to submit to the deliberations of the House certain conciliatory propositions, from which he expected the most happy results. The general attention was evinced by a profound silence; no mark of approbation was manifested by any party. Astonishment, dejection and fear overclouded the whole assembly; so different was the present language of the ministers from what they had ever used before; it was concluded they had been forced to it by some serious cause. Fox took this opportunity to exclaim, that the treaty of alliance between France and the United States was already signed; the agitation and tumult became extreme. Lord North moved the resolution, that the parliament could not in future impose any tax or duty in the colonies of North America, except such only as should be deemed beneficial to commerce, and the product even of those to be collected under the authority of the respective colonies, and to be employed for their use and advantage. He proposed, besides, that five commissioners should be appointed, empowered to adjust with any assembly or individual whatsoever, the differences existing between Great Britain and her colonies, it being understood, however, that the compacts were not to take effect till ratified by the parliament.

The commissioners were, also, to be authorised to proclaim armistices wherever they should think proper, to suspend prohibitory laws, and generally all laws promulgated since the tenth of February; one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three; and to pardon whoever, and as many as they pleased. Finally, they were to have authority to appoint governors and commanders-in-chief in the reconciled provinces.



Thus the British ministers, now urged by necessity, all at once conceded what they had refused during fifteen years, and what they had been contending for in a sanguinary and cruel war, already of three years standing. Whether it was the fault of fortune, or their own, they appeared in this conjuncture as in all others, inflexible when they should have yielded, and pliant when too late. Incapable of controlling events, they were dragged along by them. The bills proposed passed almost without opposition in parliament; but without, they excited universal discontent. 'Such concessions,' it was vociferated, 'are too unworthy of the British name and power; they would only be admissible in an extremity, such as, heaven be thanked, England is still far from being reduced to; they are calculated to sow discouragement amongst us, to enervate our armies, to embolden our enemies, and to detach our allies. Since the right of taxation is renounced, which was the first motive and cause of the war, why not go farther, and acknowledge independency?' In a word, the ministers were charged with having done too much, or too little; the common fate of those, who, from timidity betake themselves to half measures; whose prudence and vigor prove equally vain. Nor were the ministers only exposed to the animadversions of the opposite party; the most moderate citizens expressed a no less decided disapprobation. Nevertheless, the king appointed not long after, for commissioners, the earl of Carlisle, lord Howe, William Eden, George Johnstone, and the commander-in-chief of the English army in America; individuals highly distinguished, either by their rank, or by the celebrity of their achievements, or by their intelligence and experience in American affairs; the earl of Carlisle, Eden and Johnstone, sailed from St. Helen's the twenty-first of April, on board the ship *Trident*.

In the midst of this complication of novel events, and of novel measures, and while the entire British nation was anxiously looking towards the future, the marquis de Noailles, ambassador of his most christian majesty, at the court of England, in pursuance of instructions from his sovereign, delivered on the thirteenth of March to lord Weymouth, secretary of state for foreign affairs, the following declaration;

'The United States of America, which are in full possession of the independence declared by their act of the fourth of July, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six, having made a proposal to the king, to consolidate, by a formal convention, the connections that have begun to be established between the two nations, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed a treaty of amity and commerce, intended to serve as a basis for mutual good correspondence.

'His majesty, being resolved to cultivate the good understanding subsisting between France and Great Britain, by all the means compatible with his dignity, and with the good of his subjects, thinks that

he ought to impart this step to the court of London, and declare to it, at the same time, that the contracting parties have had attention not to stipulate any exclusive advantage in favor of the French nation, and that the United States have preserved the liberty of treating with all nations whatsoever on the same foot of equality and reciprocity.

‘In making this communication to the court of London, the king is firmly persuaded, that it will find in it fresh proofs of his majesty’s constant and sincere dispositions for peace; and that his Britannic majesty, animated by the same sentiments, will equally avoid every thing that may interrupt good harmony; and that he will take, in particular, effectual measures to hinder the commerce of his majesty’s subjects with the United States of America from being disturbed, and cause to be observed, in this respect, the usages received between trading nations and the rules that may be considered as subsisting between the crowns of France and Great Britain.

‘In this just confidence, the underwritten ambassador might think it superfluous to apprise the British ministry, that the king his master, being determined effectually to protect the lawful freedom of the commerce of his subjects, and to sustain the honor of his flag, his majesty has taken in consequence eventual measures, in concert with the United States of North America.’

This declaration, so full of matter in itself, and presented with very little ceremony by the French ambassador, stung British pride to the quick. If it was one of those shrewd turns which are not unusual among princes in their reciprocal intercourse, it was also one of those which they are not accustomed to forgive. France had foreseen its consequences, and far from dreading them, they were the very object of her wishes and hopes. Lord North communicated, the seventeenth of March, the note of the French minister to the House of Commons, with a message from the king, purporting that his majesty had thought proper in consequence of this offensive declaration on the part of the government of France, to recall his ambassador from that court; that he had been sincerely desirous to preserve the tranquillity of Europe; and that he trusted he should not stand responsible for its interruption, if he resented so unprovoked, and so unjust an aggression on the honor of his crown, and the essential interests of his kingdoms, contrary to the most solemn assurances, subversive of the law of nations, and injurious to the rights of every sovereign power in Europe. He concluded with saying, that relying with the firmest confidence on the zeal of his people, he hoped to be in a condition to repel every insult and attack, and to maintain and uphold the power and reputation of his crown.

This resolution surprised no one; it was already the subject of conversation in all companies. Lord North moved the usual address of thanks to the king, with assurance of the support of parliament.



A member named Baker, proposed that the king should be entreated to remove from his counsels those persons in whom his people could no longer repose any sort of confidence. This amendment was supported with great spirit. It was then that governor Pownall, a man of weight, and particularly conversant in American affairs, rose and spoke in much the following terms ;

‘I do not deem it consistent with the business of this solemn day, which is about to decide upon the immediate reestablishment, or irreparable ruin of our country, to go into the inquiry whether the present ministers are longer to be trusted with the conduct of the battered ship of the state, in the midst of tempests, or whether we are to commit the helm to other hands. Considerations of far higher importance, if I am not mistaken, demand all your attention. For whatever these ministers may be, against whom I hear such bitter murmurs, if we have the wisdom to take this day a suitable resolution, I have not the least doubt that even they will be capable of executing it with success. If, on the contrary, persisting in the measures which have brought us into this critical position, we add a new blunder to all our past errors, neither these nor any other ministers can save us from perdition.

‘Besides, those who are desirous of investigating the causes of our disasters, and who impute them to the present servants of the crown, will have an early opportunity for sifting that subject to their wish, in the regular examination of their conduct, which is to occupy this House in a few days. But what is the business before us, and what is the subject of our immediate deliberations? Faithless and haughty France rises against us ; she threatens us with war, if we presume to resent, nay, if we do not accept the insulting conditions she dictates. Where is the citizen who loves his country, where is the Briton who is not fired with indignation, who is not impatient to avenge the outrages of this implacable rival? I also have British blood in my veins; I feel it in the transports which animate me, I approve high and magnanimous resolutions. But what I condemn, and so long as I have life will always condemn, is the impolicy of hurrying to encounter two wars instead of one, and of choosing rather to add a new enemy to the old, than to be reconciled with the latter, in order to operate in concert against the former. To vanquish France and America together, is an enterprise to be reckoned among impossible events ; to triumph over the first after having disarmed the second, is not only possible, but easy. But in order to attain this object, it is necessary to acknowledge, what we can no longer prevent, I mean American independence. And what are the obstacles which oppose so salutary a resolution? or by what reasons can it be combated? Perhaps the desire of glory, or the honor of the crown? But honor resides in victory ; shame in defeat ; and in affairs of state, the useful is always honorable.

‘We should consider also, that in acknowledging the independence of the United States, we acknowledge not only what is, but also what we have already recognised, if not in form, at least in fact. In those very acts of conciliation which we have so lately passed, we acknowledge, if we would speak ingenuously, that we have renounced all sort of supremacy. If our intention is to maintain it, we have already gone too far; but if our desire of peace be sincere, we have not gone far enough; and every step we shall take to put the Americans back from independency, will convince them the more of the necessity of going forward. Inveterate inclinations are not so easily changed, and resolutions taken after long and mature deliberations, are not so lightly diverted.

‘If we look well into the great acts of their proceedings, we shall soon be satisfied that they were not suddenly taken up as an ebullition of enthusiasm, or in the bitterness of passion or revenge, but rather as coming on of course, by a train of events, linked together by a system of policy. Their march was slow, but in measured steps; feeling their ground before they set their foot on it; yet when once set, there fixed forever. They made their declaration of rights in 1774, itself but little compatible with British supremacy. They afterwards confirmed it by a manifesto, in which they proclaimed their reasons for taking up arms; and finally they declared their independence, which is but the pinnacle and accomplishment of that work which they had long since commenced, which they were assisted in perfecting by the very nature of things, and which they have so valiantly defended in three successive campaigns.

‘If these people, when they viewed their cause abandoned, as to all assistance which they looked to in Europe; when sinking, as to all appearance of what the utmost exertions of their own resources had done; when clouded with despair; would not give up the ground of independence, on which they were determined to stand; what hopes can there be, and from what quarter, that they will now, when every event of fate and fortune is reversed to us, and turned in their favor; when they feel their own power able to resist, to counteract, and in one deplorable instance, superior to, and victorious over ours; when they see their cause taken up in Europe; when they find the nations amongst which they have taken their equal station, acknowledging their independency, and concluding treaties with them as such; when France has actually and avowedly done it; when it is known that Spain must follow, and that Holland will; what hopes can there be, and from what quarter, that they will, all at once, pull down their own new governments, to receive our provincial ones? That they will dissolve their confederation? That they will disavow all their reasons for taking up arms; and give up all those rights which they have declared, claimed and insisted upon, in order to receive such others at our hands, as supremacy on one hand will, and dependency



on the other can admit them to? And how can we hope to conquer, when surrounded by his allies, the enemy, who single has repulsed your attacks? France abounds in hardy and gallant warriors, she will inundate with them the plains of America; and then, whether we shall be able, I say not to conquer, but to resist, let each be his own judge.

‘We are in sight of the coasts of France, we see them lined with formidable maritime preparations, and though we may not fear, we ought at least to guard against, an attack upon this very territory, where we are meditating the destruction of America, who combats us, and of France who seconds her. It follows that those soldiers who might have been sent to America, must remain in Great Britain to defend our hallowed laws, our sacred altars, our country itself against the fury of the French. Already the numerous fleet of Brest is perfectly prepared to put to sea; already the coasts of Normandy, swarm with troops that seem to menace a descent upon our natal land. And what are we doing in the meantime? We are here deliberating whether it is better to have divers enemies, than one only; whether it is more expedient to encounter at once America and Europe in league for our destruction, than to make head against Europe with the arms of America to back us! But am I alone in maintaining that the safety of England is attached to the measure I propose? All prudent men profess the same opinion; the unanimous voice of the people repeats it; the pompous but vain declamations of the ministers they have learned to interpret as the denunciations of irreparable calamities to the country. Of this the too certain proof is found, in the fall of the public funds; which took place the moment there was any mention of this new ministerial frenzy, of this obstinacy more Scotch than English. Tell us then, ministers, sometimes so weakly credulous, at all times so obstinate in your resolutions, if you have easily effected the late loan, and what is the rate of interest you have paid? But you are silent. Will not this then suffice to convince you of the perversity of your measures?

‘I know there are some who are careful to give out that the acknowledgment of independence, besides being a measure little to our honor, would offer no certain advantage, since we have no assurance that it would satisfy the Americans. But how can we believe that the Americans will prefer the alliance of France to ours? Are not these the same French who formerly attempted to subjugate them? Are not these the same French whose wishes would have led them to extinguish the name and language of the English? How can it be supposed that the Americans have not yet reflected that England, their bulwark, once prostrated, they will be abandoned, without defence, to the power of France, who will dispose of them as she sees fit? How should they not perceive this artifice of the French,

not new, but now prepared and rendered more dangerous by our own imprudence, which consists in laboring to dissolve our union in order to crush us separately? The Americans will undoubtedly prefer the friendship and alliance of France to dependency; but believe me, when I assure you, that they will like infinitely better the alliance of Great Britain, conjointly with independence. Besides, it is a secret to nobody that the Americans are incensed against France for having in this very negotiation profited of their distress, to try to drive a hard and inequitable bargain with them; thus setting a price upon their independence. Let us avail ourselves, if we are wise, of the effects of French avarice, and we may thus make friends of those whom we can no longer have for subjects. Independent of the reasons I have urged, the interest of reciprocal commerce alone, if every other part of the ground be taken equal, would determine the Americans to prefer our friendship to that of France. But why should I multiply arguments to convince you of that, which I can in an instant demonstrate beyond all doubt? I have seen, and read with my own eyes, a letter written by Benjamin Franklin, a man, as you all know, of irrefragable authority with his countrymen. In this letter, transmitted to London since the conclusion of the treaty of alliance between France and America, he affirms that if Great Britain would renounce her supremacy, and treat with the Americans as an independent nation, peace might be reestablished immediately. These are not the news and silly reports, with which our good ministers allow themselves to be amused by refugees. But if we may count upon the friendship and alliance of independent America, it is equally clear, that instead of being weakened by the separation, we should become but the more capable of attack, and the more vigorous for defence. For a part of these troops, which are now employed to no effect in our colonies, might then be taken with advantage to form such garrisons in Canada and Nova Scotia, as would put those provinces out of all insult and danger. The rest of the forces there might be employed to protect our islands, and to attack those of France, which, thus taken by surprise, would inevitably fall into our hands. As to the fleet, we could so dispose it as to cover and defend at once all our possessions and our commerce in the two hemispheres. Thus delivered from all disquietude on the part of America, we should be enabled to bend all our thoughts and all our forces against France; and make her pay the forfeit of her insolence and audacity.

‘On these considerations, I think that abandoning half measures, we should extend the powers of the commissioners to the enabling them to treat, consult, and finally to agree and acknowledge the Americans as independent; on condition, and in the moment, that they will, as such, form a federal treaty, offensive and defensive and commercial with us. If I am not greatly mistaken we should reap more advantage from this single resolution, than from several victories, in a war become hopeless.



‘But if, on the contrary, we persist in our infatuation, we shall learn to our irreparable prejudice, how costly it is to trust more to appearances than reality, and how dangerous to listen to the pernicious counsels of fury and pride. Be assured, if the commissioners are not empowered to acknowledge independence, they had better never go; their going will be a mockery, and end in disgrace.’

These considerations, weighty in themselves, and the emphatic manner of the orator, made a deep impression upon the minds of his auditors; it was perceived that several members of the ministerial party began to waver. But the minister of war, Jenkinson, a personage of no little authority, immediately answered by the following speech;

‘Nations, no less than individuals, ought to pursue that which is just and honest; and if this be their duty, it is equally also their interest, since it generally conducts them to glory and to greatness. On the other hand, what can be more fatal to the felicity of states, than the uncertainty and instability of counsels?’

‘Resolutions always fluctuating, betray in those who govern, either weakness of mind, or timidity of spirit; and prevent them from ever attaining the end proposed. This axiom admitted, I hope to have little difficulty in persuading the House that in the present question, where we see prejudiced men hurried away by vain chimeras, it is as rigorously required by justice and our dignity as by the most essential interests of the state, that we should not depart from the counsels we pursue. However fortune may turn her wheel, the war we wage is just. Such the wisdom of parliament has decreed it; such the voice of the people has proclaimed it; such the very nature of things confirms it. Why it has not been more successful, I will not now take upon me to say. Whatever may have been the causes, the want of success, has at last brought upon us the insults and meditated attacks of the French. Is there any one here, who, in such a situation, would have Great Britain despond, would have her stoop to unworthy resolutions, and through fear of the French, acknowledge herself vanquished by her ancient subjects? But what do I say? There are men who would have us tremble for ourselves; and who imagine they already see the French banners floating at the gates of London. But disregarding the vain terrors of these, I know not whether to say ambitious or timorous men, I pledge myself to demonstrate, that the course we have hitherto pursued is not only that of justice and honor, but that it is capable of conducting us to the object of our desires.

‘I shall begin with asking these bosom friends of rebels, if they are certain that it is all America, or only a seditious handful, whose craft and audacity have raised them to the head of affairs, who claim independency? For my own part, I confess that this independence appears to me rather a vision that floats in certain brains, inflamed

by the rage of innovation, on that side of the Atlantic as well as on this, than any general wish of the people. This is what all men of sense declare, who have resided in the midst of that misguided multitude; this is attested by the thousands of royalists who have flocked to the royal standard in New York, and who have fought for the king in the plains of Saratoga, and on the banks of the Brandywine. This, finally, is proclaimed by the very prisons, crowded with inhabitants, who have chosen rather to part with their liberty, than to renounce their allegiance; and have preferred an imminent peril of death, to a participation in rebellion. If their cooperation has not proved of that utility, which from their number and force was to have been expected, this must be imputed not to their indifference, but rather to the inconsiderate zeal which caused them to break out prematurely. There is every reason to think that to such subjects as remained faithful until England set up the pretension of taxation, many others will join themselves now that she has renounced it; for already all are convinced how much better it is to live under the mild sway of an equitable prince, than under the tyranny of new and ambitious men. And why should I here omit the ties of consanguinity, the common language, the mutual interests, the conformity of manners and the recollection of ancient union? I appeal even to the testimony of my adversary, with regard to the avarice, and revolting behavior of France, during the negotiation of alliance, and can it be doubtful that to this new, insatiable, arrogant and faithless friend, the Americans will prefer their old, tried, beneficent and affectionate fellow-citizens? Nor should I omit to mention a well known fact; the finances of Congress are exhausted; their soldiers are naked and famishing; they can satisfy none of the wants of the state; creditors are without remedy against their debtors; hence arise scandals without end, private hatreds, and unanimous maledictions against the government.

‘There is not an individual among the Americans, but sees that in accepting the terms offered by Great Britain, the public credit will be reestablished, private property secured, and abundance in all parts of the social body restored. They will concur with the more ardor, in establishing this prosperity, when they shall see powerful England resolved on continuing the war with redoubled energy. Certainly they will not believe that any succours they can receive from haughty France will compel us very speedily to accept of ignominious conditions. Yes, methinks I already see, or I am strangely mistaken, the people of America flocking to the royal standard; every thing invites them to it; fidelity towards the sovereign, the love of the English name, the hope of a happier future, their aversion to their new and unaccustomed allies, and finally, the hatred they bear to the tyranny of Congress.



‘It is then that we shall have cause to applaud our constancy, then shall we acknowledge that the most honorable counsels, as the most worthy of so great a realm, are also the most useful and safe. So far from thinking the new war against France ought to dismay us, I see in it only grounds of better hopes. If up to the present time we have had but little success against the Americans, whatever may have been the cause of it, where is the Englishman who does not hope, nay, who does not firmly believe, that the French are about to furnish us with occasions for the most brilliant triumphs. As for myself, I find the pledge of it in the recollection of our past achievements, in the love of our ancient glory, in the present ardor of our troops, and especially in the strength of our navy. The advantages we shall gain over the French by land and sea, will recompense the losses we have sustained in America. The Americans, finding their hopes frustrated, which they had so confidently placed on the efficacy of the succours of their new allies, will be struck with terror; they will prefer the certain peace of an accommodation to future independence, rendered daily more uncertain by new defeats of their allies. Besides, who will presume to affirm that fortune will not become more propitious to us even upon the territory of America? Is it going too far to believe, that when our armies shall direct their march towards the open and fertile provinces inhabited by the loyalists, they will be more successful than they could be in mountainous, steril, savage regions, swarming with rebels? For myself, I have not a particle of doubt that we shall find in Georgia and the Carolinas the most ample indemnification for the unlucky campaigns of New Jersey and of Pennsylvania. But I admit, which God forbid, fresh disasters; I will nevertheless maintain that we ought to prosecute what we have commenced. If we lose our colonies, we shall not lose honor. I would rather American independence, if ever it must exist, should be the offspring of inexorable destiny, than of a base condescension on our part.

‘Shall France then find us so tame, as at the bare shadow of her enmity, to abandon our possessions and tamely yield up to her all our glory; we who have the time still green in memory, when, after having by victories on victories trampled upon her pride and prostrated her power, we triumphantly scoured all seas, and the continent of America.

‘Of what country then are the authors of such timid counsels? English perhaps. As for myself I cannot believe it. Who are these pusillanimous spirits, who paint our affairs as if they were desperate? Are they women or affrighted children? I should incline to believe the latter, if I did not see them often holding forth within these walls their sinister predictions, indulging their favorite whim of reviling their country, expatiating with apparent delight upon its weakness, and magnifying the power of its ambitious enemy. And what is then

this France, at the gathering of whose frowns we are to shudder? Where are her seamen trained to naval manœuvres? Where are her soldiers formed in battles? I will tell those who don't know it, or who affect not to know it, that she is at this very moment attacked with an internal malady that will paralyze her strength at the very moment she may wish to move. Who of you is ignorant that she labors under an annual deficiency of thirty millions? Who knows not that she is destitute of the resources of loans? Her rich capitalists being as distrustful as they are rare.

'But it is not in the sinking of credit only that France is distressed; the spirit of free inquiry, and the effects of an extended commerce, have introduced opinions among the French people that are wholly incompatible with their government. Contrary to all precedent, contrary to all ideas of that government; a reasoning has propagated and even entered into some of the lines of business, that the *twentieth* is a *free gift*, and that every individual has a right to judge of its necessity, and oversee its employment.

'Besides this, one bad effect of the zeal with which they pretended to take up the American cause, and which they now learn in earnest to have an affection for, has tainted their principles with the spirit of republicanism. These principles of liberty always diminish the force of government; and if they take root and grow up in France, we shall see that government as distracted and unsettled as any other.

'I hear talk of the difficulty of borrowing among ourselves, and of the depression of the public funds; but the lenders have already come forward; and I understand the first payment is already made. The interest they have demanded is not only not usurious, but it is even much more moderate than our enemies would have wished, or than our croaking orators predicted. As to the fall of the funds, it has been very inconsiderable, and they have even risen today. But how shall I treat the grand bugbear of French invasion? We have a formidable fleet, thirty thousand regular troops; and at a moment's warning, could muster such a body of militia as would make France desist from, or bitterly rue her projects. It is no such easy task to vanquish Britons; their country falls not a prey so lightly to whomsoever. We are told also that the Americans are ready to contract alliance with us, and that they have manifested such a wish; and we have already seen men credulous enough to catch at the lure. Do we not know that those who agitate these intrigues, if indeed any credit is due to such rumors, are the very same persons who violated the capitulation of Saratoga, the same who imprison, who torture, who massacre the loyal subjects of the king? For my part, I fear the gift and its bearer; I fear American wiles; I fear the French school; I fear they wish to degrade us by the refusal, after having mocked us by their offers. Hitherto I have been consider-



ing exclusively what policy demands of you; I will now briefly remind you of the claims of justice, gratitude and humanity. Think of those who in the midst of the rage of rebellion have preserved their fidelity to the king, to yourselves, to the country. Have compassion for those who have placed all their hopes in your constancy.

‘Take pity on the wives, on the widows, on the children of those, who, now exposed without defence to the fury of the insurgents, offer up their prayers to heaven for the prosperity of your arms, and see no glimpse of any period to their torments but in your victory. Will you abandon all these; will you allow them to become the victims of the confidence they placed in you? Will the English show less perseverance in their own cause, than the loyalists have manifested on their behalf? Ah! such abominable counsels were never yet embraced by this generous kingdom. Already, methinks, I see your noble bosoms pant with indignation; already I hear your voices cry vengeance on outrages so unexampled, while your hands grasp the arms which are about to inflict it. On, then, ye fathers of the state! accomplish the high destiny that awaits you. Save the honor of the kingdom, succour the unfortunate, protect the faithful, defend the country. Let Europe acknowledge, and France prove to her cost, that it is pure British blood which still flows in your veins. To condense therefore in a few words what I feel and what I think, I move, that the proposition of my adversary being rejected, the king be assured that his faithful commons are ready to furnish him with the means that shall be necessary to maintain the honor of his people and the dignity of his crown.’

As soon as Jenkinson had finished speaking, there followed an incredible agitation in the House. At length the votes were taken, and it was carried almost unanimously, that an address of thanks should be presented to the king, that war should be continued against the colonies, and declared against France.

But, in the sitting of the House of Lords of the seventh of April, after the duke of Richmond had concluded a very solid and very eloquent speech, proving that it was time to give another direction to the affairs of the kingdom, that House became the scene of a melancholy event. The earl of Chatham, though sinking under a mortal infirmity, had dragged himself to his place in parliament. Shocked at the new measures that were thrown out there, and determined not to consent to the separation of America, he pronounced these words, which were the last of his life; ‘I have made an effort almost beyond the powers of my constitution to come down to the House on this day to express the indignation I feel at an idea which I understand has been proposed to you, of yielding up the sovereignty of America!’

‘My lords, I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me; that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this

ancient and most noble monarchy ! Pressed down, as I am, by the hand of infirmity, I am little able to assist my country in this most perilous conjuncture ; but, my lords, while I have sense and memory, I will never consent to deprive the royal offspring of the House of Brunswick, the heirs of the princess Sophia, *of their fairest inheritance.*

‘ Where is the man that will dare to advise such a measure ? His majesty succeeded to an empire as great in extent as its reputation was unsullied. Shall we tarnish the lustre of this nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions ? Shall this great kingdom, that has survived whole and entire the Danish depredations, the Scottish inroads, and the Norman conquest ; that has stood the threatened invasion of the Spanish armada, now fall prostrate before the House of Bourbon ? Surely, my lords, this nation is no longer what it was ! Shall a people that seventeen years ago was the terror of the world, now stoop so low as to tell its ancient inveterate enemy, take all we have, only give us peace ? It is impossible ! In God’s name, if it is absolutely necessary to declare either for peace or war, and the former cannot be preserved with honor, why is not the latter commenced without hesitation ? I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom ; but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights. But, my lords, any state is better than despair. Let us at least make one effort ; and if we must fall, let us fall like men !’

Here the earl of Chatham ended his speech. The duke of Richmond rose, and endeavored to prove that the conquest of America by force of arms, was become impracticable ; that consequently it was wiser to secure her friendship by a treaty of alliance, than to throw her into the arms of France. The earl of Chatham wished to reply, but after two or three unsuccessful attempts to stand, he fell down in a swoon on his seat. He was immediately assisted by the duke of Cumberland, and several other principal members of the House. They removed him into an adjacent apartment, called the Prince’s Chamber. The confusion and disorder became extreme. The duke of Richmond proposed, that in consideration of this public calamity, the House should adjourn to the following day ; and it was accordingly done. The next day the debate was resumed upon the motion of the duke of Richmond ; but it was finally rejected by a large majority.

The eleventh of May, was the last day of William Pitt, earl of Chatham ; he was in his seventieth year. His obsequies were celebrated the eighth of June, with extraordinary pomp, in Westminster Abbey ; where a monument was erected to him a short time after. This man, whether for his genius, his virtues, or the great things he did for his country, is rather to be paralleled with the ancients than preferred to the moderns. He governed for a considerable time the



opulent kingdom of Great Britain; he raised it to such a pitch of splendor, as the English at no other period had ever known, or even presumed to hope for; and he died, if not in poverty, at least with so narrow a fortune, that it would not have been sufficient to maintain his family honorably; a thing at that time sufficiently remarkable, and which in the present age might pass for a prodigy! But his grateful country recompensed in the children the virtue of the father. The parliament granted a perpetual annuity of four thousand pounds sterling to the family of Chatham, besides paying twenty thousand pounds of debts which the late earl had been compelled to contract, in order to support his rank and his numerous household. No individual until that time, except the duke of Marlborough, had received in England such high and liberal rewards. The earl of Chatham was no less distinguished as a great orator, than as a profound statesman, and immaculate citizen. He defended with admirable eloquence before parliament, those resolutions which he had maturely discussed and firmly adopted in the consultations of the cabinet. Some, it is true, blamed in his speeches the too frequent use of figures, and a certain pomp of style much savoring of the taste of those times. But this great minister surpassed all the rulers of nations of his age, in the art of exciting, even to enthusiasm, the zeal of the servants of the state, civil as well as military; a talent which heaven confers but rarely, and only upon privileged individuals. In a word, he was a man whose name will never be pronounced without encomium, and the resplendent glory of whose virtues will eternally recommend them to imitation.

We now resume the thread of events. The British ministers, seeing that war with France was become inevitable, took all the measures they judged necessary to sustain it. They exerted themselves therein with the more ardor, as they could not but perceive that if England showed herself with disadvantage in this contest against France and America, Spain, and perhaps even Holland, would not long remain neuter; whereas, on the other hand, a prompt and brilliant victory might intimidate the two latter powers from declaring themselves. Their attention was occupied especially in pressing their maritime preparations, as therein consisted the principal defence of the kingdom, and the pledge of success. But on a strict examination into the state of the navy, it was found to be neither so numerous, nor so well provided, as had been supposed, and as the urgency of circumstances required. This afflicting discovery excited a general clamor. In the two Houses of parliament, the duke of Bolton and Fox inveighed with great asperity against the earl of Sandwich, who was first lord of the admiralty. No diligence, however, was omitted to remedy all deficiencies. To cheer the public mind in so trying a conjuncture, and especially to inspirit the seamen, by giving them a chief possessed of their full confidence, the

ministers appointed to the command of the fleet lying at Portsmouth, admiral Keppel, an officer of distinguished ability, and highly celebrated for his brilliant achievements in the preceding wars. Lords Hawks and Anson, those two bright luminaries of the British marine, had honored him with their esteem and closest friendship ; in a word no choice could have been so agreeable to the British nation at large as that of admiral Keppel. He refused not the appointment, notwithstanding that he was already arrived at an age in which man prefers repose to action, and that he could aspire to no greater glory than what he had acquired ; he must even have felt a sort of repugnance to commit it anew to the hazard of battles. To these considerations was added another untoward particular, which was, that, as a whig, the ministers eyed him with jealousy ; a circumstance which, in the course of events, might occasion him many disgusts. But more thoughtful for the good of his country, which claimed his services, than of his private convenience, he hesitated not to accept the charge, to which he was invited by the public voice. The vice-admirals, Harland and Palliser, both officers of high reputation, were appointed to second him in command. On his arrival at Portsmouth, Keppel, instead of a great fleet ready to proceed to sea, found, to his extreme surprise, only six sail of the line prepared for immediate service, crews incomplete, provisions insufficient, and naval munitions wanting. The ministers, alleged that the other ships had been detached on different services, but that they were to return shortly. However it was, the admiral exerted an activity so astonishing, that by the middle of June he found himself in condition to put to sea with twenty ships of the line, and not without expectation of prompt reinforcements. He sailed from St. Helens on the thirteenth, accompanied by the fervent prayers of all England. The posture of affairs was inexpressibly critical and alarming. It was known that France had a numerous fleet at Brest, completely manned and equipped for sea ; the ships which conveyed the riches of India were expected from day to day, and might become the prey of the French. This disaster, so great in itself, by the loss of such treasures, must have involved another of still greater consequence, that of an immense number of sailors, who were counted upon to man the ships of war. To this momentous consideration, were joined the defence of the vast extent of the British coasts, the safety of the capital itself, the preservation of the arsenals, the repositories of all the elements of the greatness of England, and the basis of all her hopes ; and all these objects, rather of vital than of great importance, were confided to the protection of twenty ships !

Meanwhile, the land preparations were pushed with no less ardor than the maritime. The recruiting service was prosecuted with success ; the militia were assembled, and formed into regiments upon the model of regular troops. Encampments were established



in such places as were thought most exposed to the attempts of the enemy. Thus the English made their dispositions to meet the impending war. The government had already ordered, by way of reprisal, the detention of all the French vessels that were found in the ports.

But France, who for a long time had purposed to turn her arms against England, was better provided with all the implements of war. Her fleet was numerous, and all her arsenals were in full activity. The court of Versailles, on intelligence of the hostile manner with which king George had answered the declaration of the marquis de Noailles, immediately despatched orders to the different ports, prohibiting the departure of all English vessels. This measure, taken reciprocally by the two powers, produced but little effect; the masters of merchant vessels, foreseeing a rupture, had hastened to recover their own shores. France henceforth, laying aside all hesitations, felt it due to herself to assume the attitude which becomes a great and powerful nation. She was disposed to perfect the work commenced by her declaration, and to reassure the minds of her new allies by a step from which it was impossible to fall back without shame. She therefore resolved to receive, and formally acknowledge, the American commissioners, as ambassadors of a free and independent nation. How England must have been stung by this affront, it is not difficult to imagine.

On the twenty-first of March, the three commissioners were introduced by the count de Vergennes before the throne, whereon was seated the king, Lewis XVI. in the midst of the grandees of his court. In this ceremony, none of those formalities were omitted which it was usual to observe, whenever the kings of France gave audience to the ambassadors of sovereign and independent nations; a truly remarkable event, and such as history, perhaps, affords no example of! The Americans herein experienced better fortune than other nations that have acquired independence; as, for example, the Switzers and Dutch, who were not without difficulty, nor till after a long time, acknowledged independent by those very powers that had assisted them to break the yoke of their masters.

France, having thus dropped the mask, could not but perceive that in the present war she must depend more upon her fleets than upon her armies. She was not unmindful, that an essential part of maritime war consists in capturing, as well the armed ships of the enemy, to diminish his power, as those of commerce, to exhaust his resources; an object always of primary importance, but most especially such in a war with England. The court of Versailles accordingly determined to employ an incentive that should stimulate the ardor of both officers and crews. It had been usual in France, in order to encourage the armaments on cruise, to grant certain recompenses to the captors of ships of war; and to those of merchant vessels, one third

of the product of their sale. The king, by a decree of the twenty-eighth of March, ordained that the enemy ships of war and cruisers, which should be taken by his own, should belong in full and entire property to the commanders, officers and crews, who should have captured them; and that, in like manner, two thirds of the value of merchant ships and of their cargoes, should become the property of the captors; the other third, being reserved, to be deposited in the fund destined for the relief of invalid seamen. This decree, signed by the king, and countersigned by the duke de Penthièvre, grand-admiral of France, was to have been put in execution the fourth of the following May; nevertheless, whether Lewis XVI. as some think, swayed by the natural benignity of his character, was reluctant to give the signal for the effusion of blood, or that policy disposed him to wait till the English should have committed the first hostilities, the edict was not published and executed until the beginning of July.

With a view to prevent the English government, fearing for itself, from being able to send reinforcements to America, regiments were ordered to march from all parts of France upon the coasts that look towards England. Already a formidable army was found assembled, and ready, in all appearance, to be embarked on board the grand armament at Brest, for a descent upon the opposite shore. All the labors of that port were pushed with unexampled activity; more than thirty ships of the line were already completely equipped there, besides a great number of frigates; the latter were particularly intended for cruising against the British commerce. Another considerable fleet was about to put to sea from the port of Toulon.

This sudden resurrection of the French marine was the subject of extreme surprise to all nations, and particularly to England, who, accustomed to domineer upon the ocean, scarcely knew how to believe that there should thus all at once have risen up a power in condition to contend with her for the sceptre of the seas. In truth, the state of debility into which France had fallen at the epoch of the death of Lewis XIV. not only rendered it impossible to remedy the weakness in which the French navy was left at the conclusion of the war of the Spanish succession, but it even occasioned those ships which remained to perish in the docks for want of repairs. The wars of Italy, of Flanders and of Germany, which took place under the reign of Lewis XV. by drawing all the efforts and all the resources of the state to the land service, produced a fatal coldness towards the marine department. France contented herself with arming a few ships, rather to protect her own commerce, than to disturb that of the enemy; hence disastrous defeats, and losses without number. To all these causes was joined the opinion natural to the inhabitants of France, satisfied with the fertility of their lands, and the multitude of their manufactures, that they have little need of a strong navy and of maritime traffic. But finally the increase of the products of their



colonies, and the immense gain they derived from the sale of them in foreign markets, drew the attention of the French to the importance of external commerce.

They perceived, at the same time, that without a military marine to protect the mercantile, maritime commerce must always be uncertain, and consequently sickly and unprofitable; and that war may destroy, in a few days, the fruits of a long peace. On these considerations, the court of France devoted its cares to the creation and maintenance of a fleet sufficiently formidable to command respect during peace, or to make war with success, and protect commerce from the insults of enemy vessels.

The present American war, which opened so brilliant a perspective to the French, furnished also a powerful incentive to these new designs. In order not to want skilful officers to manage the ships, the seamen of the merchant shipping, in imitation of the example of the English and Dutch, were called into the service of the royal navy. Besides this, in pursuance of a well conceived plan, there were sent out in the years 1772, 1775, and 1776, three fleets, commanded by three excellent seamen, the counts d'Orvilliers, De Guichen, and Duchaffault. These excursions served as schools of practice, in which the officers and crews formed themselves to evolutions and manœuvres. In brief, the efforts of the French government were so unremitting, and it was so seconded by the general ardor, that at the commencement of the present war, its navy equalled, if it did not surpass, that of England; speaking, however, of the fleets which the latter had then fitted for immediate service, or in such forwardness that they could put to sea within a short space of time. Nor was France disposed to keep this navy idle in her ports. The cabinet of Versailles meditated two expeditions equally important; the one was to be executed by the armament at Brest, the other by the fleet of Toulon. The latter, putting to sea as soon as possible, was to repair with all celerity to America, and suddenly to make its appearance in the waters of the Delaware.

Hence two events were likely to result, equally pernicious to Great Britain; namely, that the squadron of lord Howe, which had gone up that river, and which was greatly inferior in force to that of France, would, without any doubt, have been destroyed, or must have fallen into the power of the French. That squadron annihilated or taken, the army under general Clinton, pressed in front by Washington, and in rear by the French fleet thus possessed of the Delaware, would also have been constrained to surrender, or, certainly, would have had an extremely perilous retreat. So decisive a blow must have put an end to the whole American war. This plan of campaign had been debated and agreed upon at Paris, between the commissioners of Congress and the ministry. Nor was the execution of it delayed; on the thirteenth of April the French fleet sailed from Toulon. It

was composed of twelve sail of the line, and four large frigates, and commanded by the count d'Estaing, a man of great valor, and of an active genius. It took out a considerable corps of troops to serve on shore. Silas Deane, one of the American commissioners, who was recalled, and M. Gerard, whom the king had appointed his minister to the United States, was on board. Fortune showed herself favorable to these first essays. The wind seconded the voyage of the fleet; and, though the British ministry had been promptly advised of its departure, their ignorance of the route taken by the count d'Estaing, and the strong west winds which prevailed for some days, so retarded the decisions of the admiralty, that it was not till the first of June they ordered admiral Byron to make sail with twelve ships for America; he was to replace lord Howe, who had requested leave to return to England. As for the fleet of Brest, more considerable, and commanded by the count d'Ovilliers, who was impatient to realise the hopes which had been placed in his talents, it was destined to scour the seas of Europe, in order to keep alive upon the coasts of Great Britain the fear of an invasion. He relied especially upon his frigates, which were very numerous, to intercept the merchant fleets laden with rich cargoes, which the English then expected from the two Indies. Thus things were rapidly verging to an open rupture between the two states, and immediate hostilities were expected, though war was not yet declared on either part, according to the established usages of Europe. Universal attention was roused by the contest going to commence between France and England; events of moment were expected from the collision of two such powerful nations. Nor was fortune slow to light the first fires of this conflagration, which soon involved the four quarters of the world in its flames. Scarcely had admiral Keppel got out to sea, the thirteenth of June, from St. Helens, and shaped his course for the Bay of Biscay, when he discovered at no great distance, two ships of considerable size, with two other smaller vessels, which appeared to be watching the motions of his fleet. These were the two French frigates called the *Licorne* and the *Belle Poule*. The admiral found himself in a very delicate situation. On the one hand, he desired much to make himself master of the ships, in order to procure information respecting the state and position of the Brest fleet; on the other, war was not yet declared between the two nations, and the causing it to break out might be imputed to his temerity. Nor did he find any thing in the instructions of the ministers which could remove his perplexity; as they were exceedingly loose, and left every thing almost entirely to his discretion. It should be added, that Keppel being of a party in opposition to that of the ministers, his conduct, in case he commenced hostilities, was liable to be interpreted unfavorably, since his adversaries might attribute to political motives what appeared to be the inevitable result of circumstances. In



this painful embarrassment, Keppel, like the good citizen he was, chose rather to serve his country at his own peril, than to hazard its interest by his indecision. Accordingly, the seventeenth of June, he ordered his ships to give chase to the French. Between five and six in the afternoon, the English frigate *Milford* came up with the *Licorne*, and her captain, in very civil terms, summoned the French commander to repair under the stern of admiral Keppel. The Frenchman at first refused; but seeing the *Hector* ship of the line come up, which saluted with ball, he submitted to his destiny, and following that vessel, took station in the British fleet.

During this time, captain Marshall, with his frigate *Arethusa*, of twenty-eight six pounders, in company with the *Alert* cutter, was in pursuit of the *Belle Poule*, which carried twenty-six twelve pounders and was accompanied by a corvette of ten guns.

The *Arethusa* being the better sailer, arrived about six in the evening within musket shot of the *Belle Poule*. Marshall informed the French captain, M. de la Clocheterie, of his orders to bring him under the stern of the admiral. To this, de la Clocheterie returned a spirited refusal. The *Arethusa* then fired a shot across the *Belle Poule*, which she returned with a discharge of her broadside. A fierce engagement between the two frigates ensued, animated by an equal emulation, and bent on carrying the victory in this first action, the most extraordinary efforts of resolution were displayed on both sides. The conflict continued for more than two hours, with severe damage to both parties, as the sea was calm, and the vessels extremely near. The French were superior in the weight of metal, the number of their crew, and the proximity of their coasts; while the English were benefited by the number of guns, and especially, by the presence of two ships of the line, the *Valiant* and the *Monarch*; which, though prevented by the calm from coming up to take part in the action, nevertheless greatly disquieted the French captain, and exceedingly circumscribed his movements. Finally, after an obstinate contest, the English frigate finding herself too close upon the coasts of France, despairing of being able to overpower her adversary, and having sustained much injury in her masts, spars and rigging, profited of a light breeze, which sprung up at that moment, to withdraw. She was afterwards towed off to the fleet by the *Valiant* and *Monarch*. During her retreat, the French saluted her with fifty balls; but she returned them not one. The *Belle Poule* would even have pursued her, but for the damage she had received herself, besides, the proximity of the two men of war, and even of the whole English armament.

La Clocheterie thinking it more prudent to consult his safety, went to cast anchor for the night in the midst of the shoals, near *Plouascat*. The next morning, the two English ships came to reconnoitre his position, and ascertain whether it was possible to approach the frigate

near enough to take her. But finding the obstacles of the rocks insuperable, they abandoned the enterprise and returned to join the fleet. For the same causes, and at the same time, the English cutter and the French corvette joined battle with equal fury, but with different success. After an hour of the most vigorous resistance, the corvette surrendered. The *Arethusa*, in this action, had eight men killed and thirty-six wounded. The loss of the *Belle Poule* was forty killed, and fifty-seven wounded. Among the first was M. de St. Marsault, lieutenant of the frigate; among the second M. de la Roche de Kerandraon, ensign; Bouvet, an auxiliary officer, and M. de la Clocheterie himself, who received two contusions.

In the morning of the eighteenth, the frigate *Licorne*, which had been stationed in the middle of the English fleet, having made a movement which gave the English some suspicion, they fired a shot across her way, as a signal to keep in company with the other ships. Immediately, to the great astonishment of the admiral, and of the whole English fleet, she discharged a broadside and a volley of musketry into the *America*, of sixty-four guns, commanded by lord Longford, which lay the nearest to her. This done, she struck her colors, as if, tired of this middle state between peace and war in which she was kept, she had preferred, though a prisoner, to constitute herself in open war. Keppel sent her to Plymouth. In the meantime, another French frigate, named the *Pallas*, fell in with the English fleet; the admiral detained her, changing her officers and crew. Such was his conduct with regard to French vessels of war. As to merchant ships, though a great number of them fell within his reach, he permitted them to continue their voyage without interruption, not thinking himself authorised to stop them.

The action of the *Belle Poule* excited no little enthusiasm in France, where the remembrance of so many defeats was still recent; and it is unquestionable that the officers and all the crew of that frigate had signalised as much valor as nautical ability. Their conduct occasioned a sincere joy, and it was diligently extolled, in order to animate the public mind by these brilliant beginnings. The king showed himself lavish of favors towards those who had fought; he appointed M. de la Clocheterie captain of ship; Bouvet, lieutenant of frigate; and gave the cross of Saint Lewis to Roche Kerandraon. Pensions were granted to the sister of Saint Marsault, to the widows, and to the children of those who had fallen in the action. The English were not so generous towards captains Marshall, and Fairfax, commander of the cutter; but they received the encomiums of the admiralty and of their fellow-citizens.

But the king of France, considering the affair of the *Belle Poule*, and the seizure of other frigates, as a sufficient motive for executing his projects, ordered reprisals against the vessels of Great Britain. He immediately caused to be published his decree concerning prizes,



as if the sending of the count d'Estaing to America, with such orders as he was the bearer of, was not yet to be reputed a commencement of war. The English went through the same formalities, thus authorising by words what they had already done, at least with regard to ships of war. Until this time, the two parties had endeavored to harm each other by all possible means, without resulting to the accustomed declarations.

The papers found aboard the French frigates, and the questions put to the prisoners, furnished admiral Keppel with important intelligence. He learned that in the port of Brest were thirty-two ships of the line, with ten or twelve frigates, all in complete readiness to put to sea; whereas all his own force consisted in twenty sail of the line and three frigates. He found himself already in sight of the Isle of Ouessant, and consequently near the coasts of France. His position was truly embarrassing. The proximity and superiority of the enemy rendered his present station imminently perilous. To encounter the hazards of a battle which might expose the safety of the kingdom, was rather an act of temerity, than a courageous resolution. On the other hand, to retire from the coasts of an enemy he had braved a moment since, appeared to him a step too unworthy of his own reputation, and of the English name. But, finally, consulting utility more than appearances, and his duty rather than the point of honor, he tacked about for England, and entered Portsmouth the twenty-seventh of June.

Immediately, some from the spirit of party, and in order to exculpate the ministers, others to appease the national pride, pulled him to pieces without mercy. It might have seemed that his retreat had sullied the glory of England; and some were so transported by their fury as to compare Keppel to Byng. The admiral supported with admirable constancy the outrages of the multitude, and the invectives of the party who excited them. He busied himself only with the means of reenforcing his fleet, and of putting it in condition to scour the seas anew; the admiralty powerfully seconded his zeal, and the success corresponded to his exertions. The first divisions of the East and West India fleets arrived about that time, and furnished a great number of excellent seamen to the naval armament. Thus reenforced, it weighed anchor and put to sea the ninth of July. It was composed of twenty-four ships of the line, which were afterwards joined by six more of the same class. It comprehended a ship of one hundred guns, named the Victory, which bore the admiral's flag, six of ninety, one of eighty, and fifteen of seventy-four; the rest were of sixty-four.

They were all well manned and equipped, and commanded by excellent officers. The frigates were insufficient in number; there were only five or six, with two fire-ships. The fleet was divided into three squadrons; the van was commanded by sir Robert Harland,

vice-admiral of the Red ; the centre by admiral Keppel, assisted by admiral Campbell, a consummate seaman, who, on the score of ancient friendship, had chosen to accompany him as the first captain of the Victory. The rear was conducted by sir Hugh Palliser, vice-admiral of the Blue, and one of the members of the board of admiralty. Finding themselves so strong, and no longer doubting of victory, the English made their appearance upon the coasts of France.

They sought the French fleet with all diligence, impatient to give it battle, in order to preserve their commerce, to efface the dishonor of having a few days before yielded the sea to the enemy ; finally, to sustain their ancient renown, and to cause fortune to incline in their favor from the very commencement of hostilities. Meanwhile, the French fleet had also come out of port the eighth of July. It was in like manner formed in three divisions ; the first commanded by the count Duchaffault, the centre by the count d'Orvilliers, captain-general, and the third by the duke de Chartres, prince of the blood, who was seconded and guided by admiral de la Motte Piquet. These three divisions comprised thirty-two sail of the line, among which were the admiral's ship, *la Bretagne*, of one hundred and ten guns, *la Ville de Paris*, of ninety, which carried the count de Guichen ; two of eighty, twelve of seventy-four, one of seventy, two of sixty-four, one of sixty, and two of fifty, besides a great number of frigates. It was the intention of the count d'Orvilliers not to come to an engagement except with great probabilities of success ; and this by no means for want of an intrepid valor, and of a perfect knowledge of naval tactics ; but he chose first to exercise his crews thoroughly. He hoped, also, without exposing himself to the hazards of an action, to give England some severe blows, by employing his light vessels to capture the convoys which she daily expected from the two Indies. He shaped his course for the Isle of Ouessant, in the full persuasion that the British fleet, which he supposed to consist but of twenty sail of the line, would not presume to venture out of port, or if it showed itself, that he should certainly defeat or disperse it, and that, in all events, he should acquire the dominion of the sea. Fortune appeared to favor these first efforts ; scarcely had he quitted the road of Brest, when he discovered the English frigate, the *Lively*, which admiral Keppel had detached upon discovery ; he ordered her to be chased, and she was soon taken. The entire world was attentive to what might ensue, on seeing the two most potent nations of Europe marshalled the one against the other, on the ocean. To this object, and not in vain, had the government of France aimed all its calculations for several years back. Its ships were completely equipped, its seamen well trained, its captains excellent. It remained only that fortune should smile upon such magnanimous designs. The two fleets came in sight of each other



in the evening of the twenty-third of July, the Isle of Ouessant being thirty leagues distant, and the wind at west. The count d'Orvilliers, believing the enemy weaker than he was in reality, desired impatiently to bring him to action. But on approaching the British fleet, and finding it nearly as strong as his own, he avoided an engagement no less cautiously than he had eagerly sought it at first. As he had the advantage of the wind, it was impossible for the English to force him to it, against his will. During the night, two French ships were driven by the force of the wind to the leeward of the British fleet. Admiral Keppel having perceived it in the morning, made signal to give chase and cut them off from the main body of their fleet. He hoped that in order to save them, the French admiral would give him battle, or at least that these ships would be taken, or so forced out of their course that it would be impossible for them to rejoin their fleet. The count d'Orvilliers preferred not to make any movement to succour them; and thus the two vessels, though they had the good fortune to escape the English, were chased so far, that they could take no part in the events which followed.

During the four following days the two fleets remained in sight; the British admiral endeavoring all the time to get the wind, or to beat up so near the French fleet as to force it to action. But to arrive at this object, it was impossible to maintain the disposition entire; and therefore Keppel had commanded that the ships should take rank according to their swiftness, as they gained to the windward, with attention, however, to keep their distances as much as possible. This movement was also necessary, in order not to lose sight of the enemy. But it was not without danger, since it might offer the French an occasion to fall suddenly with superior force upon some one of the English ships. It was also the cause, that on the twenty-seventh, the day of battle, the French fleet was formed in better order than that of England, which appeared deranged. On the morning of that day, the wind continuing from the west, and favoring the French, the two fleets were separated, one from the other, a distance of only three leagues, in such manner, however, that the English rear found itself a little more to the leeward than the centre and van. Keppel therefore ordered Palliser, who commanded it, to press up to the windward in order to form in a line with the two other divisions of the fleet. Palliser executed the orders of the admiral. This movement induced the count d'Orvilliers, to believe, and perhaps not without reason, as Palliser continued to crowd more and more to the windward, that it was the intention of the enemy to attack the French rear, and to gain on the opposite tack the weathergage of that division. To defeat this manœuvre, he directly put his ships about, and reversing his order

of battle, his rear became van. This very movement, together with some variations in the wind, of which the English dexterously availed themselves, brought the two fleets so near each other, that the action commenced immediately, the wind blowing from the west, and the French running from north to south, the English from south to north. This manner of combating, by which a close and stationary action was avoided, the ships firing only as they passed each other in opposite directions, was the result of the manœuvre just made by the French fleet.

It suited the count d'Orvilliers so much the better, as since he had not been able to decline the engagement, it assured him, at least, that it could not be decisive. For it was a necessary consequence of this order of battle, that the two fleets must break their line during the action, and that the party who should have sustained the least damage, could not immediately pursue their advantages, whether against any particular ship of the enemy, or against his entire fleet. The two fleets thus standing on opposite tacks, and but a slight distance apart, the first ships of the English van, and those of the French rear, which, as we have said, was become the van, began to exchange broadsides, and the battle was joined successively, as the whole English line passed close along side of the whole French line; so that the rear, commanded by sir Hugh Palliser, and the van by the count Duchaffault, were the last to attack each other. The effects of this collision were very destructive on both sides; but as the French, according to their custom, had fired at the tackling, and the English, as they usually do, at the body of the ships, the hulls of the French vessels were more severely damaged, than those of their enemies; whereas the English were much the greater sufferers in their masts, yards, and rigging. The French, profiting of this advantage of their sails, soon tacked and formed their line anew. The British van and centre also in a short time recovered their stations, though the admiral's ship had suffered extremely. But the ships of Palliser and several others, not only had not yet tacked, but being in a disabled condition, they obeyed the wind and fell rapidly to leeward. In this state of things, whether the count d'Orvilliers intended, as the English pretend, to cut their line, and separate these ships from the rest of the fleet, or, as the French affirm, wishing to place himself under the wind, in order, as he expected a second battle, to deprive the English of the advantage he would thus gain for himself, of using the lower batteries with effect, he made signals for all his fleet to advance by a successive movement, and penetrate between the ships of Keppel and those of Palliser.

The English admiral, perceiving the design of his adversary, immediately put his ships about, and stood athwart the enemy's



foremost division, directing at the same time sir Robert Harland to form his division in a line astern, in order to face the enemy, till sir Hugh Palliser could bring up his ships. It is not clear, whether this movement of Keppel frustrated the project of the count d'Orvillers, for intercepting Palliser's division, or whether it was merely the intention of that admiral to get under the wind; but certain it is, that in consequence of this evolution the English remained to the windward. It was therefore in their power to renew the battle, provided, however, that all their ships had been in condition to take part in the action; and this would have been the wish of Keppel. But the squadron of Palliser, since the admiral and Harland had thrown themselves between him and the French, to whom they were now very near, found itself to the windward of the other divisions, and of course, remote from the French fleet, and little within reach to be of any assistance in case of a new engagement. On this consideration, Keppel made a signal for all the ships to the windward to resume their respective posts in the order of battle. Here a mistake happened, which prevented the execution of his orders. Palliser's ship, the *Formidable*, not having repeated the signal, the captains of the other ships understood that of Keppel as an order to rally in the wake of the commander of their own division, which they did accordingly.

Meanwhile, the French continued drawn up, to leeward, in order of battle. Keppel renewed the same signal, but with no better success. Afterwards, about five in the evening, [Palliser says at seven,] he commanded the captain of the frigate, *Fox*, to convey to Palliser a verbal message of the same import as the order he had already intimated by signals. It was still in vain; neither the *Formidable* nor the other ships obeyed. On seeing this, and the day far spent, Keppel made the signal to each of the ships of Palliser to resume their stations in the line; excepting, however, the *Formidable*, apparently from a certain regard to the rank, and particular functions of the vice-admiral. This time, his orders were executed; but night came, and put an end to all possibility of further operations against the enemy.

Such are the causes which prevented admiral Keppel from renewing the battle; whether the disobedience of Palliser proceeded from the impossibility of managing his ships, disabled in the engagement, as seems probable, and as the court martial decided, in the solemn trial which followed, or that it was owing to any personal pique of that officer, who, being of the ministerial party, was politically at variance with Keppel. Be this as it may, the French thence took occasion to say, that from noon till night they offered battle to Keppel, who would not accept it. The fact in itself is incontestable; but as to the intentions of the British admiral, it is certain that he

was well disposed to recommence the action, but was prevented by the obstacles we have just related.

Satisfied with their conduct in this combat, and with its issue, which might be represented as a victory, a thing so important at this first epoch of the war, or finding the condition of their fleet too shattered to warrant their exposing themselves to the hazards of a second battle, the French profited in the night of a fair wind to recover their own coasts; and entered the next day with full sails into the port of Brest. They had, however, left in the place of battle, three ships with lights at the mast heads, to deceive the English into the belief that all their fleet was still there. At break of day, the French fleet was already at such a distance that it was only discernible from the mast heads of the largest ships in the British fleet; nothing remained in sight but the three vessels above mentioned. Keppel ordered the Prince George, the Robust, and another ship, to give them chase, but as they were good sailers, and the English had suffered extremely in their sails and rigging, this pursuit was fruitless. Admiral Keppel made the best of his way to Plymouth, where he purposed to repair the damages of his fleet; he left, however, some ships that had suffered the least, to protect the British trade, and especially the fleets which were expected.

The English, in this action, had one hundred and forty killed, and about four hundred wounded. The loss of the French is uncertain; but it is probable that it exceeded that of the English. Some private authorities lead to this belief, as also the throng of sailors and marines with which they are accustomed to fill their vessels.

The two fleets proceeded again to sea the next month. But whether they mutually sought to meet each other, as they gave out, or that each endeavored to avoid the other, as it was reciprocally asserted, it is certain that they did not meet again. It is equally indisputable that the trade of England was effectually protected; while, on the other hand, an immense number of French vessels with rich and valuable cargoes, fell into the power of the enemy. These losses excited the complaints of the cities of Bordeaux, Nantz, Saint Malo, and Havre de Grace.

Such was the issue of the battle of Ouessant, which commenced the European war. The English observed in it, to their great surprise, that the French not only fought with their accustomed valor, but that they displayed also no ordinary dexterity in profiting of the advantage of wind, in the management of their ships, and in their naval evolutions. Hence they could not but infer, that if they obtained successes in the present war, they would have to pay dearer for them than in the last.

Public rejoicings were made in France, to animate the people, and inspire them with better hopes. The impression was quite



different in England; some complained of Keppel, others of Palliser, according to the various humors of the parties; all of fortune. After certain warm discussions, the admiral and vice-admiral were both put upon trial; but both were acquitted; the first, to the universal exultation of the people; the second to the particular gratification of the friends of the ministry.

END OF BOOK NINTH.

## BOOK TENTH.

1778. THE unfortunate issue of the war of Canada, and the inutility of the advantages obtained in the campaign of Pennsylvania, had at length shaken the obstinacy of the British ministers. They began to believe that it was impossible to reduce the Americans by force of arms; and every day confirmed them in this persuasion, since France, so powerful by land and by sea, had united her forces to those of the Congress. It was too manifest to be doubted, that if the Americans had been able to withstand, in the preceding campaign, the utmost efforts of England, it would be infinitely more easy for them to resist in future; their union being more consolidated by time, their hopes secured by propitious fortune, and their arms seconded by those of a formidable potentate. Besides, it was no longer to be hoped that as many troops could be sent to America in future years as had been sent thither in the past. For, without reference to the almost absolute impossibility of procuring more German troops, and the extreme slowness of recruiting in England, there was to be feared an invasion of the French, in the very heart of the kingdom, and moreover, it was necessary to throw strong garrisons into the West India islands, to shelter them from the assaults of the French, who were known to have a respectable force in their vicinity. It was no mystery in the British cabinet, that the principal object which the French were aiming at in the present war, after the separation of America from Great Britain, was the conquest of the rich colonies of England in the West Indies; and that in anticipation of events, they had assembled numerous troops in their own possessions. The English islands of the West Indies thus found themselves exposed, almost without defence, to the attempts of the enemy. Whether the ministers had believed that war with France was not likely to break out immediately; or that they had relied upon their sanguine hopes of a complete triumph in the preceding campaign, they had flattered themselves that in any event, their victories upon the American continent would enable them to pass into their islands in good time, all the succours that could be necessary. Jealousy was also entertained of Canada, not only on the part of the Americans, but also, and much more, on that of the French; for the Canadians were more French than English, and the memory of their origin appeared to be still dear them. It was therefore necessary to leave in that province such garrisons as could answer for it. These various considerations, not only rendered it impracticable to reenforce the armies which acted against the United States; but even imposed the necessity of weakening them by detachments for the different exigencies of the service. But, on the other hand, the courage of the ministers did not desert



them. They hoped that offers of accommodation, a new mode of conducting the war, and, perhaps, victories over France, would enable them to compass that which by arms alone they had hitherto failed to obtain. They persuaded themselves that the Americans, tired of a long war, and finding their resources exhausted, would readily consent to an arrangement; or that, even if the Congress refused, the greater part of the nation, at least, would manifest an eagerness to listen to their proposals; and already they beheld intestine dissensions opening the way to the reestablishment of ancient relations, if not an absolute subjugation.

To provide for this consummation, the clause had been added to the act of conciliation, which empowered the commissioners to treat, not only with any public authority, but even with every description of private citizens whatsoever. After having encountered an obstinate resistance in the inhabitants of the northern provinces, they had been assured by the refugees in whom they put all their trust, that they would find far more pliable matter in those of the south. They determined accordingly to make these the seat of the war, in the hope, that as they abounded more in subjects devoted to the crown, they would manifest greater repugnance to combating the troops of the king, and more inclination to listen to his negotiators. Besides, the fertile lands and exuberant pasturage of these provinces, rendered them extremely accommodate for the subsistence of armies, at the same time that the inhabitants would have a motive in this very abundance the more to dread the devastations inseparable from war. But whatever was the foundation of these hopes, the ministers were resolved to resume hostilities as soon as the negotiations should cease to promise any result, in order to avoid the appearance of yielding to the threats of France. Without allowing themselves to be intimidated by the consequences which might attend the war with America, they considered themselves bound by that regard which every state owes to its own honor and dignity, to try yet for a time the fortune of arms. If it proved necessary at last to acknowledge the independence of America, which was become the principal point in contest, they thought it could never be too late for that, and they reputed it better to submit honorably to adverse fortune and the decision of the sword, than to bow ignominiously, and without combat, to the menaces of an arrogant enemy. Such were the motives which influenced the British ministers in the present period of the war, and which were afterwards the basis of all their resolutions. But perfectly sensible that if England made no new overtures, the Congress would not fail to ratify the treaty contracted with France, and that it would become then much more difficult for that body to retract its resolutions, the British ministers hastened to transmit to America the bill of conciliation, even before it had yet been approved in parliament. They flattered themselves that the Americans thus finding that England

renounced what had been the first and capital cause of the differences, that is, the right of taxation, all other difficulties would be promptly smoothed, and the ratification of the treaty readily prevented. This first point gained, the commissioners would only have had, as it were, to appear, in order to affix the seal to a definitive arrangement. Accordingly, copies of the bill were received at New York about the middle of the month of April. Governor Tryon, a shrewd and active man, as we have seen, after having caused it to be published in the city, found means to circulate it among the Americans, much extolling the good dispositions of the government towards America. He wrote at the same time to general Washington, and to Trumbull, the governor of New Jersey, requesting them, a thing really without example, to bring this project of an act of parliament to the knowledge of soldiers, and of inhabitants. Washington referred the whole to the Congress, that they might take the proper measures. Trumbull replied to Tryon in a very energetic style, that he was not a little surprised at this strange mode of negotiation between two nations; that in similar cases, demands and propositions are addressed, not to the multitude, but to those who govern; that there had been a time, indeed, when such a proposal of the mother country might have been received with alacrity and gratitude, but that such time was irrevocably elapsed. He reminded of petitions rejected, hostilities commenced and prosecuted with so much barbarity on the part of the English, their insolence in good fortune, the cruelties exercised against prisoners, injuries which had interposed an insuperable obstacle to reconciliation. 'Peace,' he added, 'cannot subsist but with our independence. The English will then find the Americans as sincere friends, as they are now determined and dangerous enemies. If they would have peace, let them abandon all insidious procedures, and demand it openly of those who can grant it.' Meanwhile, the Congress, on receipt of their general's despatches, deliberated upon the step they had to take.

Considering themselves as already sure of the assistance of France, and indignant at these new machinations of the English, they decreed that any man, or body of men, whatsoever, who should presume to make any separate or partial convention or agreement with commissioners under the crown of Great Britain, should be reputed and treated as enemies of the United States; that these states could not enter into any conference or treaty with the agents of Great Britain, except they should, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or else in positive and express terms acknowledge the independence of the United States. Finally, it being the design of the enemy to lull the inhabitants of America, by this soothing sound of peace, into a neglect of warlike preparations, it was earnestly recommended to the different states to use the most strenuous exertions to have their respective quotas of continental troops in the field as soon



as possible ; and that all the militia of the said states might be held in readiness to act as occasion might require. The Congress then, in order to show of how little importance they esteemed the bills of parliament, and the intrigues of Tryon to diffuse them, embraced the generous counsel of causing them to be published in the public prints, together with the resolutions they had just passed.

But on the other hand, under the apprehension that many of those who had hitherto attached themselves to the English party, in despair of finding pardon in their country, might not only persist in their obstinacy, but profiting of the amnesty offered by the British government, might also employ their influence to draw over to its interest even such as had remained faithful to the common cause, they passed a resolution, recommending to the several states, to grant a full remission of all guilt and penalties, except the restrictions they might deem necessary, to all those who had borne arms against the United States, or assisted the enemy in any way whatsoever. Each individual was assured of pardon for the offences he might have committed up to that time, and the citizens were invited to a mutual forgiveness and oblivion of past wrongs and injuries.

But the English soldiers, in America, strangers to the political considerations by which states are guided, and bitterly irritated at the obstinate resistance of the Americans, were inconceivably shocked at hearing of the unexpected resolutions of the ministers. They were for absolute conquest, and submission without reserve. They could not endure this shameful condescension ; they asked why this ignominious retraction, why this solicitude to offer what at first was refused with so much pertinacity ? They expected, upon the faith of promises, a reenforcement of twenty thousand of their fellow-soldiers, and they received in their stead, acts of concession. The discontent was so extreme in the camp, as to manifest itself in seditious words, and acts of violence ; the soldiers in their fury presumed even to rend their colors ; others, and principally the Scotch, tore in pieces the acts of parliament. If such was the indignation of the British troops, it is easy to conceive what was the despair of the American refugees. They saw blasted in a moment their confident hopes of returning victorious to their habitations ; and perhaps some of them gnashed at finding themselves frustrated of intended vengeance.

With so much industry and so little fruit did the agents of England, labor in America, to conciliate minds towards the mother country ; and with so much energy and success did the Congress endeavor to baffle all their efforts !

The second of May was the day destined to carry to its utmost height the exultation of the Americans, and to put the seal to the dismemberment of the vast and powerful British empire. On this day arrived at Casco Bay, the French frigate *La Sensible*, com-

manded by M. de Marigny. She had been selected as an excellent sailer, to bear to the Congress the treaties concluded with France; she had departed from Brest the eighth of March, having on board Simon Deane, brother of Silas. She brought, besides, happy news of all the European continent, and of an unanimity still more sincere than ever, of the people and of the princes in favor of America. The Congress was immediately convened; we shall not attempt to describe their satisfaction and alacrity at the sight of the treaties. They were ratified as soon as read. Unable to control the flush occasioned by so great an event, they forgot the rules of prudence. New states too frequently err in this; allowing themselves to be hurried away by an inconsiderate ardor, and impatient to communicate it to the people they govern, they are betrayed into impolitic steps. In this respect, widely different from ancient states; these, always circumspect and wrapped up in mystery, are reluctant to break silence even when every thing appears to exact it. The Congress at once made public the despatches they had just received; this disclosure was disagreeable to several powers, and especially to Spain, who would have chosen not to declare herself before the appointed time. The proclamation issued to that effect, spoke, not only of the treaty of commerce concluded with France, but even of the treaty of alliance; it announced, without any reserve, that the emperor of Germany, the kings of Spain and Prussia, were determined to support them; that the king of Prussia, in particular, would not permit that the troops levied in Hesse and Hanau should pass through his territories in order to embark in the English vessels, and that he would be the second potentate in Europe who would acknowledge the independence of America; that fifty thousand French were marched upon the coasts of Normandy and of Brittany; and, finally, that the navies of France and Spain, (as if the intervention of this power was already secured) amounted to two hundred ships, ready to sail for the succour of America. The Congress afterwards drew up and published a solemn address to the people of America; this piece was wrought with much care, though a little strange from its tumid style, and the religious sentences with which it was interspersed. It was recommended to all ministers of the gospel, of whatever denomination, to read this address to their congregations, immediately after divine service. It represented in the most vivid colors the vicissitudes of the state in the course of the late years; the virtue, the courage, the patience of the Americans; the perfidy, the injustice, the cruelty, the tyranny of the English; the assistance of God visibly afforded to the just cause; and the ancient weakness of the colonies succeeded by their present security. 'The haughty prince,' continued the address, 'who spurned us from his feet with contumely and disdain, and the parliament which proscribed us, now descend to offer terms of accommodation.'



Whilst in the full career of victory, they pulled off the mask, and avowed their intended despotism. But having lavished in vain the blood and treasure of their subjects in pursuit of this execrable purpose, they now endeavor to ensnare us with the insidious offers of reconciliation. They intend to lull you with fallacious hopes of peace, until they can assemble new armies to prosecute their nefarious designs. If this is not the case, why do they strain every nerve to levy men throughout their islands? why do they meanly court every little tyrant of Europe to sell them his unhappy slaves? why do they continue to imbitter the minds of the savages against you? Surely this is not the way to conciliate the affections of America. Be not, therefore, deceived. You have still to expect one severe conflict. Your foreign alliances, though they secure your independence, cannot secure your country from desolation, your habitations from plunder, your wives from insult or violation, nor your children from butchery. Foiled in their principal design, you must expect to feel the rage of disappointed ambition. Arise then! to your tents! and gird you for battle! It is time to turn the headlong current of vengeance upon the head of the destroyer. They have filled up the measure of their abominations, and like ripe fruit must soon drop from the tree. Although much is done, yet much remains to do. Expect not peace, whilst any corner of America is in possession of your foes. You must drive them away from this land of promise, a land flowing indeed with milk and honey. Your brethren at the extremities of the continent, already implore your friendship and protection. It is your duty to grant their request. They hunger and thirst after liberty. Be it yours to dispense to them the heavenly gift, "since a kind Providence has placed it in your power."

The Congress also published those articles of the treaty of amity and commerce which related to the reciprocal intercourse between the two nations, to the end that the inhabitants of the United States might govern themselves conformably to the same. They exhorted them to consider the French as their brethren, and to behave towards them with the friendship and attention due to the subjects of a great prince, who with the highest magnanimity and wisdom had treated with the United States on terms of perfect equality and mutual advantage, thereby rendering himself the protector of the rights of mankind.

Great were the rejoicings in all parts of the United States; the name of Lewis XVI. was in all mouths. Every where he was proclaimed the protector of liberty, the defender of America, the savior of the country. These joyful tidings were announced with great solemnity to the army, which still occupied the camp of Valley Forge; the soldiers were under arms, and all the corps formed in order of battle.

Meanwhile, the three pacificatory commissioners, Carlisle, Eden, and Johnstone had arrived in the waters of the Delaware at the beginning of June; they repaired to Philadelphia the ninth. General Clinton notified their arrival to Washington, praying him to send a passport to doctor Ferguson, secretary of the commissioners, that he might without danger deliver their despatches to the Congress. Washington refused the passport, and his refusal obtained the special approbation of the government. The commissioners then decided to forward their letters by the ordinary post. The Congress received them in their sitting of the thirteenth, with an express from Washington. They were read to certain words in the letter directed 'to his excellency Henry Laurens, the president and others, the members of Congress.' No sooner were they heard, than a violent clamor arose; many members exclaimed that the reading ought to be interrupted on account of the offensive language against his most christian majesty.

The words were these, 'We cannot but remark the insidious interposition of a power, which has from the first settlement of the colonies been actuated with enmity to us both; and notwithstanding the pretended date or present form of the French offers to North America, it is notorious that they have only been made, because it was believed that Great Britain had conceived the design of an amicable arrangement, and with a view to prevent reconciliation, and prolong this destructive war.' After animated debates, the further consideration of the subject was adjourned to the next sitting. The question was agitated with equal vehemence the following days. Finally, the Congress having demonstrated by the warmth of this discussion the respect they bore to their august ally, reflected on the other hand, that it was more prudent to answer than to keep silence. It was easy to lay before the people such motives as were likely to dissuade them from accepting the proposals of England, whereas a refusal to notice them might occasion discontents prejudicial to the state. They determined accordingly to read the despatches of the commissioners. They consisted in the letter addressed to the president of Congress, a copy of their commission, and three acts of parliament. The commissioners offered in their letter more than would have been required in the origin of the quarrel, to appease the minds of the colonists and reestablish tranquillity; but less than was necessary at present to obtain peace. They endeavored to persuade the Americans that the conditions of the arrangement were not only favorable, but also perfectly sure, and of such a nature that the two parties would know for the future upon what footing they were to live together; that their friendship would thus be established upon solid bases, as it should be, in order to be durable. They declared themselves ready to consent to an immediate cessation of hostilities by sea and land; to restore a free intercourse, and to renew the



common benefits of naturalisation throughout the several parts of the empire; to extend every freedom to trade that the respective interests of both parties could require; to agree that no military force should be kept up in the different states of North America, without the consent of the General Congress, or of the particular assemblies; to concur in such measures as would be requisite to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and the value of the paper circulation; to perpetuate the common union by a reciprocal deputation of agents from the different states, who should have the privilege of a seat and voice in the parliament of Great Britain; or if sent from Britain, in that case, to have a seat and voice in the assembly of the different states to which they might be deputed respectively; in order to attend to the several interests of those by whom they were deputed; to establish the right and power of the respective legislatures in each particular state, of settling its revenue and its civil and military establishment, and of exercising a perfect freedom of legislation and internal government, so that the British states throughout North America, acting with those of Europe in peace and war, under one common sovereign, might have the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege that was short of a total separation of interest, or consistent with that union of force on which the security of British religion and liberty depended.

Finally, the commissioners expressed their desire to open conferences with Congress, or with some of its members, either at New York, at Philadelphia, or at Yorktown, or in such other place as it might please the Congress to appoint.

Thus, to terminate a war, already pushed to a great length, those who in its origin would hear of nothing short of the absolute reduction of America, abated all the rigor of their conditions.

Meanwhile, the Congress took into serious consideration the state of affairs. The debates that ensued upon this subject, were drawn into length; not that any individual thought of renouncing independence, but all took an interest in the form of the answer to be given to the commissioners. The discussion was continued until the seventeenth of June. On that day the Congress answered with as much conciseness as dignity; they already felt how greatly their position was meliorated by the success of their arms and the alliance of France. Their reply purported, that the acts of the British parliament, the very commission of the agents, and their letters to Congress supposed the people of the United States to be subjects of the crown of Great Britain, and were founded on the idea of dependence, which was utterly inadmissible; that, nevertheless, the Americans were inclined to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claims from which the war had originated, and the savage manner in which it had been conducted. That Congress would therefore be ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce,

not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the king of Great Britain should demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose; of which no other proof could be admitted but that of an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, or the withdrawing of his fleets and armies.

Thus, the Americans, steady in their resolutions, chose rather to trust to their own fortune, which they had already proved, and to the hope they placed in that of France, than to link themselves anew to the tottering destiny of England; abandoning all idea of peace, war became the sole object of their solicitude. Such was the issue of the attempts, to effect an accommodation; and thus were extinguished the hopes which the negotiation had given birth to in England. By not consenting to concessions until the time for them was passed, the English justified the refusal of the Americans. It cannot be affirmed that these overtures on the part of the first, were only an artifice to divide the second among themselves, to detach them from France, and to have them afterwards at their discretion; but it is certain that after so many rancorous animosities, so many sanguinary battles, after the innumerable excesses of rapine, cruelty and lust, the Americans could not be blamed for suspecting the British ministers of a design to insnare them.

The wound was incurable, and friendship could not be restored. This was a truth of universal evidence; the seeming inclined to believe the contrary, was sufficient to inspire apprehensions of treachery, and the extreme of distrust in all flattering promises. Whoever shall reflect attentively upon the long series of events which we have related up to this time, will perceive that the Americans were always constant in their resolution, the English always versatile, uncertain, and wavering. Hence it is not at all surprising that those found new friends, and that these not only lost theirs, but also made enemies of them at the very moment when they could do them the least harm, and might receive the most from them. Vigorous resolutions prevent danger; half measures invite and aggravate it.

But the chiefs of the American revolution were not without apprehension that the insidious caresses, the new concessions of England, and the secret intrigues of the commissioners might act powerfully upon the minds of such citizens as were weak or impatient for repose. The Congress, however, was not disposed to give any other answer except that which has been recounted above. They excited therefore several writers to justify their resolutions and to defend the cause of America. This course appeared to them the more proper, inasmuch as the English commissioners, having lost all hope of succeeding with the Congress, had resorted to the expedient of disseminating in the country a multitude of writings, by which they endeavored to persuade the people that the obstinacy of Congress would hurry America into an abyss, by alienating her from her old



friends, and giving her up a prey to an inveterate enemy. This step of the commissioners furnished the patriots with a new argument to put the people on their guard against the artifices and intrigues of the agents of England. Among the writers of this epoch, deserving of particular mention, is Drayton, one of the deputies of South Carolina, and a man of no common erudition. He endeavored to demonstrate in the public papers, that the United States having already treated with France, as free states, and in order to maintain their independence, they could not now negotiate with the British commissioners upon the basis of submission, without renouncing that faith and ingenuousness which ought to preside over all their transactions, without exposing the American people to be accounted faithless and infamous, and consequently to lose for ever all hope of foreign succours; while on the other hand they would find themselves placed without resource in the power of those who had given them heretofore such fatal proofs of their perfidy and cruelty. 'Besides,' he added, 'the conventions that we might make with the commissioners would not be definitive, they would need the ratification of the king, of the ministers, and of the parliament; and what assurance have we that they would have it? But let it be supposed, can we be assured that a future parliament will not annul all these treaties? Let us not forget, that we have to do with an enemy as faithless and fraudulent as barbarous. How is it possible not to suspect a snare, when we hear the commissioners offer us propositions which exceed their powers, and contradict even the acts of parliament? Thus the patriots repulsed the offers, the promises, and the arguments of the British commissioners. Finding no accessible point, the latter were at length convinced that all hope of conciliation must be relinquished. If they could still have remained under any illusion upon this point, it must soon have been dissipated by the evacuation which their generals made, at the same instant, of the city of Philadelphia, the acquisition of which had been the fruit of so much blood, and of two arduous campaigns. The ministers feared, what actually happened, that a French fleet might suddenly enter the Delaware, and place the British army, which occupied Philadelphia, in extreme jeopardy. Their design was, besides, to carry the war into the southern provinces, and to send a part of the troops to defend their islands of the West Indies against the attacks of the new enemy. The diminution that must result from it in the army of the continent, induced them to send orders to Clinton, by the commissioner Eden, to evacuate Philadelphia without delay, and to fall back upon New York. This measure, dictated by prudence, and even by necessity, was interpreted by the Americans as a symptom of terror; and it consequently must have had the most prejudicial influence upon the success of the negotiations. What need have we, they said, to enter into an accommodation with the Eng-

lish, when their retreat is a virtual avowal of the inferiority of their arms?

Be this as it may, Clinton prepared to execute the orders of his government. But in order to repair by land to New York, it was necessary to traverse New Jersey, a province, in which, for reasons already stated, he must expect to meet only with enemies. It was, besides, exhausted by long war. Foreseeing, therefore, that he might want provisions, the English general, before evacuating Philadelphia, had collected them in considerable quantity, and loaded them upon a great number of carriages. It is true, that as the fleet of lord Howe still remained in the waters of the Delaware, the army might have been transported to New York by sea; the Americans themselves expected it, and Washington apprehended it much. But the difficulties and delays of the embarkation, and perhaps also the fear of encountering the French fleet in superior force, deterred the English from taking this route. Clinton and Howe having made the necessary dispositions, the whole army passed the Delaware very early on the twenty-second of June; and, descending the river a little, landed at Gloucester Point, upon the territory of New Jersey. It immediately proceeded, with all its baggage, towards Haddonfield, where it arrived the same day.

Washington was soon apprised in his camp at Valley Forge that the British army was in motion; without loss of time he sent general Dickinson to assemble the militia of New Jersey under arms. At the same time, in order to support them by a respectable corps of continental troops, he ordered general Maxwell to march into New Jersey. Their mutual efforts were to embarrass, by all possible impediments, the retreat of the British army; to break up the roads, to cut the bridges, to fell trees, and to plant them in abattis. It was recommended to them at the same time to avoid hazardous movements and unexpected actions. Such were the first steps taken by Washington in order to retard the enemy, until he could advance himself with the main body of his army into New Jersey, and observe in person what there was to be done. In the meantime, he assembled his council of war at Valley Forge, and submitted to their deliberation whether it was proper, by harassing the enemy's rear, to do him all the harm possible, without, however, coming to a general engagement; or whether it was more advisable to attack him in front, and try the fortune of a decisive battle. The opinions differed, and were for some time in balance. General Lee, who a little before had been exchanged for Prescott, considering the equality of the forces of the two armies, and the posture of affairs, became too favorable to be exposed without necessity to the hazard of battles, perhaps also having little confidence in the discipline of the American troops, was of the opinion that they should not be put to the test anew, and that an action should be avoided. He was for



being content with following the enemy, observing his motions, and preventing him from ravaging the country. This counsel was adopted by the greater part of the generals. The others, among whom was Washington himself, thought differently, and were inclined, in case a favorable occasion should present itself, to engage a general affair. They could not bring their minds to endure that the enemy should retire with impunity during so long a march, and they persuaded themselves that they had every thing to expect from soldiers whose constancy, the rigor of the seasons, and the scarcity of things the most necessary to life, had not been able to subdue. They reflected, besides, that the English army was embarrassed with the most cumbersome baggage, and they doubted not but that, in the numerous defiles it would have to thread, some favorable occasion must offer itself to attack with advantage. Nevertheless, the opinion of the majority prevailed, not without evident dissatisfaction on the part of Washington, who, according to his character of personal pertinacity, remained steadfast in his way of thinking.

The same day in which the English abandoned Philadelphia, he moved from his camp of Valley Forge, and crossing the Delaware at Coryells Ferry, because Clinton was marching up the river, he went to take post at Hopewell. He was in great uncertainty respecting the designs of the enemy. Their slow march, which was the effect of the immoderate quantity of their baggage, and not a stratagem, induced him to suspect that their aim was to draw him beyond the Rariton, into the open plains of New Jersey, and then, rapidly, turning his right, to lock him against the river, and constrain him to join battle with disadvantage. He proceeded, therefore, with extreme circumspection, and did not allow himself to be enticed to venture across the Rariton.

Meanwhile, the English had already reached Allentown. Washington detached Morgan with his light horse, to harass their right flank, while Maxwell and Dickinson infested them on the left, and general Cadwallader in rear. But when Clinton found himself in Allentown, he reflected upon the way he had to take in order to arrive at New York. By turning towards the Rariton, he might proceed to Brunswick, pass the river there, push for Staten Island, and thence to New York. Another route presented itself on the right, by passing through Monmouth and gaining with rapidity the heights of Middletown, whence it was easy to repair to Sandy Hook; from that point, the fleet of Howe, which awaited the army, could transport it to New York. General Clinton conceived it an extremely hazardous enterprise to attempt the passage of the Rariton, with an army encumbered by such immense convoys, and in the presence of that of Washington, which he knew was soon to be reinforced by the northern troops, under the command of general Gates. He concluded therefore to pursue the road of Monmouth, and immedi-

ately commenced the march. Washington, who till then had remained in doubt, because the road from Allentown leads alike to New Brunswick and to Monmouth, as soon as he got this intelligence, detached general Wayne with a thousand regular troops to reinforce the corps of Cadwallader, in order to enable him with more effect to harass, and retard the enemy. The simultaneous action of the detachments of Wayne, Cadwallader, Dickinson and Morgan, being of extreme importance, the commander-in-chief put them all under the command of major-general La Fayette. But the danger increasing at every instant, as the American van had already come up with the English rear, Washington judged it necessary to support it by other corps of regular troops. He directed general Lee to press forward with two brigades. As the senior, Lee took the command of the whole vanguard, leaving to the marquis de la Fayette only that of the militia and light horse. General Lee occupied Englishtown. Washington followed a little distance from the main body of the army, and encamped at Cranberry. Morgan continued to infest the right flank of the English, and Dickinson their left. Things were fast verging to a decisive event. The British army was encamped upon the heights of Freehold; descending thence towards Monmouth, a deep valley is entered, three miles in length and one in breadth; it is broken with hillocks, woods, and morasses. General Clinton, seeing the enemy so near, and the battle inevitable, withdrew all the baggage from the rear, and passed it into the charge of the van, commanded by general Knyphausen, that while himself with the rear guard kept the enemy in check, it might be conducted without molestation to a place of safety upon the hills of Middletown. The rear guard, which he retained during the night of the twenty-seventh in his encampment at Freehold, consisted of several battalions of English infantry, both heavy and light, the Hessian grenadiers, and a regiment of cavalry.

The next morning at daybreak, Knyphausen descended into the valley with the vanguard and his convoy, on his way towards Middletown, and was soon at a good distance from the camp. Clinton, with the selected corps he had kept with him, still maintained his position, as well to retard the enemy, as to give time for the baggage to gain the heights. Washington, promptly informed of all that passed, and apprehensive that the English would effect their design of posting themselves in the mountains of Middletown, the distance being only a few miles, in which case it became impossible to interrupt their retreat to New York, resolved to give them battle without further delay.

He ordered general Lee to attack the enemy in front, while Morgan and Dickinson should descend into the valley upon his flanks, the first to the right, the second to the left, in order to attempt the column of Knyphausen, encumbered with its long train of carriages



and packhorses. Each put himself in motion to obey. General Clinton having resumed his march, was already descended from the heights of Freehold, when he perceived that the Americans were also descending with impetuosity in order to attack him. He was informed at the same instant, that Knyphausen was exposed to the greatest peril, his convoy being engaged in defiles, that continued several miles. Clinton finding himself under the necessity of fighting, instantly took the only resolution that could extricate him from the embarrassments of his position. He determined to turn upon the Americans who menaced his rear, and to charge them with the utmost vigor. He persuaded himself that thrown into disorder by this unexpected attack, they would hasten to recall to their succour the corps they had detached to intercept the baggage. Thus the English rear guard, commanded by Cornwallis and Clinton himself, and the American vanguard, conducted by general Lee, and the marquis de la Fayette, advanced the one against the other with a firm resolution to engage.

The artillery began to play, and the Queen's dragoons charged and routed the light horse of La Fayette. Lee, surprised at the unexpected determination of Clinton to face about upon the Americans, and the rapidity with which he had carried it into execution, was constrained to form his troops upon ground by no means favorable. He had behind him a ravine which rendered his retreat almost impracticable in case of check. Perhaps also he was piqued at being forced to join battle after having supported the contrary opinion.

At the first charge of the English he fell back, not without disorder, probably occasioned by the difficulty of the ground. The enemy pursued him across the ravine and pressed him hard before he had time to rally. In this critical moment, Washington arrived with his corps. Having kept himself ready to move at any instant, he had pushed forward at the first sound of the firing, having ordered his soldiers to leave behind them whatever could impede their march, even to the knapsacks, which they usually carried upon all occasions. On seeing the retreat or rather flight of the troops of Lee, he was not master of his anger, he addressed some very harsh words to that general, and applied himself with equal prudence and courage to restore the fortune of the day. It was necessary, first of all, to arrest for a few moments the impetuosity of the English, in order to give time for all the corps of the rear guard to come up. Accordingly, the commander-in-chief ordered the battalions of colonels Stewart and Ramsay to occupy an important post on the left, behind a tuft of wood, and there to sustain the first efforts of the enemy. Stung by the reproaches of his general, and stimulated by the point of honor, even Lee made extreme exertions to rally his troops. He disposed them on more advantageous ground, where they defended themselves valiantly. The English were constrained to renew their

attacks in order to dislodge them. But at length, Lee as well as Stewart and Ramsay, overpowered by numbers, were forced to fall back; they withdrew, however, without any confusion. Lee retired to rally anew behind Englishtown; but in the meantime the American rear guard had arrived upon the field of battle. Washington disposed these fresh troops, partly in a neighboring wood, and partly upon a hill situated on the left, from which some pieces of cannon, which lord Sterling had planted there, severely annoyed the enemy. The infantry were drawn up in the centre, at the foot of the hill in front of the enemy. At the same time, general Greene, who on this day commanded the right wing, and who had advanced considerably, on being apprised of the retreat of the vanguard, very prudently concluded also to fall back.

As soon as he was arrived upon the field of battle, he took a very strong position on the right of lord Sterling. He likewise posted his artillery upon a lofty eminence, whence it cruelly infested the left wing of the enemy. The English, being thus arrested, and finding so harsh a reception in front, attempted to turn the left flank of the Americans; but they were repulsed by the light infantry which Washington had sent there for this purpose. They then directed their efforts against his right, which they endeavored to surround. But overwhelmed by the artillery of Greene, they were soon forced to retreat. As soon as Washington saw them give way, he caused them to be charged vigorously by the infantry under general Wayne.

The English turned the back, and recrossing the ravine went to form anew upon the same ground where general Lee had made his first halt. Victory was no longer doubtful; but the new position of the English was still formidable. Their flanks were covered by woods and deep morasses, and their front, being protected by the same ravine which had deranged the troops of Lee in the beginning of the action, could only be reached through a narrow pass.

Washington, nevertheless, made his dispositions for renewing the engagement, having ordered general Poor to charge them upon the right with his own brigade and a corps of Carolinian militia, and general Woodfort to attack them upon the left, while the artillery should play on them in front. Both exerted themselves with alacrity to execute their orders, and to surmount the obstacles which defended the flanks of the British army. But the ground was so broken and difficult, that night came on before they had been able to obtain any advantage. The action soon ceased throughout the line. Washington would have desired to recommence it the next morning, with the day; he therefore kept all his troops under arms during the night. He was vigilant that every thing should be ready; sparing neither cares nor fatigue. But the thoughts of Clinton were very differently occupied. His vanguard and his baggage were already arrived in safety near Middletown. His calculation had not deceived him, for



he had no sooner attacked the corps of Lee, than that general hastened to recall the light troops which had been detached to fall upon the baggage and the soldiers that guarded it, as they filed through the valley. During the action, they had continued to march upon Middletown, and they had arrived the same evening at secure positions on the hills. Clinton, besides, had not to blush for this day, since with his rear guard he had repulsed the American van, and had finally arrested the whole army of the enemy. His troops were greatly inferior in number to those of Washington; but it would have been an imprudence, even for an army of equal force, to risk a new engagement, when so great a part of it was at such a distance, and in a country whose inhabitants and whose surface presented little else but opposition and obstacles. The loss of the battle would have been followed by the total ruin of the army. On all these considerations, he decided for retreat. He took advantage of the obscurity of night in order not to be followed, and to avoid the intolerable sultriness of the climate during the day. About ten at night, the Americans say at midnight, he put his columns in motion for Middletown, with so profound a silence, that the enemy, though extremely near, and attentive to observe him, perceived not his retreat. Clinton wrote, that his march was favored by moonlight. This circumstance afforded the Americans an abundance of merriment; it being observed that the moon was then at its fourth day, and that it was set a little before eleven at night. Washington, on his part, had to take into consideration the excessive heat of the season, the weariness of his troops, the nature of the country, very sandy, and without water; finally, the distance which the enemy had already gained upon him during the night. He consequently relinquished the thought of pursuing them, and allowed his army to repose in the camp of Englishtown until the first of July. He took this step with the less reluctance, as he considered it now impracticable to prevent or disturb the embarkation of the English at Sandy Hook.

Such was the issue of the battle of Freehold, or of Monmouth, as it is called by the Americans. If they had the worse in its commencement, it terminated in their favor. And it appears very probable, that if the division under Lee had made a firm stand, they would have gained the most decisive victory. The English, in this engagement, had three hundred killed, and an equal number wounded; about one hundred were made prisoners. Many of them also deserted, especially of the Hessians. Few were slain on the side of the Americans. On the one part and on the other many soldiers died, not of wounds, but of the intense heat of the weather, added to the fatigue of the day. Washington greatly commended his troops for the valor they had signalled, and particularly general Wayne. The Congress voted thanks to the army, and especially to the officers and commander-in-chief. But general Lee, a man of an irasci-

ble character, could not brook the indignity he believed to have been offered him by Washington, in presence of his soldiers. He therefore wrote two letters to the commander-in-chief, in which his resentment caused him to forget all bounds of respect. They occasioned the revival of an affair which the usual prudence and moderation of Washington would have inclined him to pass by. Lee was arrested and brought before a court martial, to make answer to the three following charges; for disobedience, in not attacking the enemy on the twenty-eighth of June, agreeably to his instructions; for having made an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat; and, for disrespect to the commander-in-chief in his two letters. He defended himself with great ingenuity, and with a sort of eloquence, so that impartial and military men remained in doubt whether he was really culpable or not. Nevertheless, the court martial found him guilty of all the charges, bating the epithet of shameful, which was expunged, and sentenced him to be suspended for one year; a judgment, certainly either too mild, if Lee was guilty, or too severe, if innocent. This affair occasioned much conversation, some approving, others blaming the sentence. The Congress, though with some hesitation, confirmed it.

On the first of July, Washington directed the march of his army towards the Hudson, in order to secure the passages of the mountains, now the English were in force at New York. He left, however, some detachments of light troops, and particularly Morgan's dragoons, in the lower parts of New Jersey, to take up deserters, and to repress the incursions of the enemy.

While such were the operations of Washington and of Clinton in New Jersey, general Gates, with a part of the northern army, had descended along the banks of the Hudson, in order to disquiet the English in New York. By this judicious movement, the garrison of that city, under apprehensions for itself, was prevented from marching to the support of those who were engaged with the enemy in New Jersey.

Meanwhile, the British army was arrived, the thirtieth of June, at Middletown, not far from Sandy Hook. The fleet under lord Howe, was already at anchor there, though it had been detained a long time in the Delaware by calms. Sandy Hook had been in time past a peninsula, which, forming a point, extended in the mouth of the bay of New York; but in the preceding winter it had been disjoined from the main land by a violent storm and inundation, and converted into an island. The timely arrival of the fleet, delivered the army from the imminent peril to which it would have been exposed, had it been unable to pass this new strait. But a bridge of boats was constructed with incredible expedition; and the whole army passed over the channel into Sandy Hook island, whence it was soon after conveyed by the fleet to New York; ignorant of the extreme danger it had so narrowly escaped.



The count d'Estaing, with his powerful armament, was at length arrived in the seas of America. After having made his appearance upon the coasts of Virginia, he had entered the mouth of the Delaware, in the night of the eighth of July. If he could have gained that position a few days sooner, and before the fleet of Howe had got out of the river, or even if he had fallen in with it on its passage from the Delaware to Sandy Hook, it is beyond doubt that he would have entirely destroyed that squadron, which only consisted of two ships of the line, a few frigates, and a certain number of transports. The British army would then have been enclosed by the Americans at land, and by the French at sea. Hemmed in by mountains and an impassable tract of country, it would have found it impossible to force its way to New York. Destitute of provisions, and cut off from all communication, it must have been compelled at last to surrender, and at Middletown would have been renewed the capitulation of Saratoga. This event might therefore have decided the fate of the whole war. But after having commenced with favorable winds, the voyage of the French admiral was so protracted by frequent calms, or by rough weather, that he not only did not arrive in time to surprize the squadron of Howe in the Delaware, and the army of Clinton at Philadelphia, as had been the scope of his plan, but also that he did not enter the waters of that river until the one was withdrawn to the anchorage of Sandy Hook, and the other behind the walls of New York.

But though the land troops might think themselves in safety within that city, the fleet was exposed to manifest peril in the road of Sandy Hook. As soon as the count d'Estaing was informed of the movements of the enemy, he promptly took his resolution. He put to sea anew, and suddenly made his appearance, the eleventh of July, in sight of the British squadron anchored at Sandy Hook. His own consisted of twelve ships of the line, perfectly equipped, among which were two of eighty guns, and six of seventy-four; he had, besides, three or four large frigates. On the other hand, the British squadron was composed of only six ships of sixty-four guns, three of fifty, and two of forty, with some frigates and sloops. They were not in good condition, having been long absent from England, and their crews were very deficient in number. It is also to be observed, that when the French fleet appeared so unexpectedly, that of Howe was not in the order of battle suitable to receive it. If, therefore, the count d'Estaing, immediately upon his arrival, had pushed forward and attempted to force the entrance of the harbor, there must have ensued, considering the valor and ability of the two parties, a most obstinate and sanguinary engagement; an engagement, however, which the superiority of the French would in all probability have decided in their favor.

The count d'Estaing appeared disposed to enter; the English prepared to receive him. But such is the nature of the mouth of the bay of New York, that, though sufficiently broad, it is obstructed by a bar, which runs from Long Island towards Sandy Hook, so that between the latter and the extremity of the bar, there is left but a very narrow ship channel. Nevertheless, the bar being at a certain depth under water, light vessels may pass it with facility, especially at flood tide; but it was doubtful whether large ships like those of the French, could surmount this obstacle. The count d'Estaing took counsel of the American pilots, sent him by the Congress; he feared that his ships, and especially the Languedoc and Tonnant, which drew more water than the others, would not be able to pass. He therefore relinquished the enterprise, and withdrew to anchor upon the coast of New Jersey, about four miles from Sandy Hook, and not far from the town of Shrewsbury. There, having recruited his water and provisions, he concerted with the American generals respecting the expedition of Rhode Island, which he meditated, since he had missed that of the Delaware.

The English imagined that the French admiral was only waiting in this anchorage for the high tides at the end of July. Under the apprehension of an approaching attack, they accordingly prepared themselves for a vigorous defence. The ardor manifested on this occasion by their troops, both in the land and sea service, cannot be too highly commended. Meanwhile, several English vessels that were bound to New York, far from supposing that the French were become masters of the sea, fell daily into their power, under the very eyes of their own people of the squadron, whose indignation was vehement; but they had no means of remedy.

Finally, on the twenty-second of July, the whole French fleet appeared at the entrance of Sandy Hook. The wind favored it and the tide was very high. The English expected an action which must necessarily issue either in a victory without example, or in the total destruction of their fleet; but after some uncertain movements, the count d'Estaing all at once stood off towards the south, and relieved his enemy from all fear. His departure could not have been better timed for the English; for from the twenty-second to the thirtieth of July, several ships of admiral Byron's squadron, which had been dispersed and shattered by storms and a tedious passage arrived successively at Sandy Hook. If the count d'Estaing had remained a few days longer on that station, not one of them could have escaped him. Of this number were the *Renown* and the *Centurion* of fifty guns, the *Reasonable* of sixty-four, and the *Cornwall* of seventy-four.

Admiral Howe thus finding himself, with infinite gratification, in condition to resume the open sea, sailed in search of the count d'Estaing, whom he afterwards found at Newport in Rhode Island.



But previous to relating what passed between the two admirals, the order of history requires that we should recount what happened between the British commissioners and the Congress. The former had not entirely abandoned their enterprise, and they still continued upon the American continent.

Johnstone, one of their number, had formerly resided a long time upon the shores of America, where he had formed an acquaintance with many of the principal inhabitants of the country. He had likewise been governor of one of the colonies, where his active and cultivated genius, with his insinuating manners, had procured him an extensive influence. Being, besides, a member of parliament, he had there always warmly defended the cause of America, and had shown himself one of the most resolute antagonists of the ministry. These motives, to which perhaps it was owing that he had been selected for a commissioner, persuaded him that he might succeed in effecting in America by his suggestions and a private correspondence, what his colleagues perchance could not have obtained by open negotiations, always subject to the restraints of circumspection and distrust. He believed, at least, that by enticing the principal republicans with brilliant prospects of honors and wealth, he should smooth the difficulties which impeded the operations of the commissioners. It is not known whether he pursued this course of his own motion, or with the privity, or even by the command of the government. Nevertheless, the tenor of the letters he wrote upon this head, would lead to the belief that the ministers were no strangers to his designs. In fact, contrary to the uniform practice of those who exercise a delegated power, he praised the resistance which the Americans had made, up to that time, against the unjust and arrogant laws of England; a frankness he would scarcely have ventured, if he had not been guided by the instructions of the ministers. The style in which he wrote to the most considerable citizens, and even to the members of Congress, would sooner have caused him to be taken for an agent of that body, than for an envoy of the British government. He professed a desire to be admitted into the interior of the country, and to discourse face to face with men, whose virtues he admired above those of the Greeks and Romans, in order to be able to describe them to his children. He affirmed that they had worthily wielded the pen and the sword in vindicating the rights of their country, and of the human race; he overwhelmed them with protestations of his love and veneration. The Congress had some suspicions, and at last positive knowledge of these intrigues. They recommended to the different states, and directed the commander-in-chief and other officers, to hold a strict hand to the effect that all correspondence with the enemy should cease. By a subsequent resolution, it was ordained that all letters of a public nature received by any

members of Congress, from the agents or subjects of the king of Great Britain, should be laid before that assembly.

Thus became public those letters addressed by Johnstone to three members of Congress, one to Francis Dana, another to general Reed, and a third to Robert Morris. In the first, he assured that doctor Franklin had approved the conditions of the arrangement that was proposed; that France had been induced to conclude the treaty of alliance, not from any regard for the interests of America, but from the dread of reconciliation; that Spain was dissatisfied, and disapproved the conduct of the court of Versailles. In the second, after lavishing praises on general Reed, he continued, with saying, that the man who could be instrumental in restoring harmony between the two states, would deserve more from the king and people, than ever was yet bestowed on human kind. In the third, which he had also filled with compliments, he admitted that he believed the men who had conducted the affairs of America, incapable of being influenced by improper motives, and added the following words; 'but in all such transactions there is risk; and I think that whoever ventures, should be secured, at the same time, that honor and emolument should naturally follow the fortunes of those who have steered the vessel in the storm, and brought her safely into port. I think Washington and the President have a right to every favor that grateful nations can bestow, if they could once more unite our interests, and spare the miseries and devastations of war.' Such were the baits with which, as the Americans said, George Johnstone attempted the fidelity of the first authorities of the United States; such were the words of blandishment he caused to resound in their ears, in order to seduce them to betray their country. But that which gave the Congress most offence, and which they profited of with the greatest address to render the British cause and propositions alike odious to the inhabitants of America, was the following transaction; general Reed stated that a lady had sought him, on the part of Johnstone, and had earnestly exhorted him to promote the reunion of the two countries, promising, in case of success, a reward of ten thousand pounds sterling, and any office in the colonies in the king's gift. The general replied, as he affirmed, *that he was not worth purchasing; but that such as he was, the king of Great Britain was not rich enough to do it.* The Congress, in their indignation, declared that these being direct attempts to corrupt and bribe the Congress of the United States of America, it was incompatible with their honor to hold any manner of correspondence or intercourse with George Johnstone; especially to negotiate with him upon affairs in which the cause of liberty and virtue was interested.

This declaration, which was sent by a flag to the commissioners, produced a very severe answer from Johnstone, which, if he had clothed in more moderate language, would have gained him more



credit with his readers. He affected to consider the declaration of Congress as an honor, and not as a matter of offence; he observed that while that assembly only contended for the essential privileges necessary to the preservation of their liberty and the redress of their grievances, their censure would have filled his soul with bitterness and with grief; but since the Congress, deaf to the piteous cries of so many citizens overwhelmed by the calamities of war, had sullied by motives of personal ambition the principles of their first resistance; since he saw them bend the knee before the ambassador of France, and form alliance with the ancient enemy of the two countries, with the manifest intention of reducing the power of the mother country, he was quite unconcerned what might be the opinions of such men with regard to him. As to the accusations drawn from his letters, he neither denied nor confessed. He simply affirmed, that the present resolution of Congress was no better founded than that they had taken concerning the cartridgeboxes of Burgoyne's army. He reserved, however, the liberty of justifying his conduct, before his departure from America; and added, that in the meantime, he should abstain from acting in the character of a commissioner.

His colleagues, Carlisle, Clinton and Eden, issued a counter declaration, wherein they disclaimed all participation and knowledge of the matters specified by the Congress in their resolutions. They expressed, at the same time, the highest opinion of the abilities of Johnstone, of the uprightness of his intentions, and of the equity and generosity of those sentiments and principles upon which he was desirous of founding a reconciliation between the disunited parts of the British empire.

But the design of the commissioners in this declaration was not so much to exculpate themselves, as to counteract the impression produced by the treaties with France, and to demonstrate to the people at large that Congress had no right to ratify them. They had placed great hopes in this step. They were not ignorant that many Americans had abated their ardor, and even conceived a secret discontent, since the much magnified succour of the count d'Estaing had proved of so little, or rather of no utility. The commissioners were also, as usual, stimulated by the refugees, who reminded them continually of the multitude and power of the loyalists. They expatiated, therefore, upon the perfidy of France, upon the ambition of Congress, and they exerted themselves, especially, to prove that the latter, in a case of this importance, where the salvation or the ruin of all America was at stake, had not, even by their own constitution, the power to ratify the treaties with France, without consulting their constituents; at a time, too, when such offers of accommodation were expected on the part of Great Britain, as, not only far exceeded the demands, but even the hopes of the inhabitants of America.

They concluded with observing, that the faith of the nation was not pledged by the ratification of Congress.

The opposite party wanted not writers who endeavored to defeat the effect of these insinuations. The most conspicuous among them were Drayton, already mentioned, and Thomas Paine, author of the work entitled *Common Sense*. Whatever were the merits of this controversy, it is certain that the publications of the commissioners were absolutely fruitless. Not a proselyte was made.

The British agents being now persuaded that all hopes of reconciliation were illusory, determined, before their departure, to publish a manifesto, in which they threatened the Americans with the extremes of the most desolating war that man could conceive. They hoped that terror would produce those effects which their conciliatory offers had failed of attaining. This plan of hostilities had long been advocated in England, by the friends of coercion, as the readiest and most effectual. It would bring, they believed, such distress on the colonies as would not fail to compel them to submit. They represented the vast continent of America as peculiarly open to incursions and ravages; its coasts were of so immense an extent, that they could not possibly be guarded against an enemy that was master at sea; there were innumerable bays, creeks and inlets, where descents might be made unobstructed. The rivers were such as afforded a navigation for ships of force far into the interior parts of the country; thus it would be easy to penetrate to most of the towns and settlements, and to spread destruction into the heart of every province on the continent.

The commissioners, inclining to adopt these views, commenced their manifesto with a retrospect of the transactions and conduct of the Congress; charging them with an obstinate rejection of the proffers of accommodation on the part of Great Britain, and representing them as unauthorised to exercise the powers they had assumed. On the other hand, they magnified their own endeavors to bring about a restoration of peace and happiness to America. They gave notice, that it was their intention to return shortly to England, as their stay in a country where their commission had been treated with so little notice and respect, was inconsistent with the dignity of the power they represented. They professed, however, the same readiness as ever, to promote the objects of their mission, and to continue the conciliatory offers that were its principal motive. Finally, they solemnly warned the people of the alteration that would be made in the future method of carrying on the war, should the colonies persist in their resistance to Great Britain, and in their unnatural connection with France.

‘The policy, as well as the benevolence of Great Britain,’ said they, ‘has hitherto checked the extremes of war, when they tended to distress a people, still considered as fellow-subjects, and to desolate a country shortly to become again a source of mutual advantage;



but when that country not only estranges herself from England, but mortgages herself and her resources to her enemy, 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 connection contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandisement of France? Under such circumstances, the laws of selfpreservation must direct the conduct of Great Britain; and if the British colonies are to become an accession of power to France, will direct her to render that accession of as little avail as possible to her enemy.

This manifesto, which was the object of the severest animadversion, and which was even condemned by several orators of parliament, and particularly by Fox, as cruel and barbarous, produced no greater effect upon the minds of the Americans than had been operated by the offers of peace.

The Congress immediately issued a proclamation, warning all the inhabitants who lived in places exposed to the descents and ravages of a ferocious enemy, to remove, on the appearance of danger, to the distance of at least thirty miles, together with their families, their cattle, and all their moveable property. But if the measures adopted by the British commissioners, were justly censured, those taken by the Congress are at least by no means to be commended. They recommended, that whenever the enemy proceeded to burn or destroy any town, the people should, in the same manner, ravage, burn and destroy the houses and properties of all tories and enemies to the independence of America, and secure their persons; without treating them, however, or their families with any cruelty; since the Americans should abhor to imitate their adversaries, or the allies they had subsidised, whether Germans, blacks, or savages.

Such are the excesses to which even the most civilised men are liable to be transported, when under the pestilent influence of party spirit. The British threatened to do what they had already done, and the Americans, the very thing they so justly condemned in their enemies. But impassioned man is more prone to imitate evil in others, than dispassionate man to imitate good.

Some time after, lest the extreme rigor of the English declarations should give birth to new thoughts among the people, the Congress published a manifesto, in which they premised, that since they had not been able to prevent, they had endeavored, at least, to alleviate the calamities of war. But they asserted that the conduct of their enemies had been the very reverse. 'They,' said the manifesto, 'have laid waste the open country, burned the defenceless villages, and butchered the citizens of America. Their prisons have been the slaughterhouses of her soldiers, their ships of her seamen; and the severest injuries have been aggravated by the grossest insults. Foiled in their vain attempts 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 religion by impious appeals to God, whilst in the violation of his sacred command. They have made a mock even of reason itself, by endeavoring to prove that the liberty and happiness of America could safely be intrusted 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 imbue their souls with the blackest crimes. But fearing that none could be found through these 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 those laws which are held sacred among civilised 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 of America, do solemnly declare and proclaim, that if our enemies presume to execute their threats, or persist in their present career of barbarity, we will take such exemplary vengeance, as shall deter others from a like conduct. We appeal to that God who searcheth the hearts of men, for the rectitude of our intentions; and in his holy presence 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.’

At the same epoch, the marquis de la Fayette, indignant at the manner in which the British commissioners had spoken of France in their letter of the twenty-sixth of August, in attributing her interference in the present quarrel to ambition, and to the desire of seeing the two parties consume each other in a long war, wrote to the earl of Carlisle, demanding reparation for the insult offered to his country, and challenging him to single combat.

The earl declined this meeting, saying, that as he had acted on that occasion in the character of a commissioner, his language and conduct had been official, and consequently he was accountable for them to no one except to his king and country. He concluded his answer with observing, that in regard to national disputes, they would be better adjusted when admiral Byron and the count d’Etaing should have met upon the ocean.

A short time after, the commissioners, unable to effect any of the objects of their mission, embarked for England. All hope from negotiation being now vanished, every thought was devoted with new



ardor to the way of arms. Meanwhile, the Congress had returned to Philadelphia, a few days after the English evacuated that city. On the sixth of August they received publicly, and with all the ceremonies usual on similar occasions, M. Gerard, minister plenipotentiary of the king of France. This envoy delivered at first his letters of credence, which were signed by Lewis XVI. and directed to *his very dear great friends and allies, the president and members of the general Congress of the United States of America.* He made a very apposite speech, in which he set forth the benevolent intentions of France towards the United States, and the reciprocal obligation of the two contracting parties to execute the engagements stipulated in the eventual treaty, in order to defeat the hostile measures and designs of the common enemy. He announced, that on his part, his most christian majesty had already sent to their assistance a numerous and powerful fleet. He closed, with expressing a hope that the principles which might be adopted by the respective governments, would tend to strengthen those bonds of union, which had originated in the mutual interest of the two nations.

The president, Henry Laurens, answered with much ease and dignity; that the present treaties sufficed to demonstrate the wisdom and magnanimity of the most christian king; that the virtuous citizens of America could never cease to acknowledge the hand of a gracious Providence, in raising them up so powerful and illustrious a friend. That the Congress had no doubt, but that the confidence his majesty reposed in the firmness of the United States would receive additional strength from every day's experience. That since England, from her insatiable lust of domination, was resolved to prolong the war; and with it the miseries of mankind, they were determined to fulfill all the conditions of the eventual treaty, although they had no more ardent wish than to spare human blood, by laying down at once their resentments and their arms; that they hoped the assistance of so wise and generous an ally, would at length open the eyes of Great Britain, and bring her to a sense of justice and moderation. The authorities of Pennsylvania, many strangers of note, the officers of the army, and a great number of distinguished citizens were present at this audience. The public joy was now at its height. All hearts were filled, not only with the hope of independence, for that was considered as no longer doubtful, but also with brilliant anticipations of future prosperity; the American empire, with the interference of France, appeared already established for ever.

Thus a king extended an auxiliary hand to a republic against another king! Thus the French nation came to the succour of one English people against another English people; thus the European powers, who until then had acknowledged no other independent nations in America, except the savages and barbarians, looking upon all the others as subjects, began to recognise as independent and sove-

reign a civilised nation, and to form alliance with it, as such, by authentic treaties. An event assuredly worthy to arrest our particular attention ; since the discovery of America by Columbus, none of equal or of similar importance had passed before the eyes of men. Such, in America, were the fruits either of the love of liberty or the desire of independence. Such were the consequences, in Europe, of a blind obstinacy, or of a pride perhaps necessary on the one part ; of jealousy of power and a thirst of vengeance on the other !

The fourteenth of September the Congress appointed doctor Benjamin Franklin minister plenipotentiary of the United States at the court of France.

We have already related how, and by what causes, the expedition of the Delaware, by which the allies had hoped to destroy the British fleet and army at a single blow, had failed to have effect. Desirous, therefore, of achieving some other enterprise of importance, which might both honor their arms, and procure them an essential advantage, they resolved to direct their operations against Rhode Island. This expedition offered them greater facilities than any other ; the situation of places being such that the land troops of the Americans, and the naval forces of the French could lend each other mutual assistance, and bring their joint energies to bear upon the same point. This design had been concerted between the generals of Congress and d'Estaing, while he lay at anchor off Sandy Hook. General Sullivan had already been sent into that part, in order to take the command of the troops destined for the expedition, and in the meantime to assemble the militia of New England. General Greene had likewise been directed to proceed to Rhode Island ; born in that province, he possessed great credit and influence among its inhabitants. The general of the British army, having penetrated the design of the allies, had sent from New York considerable reinforcements to major-general Pigot, who commanded in Rhode Island, which carried his garrison to six thousand men. General Sullivan had established his camp near Providence ; it was composed of about ten thousand men, including militia. The plan which had been agreed upon was, that while Sullivan should make a descent upon the island from the northward, d'Estaing was to force the harbor of Newport from the south, destroy the British shipping at anchor there, and assault the town with vigor. The British garrison, thus pressed between two fires, it was thought would soon, of necessity, be compelled to surrender.

The state of Rhode Island is principally composed of several adjacent islands, the largest of which gives its name to the whole province. Between the eastern coast of this island and the main land, is an arm of the sea, which, extending considerably towards the north, expands into the bay of Mount Hope. This arm is denominated Seaconnet, or the eastern passage. Between Rhode Island and the island of Conanicut is another very narrow passage, named the Main



Channel. Finally, between the western coast of Conanicut island and the main land is found a third arm of the sea, known by the name of the western, or Narraganset passage. The town of Newport is situated upon the western shore of Rhode Island Proper, opposite to the island of Conanicut. At a short distance from the town, to the northeast, rise a chain of hills which stretch almost across the island from the eastern passage to the Main Channel. The English had fortified these heights with much care, in order to cover the town against an attack from the Americans, who were likely to approach by the north part of the island.

General Pigot prepared himself for an able and vigorous defence. He very prudently recalled the garrison of Conanicut island, and concentrated his forces about Newport. He also withdrew into the town the artillery and the cattle. The posts that were dispersed in different parts of the island, and especially the soldiers who occupied the northern point, were ordered to fall back upon the town as soon as they should discover the enemy's approach. The part of the town which looked towards the sea was fortified with extreme diligence; vessels of transport were sunk in such places as might obstruct the approaches by water to the most important batteries, the rest were burned. The frigates were removed higher up for safer moorings. But to provide for the worst, they were stripped of their artillery and stores. The seamen belonging to the vessels sunk or destroyed, were employed to serve the artillery of the ramparts; a service they well understood, and greatly coveted.

Meanwhile, the count d'Estaing, on his departure from Sandy Hook, after standing to the southward as far as the mouth of the Delaware, changed his course and bore to the northeast upon Rhode Island. He arrived the twenty-ninth of July at Point Judith, and anchored with the most of his ships just without Brenton's Ledge, about five miles from Newport. Two of his vessels went up the Narraganset passage, and cast anchor to the north of Conanicut. Several frigates entered the Seaconnet passage; the English on their approach set fire to a corvette and two armed galleys which had been stationed there. During several days the French admiral made no attempt to penetrate the Main Channel, in order to attack the town of Newport, as it had been concerted with the Americans. This delay was occasioned by that of the reenforcements of militia which general Sullivan expected, and which were deemed essential to the security of the enterprise. Finally, the eighth of August, all the preparations being completed, and the wind favorable, the French squadron entered the harbor of Newport, and coasting the town, discharged their broadsides into it, and received the fire of the batteries on shore; but little execution was done on either side. They anchored a little above the town, between Goats Island and Conanicut, but nearest to the latter, which was already occupied by the Americans.

The English, in the meantime, finding they could not save several frigates and other vessels of less force, concluded to burn them.

The next day, general Sullivan, who had moved from Providence down to that part of the main land which bears from the east upon Rhode Island, crossed the Seaconnet passage at Howlands Ferry, and landed with all his troops upon the north end of the island. It appears that this movement was highly offensive to the count d'Estaing, who expected to have been the first to set foot on shore in the island. General Sullivan hoped that the attack would now be delayed no longer, when the same day, the ninth of August, signals announced the whole squadron of lord Howe, who, on receiving intelligence that Rhode Island was menaced by the French, had hastened to the succour of general Pigot. Notwithstanding the reenforcement he had lately received, he was still inferior to his enemy, considering the size of his ships, and their weight of metal. His squadron, though more numerous, consisted of only one ship of seventy-four, seven of sixty-four, and five of fifty guns, with several frigates. He hoped, however, that fortune would offer him an occasion to join battle with the advantage of wind, or of some other circumstances. And certainly if, from the time he had taken the resolution of moving to the relief of Rhode Island, the winds had not retarded his progress, he would have arrived at the very moment when the French squadron was dispersed in the different channels formed by the adjacent islands; in which case he would have had all the chances of victory in his favor. But his passage was so difficult, that he was unable to arrive till the day after that in which the count d'Estaing had put himself in safety with all his fleet in the Main Channel.

Having carefully examined, as well the nature of the places, as the position of the French ships, and having also communicated to the same end with general Pigot, the British admiral concluded that there was no hope left him of succouring the town, especially as the winds continued contrary. The harbor was so situated, the entrance so narrow, the apparatus of defence in the island of Conanicut so formidable, that the enterprise could not have been attempted, not only by an inferior squadron, as was that of Howe, but even by a greatly superior force, without temerity. For the same cause, if the French admiral, agreeably to the plan concerted with Sullivan, had been disposed to persist, and not to quit his station until he had afforded that general all the cooperation in his power, there is good reason to believe that the town of Newport would have fallen into the hands of the allies.

But the count d'Estaing, like a true Frenchman, full of ardor and impatience, upon a change of wind to the northeast, in the morning of the tenth, was seized with an impulse that he could not master, to profit of this circumstance to sail out of the harbor, in



order to attack the enemy. He accordingly stood out to sea, in search of the British fleet. Admiral Howe, on seeing so formidable an armament advance to engage him, and being under the wind, which gave the French the weathergauge, declined coming to action, and manœuvred with great ability in order to gain that advantage for himself. A contest ensued for it, which lasted the whole day; the French admiral striving to retain it with equal eagerness. The wind still continuing on the eleventh unfavorable to the British, Howe resolved notwithstanding to meet the enemy. He therefore formed his squadron so that it could be joined by three fire-ships, which were towed by the frigates. The French also disposed their ships in order of battle, and the moment already approached that was to decide which of the two powerful adversaries should remain master of the American seas. But at the same instant, a strong gale commenced, which, soon after increasing, became a violent storm. The tempest, which lasted forty-eight hours, not only separated and dispersed the two fleets, but did them so much damage, that they were both rendered unfit for action, and compelled to put into port to repair. The French squadron suffered even more than the English, especially in their masts and rigging. The *Languedoc*, of ninety guns, the admiral's ship, lost her rudder and all her masts. Floating in this condition, at the mercy of the currents, she was met by the English ship *Renown*, of fifty guns, commanded by captain Dawson, who attacked her with so much vigor and dexterity, that had not darkness interposed, together with the gale, which had not yet sufficiently abated, she must inevitably have struck; as she could only use seven or eight of her guns. Some French ships appeared with the return of day. They bore down upon captain Dawson, and gave chase, though without being able to come up with him. But they at least delivered their admiral from the imminent peril to which they found him exposed.

The same day, the English ship *Preston*, of fifty guns, fell in with the *Tonnant*, of eighty, with only her mainmast standing. He attacked her; but was compelled by the coming on of night, to discontinue the engagement till next morning, when the appearance of several French ships constrained him to withdraw. The British squadron returned to Sandy Hook and New York, for the purpose of refitting; the repairs were pushed with the greatest diligence. The French recovered the harbor of Newport.

In the meantime, general Sullivan, though impeded by bad weather, and other difficulties which had retarded the arrival of his stores and artillery, had advanced very near to Newport. He already had occupied Honeymans Hill, and was engaged with great activity in constructing batteries. The besieged were not wanting to themselves; they erected new fortifications and new batteries, to answer those of the Americans. But notwithstanding their efforts, if the count d'Es-

taing, on returning from his more prejudicial than useful enterprise upon the sea, had chosen to cooperate with the Americans, it is certain, that the position of general Pigot would have been excessively critical.

Assailed on the one side by the Americans, the English could not have hoped to defend themselves, if the French on the other, in addition to the fire of their ships, had landed, as they easily might have done, a strong detachment on the southern point of the island, in order to assault the left flank of the town, which was known to be the weakest. But the count d'Estaing had very different intentions. He despatched a letter to Sullivan, informing him that, in pursuance of orders from his sovereign, and of the advice of all his officers, he had taken the resolution to carry the fleet to Boston. His instructions were, it is true, to sail for that port if his fleet should meet with any disaster, or if a superior British fleet should appear on the coast.

The injuries sustained by the storm, and the information which had been received that Byron had arrived at Halifax, were considered as producing the state of things contemplated by the instructions of the ministry. The Americans, convinced that the departure of the count d'Estaing would be the ruin of the expedition, added entreaties to remonstrances, in order to dissuade him from so fatal a measure.

Generals Greene and La Fayette besought him that he would not, by persisting in his resolution, abandon the interests of the common cause; they represented to him the importance, to France, as well as America, of the enterprise commenced; that it was already so well advanced as to leave no doubt of success; that it could not be relinquished in its present stage without shaming and disgusting the Americans, who, confiding in the promised cooperation of the French fleet, had undertaken it with alacrity, and made incredible exertions to provide the requisite stores; that to be deserted at so critical a moment would furnish a triumph to the disaffected, who would not fail to exclaim, that such was French faith, and the fruit of the alliance; that the successive miscarriages of the Delaware, of Sandy Hook, and finally this of Newport, could not but carry to its height the exasperation of minds. They added, that with a fleet in so shattered a condition, it would be very difficult to pass the shoals of Nantucket; that it could be repaired more conveniently at Newport than at Boston; and finally, that its present station afforded advantages over Boston for distressing the enemy, while in the event of the arrival of a superior fleet, it would be no more secure at Boston than at Newport. All was fruitless. The count d'Estaing got under sail the twenty-second of August, and three days after came to anchor in the harbor of Boston.



Whatever is to be thought of this resolution of d' Estaing, which, it appears, was not only approved, but even strenuously recommended by his council, it is certain that it made a violent impression upon the minds of the republicans, and excited loud clamors throughout America. The militia, who with so much zeal had hastened to join Sullivan in Rhode Island, finding themselves thus deserted by their allies, immediately disbanded, so that the besiegers were reduced in a short time from about ten thousand men to not more than half that number, while the force of the enemy consisted of six thousand veterans.

In so abrupt a reverse of fortune, and seeing the allied fleet retire, while that of the enemy approached, the American general soon determined to fall back upon the main land, and evacuate the island entirely. He began the twenty-sixth of August to pass his heavy artillery and baggage towards the northern point of the island, and on the twenty-ninth he put himself in motion, with all the army. Though warmly pursued by the English and Hessians, he rejoined his van without loss. But the enemy coming up in more force, there ensued a very hot affair in the environs of Quaker Hill, in which many soldiers fell on both sides. At length, the Americans repulsed the English with admirable resolution. In the night of the thirtieth, the corps of Sullivan recovered the main land by the passages of Bristol and Howlands Ferry. Such was the issue of an expedition, undertaken not only with the fairest prospect of success, but which had been carried to the very threshold of a brilliant termination. The American general made his retreat in time; for the next day general Clinton arrived with four thousand men and a light squadron, to the relief of Newport. If the winds had favored him more, or if general Sullivan had been less prompt to retreat, assailed in the island by an enemy whose force was double his own, and his way to the continent intercepted by the English vessels, his position would have been little less than desperate. His prudence received merited acknowledgments on the part of Congress.

Admiral Howe having refitted his ships with astonishing despatch, stood out to sea, and sailed towards Boston. He hoped to arrive there before his adversary, and consequently to intercept his retreat thither, or at least to attack him in the outer harbor. He arrived, indeed, on the thirtieth of August, in the bay of Boston. But he was unable to accomplish either the one or the other of his designs; the count d'Estaing was already in port; and the batteries erected by the Americans upon the most commanding points of the coast rendered all attack impracticable. The British admiral, therefore, returned to New York, where he found a reenforcement of several ships, which rendered his fleet superior to that of the French. He availed himself of this circumstance, and of the permission he had received some time before, to resign the command to admiral

Gambier, until the arrival of admiral Byron upon that station, which took place the sixteenth of September. Lord Howe soon after returned to England. This illustrious seaman rendered important services to his country, in the campaigns of Pennsylvania, New York and Rhode Island, services which would have had more brilliant results, if the ability of the commanders on shore had equalled his own. Even to say nothing of the activity he displayed in transporting to a distant country so numerous an army as that of his brother sir William, the talent and firmness with which he surmounted the obstacles that opposed his entrance into the Delaware, deserve the highest commendation. When the count d'Estaing made his appearance with a formidable fleet, and much superior to his own, he nevertheless prepared to receive him at Sandy Hook; afterwards by offering him battle he baffled his designs against Newport; and then the French admiral, disabled by the tempest, forced to seek refuge in the port of Boston, issued no more, except to make the best of his way to the West Indies; thus totally abandoning the execution of the plan concerted by the allies for the campaign of this year upon the coasts of America. Finding Newport secure, general Clinton returned to New York. He afterwards detached general Grey, who was at New London, upon an expedition of much importance, towards the east. Buzzards Bay, and the adjacent rivers, served as a retreat for a multitude of privateers, the number and boldness of which occasioned infinite prejudice to the British commerce of New York, Long Island and Rhode Island. Clinton resolved to chastise an enemy that seemed to defy him, and to put an end to his maritime excursions. This task was committed to the charge of general Grey. He arrived with some transports, effected his landing in the bay, and destroyed about sixty large vessels, besides a number of small craft. Proceeding then to New Bedford and Fair Haven, upon the banks of the river Acushnet, and conducting himself more like a pirate than a real soldier, he destroyed or burned warehouses of immense value, full of sugar, rum, molasses, tobacco, drugs and other merchandise. Not content with these ravages, he passed into the neighboring island, called Martha's Vineyard, the soil of which is very fertile, and which served as a refuge for the most daring cruisers. He levied on the inhabitants a contribution of live stock, to the great refreshment of the garrisons of New York. He carried off, besides, a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition.

Returned to New York, he soon undertook another expedition, against the village of Old Tappan, where he surprised a regiment of American light horse. His conduct on this occasion was not exempt from the reproach of cruelty. A few days after, the English made an incursion against Little Egg Harbor, upon the coast of New Jersey, where they destroyed much shipping, and brought off a



considerable booty. They afterwards attacked by surprise the legion of Pulaski, and made great slaughter of it. The carnage would have been still greater, if Pulaski had not come up, with his usual bravery, at the head of his cavalry. The English reembarked, and returned to New York.

It was at this epoch that the French and American generals meditated a new expedition against Canada. Besides the possession of so important a province, there appeared a possibility of ruining the British fisheries upon the banks of Newfoundland, and, by reducing the cities of Quebec and Halifax, of putting an end to the maritime power of England upon those shores. The French were the principal movers of this enterprise; their minister, and d'Estaing, perhaps, with covert views; the marquis de la Fayette, whose youth answered for his ignorance of these political wiles, with frankness, and from the love of glory. He was to have been employed in the expedition as one of the first generals. The count d'Estaing published a manifesto, addressed to the Canadians in the name of his king, in which, after reminding them of their French origin, their ancient exploits, and happiness they had enjoyed under the paternal sceptre of the Bourbons, he declared that all the ancient subjects of the king in North America, who should cease to acknowledge the English domination, should find safety and protection. But Washington showed himself opposed to this project, and he developed his motives to the Congress; his opinion prevailed.

The Congress alleged that their finances, their arsenals, their magazines, their armies, were not in a state to warrant the undertaking of so vast an enterprise; and that they should experience too pungent regrets to find themselves in the event unable to fulfill their engagements towards their allies. Such was their public language; but the truth is, they apprehended a snare, and that the conquest of Canada would have been made for France, and not for America.

The retreat of the count d'Estaing, at the moment when Newport was about to fall into the power of the combined armies, had greatly irritated the minds of the Americans, particularly in the northern provinces. Many began to entertain a loathing towards allies who seemed to forget all interests except their own. To this motive of aversion was added the remembrance, still recent, especially with the lower classes, of ancient quarrels and national jealousies, which the new alliance, and the need of French succours, had not sufficed to obliterate. Washington and other leading Americans endeavored to appease these discontents, which, they foresaw, might lead to serious mischief. The count d'Estaing, on his part, was no less careful during his stay in the port of Boston, not only to avoid all occasion of misunderstanding, but also to conciliate by every means in his power the affection of his new allies. The conduct of the French officers, and even of the common sailors, was truly exemplary. This extreme

circumspection, however, did not prevent the occurrence, on the thirteenth of September, of a violent affray between some Bostonians and the French. The latter were overpowered by number, and the chevalier de saint Sauveur lost his life in it. The selectmen of the town, to allay the resentment of the French, showed themselves very solicitous to punish the offenders. They published a reward to whoever should make known the authors of the tumult. They declared, at the same time, that the citizens had not been in fault, but English sailors made prisoners by the cruisers, and deserters from the army of Burgoyne, who had enlisted in the Boston privateers. Tranquillity was restored. The count d'Estaing, whether he was satisfied, or that from prudence he chose to appear so, made no further inquiry into this affair. No offender was discovered. The government of Massachusetts decreed a monument to be erected to saint Sauveur.

The night of the sixth of the same month of September had witnessed a scene far more serious, at Charleston, South Carolina, between the French and American sailors. It terminated in a formal battle. The Americans were the first to provoke their allies by the most reproachful language; the latter resented it. From words it came to blows; the French were soon driven out of the city, and forced to take refuge on board their ships. Thence they fired with artillery and musketry against the town; the Americans, on their part, fired upon the French vessels from the adjoining wharves and shore. Many lives were lost on both sides. A reward of a thousand pounds sterling was promised, but in vain, to whoever should discover the authors of this broil. The commander-in-chief of the province exhorted the inhabitants, in a proclamation, to consider the French as good and faithful allies, and friends. There was even a law passed, about this time, to prevent the recurrence of similar licentiousness, whether of words or actions. Thus ended the riots of Boston and of Charleston, which were attributed, if not with truth, at least with prudence, to British artifice and instigation. For the chiefs of the American government were not without apprehension that these animosities might deprive them of their new allies, whose resolutions, they knew, were not irrevocable.

The savages took a more active part than ever in the campaign of this year. Though they had been intimidated by the success of general Gates, and had sent him congratulations for himself and the United States, the intrigues and presents of the British agents had not lost their power over them. Moreover, the emigrant colonists, who had retired amongst these barbarians, excited them continually by instigations, which, together with their natural thirst for blood and pillage, determined them without scruple to make incursions upon the northern frontiers, where they spread terror and desolation. The most ruthless chiefs that guided them in these sanguinary expe-



ditions, were colonel Butler, who had already signalised himself in this war, and a certain Brandt, born of mixed blood, the most ferocious being ever produced by human nature, often too prodigal of similar monsters. They spared neither age, nor sex, nor condition, nor even their own kindred; every where indiscriminately they carried devastation and death. The knowledge which the refugees had of the country, the insulated position of the habitations, scattered here and there in the wilderness, the distance from the seat of government, and the necessity of employing the national force in other remote parts, offered the Indians every facility for executing their enterprises, and retiring with impunity. No means had hitherto been found of repressing the inroads of so cruel an enemy.

But in the midst of this general devastation, there happened an event which, perhaps, would be found without example in the history of inhuman men. Inhabitants of Connecticut, had planted on the eastern branch of the Susquehanna, towards the extremity of Pennsylvania, and upon the road of Oswego, the settlement of Wyoming. Populous and flourishing, its prosperity was the subject of admiration. It consisted of eight townships, each containing a square of five miles, beautifully situated on both sides of the river. The mildness of the climate answered to the fertility of the soil. The inhabitants were strangers alike to excessive wealth, which elates and depraves, and to poverty, which discourages and degrades. All lived in a happy mediocrity, frugal of their own, and coveting nothing from others. Incessantly occupied in rural toils, they avoided idleness, and all the vices of which it is the source. In a word, this little country presented in reality the image of those fabulous times which the poets have described under the name of the *Golden Age*. But their domestic felicity was no counterpoise to the zeal with which they were animated for the common cause; they took up arms and flew to succour their country. It is said they had furnished to the army no less than a thousand soldiers, a number truly prodigious for so feeble a population, and so happy in their homes. Yet, notwithstanding the drain of all this vigorous youth, the abundance of harvests sustained no diminution. Their crowded granaries, and pastures replenished with fat cattle, offered an exhaustless resource to the American army.

But neither so many advantages, nor even the retired situation of these unfortunate colonists, could exempt them from the baneful influence of party spirit. Although the Tories, as they called them, were not so numerous as the partisans of liberty, yet they challenged attention by the arrogance of their character and the extent of their pretensions. Hence, not only families were seen armed against families, but even sons sided against their fathers, brothers against brothers, and, at last, wives against husbands. So true it is, that no virtue is proof against the fanaticism of opinion, and no happiness

against political divisions. The Tories were, besides, exasperated at their losses in the incursions they had made in company with the savages in the preceding campaign; but that which envenomed them the most was, that several individuals of the same party, who, having quitted their habitations, were come to claim hospitality, then so much in honor among the Americans, and particularly at Wyoming, had been arrested as suspected persons, and sent to take their trial in Connecticut. Others had been expelled from the colony. Thus hatreds became continually more and more rancorous. The Tories swore revenge; they coalesced with the Indians. The time was favorable, as the youth of Wyoming were at the army. In order the better to secure success, and to surprise their enemies before they should think of standing upon their defence, they resorted to artifice. They pretended the most friendly dispositions, while they meditated only war and vengeance.

A few weeks before they purposed to execute their horrible enterprise, they sent several messengers, charged with protestations of their earnest desire to cultivate peace. These perfidies lulled the inhabitants of Wyoming into a deceitful security, while they procured the Tories and savages the means of concerting with their partisans, and of observing the immediate state of the colony. Notwithstanding the solemn assurances of the Indians, the colonists, as it often happens when great calamities are about to fall on a people, seemed to have a sort of presentiment of their approaching fate. They wrote to Washington, praying him to send them immediate assistance. Their despatches did not reach him; they were intercepted by the Pennsylvanian loyalists; and they would, besides, have arrived too late. The savages had already made their appearance upon the frontiers of the colony; the plunder they had made there was of little importance, but the cruelties they had perpetrated were affrightful; the mournful prelude of those more terrible scenes which were shortly to follow!

About the commencement of the month of July, the Indians suddenly appeared in force upon the banks of the Susquehanna. They were headed by the John Butler and Brandt already named, with other chiefs of their nation, distinguished by their extreme ferocity in the preceding expeditions. This troop amounted in all to sixteen hundred men, of whom less than a fourth were Indians, and the rest Tories, disguised and painted to resemble them. The officers, however, wore the uniforms of their rank, and had the appearance of regulars. The colonists of Wyoming, finding their friends so remote, and their enemies so near, had constructed for their security four forts, in which, and upon different points of the frontier, they had distributed about five hundred men. The whole colony was placed under the command of Zebulon Butler, cousin of John, a man, who with some courage, was totally devoid of capacity. He was even



accused of treachery ; but this imputation is not proved. It is at least certain that one of the forts which stood nearest to the frontiers, was intrusted to soldiers infected with the opinions of the Tories, and who gave it up, without resistance, at the first approach of the enemy. The second, on being vigorously assaulted, surrendered at discretion. The savages spared, it is true, the women and children, but butchered all the rest without exception. Zebulon then withdrew, with all his people, into the principal fort, called Kingston. The old men, the women, the children, the sick, in a word all that were unable to bear arms repaired thither in throngs, and uttering lamentable cries, as to the last refuge where any hope of safety remained. The position was susceptible of defence ; and if Zebulon had held firm he might have hoped to withstand the enemy until the arrival of succours. But John Butler was lavish of promises in order to draw him out, in which he succeeded, by persuading him that if he would consent to a parley in the open field, the siege would soon be raised and every thing accommodated. John retired, in fact, with all his corps ; Zebulon afterwards marched out to the place appointed for the conference, at a considerable distance from the fort ; from motives of caution, he took with him four hundred men well armed, being nearly the whole strength of his garrison. If this step was not dictated by treachery, it must, at least, be attributed to a very strange simplicity. Having come to the spot agreed on, Zebulon found no living being there. Reluctant to return without an interview, he advanced towards the foot of a mountain, at a still greater distance from the fort, hoping he might there find some person to confer with. The farther he proceeded in this dismal solitude, the more he had occasion to remark that no token appeared of the presence or vicinity of human creatures. But far from halting, as if impelled by an irresistible destiny, he continued his march. The country, meanwhile, began to be overshadowed by thick forests ; at length, in a winding path, he perceived a flag, which seemed to wave him on. The individual who bore it, as if afraid of treachery from his side, retired as he advanced, still making the same signals. But already the Indians, who knew the country, profiting of the obscurity of the woods, had completely surrounded him. The unfortunate American, without suspicion of the peril he was in, continued to press forward, in order to assure the traitors that he would not betray them. He was awakened but too soon from this dream of security ; in an instant the savages sprung from their ambush, and fell upon him with hideous yells.

He formed his little troop into a compact column, and showed more presence of mind in danger than he had manifested in the negotiations. Though surprised, the Americans exhibited such vigor and resolution that the advantage was rather on their side ; when a soldier, either through treachery or cowardice, cried out

aloud, '*the colonel has ordered a retreat.*' The Americans immediately brake, the savages leap in among the ranks, and a horrible carnage ensues. The fugitives fall by missiles, the resisting by clubs and tomahawks. The wounded overturn those that are not, the dead and the dying are heaped together promiscuously. Happy those who expire the soonest! The savages reserve the living for tortures! and the infuriate tories, if other arms fail them, mangle the prisoners with their nails! Never was rout so deplorable; never was massacre accompanied with so many horrors. Nearly all the Americans perished; about sixty escaped from the butchery, and with Zebulon, made their way good to a redoubt upon the other bank of the Susquehanna.

The conquerors invested Kingston anew, and to dismay the relics of the garrison by the most execrable spectacle, they hurled into the place above two hundred scalps, still reeking with the blood of their slaughtered brethren. Colonel Dennison, who commanded the fort, seeing the impossibility of defence, sent out a flag to inquire of Butler what terms would be allowed the garrison, on surrendering the fort? He answered, with all the fellness of his inhuman character, and in a single word—the *hatchet*. Reduced to this dreadful extremity, the colonel still made what resistance he could. At length, having lost almost all his soldiers, he surrendered at discretion. The savages entered the fort and began to drag out the vanquished, who, knowing the hands they were in, expected no mercy. But impatient of the tedious process of murder in detail, the barbarians afterwards bethought themselves of enclosing the men, women and children promiscuously in the houses and barracks, to which they set fire and consumed all within, listening, delighted, to the moans and shrieks of the expiring multitude.

The fort of Wilkesbarre still remained in the power of the colonists of Wyoming. The victors presented themselves before it; those within hoping to find mercy, surrendered at discretion, and without resistance. But if opposition exasperated these ferocious men, or rather these tigers, insatiable of human blood, submission did not soften them. Their rage was principally exercised upon the soldiers of the garrison; all of whom they put to death, with a barbarity ingenious in tortures. As for the rest, men, women, and children, who appeared to them not to merit any special attention, they burned them as before, in the houses and barracks. The forts being fallen into their hands, the barbarians proceeded without obstacle, to the devastation of the country. They employed at once fire, sword, and all instruments of destruction. The crops, of every description, were consigned to the flames. The habitations, granaries, and other constructions, the fruit of years of human industry, sunk in ruin under the destructive strokes of these cannibals. But who will believe that their fury, not yet satiated upon human creatures, was



also wreaked upon the very beasts? That they cut out the tongues of the horses and cattle, and left them to wander in the midst of those fields lately so luxuriant, and now in desolation, seeming to enjoy the torments of their lingering death?

We have long hesitated whether we ought to relate particular instances of this demoniac cruelty; the bare remembrance of them makes us shudder. But on reflecting that these examples may deter good princes from war, and citizens from civil discord, we have deemed it useful to record them. Captain Bedlock, having been stripped naked, the savages stuck sharp pine splinters into all parts of his body; and then a heap of knots of the same wood being piled round him, the whole was set on fire, and his two companions, the captains Ranson and Durgee, thrown alive into the flames. *The tories appeared to vie with, and even to surpass, the savages in barbarity.* One of them, whose mother had married a second husband, butchered her with his own hand, and afterwards massacred his father-in-law, his own sisters, and their infants in the cradle. Another killed his own father, and exterminated all his family. A third imbrued his hands in the blood of his brothers, his sisters; his brother-in-law, and his father-in-law.

These were a part only of the horrors perpetrated by the loyalists and Indians, at the excision of Wyoming. Other atrocities, if possible, still more abominable, we leave in silence.

Those who had survived the massacres were no less worthy of commiseration; they were women and children, who had escaped to the woods at the time their husbands and fathers expired under the blows of the barbarians. Dispersed and wandering in the forests, as chance and fear directed their steps, without clothes, without food, without guide, these defenceless fugitives suffered every degree of distress. Several of the women were delivered alone in the woods, at a great distance from every possibility of relief. The most robust and resolute alone escaped; the others perished; their bodies and those of their hapless infants became the prey of wild beasts. Thus the most flourishing colony then existing in America was totally erased.

The destruction of Wyoming, and the cruelties which accompanied it, filled all the inhabitants of America with horror, with compassion, and with indignant fury. They fully purposed on a future day to exact a condign vengeance; but, in the present state of the war, it was not in their power to execute their intent immediately. They undertook, however, this year, some expeditions against the Indians. Without being of decisive importance, they deserve to be remarked for the courage and ability with which they were executed. Colonel Clarke, at the head of a strong detachment, marched from Virginia against the settlements established by the Canadians on the upper Mississippi, in the country of the Illinois.

He purposed also to chastise, even in their most sequestered receptacles, this ruthless race. Having descended the Ohio, he directed his march northward, towards Kaskaskias, the principal village of the Canadian establishments. The republicans came upon the inhabitants in sleep, and met with very little resistance. They afterwards scoured the adjacent country, and seized other places of the settlement. Filled with dismay, the inhabitants hastened to swear allegiance to the United States. Thence, colonel Clarke marched against the barbarian tribes; he penetrated into their inmost retreats and most secret recesses, and put all to sword and fire.

The savages experienced in their own huts and families those calamities which they had so frequently carried home to others. This castigation rendered them, for a while, more timid in their excursions, and encouraged the Americans to defend themselves.

A similar expedition was undertaken, some time after, by another colonel Butler, against the tories and Indians of the banks of the Susquehanna; the same who had been the authors of the ruin of Wyoming. He ravaged and burned several villages, the houses, barns, harvests, mills, every thing was laid in ashes and desolation. The inhabitants had been apprised in season, and had made their escape, else they would doubtless have paid dearly for Wyoming. The Americans having accomplished their object, retired within their limits, but not without having encountered excessive fatigues and no little peril. Thus terminated the Indian war of this year. The republicans had not only to combat the English in front, and to repel the savages and refugees who assailed them in rear; they were also not a little infested by the disaffected within the country. Of this class none were more animated than the Quakers. At first, they had embraced, or at least appeared to embrace, the principles of the revolution, and even still there existed among them several of the most distinguished patriots, such as generals Greene and Mifflin. Nevertheless, the greater number inclined for England, whether because they were weary of the length of the war, or that they had merely desired the reformation of the laws, and not independence. Perhaps too, they had persuaded themselves, that after the conquest of Philadelphia, all America would be reduced, without difficulty, and that therefore it was useful to their interests to appease the victor by a prompt submission, in order to obtain favors from the British government, which would be refused to the more obstinate. They at least showed themselves forward to serve the English, as guides and as spies. Several of them, as we have related, had been sent out of the state, or imprisoned. Some had even suffered at Philadelphia the penalties denounced against those who conspired against liberty, and held correspondence with the enemy. The republicans hoped, by these examples, to cure the restless spirit of



the opposite party. The efforts of the discontented were not however greatly to be feared; the open assurance and consent of the friends of the revolution easily triumphed over the secret artifices of their adversaries.

In the meantime, the marquis de la Fayette, desiring to serve his king in the war, which he doubted not was about to break out in Europe, and hoping also to promote by his representations the cause of the United States with the French government, requested of Congress permission to repass the Atlantic.

Washington, who bore him a sincere affection, and who considered, besides, the importance of his name, was desirous that only a temporary leave might be granted him, without the discontinuance of his appointments. He wrote to Congress, accordingly, and they readily acceded to his views; they, moreover, addressed a letter to the marquis, returning him their thanks for the disinterested zeal which led him to America, and for the services he had rendered to the United States, by the exertion of his courage and abilities on so many signal occasions. They also directed doctor Franklin to present him with a sword decorated with devices commemorative of his achievements. Finally, they recommended him strongly to the most christian king. The marquis de la Fayette took leave of Congress, and sailed for Europe, with the intention of returning as soon as possible. On his arrival in France, he was received equally well by the king and by the people. Franklin delivered him the sword, engraved with the emblems of his brilliant exploits. He was represented wounding the British lion, and receiving a branch of laurel from the hands of America, released from her chains. America herself was figured by a crescent, with these words; *Crescam, ut prosim*. On the other side was inscribed, *Cur non?* the motto which M. de la Fayette had chosen at his departure from France. This masterpiece of art appeared a recompense worthy of the valiant defender of America.

The count d'Estaing still lay at anchor in the harbor of Boston, where he was occupied in victualling his fleet. This operation would have been of very difficult accomplishment, from the scarcity of wheat experienced by the northern colonies since the interruption of their commerce with those of the south, if the privateers of New England had not made so considerable a number of prizes, that not only the fleet, but also the inhabitants of Massachusetts and Connecticut were thereby abundantly supplied. Admiral Byron was no sooner arrived at New York, than he applied himself with the utmost diligence to refitting his ships, in order to resume the sea. The moment he was prepared for it, he got under sail, and stood for Boston, for the purpose of observing the motions of the French squadron. But the adverse fortune which attended him from Europe to America, seemed still to pursue him on these shores. A furious tempest having driven him off the coast, his ships were again so damaged and shat-

tered, that he was constrained to take shelter in Rhode Island. The count d'Estaing embraced this opportunity of quitting the harbor of Boston unmolested, and sailed the third of November for the West Indies; where he was called by the orders of his sovereign, and the events of the war. The English, well knowing his designs, and the weakness of the garrisons in the islands of their dependency, commodore Hotham departed the same day from Sandy Hook, and also shaped his course for the West Indies, with six ships of war. They had on board five thousand land troops, commanded by major-general Grant. Admiral Byron followed him the fourteenth of December, with all his fleet.

About the same time colonel Campbell embarked at New York, with a strong corps of English and Germans, upon an expedition against Georgia. He was convoyed by commodore Hyde Parker, with a squadron of a few ships. Thus the theatre of the war, after several campaigns in the provinces of the north and of the centre, was all at once transported into the islands and states of the south.

END OF BOOK TENTH.



## BOOK ELEVENTH.

1778. D'ESTAING and Hotham, were not yet arrived in the West Indies, when commodore Evans had made a descent upon the two islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, both very favorably situated for the fishery of Newfoundland. Being almost without defence, he occupied them easily; and, as if he had wished to efface every vestige of the French domination, he imitated the conduct of barbarians, and utterly destroyed the habitations, storehouses, and scaffoldings which had been constructed for the use of the fishery. He afterwards embarked all the inhabitants, who, with the garrisons, amounted to two thousand souls, and sent them to Europe.

The French made themselves ample amends for this loss, by seizing, as they did soon after, the island of Dominica; which being situated between Guadaloupe and Martinico, was of the last consequence to the future operations in that part. Of this the British government was not ignorant, and therefore had fortified it with diligence, and furnished it with a formidable artillery. But, neither the garrison nor the munitions corresponded to the importance of its local position; the public magazines were nearly empty, and all the soldiers in the island scarcely amounted to five hundred; the greater part militia. For a long time, the members of the opposition in parliament, and the merchants of London, had complained aloud that the islands of the West Indies were left without sufficient garrisons, and, as it were, abandoned to the discretion of the enemy. But all these remonstrances had been vain; whether the war of America had absorbed all the cares of the ministers, or that it had deprived them of the means of sending troops into those islands. The French, on the contrary, were in such force in their colonies, as to be in a condition not only to defend themselves, but also to attack their neighbors. Moreover, they had been the first to receive the news of the declaration of war in Europe. The English frigates despatched to announce it, had fallen into the power of the French, upon the coasts of St. Domingo; so that admiral Barrington, who was stationed at Barbadoes with two ships of the line and two frigates, was first informed of the state of affairs from the manifesto published at Martinico, by the marquis de Bouille, governor of that island. The capture of the frigates had likewise apprised him, that war was not only declared, but commenced. This admiral showed himself very undecided with respect to the course he had to pursue; not having new instructions, he felt bound to adhere to the old, which required him to continue in the station of Barbadoes.

The marquis de Bouille, an active man, and prompt in taking his resolutions, willing to avail himself of the uncertainty and weakness

of the English, determined to commence his operations with an enterprise of importance. Having embarked with two thousand land troops in eighteen transports, under convoy of the frigates *Tourterelle*, *Diligente*, and *Amphitrite*, he arrived at the island of *Dominica*, the seventh of September, about daybreak. He immediately put all his forces on shore. *M. de Fonteneau*, protected by the fire of the *Diligente*, pushed forward to *Fort Cachac*, and seized it without resistance. The English cannonaded briskly from *Fort Roseau*, and the battery of *Lubieres*. Nevertheless, *M. de la Chaise*, at the head of the rangers of the *Auxerrese* regiment, advanced impetuously up to the battery; the French soldiers entered by the embrasures, and, grappling the mouths of the cannon, made themselves masters of them. During this time, the viscount de *Damas* had gained the heights which commanded *Fort Roseau*, and the marquis de *Bouille*, with the main body of his troops, had entered the suburbs. The frigate *Tourterelle* also battered the fort on her part; the English, however, defended themselves with vigor. But at length, governor *Stuart*, seeing his forces so inferior, and the French about to scale for the assault, demanded to capitulate. The marquis de *Bouille*, whether with intent to engage by his moderation the governors of other English islands to surrender more easily, or because he feared the arrival of *Barrington*, who was very near, or, as it should be presumed, merely consulting the generosity of his own character, granted the most honorable conditions to the enemy. The garrison were treated with all the honors of war, and the inhabitants secured in the possession of all their property; no change was to be made in the laws or the administration of justice. If, at the termination of the war, the island should be ceded to France, they were to have the option of retaining their present system of government, or of conforming to that established in the French islands. They were also to be at liberty, in such case, to retire with all their property, wherever they might see fit; those who should remain, were not to be bound to any duty to the king of France, more than what they had owed to their natural sovereign.

The French found on the fortifications and in the magazines an hundred and sixty-four pieces of excellent cannon, and twenty-four mortars, besides a certain quantity of military stores. The privateers that were found in the ports of the island, were either destroyed or carried away. The capitulation was observed with the strictest fidelity; no kind of plunder or irregularity was permitted. As a recompense for their services upon this occasion, the general distributed among his soldiers a pecuniary gratification. He remained but a short time at *Dominica*, and having left the marquis *Duchilleau* for governor, with a garrison of fifteen hundred men, he returned to *Martinico*. But if the moderation and generosity of the marquis de *Bouille* were deserving of the highest encomium, the conduct of



Duchilleau was no less memorable for its violence and inhumanity. He countenanced the unbridled licentiousness of his troops, and thus abandoned, as it were, the vanquished to the discretion of the victors. Such are the deplorable effects of national hatred! The inhabitants of Dominica were not delivered from the rigorous domination of Duchilleau until peace was reestablished between the two states.

As soon as he was informed of the attack upon Dominica, admiral Barrington, deeming the importance of the occurrence as paramount to his instructions, sailed with all possible speed to its assistance, in order, if not too late, to frustrate the attempt of the enemy. But he did not arrive until the marquis de Bouille was already in safety under the cannon of Martinico. His presence, however, contributed much to reassure the inhabitants of the neighboring English islands, whom the fate of Dominica and their own defenceless condition, had filled with consternation.

But this expedition was only the prelude to more important events, which succeeded soon after. The count d'Estaing and commodore Hotham had taken their departure for the West Indies, as we have related, on the same day; the first for Martinico, the second for Barbadoes. The two fleets sailed in a parallel direction during great part of the voyage, and very near each other, but without knowing any thing of their proximity; the English, however, suspecting the danger, were extremely careful to keep their squadron as close and collected as possible. If it consisted of smaller vessels than those of the French, it was also much more numerous. The count d'Estaing, if he had been at all aware of the real state of things, might have profited of his great superiority to overwhelm the British fleet, and especially its numerous vessels of transport, which carried out the land forces, wherein consisted the only means of preserving to the British crown its rich possessions in those seas. A violent storm, however, having dispersed the two fleets, three English vessels fell in with those of the French, and were taken. This incident apprised d'Estaing of what had fallen out; but from the dispersion of his squadron he was unable to give chase. He determined, nevertheless, to change his course; and, instead of continuing to stand for Martinico, he steered in the direction of Antigua, under the persuasion that the British were bound for that island, and not to Barbadoes. He hoped to be able to arrive there before they were landed, or even anchored in the ports, and consequently to prostrate at a single blow their whole force by sea and land. This stroke would have been almost without remedy for England; so complete a victory would have enabled the count d'Estaing to annihilate her domination in the West Indies. But fortune had decided otherwise. The English shaped their course directly for Barbadoes, and reached it safely the tenth of December. Hotham there made his junction with Barrington, who was already returned.

The French admiral, having arrived very promptly in the waters of Antigua, remained cruising there for several days; but at length, not seeing the enemy appear, and concluding that they had taken another direction, he changed his own, and stood for Martinico.

The English generals having no suspicion of the vicinity of so formidable an enemy, determined without delay to attack St. Lucia. Its position in the front of Martinico, its natural strength, and its works rendered this post of extreme importance for the operations of the war. Admiral Barrington having taken on board his squadron a corps of four thousand selected troops, sailed for St. Lucia, and arrived there the thirteenth of December. General Meadows landed at the head of a strong detachment, and advanced with celerity to gain the heights which command the north shore of the bay of *Grand Cul de Sac*. They were occupied by the chevalier de Micou, the commandant of the island, with some few regulars, and the militia of the country. He made the most of a few pieces of artillery to annoy the debarkation of the English, and their march towards the hills. But unable with so small a force to prolong the valiant resistance he opposed at first, he fell back upon the capital, called *Morne Fortune*. The English took possession of the heights. At the same time, general Prescott had landed with five regiments, and had occupied all the positions contiguous to the bay. The next morning, Meadows forming the van and Prescott the rear, the English marched against the town of *Morne Fortune*. Overpowered by number, the chevalier Micou was forced to abandon it to the enemy. He retired into the more rough and difficult parts of the island, where he was also protected by his artillery. As fast as he fell back, Prescott took care to occupy the posts with troops and artillery. But general Meadows thought it essential to make himself master of *Careenage* harbor, situated three miles to the north of *Grand Cul de Sac* bay; the French might, in fact, have landed succours there, and attacked the British in flank. In defiance of the difficulty of the places, and the heat of a burning sun, he pressed forward to seize the height called *de la Vierge*, which rises on the north side of *Careenage* harbor, and completely commands its entrance. Another detachment occupied the south point of the harbor, and erected a battery upon it. General Calder, with the rest of the troops, took position on the south side of *Grand Cul de Sac* bay, so that from this point to the northern shore of the *Careenage*, all the posts fell into the power of the English. The squadron of Barrington lay at anchor in *Grand Cul de Sac* bay, his vessels of war at the entrance, and those of transport within. The chevalier de Micou continued still to occupy a very strong fort upon the crest of the mountains. The English might already consider themselves as sure of success, and the French had no hope left but in the immediate succour of the count d'Estaing, when this admiral all at once appeared in view of



the island, with his original squadron of twelve sail of the line, accompanied by a numerous fleet of frigates, privateers and transports, which brought a land force of nine thousand men. He had received early intelligence of the attack on St. Lucia; an event which he considered as the most fortunate that could have happened, it seeming to afford the means of destroying at a single blow, and from his great superiority almost without risk, the British power in the West Indies. Accordingly, he had not delayed a moment to embark in order to pounce upon an enemy that did not expect him. And in truth, if he had arrived twenty-four hours sooner, his hopes must have been realised. But the English were already in possession of the principal posts, and had fortified themselves therein; moreover, the day was far advanced, when the French armament appeared; it was necessary to defer the attack until the ensuing morning. Admiral Barrington profited of the night, to make his dispositions for sustaining it. He caused the transports to be removed into the bottom of the Grand Cul de Sac, to be as remote from danger as possible; the ships of war he placed in their respective stations, so as to form a line across its entrance, and repel the efforts of the enemy to the most advantage. His force consisted only of his own ship, the Prince of Wales, of seventy-four guns, the Boyne of seventy, St. Albans and Nonesuch of sixty-four, the Centurion and Isis, of fifty each, and three frigates.

The count d'Estaing, not mistrusting that Careenage harbor was already occupied by the enemy, stood in for it with his whole fleet, on the morning of the fifteenth. His purpose was to take land there and hasten to attack the right flank of the English, who, as he had observed himself, occupied the Grand Cul de Sac. But no sooner had he presented himself before the entrance of the Careenage than the English batteries erected upon the two points opened a heavy fire, which damaged several of his vessels, and particularly his own ship the Languedoc. Convinced of the impossibility of operating a descent in this part, he bore down with ten sail of the line on the British admiral, with intent to force the passage, and penetrate into the bay, which must have proved the utter ruin of the English. A warm engagement ensued; but, supported by the batteries from the shore, the British valiantly sustained the attack of an enemy so superior. D'Estaing drew off a little; but, towards evening, he renewed the battle with twelve ships. His efforts were still more impetuous; he directed the fire of his artillery principally against the left of the British line. But neither the reenforcement he had received, nor the singular firmness and gallantry displayed by all his people, were capable of rendering this attack more successful than the former. The English made so vigorous and so well supported a defence, that d'Estaing was again compelled to retire, with his ships severely damaged, and in no little confusion. Admiral Barrington

acquired imperishable glory ; he secured to his country the possession of an island which, only twenty-four hours after its conquest, had been upon the point of falling anew under the dominion of its ancient masters. But d'Estaing, finding that fortune was disposed to frown on his maritime attacks, resorted to his land forces, which were very considerable. Accordingly, in the night of the sixteenth and the following morning, he landed his troops in Choc Bay, which lies between Gros Islet and the Careenage. His intention was to attack general Meadows, who, with a corps of thirteen hundred men, was encamped in the little peninsula de la Vierge, situated between the Careenage and the above named Choc Bay. He had great hopes of being able to surprise and cut him off entirely, as well by reason of the difficulty of the places which separated this corps from all the others, as from the diversion which he purposed to make by threatening several points at once. In pursuance of this plan, he advanced from Choc Bay towards the peninsula, with five thousand of his best troops, in order to attack the lines of Meadows, which were drawn across the isthmus that joins it to the main land. He had formed three columns ; the right was commanded by himself, the centre by the count de Leowendal, and the left by the marquis de Bouille. The French moved at first with admirable order, but as they approached, their position became extremely critical. They found themselves severely enfiladed by the artillery of Morne Fortune, which the chevalier de Micou, on evacuating that fort, had neglected to spike. But notwithstanding this impediment, they rushed on to the charge with incredible impetuosity. The English expected their approach with equal coolness ; they suffered them to advance to the intrenchments without opposition ; when, after firing once, they received them on the bayonet. That fire had, of course, a dreadful effect ; but the French, notwithstanding, supported the conflict with undaunted resolution. Already seventy of them had leapt within the intrenchment, where they acquitted themselves strenuously ; but the English enveloped them, and soon they were all victims of their temerity. Nevertheless, the assailants recovered their breath, and returned to the charge with no less eagerness and fury than at first. The English encountered them with the same intrepidity, and a second time compelled them to withdraw. But d'Estaing, in the transport of his ardor, unable to endure that so feeble a detachment should baffle the efforts of his numerous veterans, ordered a third attack. He was promptly obeyed. But the soldiers being much exhausted by their exertions in the two first, no longer displayed the same vigor. They were totally broken and obliged to retreat, leaving their dead and wounded in the power of the victors. It was, however, agreed soon after, that the French should be permitted to bury the one, and to carry off the other ; d'Estaing having rendered himself accountable for the wounded as prisoners of war. General



Meadows manifested in this affair, equal ability and valor; though wounded in the very commencement of the action, no persuasions could induce him to quit the field until it was decided. The loss of the French was serious. Four hundred were killed on the spot; five hundred were so severely wounded as to be rendered incapable of service; five hundred others were wounded slightly. The loss of the English, in consequence of the advantage of their position, was inconsiderable. The count d'Estaing left his troops on shore still, for several days after the battle; during this time he continued standing off and on with his fleet, in sight of the island, hoping that some occasion might present itself of operating more effectively. But at length he embarked his troops, in the night of the twenty-eighth, and sailed to Martinico the following day, having abandoned the enterprise of St. Vincent and Grenada, which islands he had purposed to attack. The day after his departure, the chevalier de Micou capitulated; his garrison consisted of only an hundred men. He obtained the most favorable conditions. He marched out with all the honors of war; his soldiers retained their baggage, but not their arms. The inhabitants, and especially the curates, were protected in their persons, property, and religion. They were to pay to the king of Great Britain the same taxes only, that they were accustomed to pay to the king of France; finally, they were not to be compelled to bear arms against their late sovereign.

The English found in the forts fifty-nine pieces of cannon, a great number of muskets, and an immense quantity of military stores. Thus fell into the power of the English the island of St. Lucia; it was an acquisition of extreme importance to them. They made of it a place of arms for all their forces in the West Indies, and the repository of all their munitions. From its proximity to Martinico, they were enabled, without risk, to watch all the movements of the French in the bay of Fort Royal, and to intercept the reinforcements and convoys that might approach it by the channel of St. Lucia. They strengthened it with many new works, and constantly maintained in it a numerous garrison, notwithstanding the great loss of men it cost them from the insalubrity of the climate.

A few days after the retreat of the count d'Estaing, admiral Byron arrived in that part with nine sail of the line, and came to anchor at St. Lucia.

There resulted from it a sort of tacit truce between the two parties; the English having too decided a superiority of naval, and the French of land forces. This armistice, which lasted five months, was not interrupted until the squadron of commodore Rawley had joined the fleet of Byron, and the count d'Estaing had been reinforced by that of the chevalier de la Motte Piquet and of the count de Grasse. These several reinforcements were despatched from Europe to the West Indies about the close of the year; the two

governments having reflected at the same time how important it was to have formidable maritime forces in the midst of these rich islands, situated at little distance one from the other, and intermingled, as it were, with those of the enemy.

It is time to return upon the American continent. The British ministers and generals had taken the determination to direct their greatest efforts towards the southern parts of the confederation. Under the persuasion that the inhabitants of these provinces supported with repugnance the yoke of the republicans, they hoped to find in the loyalists an efficacious cooperation for the reestablishment of the royal authority. Other, and no less powerful motives, conduced to decide them for this expedition. The provinces of the south, and especially Georgia and Carolina, abound in fertile lands, which produce copious crops of wheat, and particularly of rice, than which nothing could be more essential to the support of a fleet and army, at so great a distance from their principal sources of supply. The parts of the American territory which had hitherto fallen into the power of the English, had offered them but a feeble resource, and they were obliged to draw the greatest part of their provisions from Europe, through all the perils of the sea, and the swarms of American privateers which continually preyed on their convoys. It is, besides, to be observed, that the rice of Georgia and South Carolina served to nourish the French fleets, and the troops that formed the garrisons of their islands in the West Indies.

The quiet and security which these provinces had hitherto enjoyed, admitted so vigorous a cultivation, that the products of it not only furnished an inexhaustible resource to the allies of the Americans, but, being exported to the markets of Europe, constituted the material of a commerce, by which they received those supplies which were necessary as well to the support of the war, as to the conducting of the common business and affairs of life. The English also reflected that, as Georgia borders upon East Florida, the latter was exposed to constant alarms and incursions on the part of the republicans; and they were convinced that there existed no effectual means of securing the quiet of that province, short of compelling the troops of Congress to evacuate Georgia and the Carolinas. The conquest of the first of these provinces, they had little doubt, would ensure them that of the two others; and they promised themselves with full assurance the possession of Charleston, a rich and populous city, and of extreme importance, both for its situation and port. Such were the advantages the English expected to derive from their expedition against the southern provinces.

To these considerations was added another; the severity of the season no longer admitted operations in the mountainous provinces of the north. Accordingly, general Clinton, as we have related in the preceding book, had embarked for Georgia, under convoy of



commodore Hyde Parker, a detachment of twenty-five hundred men, consisting of English, Hessians and refugees. He hoped, by the assistance of these last, and their partisans, to find easy admission into that province. This corps was under the command of colonel Campbell, an officer of distinguished valor and capacity. Clinton, at the same time, had ordered general Prevost, who commanded in the Floridas, to collect all the troops that could be spared from the defence of those provinces, and to march also against Georgia, in order that it might be attacked at once in front, on the part of the sea by Campbell, and in flank, on the banks of the Savannah river by Prevost. The plan of this expedition thus arranged, commodore Hyde Parker and colonel Campbell arrived towards the close of December at the isle of Tybee, situated near the mouth of the Savannah. The transports had little difficulty in passing the bar and entering into that river. They were followed a few days after by the ships of war, so that all the fleet lay together at anchor in its waters on the twenty-seventh of December, ready to execute the orders of the commanders for the invasion of the province. The latter, not knowing what were the forces, the measures of defence, and the intentions of the republicans, detached some light infantry to scour the adjacent banks. They took two Georgians, from whom it was understood that no intimation had been received in the province of the project of the royalists; that consequently no preparations for defence had been made; that the batteries which protected the entrance of the rivers were out of condition, and that the armed galleys were so placed that they might easily be surprised. It was also learned that the garrison of Savannah, the capital of the province, was very feeble, but that it was soon to be reenforced. Upon this intelligence, the British commander no longer delayed to commence his operations.

The whole country on the two banks of the Savannah, from its mouth to a considerable distance above, being a continued tract of deep marsh, intersected by the extensive creeks of St. Augustine and Tybee, it offers no point capable of serving as a place of debarkation. The English were therefore under the necessity of moving higher up in order to reach the usual landingplace, at which commences a very narrow causeway that leads to the city. This post, extremely difficult of itself, might have been vigorously defended by the Americans. But, surprised by an unexpected attack, or destitute of sufficient force, they made no opposition to the descent of the English, who landed at first their light troops. The causeway leads through a rice swamp, and is flanked on each side by a deep ditch. Six hundred yards above the landingplace, and at the head of the causeway, rises an abrupt eminence, upon which was situated the house of a certain *Gerridoe*. It was occupied by a detachment of republicans. As soon as the light infantry, the greater part Scotch Highlanders, had

landed under the command of captain Cameron, they formed, and pushed forward along the dike to attack the post of the Americans. The latter received them with a smart fire of musketry; Cameron was mortally wounded. Incensed at the loss of their captain, the Highlanders advanced with such rapidity, that the Americans had no time for charging again, and instantly fled. The English seized the height; colonel Campbell having ascended it, in order to view the country, discovered the army of the enemy drawn up about half a mile east of the town of Savannah. It was commanded by major-general Robert Howe, and appeared disposed to make a firm stand to cover the capital of the province. It consisted in a strong corps of continental troops, and the militia of the country. It was so disposed that its two wings extended on the two sides of the great road leading to Savannah. The right, under the command of colonel Eugee, and composed of Carolinians, was to the south, having its flank towards the country protected by a wooded swamp and by the houses of Tatnal. The left, having the road on its right flank, was covered on the left by rice swamps. It consisted for the most part of Georgians, under the orders of colonel Elbert. One piece of cannon was planted at each extremity of the American line, and two pieces occupied the traverse, across the great road in the centre. About one hundred yards in front of this traverse, at a critical point between two swamps, a trench was cut across the road, and about one hundred yards in front of the trench, ran a marshy rivulet, the bridge over which had been destroyed. Lastly, the Americans had on their rear the town of Savannah itself, which was surrounded by a moat.

The British commander, having left a detachment to guard the landingplace, and another to secure a neighboring cross road, to cover his rear, advanced directly towards the enemy. He endeavored to devise the most expedient mode of attacking them in the strong position they occupied. By the movements of the Americans, he was not long in perceiving that they expected and even desired that he should engage their left wing; he accordingly omitted no means in use on similar occasions, with experienced commanders, that could serve to cherish that opinion and continue its delusion. He drew off a part of his forces to form on his right, where he also displayed his light infantry. His intention, however, was to attack the right wing of the Americans. While making his dispositions, chance threw into his hands a negro, by whom he was informed of a private path through the wooded swamp on the enemy's right, which led to their rear. The negro offered to show the way, and promised infallible success. Colonel Campbell resolved to profit of the occasion which fortune seemed to have provided him. He accordingly directed Sir James Baird to pursue with his light infantry the indicated path, turn the right of the Americans, and fall in by surprise



upon their rear. The New York volunteers under colonel Tumbull, were ordered to support the light infantry. While Baird and Tumbull, guided by the negro, proceeded to execute this movement, Campbell posted his artillery in a field on the left of the road, concealed from the enemy by a swell of ground in the front. It was destined to bear upon the Carolinians, and to cannonade any body of troops in flank, which they might detach into the wood to retard the progress of Baird's light infantry. Meanwhile, the republicans continued to ply their artillery with great animation; the royalists were motionless; a circumstance which doubtless would have excited alarm if their enemies had been either more experienced, or less sanguine. At length, when Campbell conceived that Baird had reached his position, he suddenly unmasked his artillery, and marched briskly on to the enemy, who were still totally blind to their danger.

The charge of the English and Hessians was so impetuous that the Americans, unable to withstand its shock, immediately fell into confusion and dispersed. The victors pursued them. During this time, the light infantry of Baird had gained the rear of the American right. They fell in with a body of Georgian militia, who were stationed to guard the great road from Ogeeche, and routed them at the first onset. As they were in pursuit of the fugitives, on their way to fall upon the main body of the Americans, the latter, already discomfited, came running across the plain full in their front. The disorder and dismay that now ensued, were past all remedy; the victory of the English was complete. Thirty-eight commissioned officers, upwards of four hundred noncommissioned and privates, forty-eight pieces of cannon, twenty-three mortars, the fort with its ammunition and stores, the shipping in the river, a large quantity of provisions, with the capital of Georgia, were all in the hands of the conquerors before dark. The loss of the Americans, owing to their prompt flight, was very small. Only about four score fell in the action and pursuit, and about thirty more perished in their attempts to escape through the swamp. The English lost perhaps not twenty men in dead and wounded. This singular good fortune was the fruit of the excellent dispositions of colonel Campbell. He distinguished himself no less by an humanity the more deserving of praise, as he could not have forgotten the harsh treatment he had received in the prisons of Boston. Not only was the town of Savannah preserved from pillage, but such was the excellent discipline observed, that though the English entered it with the fugitives, as into a city taken by storm, not a single person suffered who had not arms in his hand, and who was not besides in the act either of flight or resistance. A strong circumstantial testimony, that those enormities so frequently committed in time of war, should with more justice be charged to the negligence or immediate participation of the chiefs, than to the ungovernable license of the soldiers.

1779. Having thus made themselves masters of the capital, the British troops soon overran the whole province of Georgia. Their commander issued a proclamation, by which he offered pardon to deserters, and exhorted the friends of the English name to repair to the royal standard, promising them assistance and protection; this step was not altogether fruitless. A considerable number presented themselves; they were formed into a regiment of light dragoons. But the more determined republicans preferring exile to submission, withdrew into South Carolina.

The English also employed all their address to induce the republican soldiers they had made prisoners to enlist in the service of the king; but their efforts were nearly fruitless. They were, therefore, crowded on board vessels, where, from the heat of the weather in the following summer, and the bad air concomitant with their mode of confinement, the greater part perished. The officers were sent on parole to Sunbury, the only town in the province which still held for the Congress; but Moses Allen, the chaplain of the Georgians, was retained, and thrust, a prisoner on board the vessels, amongst the common soldiers. This minister of religion had not contented himself with exciting the people to assert their independence in his discourses from the pulpit, he appeared also, with arms in hand, on the field of battle, exhibiting in his own person an admirable example of valor, and devotion to the cause of country.

Weary of the protracted rigors of his captivity, he one day threw himself into the river, hoping to escape, by swimming, to a neighboring island; but he was drowned, to the great regret of all his fellow-citizens, who venerated his virtues, and justly appreciated his intrepidity. The Americans, too much enfeebled to keep the field, passed the Savannah at Zubly, and retreated into South Carolina. The English, on the contrary, now masters of the greater part of Georgia, frequently scoured the banks of the river, in order to disquiet the enemy, who was still in possession of the countries situated on the left bank.

In the meantime, general Prevost had put himself on the march from East Florida, to execute the orders of general Clinton. He had to struggle with the most formidable impediments, as well from the difficulty of the places as from the want of provisions. At length, after excessive fatigues and hardships, being arrived in Georgia, he attacked the fort of Sunbury. The garrison, consisting of about two hundred men, made some show of defence; and gave him the trouble of opening trenches. But, although they were supported by some armed vessels and gallies, yet all hope of relief being now totally cut off by the reduction of the rest of the province, they found it necessary to surrender at discretion. They were treated humanely. This happened just at the time when colonel Campbell had already set out on an expedition for the reduction of Sunbury. The two



English corps made their junction with reciprocal felicitations. General Prevost repaired to Savannah, where he took the command of all the British troops that, coming from New York and from St. Augustine, had conquered to the king the entire province of Georgia. After such brilliant success, the British commanders deliberated upon what they had to do next. They were perfectly aware that their forces were not sufficient to act in a decisive manner against Carolina, a powerful province, animated with the same spirit, especially in the maritime parts, and governed by men endowed with the best talents, and exercising a great influence over the multitude. The reduction of Georgia was, in truth, the only object which general Clinton had as yet proposed to himself. He had purposed to defer the invasion of Carolina until the arrival of the reinforcements which admiral Arbuthnot was to bring him from England. Nevertheless, considering the importance to the success of future operations of continuing offensive war, rather than halting upon the defensive, it was determined to make several excursions into Carolina, in order to keep alive in that province the terror of the royal arms, and to reanimate the hopes of the loyalists. Major-general Gardner was accordingly detached with a numerous corps, to take possession of Port Royal. But this expedition had the most disastrous issue; the Carolinians fell vigorously upon the English, and expelled them from the island with severe loss, both in officers and soldiers.

On the failure of this project, the British generals endeavored to excite a movement among the adversaries of Congress. They inhabited, as we have related, in very considerable number, the back parts of Georgia and the two Carolinas. The hope placed in them was one of the principal causes that had occasioned the invasion of the southern provinces to be undertaken. Of these loyalists there were several sorts; some, more violent and rancorous, had not only abandoned their country, but had attached themselves to the Indians, in order to inflict all possible mischief on their fellow-citizens, in the incursions on the frontiers. Others lived solitary and wandering upon the extreme confines of the Carolinas, watching with the most eager attention for any favorable occasion that might offer itself, for the recovery of their settlements. Others, finally, either less bitter or more politic, continued to reside in the midst of the republicans, feigning an acquiescence in the will of the majority. Though they had quitted arms for the labors of agriculture, they were still always ready to resume them, whenever the possibility of a new change should become perceptible. In the meantime, they had recourse to artifice, and exerted their utmost diligence to keep their outlawed friends advised of all that passed within the country, and especially of all the movements of the republicans; of this, the generals of the king were not ignorant.

In order, therefore, to encourage and support the loyalists, they moved up the Savannah as far as Augusta. As soon as they were in possession of that post, they left no means unattempted that could reanimate their partisans, and excite them to assemble in arms. They sent among them numerous emissaries, who exaggerated to them the might of the royal forces. They assured them that if they would but unite, they would become incomparably superior to their enemies; they were prodigal of promises and presents; they exasperated minds already imbittered by flaming pictures of the cruelties committed by the republicans. Such were the opinions propagated by the British generals among the friends of the king. Their instigations produced the intended effect; the loyalists took arms, and putting themselves under the command of colonel Boyd, one of their chiefs, they descended along the western frontiers of Carolina in order to join the royal army. More properly robbers than soldiers, they continually deviated from their route, in order to indulge their passion for pillage. What they could neither consume nor carry off, they consigned to the flames. They had already passed the Savannah and were near the British posts, when they were encountered by colonel Pickins, who headed a strong detachment of Carolinians, levied in the district of Ninety-Six. Instantly, the action was engaged with all the fury excited by civil rancor, and all the desperation inspired by the fear of those evils which the vanquished would have to suffer at the hands of the victors. The battle lasted for a full hour. At length the loyalists were broken and completely routed. Boyd remained dead upon the field; all were dispersed, many fell into the power of the republicans. Seventy were condemned to death, only five, however, were executed. This success made a deep impression throughout Georgia, where the disaffected were already on the point of arming against the Congress. The incursions of the loyalists were repressed, and the republicans could proceed with greater security in their preparations for defence against the royal arms. Another consequence of it was, that the English evacuated Augusta, and, retiring lower down, concentrated their force in the environs of Savannah.

This measure was the more prudent on their part, as general Lincoln, to whom Congress had intrusted the command of all the troops in the southern provinces, was already arrived, and had encamped at Black Swamp, on the left bank of the Savannah, at no great distance from Augusta. This general, born in Massachusetts, having distinguished himself in the campaigns of the north, had been proposed to the Congress by the Carolinians themselves, on their first receiving intelligence of the projects of the enemy against the southern provinces. The Congress had yielded the more readily to their recommendation, as they had themselves a high opinion of the talents of general Lincoln, and were not ignorant how essential it is to the suc-



cess of operations, that soldiers should have perfect confidence in their chiefs. The president, Lowndes, employed all the means in his power to inflame the ardor of the inhabitants of South Carolina, and to excite them to take arms in defence of country. In private, as well as in public, he addressed them the most stimulating exhortations; he directed that all the cattle of the islands and towns situated upon the coast, should be withdrawn into the interior of the country. The militia assembled and joined the continental troops. The same zeal for the public cause broke forth at the approach of danger in North Carolina; in a few days, two thousand of its militia were embodied under the generals Ashe and Rutherford. If this corps could have been furnished with arms as promptly as the conjuncture required, it would have made its junction in time with that of general Howe, and perhaps might have decided in his favor the fortune of the day of Savannah. The enthusiasm of the Carolinian patriots was then at its height; every day added to the strength of their army. They had indeed great efforts to make. Washington was far from them, and before succours could arrive, they were exposed to the most fatal reverses. Moreover, the commander-in-chief was himself much occupied with the guard of the passes of the mountains, and his forces were continually mined by a pest which was still but imperfectly remedied; the shortness of engagements. It was not to be expected then, that he should strip himself in order to reenforce the army of the south; yet more, the same intestine disease which enfeebled the army of Washington, was also the cause that little reliance could be placed in that of Lincoln, although it was already combined with the relics of the corps of Robert Howe. With the exception of six hundred continental troops, the rest were militia, little accustomed to war, and bound only to a few months of service. General Lincoln, however, not in the least discouraged, found resources even in his own ardor. In order at first to show himself to the enemy, he had repaired to Black Swamp, on the north side of the Savannah. This movement, together with the recent discomfiture of the loyalists, had induced the British general to retire down the river, leaving, however, an advanced post at Hudson's Ferry. But Lincoln extended his views farther; he purposed to restrict the enemy still more, and to press him close upon the coast, in order to deprive him of the resources he would find in those fertile countries, and to put an end to the intercourse, whether open or secret, which he kept up with the loyalists of the upper parts. He accordingly ordered general Ashe to leave his baggage behind, and passing the Savannah, to take post on a little river called *Briar Creek*. This order was executed with diligence, and the camp seated in a very strong position. It was covered in front by the creek, which for several miles above was too deep to be forded; on the left by the Savannah and a deep morass; the right was secured by a corps of cavalry. General Ashe had with him about two thousand men.

Notwithstanding the strength of his encampment, the English resolved to attack him. Colonel Prevost, who was posted at Hudson's Ferry, set out on this expedition. Having divided his force in two columns, he advanced the right, with two pieces of cannon, towards Briar Creek, with an apparent view of intending to pass it, in order to take up the attention of the republicans. The left, consisting of nine hundred men, among which were grenadiers, light infantry and horse, he led himself a circuitous march of about fifty miles, in order to cross Briar Creek, and thereby turning the right, to fall unexpectedly upon the rear of the enemy. At the same time, general Prevost made such dispositions and movements on the borders of the river, between Savannah and Ebenezer, as were likely to divert general Lincoln from thinking of Ashe. This general, who, in such a proximity of the enemy, should have redoubled his watchfulness, instead of having the country scoured by his cavalry, had detached it upon some distant and unprofitable expedition. The English, therefore, arrived so unexpectedly, though in open daylight, that the Americans received the first notice of danger from the havoc which the assailants made in their camp. The militia were panic struck, and fled without firing a shot. But many of them encountered in flight that death which they might have avoided by a gallant resistance. Their cowardice did not shield them; the deep marsh and the river, which should have afforded security, became now the instruments of their destruction. Blinded by their flight and terror, they were swallowed up in the one, or drowned in the other. The regular troops of Georgia and the Carolinas, commanded and animated by general Elbert, made a brave resistance; but, abandoned by the militia, and overwhelmed by number, they were also compelled to retreat. This rout of Briar Creek, took place the third of March. The Americans lost seven pieces of cannon, all their arms and ammunition, with not a few killed and prisoners. The number of the drowned and wounded is not known; but it appears that more perished in the water than by wounds. Of all the corps of general Ashe, scarcely four hundred soldiers rejoined general Lincoln, who, in consequence of this disaster, found his forces diminished more than a fourth part. This victory rendered the royal troops again masters of all Georgia. It opened them communications with the loyalists in the back parts of this province and the two Carolinas. Those who were not yet recovered of the terror inspired by their recent defeat, took fresh courage; there was nothing now to prevent their going to reenforce the royal army.

The Carolinians, though deeply affected at so severe a check, were not, however, disheartened; and, in order to prevent the victorious enemy from overrunning their fertile territory, they made every exertion to assemble their militia, and to reanimate their ardor. Rigorous penalties were decreed against those who should refuse to



march when called out, or to obey their commanders; high bounties were promised; regiments of horse were organised; the officers were chosen among the most leading men of the country. John Rutledge, a man of extensive influence, was elected governor of the province, and empowered to do whatever he should judge necessary to the public welfare. Animated by the love of country, and stimulated by the prospect of those evils which would be their portion if the English should gain possession of the province, the republicans displayed so much zeal and activity in their preparations for defence, that by the middle of April, general Lincoln found himself at the head of more than five thousand fighting men.

While these preparations were in process in the Carolinas, general Prevost busied himself in Georgia, in reorganising all those parts of the service which had suffered by the war. He established an internal administration in the province, and strenuously urged the loyalists to rally around him. He did not immediately attempt to cross the Savannah, because it was extremely swoln by the rains; and, besides, he had not a sufficient force to attack lower Carolina, where there were none but patriots; and general Lincoln, notwithstanding the rout of Briar Creek, still maintained his position on the left bank, ready to oppose him, if he inclined to pass. Not, however, that the American general was in a condition to act offensively before he was reenforced; he might even have deemed himself extremely fortunate in not being attacked. But as soon as he found his force augmented, as we have just seen, he made a movement which provoked another of extreme importance on the part of his adversary. He marched, about the beginning of May, towards Augusta, whether to protect an assembly of the deputies of the province, which was to convene in that town, or for the purpose of taking a strong position in upper Georgia, in order to watch over the interests of the confederation in that part, and to interrupt the transmission of provisions and recruits which the loyalists furnished to the British. He was already arrived in Georgia, and all his measures were taken for the execution of his design. He had left general Moultrie, with fifteen hundred men, in front of general Prevost, in order to dispute his passage across the Savannah. He considered this corps the more sufficient for the defence of the left bank and the approaches of Charleston, the capital of South Carolina, inasmuch as the breadth of the river, the marshes which border it on the north side, and the numerous creeks which intersect that province, appeared to him obstacles capable by themselves of arresting the enemy.

But general Prevost saw his position in a different light. His army was increased by the junction of the loyalists. He hoped that his presence in Carolina would excite some movements there; he wanted provisions, which he was sure of finding in abundance in that province; and lastly, he calculated that the effect of his invasion would

be to recall Lincoln from Georgia, and perhaps to afford an opportunity of engaging him with advantage. Determined by these considerations, he put himself at the head of a corps of three thousand men, among English, loyalists and Indians, and passed the Savannah with its adjacent marshes, though not without excessive difficulties. The militia under Moultrie, surprised and dismayed at such intrepidity, gave way, and after a feeble resistance fell back upon Charleston. Moultrie, with the handful he had left, and the light horse of Pulaski, exerted his utmost efforts to retard the enemy; but he was soon compelled to yield to force. Astonished himself at the facility with which he had triumphed over the natural impediments of the country, and the resistance of the republicans, Prevost extended his views to objects of greater moment. The drift of his expedition was at first merely to forage; he was disposed to give it a nobler aim, and ventured to meditate an attack upon the important city of Charleston. He promised himself that it would soon fall into his power, when he should have acquired the control of the open country.

The loyalists, in the eagerness of their hopes and wishes, which they too frequently substituted for realities, failed not to improve this disposition, which was so favorable to them. They assured Prevost that they had correspondence with the principal inhabitants of the city, and that the moment the royal standard should be descried from its battlements, their adherents would rise and throw open its gates. Moreover, they offered to serve as guides to the army, and to furnish all the information that could be desired respecting the nature of the country. Another consideration came to the support of their representations; though general Lincoln could not but know the British had crossed the Savannah, and menaced the capital, yet he manifested no intention of moving to its relief; so fully was he persuaded that the royalists designed nothing more than to pillage the country. General Prevost, therefore, pursued his march towards Charleston in great security, hoping in the consternation at his sudden appearance to enter it without opposition. Meanwhile, when Lincoln was convinced by the continual approaches of the enemy of the reality of his designs, he immediately detached a body of infantry, mounted on horseback, for the greater expedition, to the defence of the capital, and collecting the militia of the upper country, returned with his whole force to act as circumstances might offer for its relief. The English had arrived at Ashley river, which bathes the walls of Charleston on the south; they passed it immediately, and took post within little more than cannon shot of that city, between the river Ashley and another called the Cooper, which flows a little to the north of it. The Carolinians had made all the preparations for defence which the shortness of time admitted. They had burnt the suburbs, and cut a trench in the rear of the city from one river to



the other. The fortifications had been repaired, and batteries erected upon all the chain of works which formed the cincture of the town. Governor Rutledge had arrived there two days before, with five hundred militia, as well as colonel Harris, who had brought the succour sent by general Lincoln, after a forced march of more than forty miles at every stage. The count Pulaski was also come to reenforce the garrison with the dragoons of his legion, which was called the *American Legion*. The presence of all these troops reassured the inhabitants; they would have thought themselves fortunate in obtaining an honorable capitulation if this succour had not reached them, or if the English, instead of suspending their march, as they did, had made their appearance two days sooner. The garrison passed the whole night under arms; the houses, and the entire circuit of the walls, were illuminated. On the following morning, the British general summoned the town, offering very favorable conditions. The Americans sent out their commissioners to negotiate, and the conference was opened. But they neglected nothing that could draw it into length as soon as they discovered that the besiegers were not in force sufficient to carry the place before, in all probability, general Lincoln would arrive to its deliverance. Accordingly, they proposed that their province should remain neuter during the war; and that at the conclusion of peace, it should be decided whether Charleston was to belong to the United States or to Great Britain.

The English answered that their generals had not come there with legislative powers, and that since the garrison were armed, they must surrender prisoners of war. Other proposals were made on both sides, which were not accepted, and the English lost the whole day in this negotiation, which was not broken off till in the evening. The inhabitants, expecting to be attacked during the night, made every preparation for a vigorous defence. Finding himself totally disappointed in every hope that had been held out to him relative to Charleston, general Prevost began to reflect that the ramparts were furnished with a formidable artillery, and flanked by a flotilla of armed shipping and galleys; that the garrison was even more numerous than his own army; that he had neither battering artillery, nor a naval force to cooperate with his land forces; that the vanguard of the army of Lincoln had already appeared, and that himself was fast approaching; and lastly, that if he were repulsed with any considerable loss, which was much to be apprehended, his situation, involved as he was in a labyrinth of rivers and creeks, surrounded on all sides by a superior enemy, seemed scarcely to admit of a hope that any part of his army could have been preserved. Under these considerations, he profited of the obscurity of night, and directed his retreat towards Georgia. But instead of taking the way of the land, which was too dangerous, he passed his troops into the islands of St.

James and St. John, which lie to the southward of Charleston, and whose cultivation and fertility offered abundant resources. As from Charleston to Savannah there extends along the coast a continued succession of little contiguous islands, so separated from the continent as to afford both navigable channels and excellent harbors, Prevost could be at no loss about the means of repairing to the latter city.

His immediate design was to establish his camp in the island of Port Royal, situated near the mouth of the Savannah, and no less remarkable for its salubrity than fruitfulness. These quarters were the more desirable as the sickly and almost pestilential season already approached in the Carolinas and Georgia, and the British troops, not yet accustomed to the climate, were peculiarly exposed to its mortal influence.

While Prevost was engaged in passing his troops from one island to another, general Lincoln, who by the main land had followed the movements of the enemy, thought it a proper opportunity to attack colonel Maitland, who with a corps of English, Hessians and Carolinian loyalists, was encamped at the pass of Stono Ferry, on the inlet between the continent and the island of St. John; this post, besides its natural advantages, was well covered with redoubts, an abattis, and artillery. The Americans attacked with vigor, but they found a no less obstinate resistance. At length, overwhelmed by the enemy's artillery, and unable with their field pieces to make any impression on his fortifications, they retired at the approach of a reenforcement which came to the support of Maitland. The English, after establishing posts upon the most important points, proceeded to occupy their cantonments in the island of Port Royal. The Americans returned, for the most part, into theirs; and the unhealthiness of the season put a stop to all further operations of either party. The English thus remained in peaceable possession of the whole province of Georgia; and the Americans found some consolation in having raised the siege of Charleston, though the vicinity of the enemy still left them in apprehension of a new invasion in South Carolina. The incursion of which this rich and flourishing province had just been the theatre, so far from serving the interests of the king, was highly prejudicial to his cause. If it enriched his officers and soldiers, it caused the ruin of a great number of inhabitants. The royal troops were not satisfied with pillaging; they spared neither women, nor children, nor sick. Herein they had the negroes for spies and companions, who being very numerous in all the places they traversed, flocked upon their route in the hope of obtaining liberty. To recommend themselves to the English, they put every thing to sack, and if their masters had concealed any valuable effects, they hastened to discover them to their insatiable spoilers. Such was the rapacity of these robbers, that not content with stripping houses of their richest furniture, and individuals of their most pre-



cious ornaments, they violated even the sanctuary of the dead, and, gasping for gold, went rummaging among the tombs.

Whatever they could not carry off, they destroyed. How many delightful gardens were ravaged! What magnificent habitations were devoted to the flames! Every where ruins and ashes. The very cattle, whatever was their utility, found no quarter with these barbarians. Vain would be the attempt to paint the brutal fury of this lawless soldiery, and especially of those exasperated and ferocious Africans. But the heaviest loss which the planters of Carolina had to sustain, was that of these very slaves. Upwards of four thousand were taken from them; some were carried to the English islands, others perished of hunger in the woods, or by a pestilential disease which broke out among them soon after.

And here should be recollected the barbarous manifesto published by the British commissioners on quitting America, after the failure of their negotiations; their abominable threats were but too faithfully executed in Carolina. A cry of horror arose throughout the civilised world against the ferocity of the British armies. Such also was the disordered state of things to which Georgia, by various progressive steps, was at length reduced.

About the same time, general Clinton meditated, in his camp at New York, a project whose execution appeared to him to correspond with the views of the ministry, or, at least, proper to second the expedition of Carolina. He expected to insure its success by keeping Virginia in continual alarm by cruel but useless devastations upon the coasts of that opulent province. Having assembled a suitable number of ships, under the command of commodore Collier, he embarked a corps of two thousand men, conducted by general Matthews. They proceeded to the Chesapeake, and leaving a sufficient force in Hampton Road to block up that port and the entrance of the river James, went to take land on the banks of Elizabeth river. The British immediately pushed forward against the town of Portsmouth, and entered it without resistance. Fort Nelson was also abandoned to them at the first rumor of their approach. They found it equally easy to occupy the town, or rather the ruins of the town of Norfolk, on the opposite side of the river. Pursuing their march with the same celerity, they made themselves masters of Suffolk, on the right bank of the Nansemond river. In all these places, as well as at Kempers Landing, Shepherds, Gosport, Tanners Creek, in a word, throughout the extent of territory into which they penetrated, their passage was marked by cruelty and devastation. They demolished the magazines, brought off or destroyed the provisions, and burned or took away an immense quantity of shipping. Several thousand barrels of salted provisions, which had been prepared for Washington's army, and a great quantity of stores, also fell into their power. Their booty in tobacco even surpassed their hope; in brief, this rich and fertile

country was converted in a few days into one vast scene of smoking ruins. In their indignation, the Virginians sent to ask the English *what sort of war this was?* They answered, *that they were commanded to visit the same treatment upon all those who refused to obey the king.* Listening to the insinuations of the refugees, who incessantly affirmed that Virginia contained a host of loyalists, that were only waiting for a rallying point to raise the province in revolt, the British commanders were much inclined to prolong their stay in it; and thought of fortifying themselves in Portsmouth, in order to make it their place of arms. They wrote accordingly to general Clinton, demanding his orders. But Clinton, weary of this piratical war, and less eager than commodore Collier to swallow the brilliant delusions of the refugees, did not approve the plan proposed. On the contrary, he directed the chiefs of the expedition, after securing their prizes, to rejoin him at New York. He needed this force himself for an enterprise of no little importance, which he was upon the point of undertaking up the Hudson. Virginia, therefore, ceased for that time to be the theatre of these barbarous depredations.

The Americans had constructed, at great labor and expense, very strong works at the posts of Verplanks Neck, and Stony Point, situated on nearly opposite points of land, the first on the east, and the other on the west side of the Hudson. They defended the much frequented pass called Kings Ferry, which could not fall into the power of the English without compelling the Americans to take a circuit of ninety miles up the river in order to communicate between the northern and southern provinces. General Clinton had therefore resolved to seize these two positions. Washington, who lay with his army at Middlebrook, was at too great a distance to interrupt the execution of the design.

The English, accordingly, set out upon this expedition about the last of May. Commodore Collier conducted the squadron that ascended the river, general Vaughan the column of the right, which landed on the eastern bank, a little below Verplanks, and Clinton in person, the column of the left, with which he disembarked on the western bank, below Stony Point. The Americans, finding the enemy so near, and not being prepared to receive him, evacuated Stony Point, where they were soon replaced by the royal troops. But at Verplanks there was more resistance; the republicans had erected on this point a small, but strong and complete work, which they called Fort la Fayette; this was defended by artillery and a small garrison. It was unfortunately commanded by the heights of Stony Point, upon which the English, by their exertions during the night, had planted a battery of heavy cannon, and another of mortars. Early on the following morning, they opened a tempest of fire upon Fort la Fayette. The attack was supported in front by commodore Collier, who advanced with his gallies and gun boats within reach of the fort; and general



Vaughan having made a circuit through the hills, was at length arrived, and had closely invested it on the land side. The garrison, seeing that all possibility of relief was now cut off, and that their fire was totally overpowered and lost in the magnitude of that which they received, surrendered at discretion the following morning. They were treated humanely. General Clinton gave direction for completing the works of Stony Point; and with a view to the ulterior operations of the campaign, encamped his army at Philipsburgh, about half way between Verplanks and the city of New York. But neither Clinton nor Washington were disposed to run the hazard of a battle; they both expected reinforcements, the one from England, the other from the allies of the United States. Such was the cause of the inaction of the belligerent parties, during this campaign in the middle provinces.

In defect of conquests, the British generals were disposed, at least, to rid themselves of the privateers that tormented them, and to resume the war of devastation.

The coasts of Connecticut which border the sound, afforded shelter to a multitude of extremely enterprising privateersmen, who intercepted whatever made its appearance in their waters, to the utter destruction of the commerce of New York by the sound, and consequently to the infinite prejudice of the British fleet and army, which had been accustomed to draw the greater part of their provisions from that part. With a view of curing the evil, Clinton ordered governor Tryon to embark for Connecticut with a strong detachment. He accordingly proceeded to make a descent at New Haven, where he dislodged the militia, after some irregular resistance, and destroyed whatever he found in the port. Thence he advanced to Fairfield, which he devoted to the flames. Norwalk and Greenfield were in like manner laid in ashes. The loss of the Americans was prodigious; besides that of their houses and effects, a considerable number of ships, either finished or on the stocks, with a still greater of whale boats and small craft, with stores and merchandise to an immense amount, were all destroyed. Tryon, far from blushing at such shameful excesses, even boasted of them, insisting that he had thereby rendered important services to the king. Could he have thought that in a war against an entire people, it was rather his duty to desolate than to conquer? And what other name can be given to ravages and conflagrations which conduce to no decisive result, but that of gratuitous enormities? But, if this mental obliquity, if this cruel frenzy in an individual, who was not a stranger to civilisation, have but too many examples in the history of men, still, is it not astonishing, that he should have persuaded himself that by such means he could induce the Americans to replace themselves under the royal standard? It is worthy of remark in effect, that in the midst of ravage and combustion, he issued a proclamation, by which he exhorted the inhabitants to return to their

ancient duty and allegiance. But whether this mode of operation was displeasing to Clinton, who perhaps had only desired the destruction of the shipping, and not that of houses and temples, or from whatever other more real motive, he ordered Tryon to cease hostilities, and to rejoin him immediately at New York. But the melancholy vestiges of the rage of the English were not effaced by his retreat, and these piratical invasions redoubled the abhorrence attached to their name.

While the coasts of Connecticut were thus desolated by the British arms, the Americans undertook an expedition which afforded a brilliant demonstration that, so far from wanting courage, they could vie in boldness with the most celebrated nations of Europe. The English had labored with such industry in finishing the works at Stony Point, that they had already reduced that rock to the condition of a real fortress. They had furnished it with a numerous and selected garrison. The stores were abundant, the defensive preparations formidable. These considerations could not, however, discourage Washington, who, on hearing of the capture of Stony Point and Verplanks, had advanced and taken post on the brow of the mountains of the Hudson, from forming the design to surprise and attempt both those forts by assault. He charged general Wayne with the attack of Stony Point, and general Howe with that of Verplanks. He provided the first with a strong detachment of the most enterprising and veteran infantry in all his army.

These troops set out on their expedition the fifteenth of July, and having accomplished their march over high mountains, through deep morasses, difficult defiles, and roads exceedingly bad and narrow, arrived about eight o'clock in the evening within a mile of Stony Point. General Wayne then halted to reconnoitre the works, and to observe the situation of the garrison. The English, however, did not perceive him. He formed his corps in two columns, and put himself at the head of the right. It was preceded by a vanguard of an hundred and fifty picked men, commanded by that brave and adventurous Frenchman, lieutenant-colonel Fleury. This vanguard was itself guided by a forlorn hope of about twenty, led by lieutenant Gibbon. The column on the left, conducted by major Stewart, had a similar vanguard, also preceded by a forlorn hope under lieutenant Knox. These forlorn hopes, among other offices, were particularly intended to remove the abattis and other obstructions, which lay in the way of the succeeding troops. General Wayne directed both columns to march in order and silence, with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. At midnight they arrived under the walls of the fort. The two columns attacked upon the flanks, while major Murfee engaged the attention of the garrison by a feint in their front. An unexpected obstacle presented itself; the deep morass which covered the works, was at this time overflowed by the tide. The



English opened a most tremendous fire of musketry, and of cannon loaded with grape-shot ; but neither the inundated morass, nor a double palisade, nor the bastioned ramparts, nor the storm of fire that was poured from them, could arrest the impetuosity of the Americans ; they opened their way with the bayonet, prostrated whatever opposed them, scaled the fort, and the two columns met in the centre of the works. General Wayne received a contusion in the head, by a musket ball, as he passed the last abattis ; colonel Fleury struck with his own hand the royal standard that waved upon the walls. Of the forlorn hope of Gibbon, seventeen out of the twenty perished in the attack. The English lost upwards of six hundred men in killed and prisoners. The conquerors abstained from pillage and from all disorder ; a conduct the more worthy to be commended, as they had still present in mind the ravages and butcheries which their enemies had so recently committed in Carolina, in Connecticut, and in Virginia. Humanity imparted new effulgence to the victory which valor had obtained.

The attack meditated against Verplanks, had not the same success ; general Howe encountered insurmountable obstacles. Meanwhile, Clinton had received intelligence of the capture of Stony Point ; and, being resolved not to suffer the enemy to establish themselves in that position, he instantly detached a corps of cavalry and light infantry to dislodge them. But Washington had attained his object ; he had originally intended nothing more than to make himself master of the artillery and stores of the fort, to destroy the works, and to bring off the garrison. It was absolutely inconsistent with his views to risk a general action, in order to favor a partial operation, he therefore ordered general Wayne to retire ; which he did successfully, after having dismantled the fortifications. This expedition, so glorious for the American arms, was celebrated with rapture in all parts of the confederation. The Congress decreed their acknowledgments to Washington and to Wayne, to Fleury, Stewart, Gibbon and Knox. They presented general Wayne with a medal of gold, which represented this brilliant achievement. Fleury and Stewart received a similar medal of silver. Not willing to leave the bravery of their soldiers without its retribution, they ordered an estimate of the military stores taken at Stony Point, and the value thereof to be shared among them.

Rendered more daring and adventurous by the success of this enterprise, the republicans frequently harassed the outposts of the royal army. The continual skirmishes that followed were alternately advantageous or disastrous to the two parties. One of the most considerable was engaged at Paulus Hook, on the right bank of the Hudson, opposite to New York ; the Americans were treated rather roughly in it.

An expedition of much more importance took place on the river Penobscot, near the eastern confines of New England, on the side of Nova Scotia. Colonel Maclean had embarked from Halifax with a strong division of regulars, with a view of establishing a post, at the mouth of that river, in the county of Lincoln. On his arrival in the Penobscot, he took possession of an advantageous situation, and proceeded to fortify himself. From that position he purposed to annoy the eastern frontiers of the confederation; and by this diversion in Massachusetts, he hoped to prevent the inhabitants of that province from sending reinforcements to the army of Washington. This movement occasioned an unusual alarm at Boston, and it was determined to make all possible efforts to dislodge the enemy from a post which smoothed his way to more considerable enterprises. An armament was fitted out with extraordinary despatch; and in order to secure vessels of transport as well as sailors, an embargo of forty days was laid on all their shipping. The crews and the troops were assembled with equal promptitude, and all the preparations for the expedition were soon completed. The squadron was under the conduct of commodore Saltonstall, and the land troops were commanded by general Lovell. They sailed for the mouth of the Penobscot.

Colonel Maclean had received at first rumors, and afterwards undoubted intelligence, of the preparations that were making at Boston. He employed all the means which the shortness of notice left at his disposal, to secure his defence. The republicans appeared; their first attempts to land, were rendered vain by the intrepid resistance of the royal troops; they redoubled their efforts, and at length succeeded in effecting that object. General Lovell, instead of attacking immediately, which would have ensured him victory, set about entrenching himself. The English resumed courage. There was a continual firing of artillery for fifteen days. Finally, the works which covered the position of the English being partly ruined, the Americans resolved to proceed to the assault. Colonel Maclean was informed of their design, and prepared himself to receive them.

In the morning he was under arms; but a profound silence prevailed in the camp of the besiegers; their stillness and immobility appeared inexplicable. The colonel sent to reconnoitre, and he soon learns, to his extreme surprise, that the enemy's lines are totally evacuated, that he has not left even a guard, and that he has reembarked his troops, arms and stores. The cause of so abrupt a resolution was not long in disclosing itself. Commodore Collier had suddenly made his appearance at the mouth of the Penobscot. He had been apprised of the critical situation of Maclean, and had immediately departed from Sandy Hook, with a sufficient squadron. His manœuvres now indicated the design to attack the flotilla of



Massachusetts; the republicans fell into confusion, and the royalists completed their discomfiture without difficulty. The vessels of war and of transport were all taken or blown up, to the incalculable detriment of the Bostonians, who had taken on themselves the whole burthen of this expedition. The soldiers and sailors, to escape the conqueror, were forced to penetrate the most dismal solitudes and pathless forests, where the extremes of hardship attended their retreat. Saltonstall and Lovell, but especially the first, became the object of public execration. They were every where loaded with the reproaches of stupidity and cowardice. The fatal issue of the enterprise of Penobscot, was calculated to teach the inhabitants of Massachusetts a truth, which it cost them much to learn, namely; that in confederate states, nothing is more imprudent than to operate partially. For, it appears that their leaders in this affair, far from concerting with the generals of Congress, did not even acquaint them with their designs. Thus, with the exception of the conquest of Georgia, the operations of this campaign were conducted with a sort of langor, and produced no results of any considerable importance. The month of July was, however, sufficiently remarkable for the terrible reprisals which the Americans, under the conduct of general Sullivan, exercised against the Indians. The expeditions undertaken against them the preceding year, by the colonels Butler and Clarke, had not completely satisfied the Congress; they were still animated with desire to exact an exemplary vengeance for the enormities of Wyoming. Moreover, they deemed it indispensably necessary to repress the incursions of these savages, who, rendered more daring by impunity, and excited by the presents of British emissaries, incessantly desolated the frontiers of the confederation. But by far the most formidable of all the Indian nations, were the Six Tribes, who derived a degree of power from the league contracted between them, from a scheme of polity more resembling that of civilised states, and, especially, from the great number of European adventurers who had established themselves among them, and had taught them to wield their arms, and to make war with more dexterity. Interlinked with these, were other savage tribes of inferior note. The Oneidas; however, should be excepted, who observed a perfect neutrality towards the Congress. The American government, therefore, resolved a decisive stroke, to deliver itself forever from this cruel scourge, and at the same time to visit upon the heads of these barbarians the innocent blood of Wyoming. Circumstances appeared to favor the execution of this design, since the war, as we have already seen, was become strangely torpid in the maritime parts. Agreeably to the plan of the expedition, general Sullivan, who was charged with its execution, proceeded up the Susquehanna, with a corps of about three thousand men, as far as Wyoming, where he waited the arrival of general James Clinton,

who joined him from the banks of the Mohawk, at the head of sixteen hundred soldiers. He was followed by a great number of pioneers, sumpter-men, carters, and other species of workmen, to open the roads, transport provisions, and ravage the country. The stock of provisions was considerable, but not so abundant as general Sullivan could have wished. The army had to traverse an immense tract of country, where no supplies were to be expected. The horses were sufficient in number, and the artillery consisted of six field pieces with two howitzers. The two generals made their junction at Wyoming, the twenty-first of August. They immediately set out for the upper parts of the Susquehanna. Upon the rumor of their destination, the Indians had made all the preparations in their power, to avert from their country the impending perdition. Under the conduct of the same Johnson, Butler, and Brandt, who have been mentioned in the preceding book, they had assembled in great number, and had been joined by two hundred and fifty loyalists. Full of confidence in their strength, they had advanced as far as Newtown, a village which lay upon the route of Sullivan. Here, while waiting his approach, they threw up a very extensive entrenchment, which they strengthened with a palisade, and some imperfect redoubts after the European manner. As soon as Sullivan arrived, he ordered the attack. The Indians defended themselves with great vigor for more than two hours, though they had no artillery. To dislodge them more easily from their lines, the American commander ordered general Poor to draw off to the right, and turn their position. At sight of this movement, which had not slackened the attack in front, the Indians lost their courage, and fled in disorder. Few were killed, however, and none fell into the power of the victors. The Americans took possession of Newtown. The terror-struck savages made no other stand. Sullivan had, therefore, no further obstacle to contend with in overrunning their country, except the excessive difficulty of the ways, and the embarrassment of subsistence. His patience and dexterity triumphed over both. He guided his troops into the very heart of the settlements, whose inhabitants, men, women, and children, had already escaped to the deserts, and buried themselves in the most inaccessible forests. The habitations were burned, the crops were ravaged, the fruit trees cut down. The officers charged with the execution of these devastations, were themselves ashamed of them; some even ventured to remonstrate that they were not accustomed to exercise the vocation of banditti. But Sullivan, being himself controlled by superior orders, was inexorable. His soldiers served him with ardor; the remembrance of Wyoming was fuel to their rage. They burned an immense quantity of grain.\* They utterly destroyed forty villages,

\* One hundred and sixty thousand bushels of corn were destroyed.



and left no single trace of vegetation upon the surface of the ground. All the cattle which had not been removed by the Indians, were brought off, or killed upon the spot. None of the bounties of nature, none of the products of human industry, escaped the fury of the Americans.

This expedition was not only remarkable for the rigor with which it was executed, but also for the light it threw upon the condition of these savage tribes. They were found more advanced in civilisation than was believed, or even than could have been reasonably supposed. Their houses were placed in the most pleasant and healthy situations; they were roomy, neat, and not without a sort of elegance, so that little more could have been wished. Their fields, covered with luxuriant harvests, attested that the art of culture was not unknown to them. The antiquity and marvellous beauty of their fruit trees, with the number of their orchards, were incontestable indications that it was no little time since they were arrived at this degree of civil improvement. The sowing of grain and planting of trees being an incontrovertible proof that man looks forward to the future, it is manifest how erroneous was the opinion, which had hitherto been maintained, that the savages were totally devoid of forecast. Their progress is to be attributed to the increase of their population, to their intercourse with Europeans, and particularly to the efforts of missionaries, who, in times past, and even perhaps at this epoch, had lived, or were living among them. The catastrophe of which they were now the victims, so filled them with consternation, that they never after made any remarkable movement. General Sullivan, having accomplished his mission, returned to Easton, in Pennsylvania. His officers and soldiers addressed him letters of thanks and felicitation, which were also made public by means of the press; whether they did this of their own motion, or in compliance with the insinuations of Sullivan, who was rather a light man, and exceedingly vain withal. A short time after, alleging the derangement of health, he requested leave to resign, and obtained it easily; the members of Congress were weary of his continual ostentation, no less than of the habitual asperity of his language with respect to themselves.

Having related the events which took place upon the American continent, between the royalists and republicans, and between the latter and the savages, the order of this history requires that we should pass to the recital of the operations of the English and French in the West Indies, after the first had been reenforced by the squadron of commodore Rawley, and the second by that of the count de Grasse. By the addition of these new forces, the strength of the hostile fleets was rendered nearly equal. The English were strongly desirous of a naval battle; but the count d'Estaing, being much superior in land forces to admiral Byron, had principally in view the conquest of the neighboring English islands. He declined a general

engagement, which, if unsuccessful, would render his superiority by land of no avail. He therefore lay quietly at anchor in Fort Royal of Martinico, waiting a favorable occasion to attempt some enterprise of moment for the service of his sovereign. Fortune delayed not long to offer it; admiral Byron had sailed the sixth of June from St. Lucia, for the island of St. Christophers, where the West India fleet of merchantmen had assembled, to wait for convoy. His intention was to escort them with his whole squadron, for some considerable part of their voyage to Europe. He reflected that he could not leave a part of it in any of the ports of those islands, without exposing it to the attacks of an enemy greatly superior in force; he knew, besides, that M. de la Motte Piquet was then on his way from France with a strong reenforcement to d'Estaing; and it was plain, that no ordinary convoy would have been sufficient for the protection of the British merchant fleet, in case of its falling in with that squadron. No sooner was Byron departed from St. Lucia, than the French hastened to profit of his absence. D'Estaing detached the chevalier de St. Romain, with five ships and four hundred land troops, between regulars and militia, to attack the island of St. Vincents. This officer fully answered the confidence of the admiral; notwithstanding the currents which drifted him out of his course, and the loss of one ship, he at length effected his landing. He immediately occupied, sword in hand, the heights which command Kingston, the capital of the island. The Caribbs, or Aborigines, an intrepid and warlike race, came in multitude to join the assailants. Governor Morris, though he had more troops to defend himself than de Romain had to attack him, perhaps through fear of the Caribbs, whom the avarice and cruelty of the English had greatly exasperated, surrendered upon terms. The capitulation was honorable, and similar to that which the governor of Dominica had obtained, when that island fell into the power of the French.

In the meantime, the count d'Estaing was reenforced by the arrival of the squadron commanded by M. de la Motte Piquet. His fleet now consisted of twenty-five sail of the line, among which were two of eighty guns and eleven of seventy-four.

This increase of force rendered him superior to Byron, who had only nineteen sail of the line, of which one of ninety guns, and eleven of seventy-four; the others of inferior rate. La Motte Piquet had also brought a reenforcement of regular troops, with a copious supply of naval and military stores and provisions. The count d'Estaing, with such means at his disposal, was encouraged to extend the scale of his projects.

The conquest of Grenada was the immediate object of his enterprise. The natural strength of that island presented great difficulties; but its situation and products rendered it highly important. He had long thought of this expedition, but had chosen to defer its execution



until he should become possessed of a superiority by sea. The junction of la Motte Piquet having therefore decided him, he sailed the thirtieth of June from Martinico, and the second of July came to anchor in the harbor of Molinier. He immediately landed twenty-three hundred men, for the most part Irish, in the service of France, under the conduct of colonel Dillon. They rapidly occupied the adjacent posts. The governor of the island was lord Macartney, and its garrison consisted of two hundred regulars with six hundred militia. They were posted upon a height, called *Morne de l'Hopital*, which, besides, being naturally very steep, the English had rendered still more difficult of access by rude walls of stone, erected from distance to distance up the ascent. They had also fortified its declivity with a strong palisade, and, above it, with three intrenchments, towering in gradation. This hill commands the town of St. George, the fortress and harbor. D'Estaing sent to summon Macartney. He answered, in truth he did not know the force of the French; but that he well knew his own, and was determined to defend himself. The French commander was not ignorant that the principal hope of success lay in the celerity of his operations. He was fully persuaded that, if he delayed his attack, he should be interrupted by the arrival of Byron, to the relief of the island. He, therefore, gave orders for the assault, without hesitation. The following night the French approached the hill, and by two o'clock in the morning they had invested it on every side. To divide the attention of the enemy, they were formed in three columns, the right commanded by the viscount de Noailles, the left by Dillon, and that of the centre by the count d'Estaing in person, who had intrepidly put himself at the head of the grenadiers. The artillery, not having cannon to serve, requested and were permitted to form the van. The action was commenced by a false attack at the foot of the hill, on the part of the river St. John. At this signal, the three columns, with great order and greater resolution, pressed up the hill to the assault. The besieged sustained their onset with much firmness, and for an instant the success appeared doubtful. The English even pretend to have repulsed the assailants. But animated by their chiefs, they returned to the charge with irresistible impetuosity. The soldiers supported and impelled one another. Neither the palisades, nor the steepness of the acclivity, nor the parapets, nor the most violent fire could arrest the French; their victory was complete. D'Estaing, with his grenadiers, sprung the first into the English intrenchments. The others followed. In a moment all the works were inundated with enemies. The English demanded quarter, the French granted it. The darkness of the night had increased the horror of the combat, and even the glory of the victors. They seized eleven cannon, of different sizes, and six mortars. At break of day they turned this artillery against the fort, which was still in the power of the English.

At the first discharge, Macartney sent a flag, with an offer to capitulate. D'Estaing granted him an hour and a half for framing his proposals; those, which at the end of this time he presented, were rejected. The French general then framed some terms himself, with which he required immediate compliance, without the smallest deviation on either side, or relaxation on his. But these were so unexampled and extraordinary, that Macartney and the inhabitants thought it better to abandon themselves, without any condition, to the discretion of the conquerors, than to accept them; and accordingly did so. If the French in this assault displayed a valor deserving of eternal memory, the moderation and humanity which they manifested after the victory, merit no inferior encomium. The capital was preserved from pillage, to which it was liable by the ordinary rules of war. The inhabitants were protected in their persons and properties. Dillon, in particular, distinguished himself by the generosity of his behavior. The French found in the fort an hundred pieces of cannon and sixteen mortars; they made seven hundred prisoners. They also seized thirty merchant vessels, with rich cargoes, that lay in the harbor. Their loss, in killed and wounded, amounted to little more than a hundred men.

The count d'Estaing had soon occasion to felicitate himself upon the promptitude with which he had prosecuted his enterprise of Grenada. For, on the sixth of July, Byron, with all his fleet, appeared in view of St. Georges harbor. It was accompanied by a great number of transports, filled with troops, drawn from St. Lucia. This admiral, after accompanying the homeward bound West India fleet till out of danger, and appointing them a convoy to see them safe home, had returned with eighteen ships of the line and one frigate to St. Lucia. On being apprised of the reduction of St. Vincent, he sailed immediately with a body of troops under general Grant for its recovery. They had not proceeded far, when they were informed that the count d'Estaing had attacked Grenada. On this intelligence they directly changed their course, and made the best of their way for its relief. The French admiral had been apprised, by the frigates he had sent out upon discovery, of the approach of the British fleet. He immediately ordered the captains of his ships to get under sail, and form their line well off the coast. Some had already obeyed, and the others were preparing to follow them, when the British armament came up, all sail out, and offered battle to the count d'Estaing. The winds blew from the east and east northeast, and were consequently favorable to a squadron coming from St. Lucia towards Grenada.

Upon sight of the British fleet, the French admiral ordered those ships which had not yet hoisted their anchors, to slip their cables and proceed to take their stations with the others in order of battle. But as the British approached with rapidity, these vessels placed



themselves in the line wherever they could the soonest, without having regard to their ordinary posts. The English had the advantage of the wind, and were standing for Grenada, under the persuasion that Macartney still held out. Their transports were far astern of their rear. The French were under the wind, and standing upon the opposite tack. The British admiral was eager to come to close action, from a confidence that he could thus put the French fleet to rout, and recover the island. On the other hand, the count d'Estaing, who by the reduction of Grenada had attained his principal object, was in no disposition to hazard anew a point already decided. His intention was, therefore, to avoid a decisive engagement, and to confine himself to the preservation of his new acquisition. With these different views, the two admirals advanced to the encounter. Only fifteen of the French ships were able at first to take part in the action, the others having been forced to leeward by the violence of the currents. Vice-admiral Barrington, who commanded the British rear, advanced with three ships, the Prince of Wales, the Boyne and the Sultan, and closed with the van of the enemy. A warm engagement ensued, but the three English ships, not being supported in time by the rest of their division, and having to contend with a much superior force, were extremely damaged, especially in their sails and rigging.

Such is the ordinary effect of the manner of firing of the French in naval battles; and in this, they levelled from a good distance and under the wind, which also contributed to raise their shot higher. Barrington was wounded. Meanwhile, the rest of the British squadron joined him; and on his part, d'Estaing had rallied those of his ships which had not been able at first to form in a line with the fifteen that commenced the action. The English still continued to push their way towards Grenada, while their transports kept on their left towards the open sea, their line of battle covering them from the French fleet. The two armaments being thus drawn out on opposite tacks, the battle continued till they were entirely passed each other. But the English ships having arrived in chase, and consequently rather in disorder, whereas the French, as later from port, and in better condition, had more command of their movements, and had kept their distances better, it followed that some of the first had to endure the whole weight of fire from many or from all of the second. Among those that suffered the most were the Grafton, the Cornwall, and the Lion. The last was so shattered as to be very near going to the bottom; and the Monmouth, having ventured singly to arrest the progress of the French van, in order to bring on a close action, had been left little better than a wreck. Meanwhile, the head of the British van, continuing its course, was arrived at the mouth of St. George's harbor. But the French colors that waved on the fort, and the fire of the batteries, no longer

permitted admiral Byron to doubt of the capture of the island. Convinced, that in the present state of his fleet he could not hope for success against so great a superiority of force, he directed captain Barker, who had charge of the transports, to alter his course and make the best of his way to Antigua or St. Christophers. In order to protect him from the pursuit of the enemy, he stood with his fleet to the northward. But the three ships, the Grafton, Cornwall and Lion, from their disabled condition, not only remained far astern, but fell so fast to the leeward that it was to be feared they would be cut off by the French. The count d'Estaing, having observed their situation, had in effect put his ships about and steered to the south, in order to effect what Byron apprehended, that is, to intercept them. But, to defeat this design, the British admiral instantly changed his tack, and steered again to the southward. While the hostile fleets thus manœuvred in sight of each other, the Lion bore away, with what sail she had left, to the west, and in a few days arrived at Jamaica. D'Estaing might easily have seized her; but he chose not to disperse his fleet, for fear of falling to leeward of Grenada, whether it was his intent to return for moorings. The Grafton and Cornwall found means to rejoin their admiral before the French could reach them. The Monmouth, no longer able to keep the sea, was sent with all despatch to Antigua. The two fleets continued in sight the one of the other, till night, the English still plying to windward, in order to cover the retreat of the transports. The inferiority of their force, and the condition of their ships, deterred them from renewing the engagement. The French remained to leeward, without attempting to disquiet them, whether by reason of this position, or because their admiral thought it imprudent to run new risks. He might claim a victory for what he had already achieved, and he had probably motives for avoiding decisive actions. The following morning he came to anchor in the road of St. Georges, amidst the acclamations of the soldiers and of the French inhabitants, who had been spectators of the action. The British transports, one only excepted, which fell into the hands of the enemy, all arrived in safety at St. Christophers. Admiral Byron, after remaining a few days longer at sea, repaired to the same island, for the purpose of refitting his ships, which were grievously damaged.

The British lost in this engagement one hundred and eighty-three killed, and three hundred and forty-six wounded. The loss of the French was more considerable, owing as well to the mode of firing of the English, as to the great number both of sailors and land forces with which their ships were crowded. Besides many officers of note, they had about two hundred men killed, and the number of their wounded amounted to nearly eight hundred.

The news of the battle of Grenada was welcomed in France with great demonstrations of joy. According to the usage observed on



occasion of important victories, the king wrote to the archbishop of Paris, directing that a *Te Deum* should be sung in the metropolitan church. The count d'Estaing pretended, in effect, to have been victorious; he alleged in his favor that he had kept his lights burning during all the nights subsequent to the engagement; that Byron had for several hours refused to renew it, though all the while he had the advantage of the wind; that the British had made no movement to preserve the Lion, when retiring with difficulty towards the west; that the French fleet had captured one of the enemy's ships, conquered Grenada, and baffled the project of Byron for its recovery; and, finally, that it had secured the empire of the sea in the West Indies. It is indeed true, that the British admiral, in consequence of the disabled condition of his fleet, had found it necessary to take shelter at St. Christophers, where he was decided to remain until the enemy should become weaker, or himself stronger. His retreat spread consternation among the inhabitants of all the British islands, who had not for a long time, nor perhaps ever before, seen the French masters at sea. A short time after the action, d'Estaing, having repaired his ships, set sail afresh, and paraded with his whole force in sight of St. Christophers. Byron lay safely moored in the harbor of Basse Terre; the French admiral sought in vain to draw him out to combat. Finding him obstinate in his immobility, he shaped his course for St. Domingo, where he assembled the merchantmen of the different islands, and despatched them for Europe, under convoy of three ships of the line and three frigates.

In this state of things, there being much of the season for operations still unexpired, the count d'Estaing deliberated upon the course to be pursued, with most advantage to the interests of his sovereign. But in the meantime, he received letters from America, advising him of the extreme dissatisfaction with which the republicans observed that the alliance with France had hitherto produced nothing, upon the American continent, that corresponded either to the greatness of their ally, or to the general expectation of the Americans. It was represented to the French admiral that the enormous expenses incurred in the expedition of Rhode Island, had been worse than fruitless; that the zeal with which the French fleet had been equipped and victualled by the Bostonians, had produced no better effect than its immediate desertion of their coasts upon distant expeditions; that the benefits of the alliance were a nullity for the Americans, since the loss of Savannah and all Georgia, which had resulted from the retirement of the French, was not compensated by the recovery of Philadelphia, even throwing that event into the scale, as an indirect consequence of their cooperation, and supposing that the American arms would not otherwise have compelled the British to abandon that capital; that the occupation of Georgia by the enemy was fraught with consequences still more alarming, since it opened him an easy

entrance into the Carolinas; that he was already established in the heart of America, and drew his sustenance thence; that meanwhile, the French commanders were cruising the West Indian seas, enriching themselves with the conquest of British possessions, and leaving the Americans to sustain by themselves the whole burthen of this desperate war; that it ought not therefore, to be wondered at, if the number of the discontented increased every day in proportion to the rapid diminution of the partisans of France. These complaints were concluded with the most earnest instances and obsecrations that he would not abandon a faithful ally in the midst of surrounding perils.

The count d'Estaing could not but listen to these representations, although he had received instructions from his court, to return immediately to Europe with the twelve ships of the line and four frigates which composed the fleet of Toulon. He was directed by the same instructions, to detach three sail of the line and two frigates, under the conduct of La Motte Piquet, for the station of St. Domingo, and to leave eight other ships of the line to winter at Martinico, under the command of the count de Grasse, who was to cooperate with the marquis de Bouille, for the reduction of other English islands. Such were then the intentions of the French ministers; their negotiations with the court of Spain were in full activity, and they wished the Americans to feel all their distress, in order to obtain in the treaty they were about forming with his catholic majesty, more favorable stipulations for each member of the family compact. But d'Estaing thought it better to obey the generous impulses of his heart, than the orders of the ministry. To deprive the Americans of all pretext for doubting the sincerity of his good dispositions towards them, he set sail with twenty-two sail of the line and eight frigates. He had two objects in contemplation, both of the highest importance; but he could come to no decision until he had first advised with the generals of Congress. The first was the destruction of the force under general Prevost, and thus freeing the province of Georgia from the presence of the English, and South Carolina from the danger of their vicinity. The second was more decisive, and likely to be attended with more difficulties; and that was, to attack, conjointly with Washington, the British force at New York, by sea and land at the same time. The success of these two enterprises would have sufficed to put an end to the war upon the American continent.

It was on the first of September that the count d'Estaing made his appearance upon the coasts of Georgia, with twenty ships of the line. He had detached two to Charleston of South Carolina, to give notice of his arrival in those waters. It was totally unexpected to the English; their ship, the *Experiment*, of fifty guns, commanded by captain Wallace, was obliged, after a stubborn resistance, to surrender to the French. Three British frigates shared the like fate, as well as five transports loaded with provisions. This prize was highly



acceptable to the victors, who were much in want of supplies. General Prevost was then at Savannah, with only a part of his troops; the remainder were still in their cantonments, on the island of Port Royal, near the coast of Carolina. At sight of so pressing a danger, he sent orders by express to colonel Maitland, who commanded in that island, to rejoin him with all possible celerity. He likewise recalled the detachment that occupied Sunbury. The vessels at anchor in the Savannah were removed higher up, to secure them from the fire of the enemy, or sunk to obstruct his passage. Other impediments for the same purpose were planted in the river. The British also destroyed the batteries they had erected in the island of Tybee, and compelled the blacks to work without intermission at the fortifications. The seamen, who had been put ashore, joined the land troops, and were especially employed for the service of the artillery.

The news of d'Estaing's arrival excited transports of exultation at Charleston. General Lincoln immediately commenced his march for Savannah at the head of a strong detachment. A great number of small craft were despatched to the French admiral, to facilitate the debarkation of troops upon the coast, which large vessels cannot approach very near. With the assistance of these light vessels, d'Estaing, who had anchored off the bar which lies at the mouth of the Savannah, was enabled to land his troops at Beaulieu, about thirteen miles from the town of Savannah. At the same time his frigates were occupied in taking possession of the lower river, and of the different inlets; approaching as near to the town and lines as the circumstances of water and defence would admit. On the fifteenth of September, the French appeared under the walls of Savannah. They were accompanied by Pulaski's legion, who had made a forced march to join them. After some slight skirmishes, general Prevost contracted all his posts within the cover of the artillery on the works. Colonel Maitland not being yet arrived, the garrison, far from being sufficient for acting offensively, were scarcely competent to the defence of the works.

D'Estaing imperiously summoned Prevost to surrender the place; he announced in high language, that he commanded the same troops, a detachment of whom had recently taken the Hospital Hill, in Grenada, by storm; that he owed it to his humanity to remind him of it, after which, it could not be imputed to him, if he should not be able to restrain the fury of his soldiers, in the event of a fruitless resistance. The Americans observed with extreme displeasure and jealousy, that the summons was made exclusively in the name of the king of France.

General Prevost reflecting that his reenforcements had not yet joined him, and that his lines were still in a very imperfect state of defence, thought it prudent to gain all the time that was possible, by pretending a willingness to negotiate a capitulation. He accordingly

answered the French admiral, that he neither could nor should surrender without being first made acquainted with the conditions, and that he begged him to be more explicit on that head. Messages passed backwards and forwards; and at length, so shrewd was Prevost, and so simple or so confident was d'Estaing, that a truce of twenty-four hours was agreed upon, to afford time for deliberation. During this interval, colonel Maitland arrived with the troops from Port Royal, after having surmounted a variety of obstructions, and made his way through almost impassable swamps and morasses. On the junction of this reenforcement, upon which depended, in truth, the principal hope of defence, Prevost gave the French admiral to understand, that he should hold out to the last. Two days before, however, general Lincoln had joined the camp of the besiegers with about three thousand men, among regular troops and militia. The French amounted to between four and five thousand. The garrison, including sailors and loyalists, consisted of about three thousand men; the French established their quarters to the right, and the Americans to the left of the place. After the refusal of the British commander to surrender upon the first summons, the allies could not expect that a mere assault should triumph over a formidable garrison, intrenched behind works which they strengthened every day. It was, therefore, resolved to commence a regular siege. The trenches were opened immediately, and were carried on with so much vigor, that by the twenty-fourth of September, a sap had been pushed to within three hundred yards of the abattis, on the left flank of the town. The besieged were active in their endeavors to interrupt the works; but their efforts were ineffectual. Finally, the trenches being completed, and the batteries armed, the bombardment commenced in the night of the third of October; the fire became still more violent at daybreak on the morning of the fourth, when thirty-seven pieces of cannon and nine mortars were unmasked; while sixteen other pieces of cannon enfiladed the works from the shipping. To increase the terror, the besiegers lanced carcasses into the town, which burned several houses. Five entire days of this tempestuous fire caused infinite mischief to the town, but made little impression upon the fortifications, which the besieged repaired with diligence, wherever they were at all damaged. It even seemed, that amidst the storm of balls and bombs, they daily acquired new strength and solidity. The garrison, and such of the inhabitants as joined the troops in defending the ramparts, received little injury. But the fate of the women, children, and unarmed multitude, was indeed worthy of pity. Their lives were continually threatened by the fall of their burning roofs. Many perished, others, more unfortunate, were miserably crippled. Touched by their distress, general Prevost wrote to d'Estaing, requesting permission that they should be sent aboard ships down the river, and placed under the protection of a French ship of war, in



which state they were to continue until the business of the siege should be decided. At the same time acquainting him, that his own wife and family should be among the first to profit of the indulgence. The anticipation of such a request was more to have been expected from a generous enemy than its refusal; since the reduction of the place depended on force, and not on famine. But the French admiral, whether he acted of himself or at the instigation of general Lincoln, who, like all the inhabitants of Massachusetts, carried the spirit of party to the extreme, after a delay of three hours, returned a haughty answer to this demand. He objected that Prevost had deceived him by the truce, and that his present proposition very probably concealed a new artifice. He suspected him of intending by this stratagem to cover the rich spoils of Carolina. He assured him, finally, that he sincerely lamented the unhappy condition of the individuals for whom he petitioned, but that general Prevost must impute it wholly to himself, and those illusions which had darkened his understanding.

Whatever was the ability of the British engineers, and especially that of captain Moncrieffe, who rendered eminent services in this siege; whatever was the valor with which the garrison defended the breaches, incessantly repaired by their exertions, the British general could have had little hope of holding out long, and still less of a successful defence, if the enemy had persevered in his gradual approaches. But d'Estaing experienced great difficulties. Far from expecting to encounter so obstinate a resistance under the walls of Savannah, he had calculated with such confidence on a prompt surrender, that he had come to anchor with his fleet of heavy capital ships, upon an inhospitable coast, and in a most critical season of the year. He had even signified to the Americans, that he could not remain on shore more than eight or ten days. Twenty were already elapsed since the siege had commenced, and still there appeared no immediate prospect of its termination. The season was growing worse every day, and the naval officers were continually representing to their admiral the perils to which he would expose the ships and troops of the king, if he persisted any longer in the prosecution of this expedition. It might also happen, that a British fleet would arrive with every advantage united, and force the French squadron to engage, at a moment when a part of its crews and artillery were thus employed in the siege of Savannah. Under these considerations, although the trenches were not yet carried to the requisite perfection, and though no considerable breach had been opened, the count d'Estaing resolved to attempt the assault. Necessity now urged him to this extreme counsel, after having delayed to embrace it when at his landing he had found the works not yet completed, and the garrison not yet reinforced by colonel Maitland.

He consulted with general Lincoln upon the plan of attack ; it was determined to direct it against the right flank of the place. On this side, a swampy hollow way might bring the besiegers under cover to within fifty yards of some of the principal works, and, at some points still nearer.

The ninth of October, before day, the count d'Estaing and general Lincoln, having formed the flower of both armies in three columns, advanced by the hollow way to reconnoitre the point of attack. But through the darkness, they took a greater circuit to the left, and got deeper in the bog than they needed or intended to have done ; a circumstance which, besides the loss of time, could scarcely fail of producing some disorder in the columns. They, however, soon formed anew, approached the foot of the walls, and mounted to the assault with incredible spirit and audacity. It is said, that the English had notice of it the preceding evening, and that they were, consequently, prepared. It is certain, at least, that they defended themselves with a vigor not inferior to that which assailed them. A redoubt on the Ebenezer road became the scene of the most terrible conflict. But every where the same courage was displayed, and no where could it be conjectured which of the parties victory was disposed to crown. D'Estaing and Lincoln were at the head of their columns, exposed to the most violent fire. Prevost, Maitland and Moncrieffe, displayed an equal ardor ; they continually stimulated their soldiers to repulse from their walls, to exterminate these rebels to the king, and those inveterate enemies of the British name. The combat was supported for above an hour with the same fury. But little by little the assailants became exhausted by their efforts. They were excessively galled by the artillery, which Moncrieffe had disposed with extreme dexterity, and which assailed them in almost every direction with a deluge of balls and grape-shot. The violence of the attack abated, and the besieged hailed the moment in which they saw their safety in their own hands. They made a vigorous sally ; a corps of grenadiers and marines was at the head of the column which, in a few instants, swept the ramparts and ditches. Not content with this first success, and hurried on by their impetuosity, the English pursued their enemies, and drove them in the greatest confusion through the abattis into the hollow we have mentioned. This movement was executed with such rapidity, that the reinforcements which Prevost had pushed forward could not arrive in time to take part in it. Nor should it be omitted, that in the height of the assault, the count Pulaski, at the head of two hundred light horse, charging at full speed, attempted to penetrate into the town, in order to assail the British in rear. But he received a mortal wound ; his troop, on seeing him fall, were discouraged and fell back.



When the fog and smoke were dissipated, which had darkened the air during the combat, horrible was the spectacle that discovered itself. Heaps of dead and dying covered the ground, and particularly near the Ebenezer redoubt; streams of blood rilled from the wrecks; lamentable cries arose on every side. The allies requested a truce with leave to bury the dead, and carry off the wounded; the first was granted, but a restriction laid in point of distance as to the rest. The assault of Savannah cost the allies a great sacrifice of men. The loss of the French in killed and wounded amounted to upwards of seven hundred; more than forty of whom were officers. Among the wounded were d'Estaing himself, the viscounts de Fontange and de Bethizy, and the baron de Steding. The Americans lost in slain and wounded about four hundred. The loss on the British side, as they fought secure, was inconsiderable. Great civilities now passed between the French camp and the British lines, and many apologies were made for the answer returned general Prevost with respect to the women and children. They were now pressed to place themselves in the situation which they had then requested; the Chimera, commanded by the chevalier de St. Romain, was named for the reception of the general's wife, her children and company. Prevost answered with a certain bluntness, that what had been once refused, and that in terms of insult, could not in any circumstance be deemed worth the acceptance.

A few days after died the count Pulaski, a Pole of illustrious birth. Finding no opportunity in his own country to employ his sword in the defence of liberty, of which he was one of the most zealous partisans, he took the generous resolution to repair to the succour of the cause he adored in America. If he lost life there, he also left a name revered by all the brave. It is related, that when his death was announced to the king of Poland, he exclaimed; 'Pulaski! always valiant, but always foe to kings.' It cannot be denied that king Stanislaus had good reason to complain of him. The Congress decreed him a monument.

The eighteenth of October, the allied army raised the siege of Savannah; its retreat was effected so precipitately that it was impossible for the English to pursue it. General Lincoln passed his regular troops to the left bank of the Savannah, the militia disbanded. The French reembarked with all their troops, artillery and stores. The count d'Estaing immediately set sail to clear the coasts of America. His intention was to return to Europe with a part of his fleet, and to send the remainder to the West Indies; but a violent storm dispersed his ships, and he had great difficulty in getting them together again.

Such was the issue of the count d'Estaing's campaign upon the coasts of North America, of that campaign in which the allies had placed such sanguine hopes. After missing the expedition of the

Delaware, he twice abandoned that of Newport at the moment for its accomplishment. Finally, under the walls of Savannah, he showed himself at first too circumspect; he delayed the attack, and afterwards precipitated an assault which resulted in discomfiture. He conquered, it is true, two important islands in the West Indies, and fought with no little glory a veteran British fleet, commanded by the most able seamen. D'Estaing was no less precipitate in counsel than impetuous in execution. If fortune, as the friend of the adventurous, had shown herself more propitious to his efforts, or to the excellent plans which had been framed for him by the French ministry, he would indubitably have given paralysing strokes to the naval power of England; he would have afforded America all that assistance on which she had founded her hope of promptly terminating the war.

It must be admitted, however, that if the cooperation of the French admiral was not so advantageous to the Americans as they might reasonably have expected, it was, nevertheless, far from being without its utility. His presence was a check upon the English, and prevented them from moving so soon as they purposed to have done against the southern provinces. Moreover, the British ministers fearing not only for Rhode Island, but even for New York, if their troops continued dispersedly to occupy both these provinces, besides other positions, ordered general Clinton to evacuate the first. He accordingly did so, the twenty-fifth of October, and withdrew the garrison to New York. Thus Rhode Island, which had fallen without resistance into the hands of the royalists, returned peaceably into the power of the republicans. As the fleet of the count d'Estaing was then upon the coasts of Georgia, the British generals, under the apprehension of its coming suddenly upon Rhode Island, made their retreat from Newport with so much precipitation, that they left behind them all their heavy artillery, and a considerable quantity of stores. The Americans took possession of them immediately. They kept the British colors floating on the ramparts for several days; this stratagem decoyed into their power many of the king's vessels, which came to surrender themselves at Newport.

Having related the military operations of this campaign, as well on the American continent, as in the West Indies, it is not without interest to cast a glance upon the affairs of the interior, and to examine what was, at this epoch, the state of the finances, what were the opinions and the intrigues of the different parties which agitated a people embarked in the tumultuous career of revolution. If the union of the arms of France with those of the Congress had procured real advantages to the Americans, and if it authorised them to hope well of the future, it cannot be denied, on the other hand, that it had a prejudicial effect upon their public spirit. This powerful protection itself, with the hopes which were its immediate and necessary



result, easily persuaded the colonists that their quarrel approached its decision, that England would soon have to yield, and that in the meantime they might take their ease till the moment of deliverance should arrive. This same cause, which should have excited their emulation towards their great ally, and stimulated them to concur with fresh ardor to the common aim, seemed, on the contrary, to have abated their courage. They were impatient to enjoy that repose during the continuance of danger which they ought not to have desired until they had fully attained their intent. Amidst the brilliant images of approaching felicity with which their glowing imaginations continually regaled them, they forgot to reflect that success might still elude them while in the act of grasping it. France, on seeing their torpor, might have changed her counsels; had she not in their indolence, a plausible pretext and a new motive for a policy which never hesitates to serve itself at the sacrifice of its allies? Was it not possible even that Spain, whose accession was ardently desired as the pledge of victory, might refuse to combat for a cause so frigidly supported by its own defenders? The Americans seemed not to recollect, that, if formidable armies hasten the final decision of wars, they only also can render the conditions of peace honorable. All these considerations were in a manner slighted by the bulk of the nation. Content with what they had hitherto done, and placing great reliance in the efficacy of French succours, they seemed inclined to leave to their allies the care of settling their quarrel. The indifference which had infected all classes, was as profound as the enthusiasm of former years had been intense. There could not have existed a more sinister augury; experience demonstrates that though it be but too easy to inflame a people the first time, nothing is more difficult than to rekindle its ardor when once extinct. The leading Americans, and Washington in particular, were too enlightened not to take alarm at this state of things; they saw the evil in all its extent, and spared no exertions in applying such remedies as they could. They had recourse to exhortations, to the remembrance of past exploits; they represented the necessity of not forfeiting the respect of the allies; the perils that still impended; the power and the intrigues of England; all was in vain. Imbosomed in apathy, these reckless spirits abandoned to chance the decision of their dearest interests; nothing could rouse them. The recruiting of the army progressed with the most tedious slowness. The soldiers that were under Washington, some because they had completed their engagements, others because they were tired of serving, deserted their colors, and retired to their homes. And by what means were they to be replaced? Scarcely a few individuals were found who would engage according to the regulations of Congress, for three years or till the end of the war. Engagements for a shorter term, could be of no utility to the service, and the backwardness of the people warranted no calculation

even upon that resource. To draw them by lot, and constrain them to march, was thought, and was, in fact, too dangerous a measure to be adopted in the present temper of minds. The same lethargy seemed to have overspread the army itself. It was well for it, that the English were so little enterprising.

Such was the real origin of the langor that characterised all the operations of this year's campaign. Washington, besides, adhering to his uniform purpose of never coming to action, except with every probability of success, would not commit to the hazard of battles the fate of a cause, *which he considered as already gained*. Far from challenging the enemy, he deemed himself extremely fortunate in not being attacked. If events had taken the direction they should have done, he would doubtless have found some opportunity to strike an important blow for the service and glory of his country. Perhaps the English would not have passed the year so quietly as they did in New York; and perhaps Rhode Island would have fallen less tardily under the domination of America.

The royal troops, in effect, had been much weakened in the first months of the year, by the detachments they were obliged to make to the West Indies and Georgia. But it almost always happens that the most propitious occasions are lost amidst the tumult of popular revolutions; wherein the government, as being new, shows itself the more feeble, as the opinions of individuals manifest themselves with less restraint, and greater violence; and public opinion, which can only originate from a settled order of things, as yet, has no basis. If sometimes success attend the enterprise, it must more frequently be imputed to chance than to calculation. Such was, at this epoch, the condition of the people of America. If in Georgia and Carolina some efforts were made to repel the enemy, it was principally the work of the militia of these two provinces, whose interest was then immediately at stake. The others folded their arms, or contented themselves with the adoption of spiritless measures. As if they considered themselves released from the ties of the confederation, they made not their own cause of the danger that menaced the neighboring provinces. Nor were the Americans chargeable only with lukewarmness, and this strange indifference to the fate of country; there also began to prevail amongst them a shameless thirst of gain, an unbridled desire of riches, no matter by what means acquired. The most illicit, the most disgraceful ways, were no obstacle to this devouring passion. As it happens but too often in political revolutions, there had sprung up a race of men who sought to make their private advantage of the public distress. Dependence or independence, liberty or no liberty, were all one to them, provided they could fatten on the substance of the state. While good citizens were wasting themselves in camps, or in the discharge of the most arduous functions; while they were devoting to their country, their



time, their estates, their very existence, these insatiable robbers were plundering, and sharing out, without a blush, the public fortune, and private fortunes. All private contracts became the object of their usurious interference and nefarious gains; all army supplies enriched them with peculations; and the state often paid dearly for what it never obtained. Nor let any imagine that the most sincere and virtuous friends of their country ever made so pompous a parade of their zeal! To hear these vile beings, they only were animated with a genuine and glowing patriotism. Every citizen of eminent rank, or invested with any public authority whatever, who refused to connive at their rapines was immediately denounced as lukewarm, tory, royalist, sold to England; it would seem that the first duty of those who governed the republic in times of such distress, was to fill the coffers of these flaming patriots. That their own praises should always have hung upon their lips is not to be wondered at; for there has never existed a robber, who had not been first a cheat; but what seems really strange, and almost staggers belief, is that they could have found partisans and dupes. This public pest spread wider every day; it had already gangrened the very heart of the state. The good were silenced, the corrupt plumed themselves upon their effrontery; every thing presaged an approaching ruin; it was the hope of England. Shall we attempt to penetrate the causes of so great a change, in a nation once so distinguished for the purity of its manners?

It will be found, that besides the general relaxation, which war too generally produces in the morals of the people, new governments, destitute of money, are constrained to procure it, and all their resources at the hands of usurers. The example is contagious; it rapidly obtains throughout the community. These same governments find themselves compelled by the force of circumstances to give the preference and yield much to individuals who adhere, or pretend to adhere to their party. They accept for security in the most important transactions, a zeal for the public good, whether real or feigned. If it is necessary that they should welcome such sort of beings when they present themselves, they must, for the same reason, be tender in punishing when they detect them in delinquency. Briefly, in such an order of things, the man of worth, must, of necessity, make room for the man of naught. Not only unpunished, but tolerated, but employed, but encouraged, the species rapidly multiplies. Like pestilential bodies, whose bare contact infects those that are sound, vice soon poisons honesty in the hearts it can steal upon.

But one of the first and most operative causes of so deplorable a change in American morality, unquestionably lay in the depreciation of paper money. It was such at the commencement of this year, that eight dollars in bills could only command one in specie. The

fall of this paper was daily accelerated, as well from the continual emissions by the Congress, as by the little efficacy of the French succours, and the disasters of Georgia. In the month of December, a dollar in specie could hardly be obtained with forty of paper.\* Nor is there any thing surprising in this, when it is considered that independent of the dubious stability of the state, there was in the month of September, the sum of one hundred and fifty-nine millions, nine hundred and forty-eight thousand, eight hundred and eighty-two dollars of the paper of Congress in the thirteen United States. If to this mass be added the bills emitted by the particular provinces, it will readily be seen how immeasurably the aggregate amount of this sort of debt surpassed the resources of the new republic. The rapid declension of this currency is further accounted for by the extreme activity with which the loyalists and English employed themselves in counterfeiting it. There often arrived from England entire chests of those spurious bills, and so perfectly imitated that they were scarcely to be distinguished from the genuine. The British generals, and especially Clinton, though in reluctant obedience to the orders of the ministry, spared no pains in disseminating them throughout the continent. It cannot be doubted, but that the cabinet of St. James considered this falsification of the bills of credit, as a most efficacious mean for the recovery of its colonies. The British ministers were perfectly aware that it was the only pecuniary resource at the disposal of Congress for the support of the war, and they calculated by draining it to disarm the Americans. Unquestionably it was neither the first time nor the last that this mode of making war has been resorted to; but it will always, nevertheless, be held in abhorrence by all good men. For public faith should always be respected even between enemies; and of all perfidies is there one more frightful, and especially more vile than the counterfeiting of money? In addition to all this, the commerce which the Americans had been wont to carry on by means of their products, with England and other nations, was totally interrupted; and as their soil and industry furnished them with but a small part of the articles essential to war, they were under the necessity of procuring them from abroad, and with gold and silver. Hence it resulted that specie, which even before the war had become distressingly scarce, diminished progressively, and daily advanced in price, in the ratio of its rarity. The bills proportionably lost their value in public estimation. From their alarming depreciation it followed not only that all purses were closed, and that the markets, scantily, and with extreme difficulty supplied, became the object of the continual murmurs of the people, but even that the faith of contracts was violated, and that individual probity was every where relaxed. With little, debtors acquitted themselves

\* The cost of a simple repast, or a pair of shoes, was from forty to fifty dollars of this depreciated paper.



of much towards their creditors. Very few, at first, resorted to this unworthy expedient; but as evil propagates itself more rapidly than good, a multitude of citizens stained themselves with the same reproach, and the contagion became general. Herein the faithless and avaricious debtor was no respecter of persons; Washington himself experienced this odious return from persons he had generously succoured in their necessities.

The distress of the times had likewise given birth to another race of men, who devoted themselves to the business of speculating upon the depreciation of bills, dexterously profiting of a temporary rise or fall; and these variations of current price depended much less on the more or less favorable posture of public affairs, than upon news invented and circulated by those jobbers, or their intrigues and monopolies. Useful arts, and the labors of a fair commerce, were abandoned for the more alluring chances of paper negotiations. The basest of men enriched themselves; the most estimable sunk into indigence. The finances of the state, the fortunes of individuals, experienced the same confusion. Nor was avarice the extent of the evil; the contagion of that pestiferous passion attacked the very source of every virtue. Private interest every where carried it against the interests of the public. A greater number than it is easy to believe, looked upon the love of country as a mere illusion, which held out no better prospect than ruin and desolation. Nobody would enlist without exorbitant bounty; nobody would contract to furnish the public supplies, none would supply the contractors, without enormous profits first lodged in their hands; none would accept of an office or magistracy without perfect assurance of a scandalous salary and illicit perquisites. The disorder, the depravation, were pushed to such a point, that perhaps never was the ancient adage more deplorably confirmed, that *there is no haltingplace on the road of corruption.*

To the insatiable thirst of gold was joined the rage of party spirit; even the members of Congress could not escape its vortex. Hence they too often disputed among themselves about their personal affairs, instead of discussing the grave and important interests of the state. When a feeble nation places itself under the patronage of one that is powerful, and looks up to it for protection, that nation must expect to find its bosom agitated by the tumults of party and the fury of faction. Some citizens, more occupied with their country's interests, or their own ambition than the necessity of maintaining a good understanding with the more powerful nation, depart from the route which policy would have prescribed. Unguarded in their language and actions, they are continually liable to give umbrage to the agents of their great ally. Others, guided by the love of their country, or by their private interest, show themselves more feeble; they yield without resistance, they flatter and caress. Each of these parties is

equally in error. The first pluming themselves in vain upon the *name* of Independents, cannot in all respects assume the manners it implies, when they have an indispensable need of a tutelary support. The second omit to reflect that their excessive condescension does but imbolden their ally to crave without measure as without end. To observe a just medium between these extremes, requires a consummate prudence. The latter class are, of course, by far the most agreeable to the agents of the guardian power; they find them docile instruments, and, if, as too often happens, assailable on the side of avarice, or ambition, prompt to serve as spies, as informers, as tools whose base devotion no longer knows a check. The contrast and rivalship of these two factions soon degenerate into open war. The one reproaches the other with sacrificing the state to their cupidity, with betraying it, selling it to their protectors; with no longer having a country save that of their new masters; they load them with contempt and execration. These answer their adversaries that an ill timed arrogance may deprive the state of an indispensable prop; that it will be time enough to put on airs of independence when it is actually achieved; that in all their discussions wise men, and especially statesmen, describe a curve, when a right line leads to a precipice; that affairs of state should not be swayed by the self-love of individuals; that in policy the most useful is always the most honorable; and, finally, that no one ought to blush when he attains the object of his aim. Such was the language of the more moderate among those called Dependents. But others, hurried away by the spirit of party, or wishing to disguise their baseness, exclaimed aloud that the Independents were the enemies of France; that they were friends of England; with her they kept up a traitorous correspondence; to her they betrayed the secrets of the state; that they would fain violate the faith of treaties, and dissolve the alliance solemnly concluded with the French, in order to listen to the proposals of England, and throw themselves into her arms. It is to be observed, in effect, that at this very time, the British ministers were laboring incessantly to seduce the chiefs of the American government with new offers of peace, even at the acknowledgment of independence. The scope of this conduct might have been to excite the jealousy of France, or to foment factions in America, or perhaps really to obtain peace and alliance with the United States.

However it was, these overtures had in part the effect which the British cabinet probably had expected; they were but too well seconded by a species of men who find their proper element in confusion; and intestine dissensions agitated every part of the American continent. Not private citizens only, but the very members of the government, applied themselves with infinitely more ardor to pull each other to pieces, than to the discharge of their duties. These



seeds of discord had long been germinating, they developed themselves with still greater rapidity, when Silas Deane returned to the United States aboard the squadron of the count d'Estaing. At first commercial agent of America in Europe, he had been one of the three commissioners who had signed the treaty of alliance at Paris. Secretly irritated at having been recalled, in haste to turn accuser before being accused himself, and careful to make his court to the French, he declared every where, and afterwards printed, that the Congress would not hear the report of his mission to Paris; that they refused to adjust his accounts; that Arthur Lee, one of the three commissioners, William Lee, American consul in Europe, and their two brothers, members of Congress, kept up a secret correspondence with England; that they, and all their adherents, endeavored in various ways to disgust the court of France, and especially in opposing the reimbursement to particular Frenchmen of sums which they had expended at the commencement of the war in the purchase of arms and military stores for account of America. That they were now intriguing to displace Franklin as they had before attempted to pull down Washington; that, in a word, they had conspired to change men and things, and to give another direction to the policy of the state. The writing which Deane published and distributed with profusion, in the month of December 1778, produced a vehement stir; the spirit of party eagerly seized this new subject of discord and hatred. The brothers Lee answered with moderation; but Thomas Paine and William Drayton stepped forward to avenge them roundly. They retorted upon Deane, that the Congress not only consented to hear him, but that they had already heard him, and had notified him that they were ready to give him audience anew; that if they had not passed his accounts, it was for want of verifications; Deane having himself, either through forgetfulness or design, left them behind in France; that if Arthur Lee kept up a correspondence with England, he was sufficiently authorised in it by his character of ambassador; that during his residence at Paris, he had addressed the Congress letters incomparably more able, luminous and fraught with intelligence than those of his calumniator, who had never written a word of any solidity; that the friendship of a power so generous as France, could be better preserved by an erect and noble deportment, than by a servile adulation towards its agents; that if the reimbursement of those Frenchmen who had furnished arms and munitions had not been yet effected, it was because that Deane himself, in concert with the other commissioners of Congress, had written that no payment was to be made for these supplies, which were to be considered as the voluntary gifts of zealous friends of America; that no thought had ever been entertained of recalling Franklin, because it was perfectly well known how much the advices furnished by that estimable man, as well as the contracts he had made

in France, differed from every thing in the correspondence and operations of Silas Deane; that neither was it forgotten what difference of manners and pretensions existed between those Frenchmen who had treated with Franklin for an engagement in the American service, and those whom Deane had sent out to America; that no one could better judge than himself whether the facts recapitulated were likely to redound to his honor; that, as for the rest, it little became Deane to call up the intrigues, real or supposed, of which Washington had been the object, since himself, when he resided at Paris as agent for the Congress, had suggested for serious deliberation, whether it would not be advantageous to confide the supreme command of the American troops to one of the most distinguished generals of Europe, as for example, to prince Ferdinand, or Marschal de Broglie; that it was right and proper to keep the faith pledged to France, but that it was right and proper also, agreeably to the usage of all states, to hear the propositions, and to receive the overtures, which promised to promote the welfare of the country, from whatever quarter they might come.

The tenor of the paragraphs published by Paine and Drayton, was far from being agreeable to Gerard, the minister of France; he noticed with pain the avowal of negotiations kept up with England, and the declaration of a refusal to liquidate the disbursements made by his countrymen. He addressed very energetic complaints to the Congress: in order to appease him, that assembly declared that they disapproved the contents of the published memorials, and that they were convinced that the supplies furnished by certain French individuals, could not be considered as a gift. The Congress had, in truth, been made debtor for them in the accounts presented, whether the intention of those who furnished them had never been to offer them as a mere donative, or that Deane had made them the object of a sordid speculation. Opinions were then much divided on that point. The Congress, moreover, renewed the declaration that the United States would never conclude either peace or truce with Great Britain, without the formal and previous consent of their august ally. Thomas Paine requested and obtained leave to resign the office he filled, of secretary of Congress for the foreign department. The government either was, or pretended to be dissatisfied with him, for the disclosure he had made, in this discussion, of facts which it would rather have kept still under the veil.

So many elements of discord would perhaps have sufficed to kindle civil war in America, if its inhabitants had been less familiarised with liberty. Their attention was, besides, taken up by two important objects; one was the imminent peril to which the two Carolinas were exposed a short time after, in consequence of the siege of Charleston by sir Henry Clinton; the other, the negotiations opened with Spain, and, soon afterwards, the active part she took in



the war. The court of Madrid, as we have already seen, glowed with desire to interfere in the grand quarrel which had just broken out. Besides the mutual hatred which animated the English and Spanish nations, Spain had also in view to humble the odious British arrogance, to recover Gibraltar and Jamaica, and to conquer the *two Floridas, which appeared to her essential to the entire command of the Gulf of Mexico.* She was now also stimulated by France, who, not content with representing to her the common interest she had in this war, pressed her and summoned her every day to fulfill the stipulations of the family compact. Meanwhile, particular considerations pointed her to a more circumspect procedure. American independence could scarcely seem to smile upon her entirely, when she reflected on the contagion of example, and her own colonies. Her backwardness to declare herself was also perhaps concerted with France, in order to obtain better conditions from the Americans. The court of Versailles had regretted to find itself constrained to take a decisive step, after the unexpected victory of general Gates, which had started the apprehension that England would consent, for the sake of reconciliation with her colonies, to acknowledge their independence. France would much rather have persisted in her original plan, and stood aloof still for a long time, waiting for the Americans to be reduced to the last extremity, in order to wring from them more advantageous conditions for herself, than those of the two treaties of commerce and alliance. But the success of the Americans having baffled her designs, she still had in reserve the chance of making them pay a round price for the accession of Spain. With this drift, she magnified excessively the advantages they might expect from it, in order to extort from their impatience, what precipitation had defeated her of at the time of her own declaration. The ultimate object of all these manœuvres, was to secure to the subjects of France, in the future treaty of peace, the fisheries of Newfoundland, to the exclusion of the citizens of the United States; and to Spain, the possession of the two Floridas, the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi, with the sovereignty of the regions situated on the left bank of that river, and behind the frontiers of the confederate provinces. Accordingly, to prove to the Americans how strong an interest he took in their cause, and to Europe, according to usage, his ardent desire to preserve peace, the king of Spain offered his mediation. He considered it, moreover, as a justificative measure of the war he was about to undertake, for he was by no means ignorant that England would not accept it. The court of London knew too well that Spain, united to France by the strictest ties, could not be an impartial mediatrix; it knew also, that mediators of this description always finish with becoming declared enemies. The court of Madrid intending also to establish, as the basis of the negotiation for peace, that Great Britain should treat her colonies as

independent, it was not presumable that she would accept a condition which was precisely the principal point in contest. Nevertheless, the marquis d'Almodovar, his catholic majesty's ambassador, presented to the court of London a plan of accommodation, which contained, besides the article above, those which follow. That, in order the more easily to extinguish the flames of war, the crowns of France and of Great Britain should lay down arms and consent to a general truce; that their respective plenipotentiaries should convene at a place agreed upon, for the purpose of adjusting their differences; that Great Britain should grant a like truce to the American colonies; that a line of boundary should be drawn, which neither of the belligerent parties might transcend during the armistice; that both his Britannic majesty and the colonies should send one or more commissioners to the city of Madrid, in order to consent to the preceding conditions, and all such others as might tend to conciliation. To this offer of mediation the British ministers made only evasive and dilatory answers. If they were not disposed to accept it, since it involved the acknowledgment of independence, they avoided also to reject it too ostensibly, as well not to excite the discontent of their nation, as to gain time to open negotiations with the courts of Europe. Their intention was to offer advantageous conditions to France, in order to detach her from America, and to America, in order to detach her from France. And, in case, as they presumed, these negotiations should fail of success, they purposed to use strenuous endeavors with the other powers, in order to excite some movement in Europe against France. They hoped thus to find her so much employment on shore that she would be obliged to neglect her marine, and that it would of course become an easy task to vanquish it. They conceived also, that when America should see her ally engaged in a new struggle, she would show herself more disposed to enter into an arrangement with England. Such was then the policy of the powers at war, and of those that were inclined to take part therein.

Meanwhile, France and Spain, with a view of obtaining from America the conditions which, since her separation with England, were the main scope of their counsels, notified to the Congress, through M. Gerard, the French minister at Philadelphia, the offer of mediation made to the court of London by that of Madrid. He was directed to observe, that the object of all mediation being peace, it was natural to presume that conferences were about to be opened for its negotiation and conclusion. He invited the Congress to appoint plenipotentiaries to take part in these negotiations, whether with England or with Spain; he also urged the expediency of their making known the basis on which they were disposed to treat. He added, that he felt it his duty to intimate that circumstances did not permit the United States to carry their pretensions higher than their



fortune ; that, consequently, it was desirable that they should be moderate in their demands in order not to furnish England with a pretext for standing out, and that Spain might be enabled to prosecute her mediation to a successful conclusion. 'As to the acknowledgment of American independence,' continued the French minister, 'it is to be expected that Great Britain, out of that pride which sovereigns have, and which it becomes them to have, will manifest an extreme repugnance to making it in form. This case has been provided for in the treaty of alliance, where it is stipulated that its object is to obtain for the United States independence, whether express or implied. France knows by her own experience, what it costs monarchs to proclaim in formal terms the independence of those they have once governed as subjects. Spain, in preceding ages, did but tacitly acknowledge the independence of Holland, after a war of thirty years, and not formally till after a resistance of seventy. Up to this very time, the republic of Geneva and the thirteen Swiss Cantons, have not as yet been able to obtain from the states of which they made part, an express acknowledgment of their independence and sovereignty. As for the rest, since you enjoy the object of your wishes, you ought to attach very little importance to mere words.' It is to be remarked, that the French minister affected to be much in earnest in his efforts to bring over the Americans to this way of thinking, because he was convinced that they would not adopt it ; and that therefore to induce France and Spain to exact on their behalf an express acknowledgment of independence, they would acquiesce in whatever demands those powers might choose to make.

In order to confirm them the more in the refusal of what he demanded, he took care to remind them that the United States appeared to him, from their situation and the vigor of their resistance, to have higher claims than ever Holland, Geneva, and Switzerland could have made any pretensions to. Fearing, however, the insufficiency of these means to decide the Americans to yield the desired concessions, he proceeded to suggest, that not only was it necessary to enable the mediator by the moderation of their demands to inspire England with pacific dispositions, but that it was moreover expedient to offer the mediator such advantages as might determine him to make common cause with France and America, in case Great Britain should refuse peace. He extolled the power of the triple alliance that was meditated, and represented it as the guaranty of certain triumph. He set forth that though the arms of France and America were indeed capable of resisting those of the enemy, the junction of the forces of Spain could alone render them preponderant, and prevent the catastrophe which might result from a single sinister event ; that hitherto the balance had been equal between the two parties, but that a new weight was necessary to make it turn in

favor of the Americans. The French minister closed this declaration with a disclosure of the pretensions of his court with respect to the fishery of Newfoundland, and those of Spain relative to the two Floridas, the Mississippi and the western territory which now forms the state of Kentucky. The Congress deliberated upon these communications. They considered, on the one hand, that the intervention of Spain was very desirable for America; but on the other, that she held it at too high a rate. They consequently felt the utmost repugnance to subscribe to all the concessions which the courts of Versailles and Madrid appeared disposed to wrest from them. Very warm debates ensued upon these different points. All the members consented to guaranty to Spain the possession of the two Floridas, but all also refused to grant her the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi; the relinquishment of the western territory was objected to by many, and that of the Newfoundland fishery almost universally, especially on the part of the New England deputies. Beside this extreme diversity of opinions, a powerful motive prevented the Americans from taking any definitive resolution; they had penetrated, that such was the eagerness of the Spaniards to come to blows with the English, that in any event, it could not be long before a rupture must take place between the two nations. In effect, the Congress consumed so much time in answering, in appointing plenipotentiaries and in preparing their instructions, that hostilities were already commenced between these powers, not only in Europe, but also in America.

By the beginning of August, don Bernard Galvez, governor of Louisiana, for the king of Spain, had undertaken with success an expedition against the British possessions upon the Mississippi. This news, and still much more, the certain intelligence that the same don Galvez had solemnly proclaimed the independence of the United States at New Orleans, caused the Americans to drop at once all further thought of concession. Notwithstanding the hostilities now commenced between Spain and England, the French minister persisted in maintaining that England manifested pacific dispositions, and that the cabinets of Versailles and Madrid were more than ever animated by the same sentiments. But enlightened by what passed before their eyes, the Americans instructed their plenipotentiary at the court of France, as also the one destined to treat with that of London, to keep steadily in view that the first object of the defensive war waged by the allies, was to establish the independence of the United States; that consequently the preliminary basis of all negotiation with Great Britain must be the acknowledgment of the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the said states, which acknowledgment must be secured and guaranteed according to the form and stipulations of the treaty of alliance with his most christian majesty. As to the right of fishery upon the banks of Newfoundland, the



Americans insisted that it should be preserved to them, with the clause that if they were disquieted by England in its exercise, France should consider it as case of alliance. They further enjoined their plenipotentiaries to use all possible exertions to obtain from England the cession of Canada and Nova Scotia, in favor of the United States, observing, however, that the rejection of this proposition should not be an obstacle to the reestablishment of peace. The idea of this last demand had been suggested by the deputies of Massachusetts and other provinces of New England. The plenipotentiaries were authorised to agree to a suspension of arms during the continuance of the negotiations, with the reservation, however, that the ally of the United States should likewise consent to it, and that the troops of the enemy should entirely evacuate their territory. Such was the substance of the instructions given to the American plenipotentiaries; as to the rest, they were to be guided by their own wisdom, the laws of the confederation, and the counsels of the court of France.

The war being already actually commenced between Spain and England, the chevalier de la Luzerne, who succeeded M. Gerard at Philadelphia, could no longer urge with the Congress, the advantages and necessity of the cooperation of the Spanish force, as a motive for their yielding the above mentioned concessions. But he did not omit to place in the strongest light all the benefits which would result to the United States from connecting themselves with the court of Madrid by treaties of commerce and alliance, which should regulate their common and respective interests, whether present or future.

‘It is evident,’ he said, ‘that Spain will display more vigorous efforts against England, when she knows the advantage that is to accrue to herself from a war undertaken chiefly for the utility and interests of the United States. On the other hand, it is no less manifest, how extremely it interests the honor and consolidation of the republic to have its independence formally acknowledged by so great and powerful a monarch as his catholic majesty, and to be united to him by treaties of amity and alliance. An alliance,’ he added, ‘than which nothing could more gratify his most christian majesty, who, united to the king of Spain by the most sacred ties, and to America by the bonds of the tenderest friendship, could not but desire with ardor to see the most complete and durable harmony established between them.’ The French minister expatiated largely upon this subject, adding still other arguments drawn from public law.

All his efforts were vain. The Congress saw too clearly that if Spain took part in the war, it was neither out of regard for the interests, nor for the independence of America, which in the present state of things was no longer a matter of doubt, but for her own sake, and particularly to reduce the maritime power of England. Accordingly, they showed themselves little disposed to make new sacrifices. Wishing, however, to testify their desire to form alliance with the

king of Spain, they appointed John Jay their minister plenipotentiary to the court of Madrid. His instructions were to endeavor to dispose that court to be satisfied with a mere treaty of amity and commerce with the United States. He was, moreover, directed to declare, that if his catholic majesty entered into the league against Great Britain, the United States would consent that he should secure for himself the possession of the Floridas; and even, if England gave her consent to it in the treaty of peace, the United States would guaranty him this new acquisition with the condition that they should continue to enjoy the navigation of the Mississippi to the sea. As to the territory situated on the eastern bank of the river, they declared that it could not be renounced. The minister of Congress was likewise to solicit the king of France, as the chief of the alliance, to employ his mediation in order to accelerate the conclusion of the treaties with Spain. He was charged with some other demands at the court of Madrid. But piqued at the refusal of Congress to consent to the stipulations which she had most at heart, Spain not only demonstrated on her part a disposition equally unyielding, but after having declared war against Great Britain, she would neither acknowledge the independence of the United States, nor receive nor send ambassadors. At the same time in which Jay was appointed plenipotentiary to the court of Madrid, John Adams was elected minister plenipotentiary to negotiate a treaty of peace and commerce with England.

Such was, then, the situation of affairs in America. In Europe they took the direction which had been foreseen by all prudent men, and which was desired even by those who pretended a wish to attain an opposite object. Spain had completed her maritime armaments; she was arrived at the point where she had purposed to throw off the mask. She wanted to take an open part in the war; and, joining her forces with those of France, to aim such rapid blows at the excessive naval power of England, as should transfer to the Bourbons the sceptre of the sea. She would fain have a plausible pretext to justify her conduct. She accordingly resolved to renew her offers of mediation at the court of London, and to urge the British government in such a manner, that it should at length be constrained to declare itself the first. The marquis d'Almodovar, the Spanish minister at London, made, in the month of June, the most pressing instances to the British ministry, in order to extort a definitive answer. The moment seemed the better chosen, as it was already known that the count d'Orvilliers had sailed from Brest with the whole French armament, and was standing to the south in order to join, near the isle of Cizarga, with the Spanish fleet, which lay, in excellent condition, expecting him in those waters. The two allied courts felt yet more confirmed in their resolution, when they saw the English marine in no situation to balance their united forces. Whether from absolute necessity, or from negligence on the part of ministers, it is certain that the arma-



ments of England at this period were very far inferior to her dangers. She answered, nevertheless, that she could not admit the condition of independence, even with the modifications proposed by Spain. The Spanish minister then departed from London, after having delivered a declaration to lord Weymouth, secretary of state. This rescript recapitulated, beside the rejection of the mediation, several other motives of war, such as insults offered at sea to the Spanish flag, hostile incursions upon the lands of the king, instigations to the savages to infest the Spanish subjects of Louisiana, the violation of the rights of his catholic majesty in the bay of Honduras, and other like grievances. The court of London answered by a counter declaration, in which it endeavored, as usual, to destroy all the assertions of that of Madrid. The king of England recalled lord Grantham, his ambassador in Spain. He afterwards issued a proclamation of reprisals on that power, and another regulating the distribution of prizes. At the same time, France, as the preponderant and leading part of the alliance, published a manifesto in which she laid before the eyes of Europe, the motives which had constrained the two allied courts to take up arms.

These motives, detailed at great length, may be reduced to the following points; the necessity of avenging injuries received, and the desire, certainly sincere, to put down the tyrannical empire which England had usurped, and pretended to maintain upon the ocean. The king of Spain likewise published different official papers. Two royal cédulas demonstrated to the nation the necessity and justice of the war. They were followed by a very prolix manifesto, which advanced an hundred causes of rupture with Great Britain; the greater part had been already announced in the declaration of the marquis d'Almodovar. It was added in this, and represented as a direct outrage, that at the very time when the British ministers rejected the propositions openly made by Spain, as mediatress, they had employed secret agents to make the most alluring offers to the court of France if she would abandon the colonies and conclude a separate peace with England. 'At the same epoch,' said the manifesto, 'the British cabinet had clandestinely despatched another agent to doctor Franklin at Paris. Divers propositions were made to that minister, in order to detach the Americans from France and bring them to an arrangement with Great Britain. The British government offers them conditions not only similar to those it has disdained and rejected when they proceeded from the part of his catholic majesty, but much more favorable still.' The first wrongs specified, that is, the insults on the Spanish flag, the hostile incursions upon the king's territory, and the unjust decrees of courts of admiralty, might have obtained a sufficient reparation, if the two parties had been at that time less animated with enmity towards each other. As to the reproach of duplicity imputed to the British ministers with respect to their con-

duct during the discussions of the mediation, if the historian cannot positively applaud them, he will find at least that it is difficult to blame them for it, and still more so to discover in it a sufficient ground of war. In effect, these political wiles, far from being new or extraordinary, are but too frequent; all statesmen, and especially those who employ them, consider such means, if not honorable, at least allowable for attaining their ends. But, as we have already observed, the primary and capital motive, to which all the others did little more than serve as a veil, was the wish to destroy the maritime superiority of England. The king of Spain even made the avowal of it, herein also imitating the candor of the king of France. He formally declared in his manifesto, that in order to obtain a durable peace, it was necessary to set bounds to the immoderate power of England by sea, and to demonstrate the falsity of those principles upon which she founded her usurpation. He concluded with observing, that the other maritime powers, and all the nations of the universe, were interested in the triumph of so equitable a cause. This argument was no doubt as just as it was noble; but it would have been more honorable still, if the tyrannical domination of England, about which so much noise was then made, had not been, not only peaceably tolerated for a long series of years, but even formally acknowledged. The king of Great Britain replied with another manifesto, wherein no little address was displayed in refuting the assertions of the two kings, his enemies. It closed with the most energetic, but the most ordinary protestations of his regard for humanity. Since these pompous declamations have been brought into use between the governments of civilised nations, is it found that wars are become less frequent, or less destructive?

While the two belligerent parties were endeavoring to justify their conduct in the sight of the universe, while each of the kings was protesting that he had not been the first disturber of peace, the fleets of France and Spain presented themselves with formidable parade upon the coasts of Great Britain. They consisted of sixty-six ships of the line, comprehending a Spaniard of one hundred and fourteen guns, the *San Trinidad*, two Frenchmen of one hundred and ten, and one hundred and four, the *Bretagne* and the *Ville de Paris*, eight others of eighty, and fifteen of seventy-four; the rest of less force. This immense armada was followed by a cloud of frigates, corvettes, cutters, and fire ships. It was commanded in chief by the count d'Orvilliers who mounted the *Bretagne*; the vanguard was under the conduct of the count de Guichen, and the rear under the conduct of don Gaston. The vanguard was itself preceded by a light squadron commanded by M. de la Touche Treville, and composed of five swift sailing ships, and all the frigates which were not attached to the first divisions. The object of this squadron was to discover and announce whatever should appear at sea.



Finally, the armament was followed by another squadron of observation, composed of sixteen ships of the line, at the orders of don Lewis de Cordova. The design of the allies was, according to appearances, to make a descent upon that part of the coasts of Great Britain which they should find the most conveniently accessible. Every thing seemed to conspire in their favor; even the importance of the enterprise, the immensity of their forces, the defenceless condition of Ireland, the inferiority of the British marine, the weakness of the regular troops that remained for the defence of England, since the greater part had been sent to America and the West Indies. Beside this fleet, one of the most tremendous which the ocean had ever borne, three hundred transports were prepared at Havre de Grace, St. Malo, and other ports on that coast. All was in movement in the northern provinces of France. Upwards of forty thousand men lined the coasts of Normandy and Brittany; many other regiments were on the march to join them from other parts of the kingdom. The king appointed the generals who were to conduct the expedition. The troops who were already assembled upon the coasts that looked towards England, daily exercised themselves in the various manœuvres of embarkation and debarkation. Each soldier manifested the most eager desire to set foot on the opposite shore, in order to combat and prostrate an ancient rival. An artillery as numerous as well served, was attached to this army; five thousand grenadiers, the flower of the French troops, had been drawn from all the regiments, to form the vanguard, and strike the first blows.

England was seasonably apprised of the preparations of France, and the invasion with which she was menaced. The ministers had promptly directed all the measures of defence, which the shortness of time, and the present state of the kingdom admitted; they had assembled thirty-eight ships of the line, under the command of admiral sir Charles Hardy, and had sent him to cruise in the Bay of Biscay, in order, if still possible, to prevent the junction of the two hostile fleets. It is difficult to comprehend, that armaments which occupied so vast an extent of sea, and whose light squadrons were reciprocally on the look out, should not have encountered, or come to any knowledge the one of the other. The king of England issued a proclamation, informing his subjects that the enemy threatened to invade the kingdom. The officers in command upon the coasts were ordered to stand on the alert, and at the first appearance of danger to remove the cattle and provisions to a proper distance. The militia exercised continually in arms, and held themselves in readiness to march to the places of debarkation. The royal guards themselves expected every moment the order to march. All minds were strongly excited at the danger of the country; but amidst the senti-

ments of fear and hope which agitated them, the resolution to resist valiantly was general.

Meanwhile, the combined fleet which had been detained a long time by calms at the entrance of the channel, all at once made its appearance there, the fifteenth of August; it presented itself before Plymouth with dread display. The alarm was immediately spread among the inhabitants of the coasts; the militia flew to their post; the guards were doubled at the arsenals of Plymouth and Portsmouth. The bank in the latter town was closed; all commerce was suspended. From all parts of the coast of Cornwall, whole families were seen flying towards the inland countries with their most valuable effects. A new incident added to the universal panic. The Ardent ship of the line, of sixty-four guns, which had sailed from Portsmouth in order to join the fleet of admiral Hardy, fell into the hands of the French in view of Plymouth. During this time the British admiral was standing off and on near the mouth of the channel; his inferiority, and the position of the enemy, not permitting him to bring succour to his country, amidst the perils that menaced it. But, what men could not do, was operated by chance. At the moment when the success of this great enterprise was going to be decided, all at once there sprung up a violent gale from the northeast, which forced the combined fleet to quit the channel for the open ocean. The gale having abated, it displayed itself anew from the Lands End and the Scilly islands to the chops of the channel, with intent to intercept admiral Hardy, and to prevent his retreat into the ports of England. Nevertheless, he profited with so much ability of a favorable wind, that on the thirty-first of August he made good his entrance into the channel in full view of the allies, who could not hinder him. His design was, to entice them up to the narrowest part of the strait, where the superiority of numbers would avail them little, and the advantage of position would thus compensate the inequality of forces. The allies followed him as far as Plymouth. Each of the hostile fleets preserved the best order; the British to avoid being approached till after having arrived at the desirable point, and to be always prepared to fall upon such of the enemy's vessels as should chase them too near; the French and Spaniards, to keep together, and to gain Plymouth before the enemy. But admiral Hardy having eluded all the projects of his adversary, the count d'Orvilliers decided to retire from the coasts of England, and return to Brest. His retreat was attributed at the time to several causes, such as the continued prevalence of east winds, the want of provisions, the proximity of the equinox, and the great sickness and mortality among his crews, by which some of the ships were totally disabled.

Such was the issue of an expedition which seemed to portend the downfall of a most powerful empire. If there never had been so great a naval force assembled on the seas, so never were effects less



answerable to appearances. Enfeebled by the loss of more than five thousand sailors, victims of the epidemic, the combined fleet could attempt no enterprise during the rest of the campaign. It followed that the weaker gathered those fruits which the stronger might reasonably have expected. Not only the numerous fleets of British merchantmen, loaded with the riches of the two Indies, arrived happily in the ports of Great Britain, but the squadron of Hardy put to sea again, and captured a multitude of French and Spanish vessels. Europe was astonished; she had not expected that so many preparations and such mighty efforts were to end in this wise. The glory of the British marine thus acquired a new lustre. The allies had, assuredly, shown no want either of ability or of valor; but the greater part of men judge of merit by success, and the arms of the enemies of England lost much of their splendor. But whatever might be the causes which prevented the great naval armaments of the belligerent powers from coming to a decisive action, a few days after their retreat several partial combats were engaged, in which the French, the English, and the Americans seemed to vie for the palm of deep and desperate valor. The count d'Orvilliers had sent out from Brest, to observe the movements of the British fleet, the frigate *Surveillante*, commanded by the chevalier du Couedic, and the cutter *Expedition*, at the orders of the viscount de Roquefeuil. These two vessels fell in, near the isle of Ouessant, with the British frigate *Quebec*, captain Farmer, accompanied also by a sloop called the *Rambler*. The two parties immediately engaged with fury. The forces, skill and bravery being equal on both sides, the action lasted three hours and a half. The frigates fought so close that several times their yards got entangled. Their artillery had already made a frightful ravage; the decks were covered with dead and wounded, their masts shivered and shot away; they could no longer be steered. Nor one nor other, however, seemed disposed to retire or surrender. The French captain received a wound in the head and fainted; but on recovering sense, he immediately resumed the command. Two fresh wounds in the belly could not constrain him to give over, on the contrary he gave orders for boarding. Captain Farmer displayed, on his part, an invincible courage. To smooth the way for boarding, the French threw a great quantity of grenades aboard the *Quebec*. Her sails took fire; the flames spread, and soon caught other parts of the ship. The English exerted themselves to extinguish them, and obstinately refused to strike. The chevalier du Couedic, to avoid the combustion, was forced to think of retiring, which he with difficulty accomplished. His bowsprit got embarrassed with the rigging of the enemy. At length the fire took the magazine of the British frigate, and she blew up with her colors waving to the last.

The French captain, with an example of humanity that cannot be honored enough, devoted all his cares to saving the greatest possible number of his enemies, who, to escape the flames, threw themselves headlong into the sea. Only forty-three of them could be rescued from the waves, the sole survivors of three hundred men who composed the company of the Quebec. Captain Farmer was swallowed up with the wreck of his ship. The French frigate was unable to move; the cutter Expedition, disengaged herself from the Rambler, which she had combated with advantage, in order to succour the Surveillante. She took her in tow, and brought her the following day into the port of Brest. The French government faithful to its own examples and those of civilised nations, sent free to England the forty-three Englishmen, not willing to retain those prisoners who, in the same day, had escaped the fury of men, cannon, fire and water. The French had forty killed and a hundred wounded. The king promoted the chevalier du Couedic to the rank of captain of ship. But he could not long enjoy the glorious reputation which his valor and humanity had acquired him; his wounds proved mortal three days after the engagement. He was deeply regretted in France; his name was pronounced with distinction throughout Europe, but no where with warmer eulogium than in England.

A few days before, the coasts of Great Britain had witnessed a combat no less sanguinary, and no less honorable for the two parties. Paul Jones, a Scotchman by birth, but engaged in the service of the United States, had established his cruise at first in the seas of Ireland, and afterwards in those of Scotland, where he was waiting for an opportunity to make some prize, or, according to his practice, to land upon some point of the coast in order to sack the country. His flotilla was composed of the *Bonhomme Richard* of forty guns, the *Alliance* of thirty-six, both American ships; the *Pallas*, a French frigate of thirty-two, in the pay of Congress, with two other smaller vessels. He fell in with a British merchant fleet, on its return from the Baltic, convoyed by captain Pearson, with the frigate *Serapis*, of forty-four guns, and the *Countess of Scarborough*, of twenty.

Pearson had no sooner perceived Jones, than he bore down to engage him, while the merchantmen endeavored to gain the coast. The American flotilla formed to receive him. The two enemies joined battle at about seven in the evening, with great resolution, and the conflict was supported on both sides with equal valor. The *Serapis* had the advantage of metal and manœuvre; to obviate which, Jones took the resolution to fight her closer. He advanced till the two frigates were engaged yard to yard, and their sides so near that the muzzles of their guns came in contact. In this position they continued to fight from eight in the evening till ten, with an audacity bordering on frenzy. But the artillery of the Americans



was no longer capable of producing much effect. The *Richard* having received several heavy shot between wind and water, could now make no use whatever of her lower batteries, and two or three of her upper guns had burst, to the destruction of those who served them. Jones, at length, had only three left that could be worked, and he employed them against the masts of the hostile frigate. Seeing the little impression made by chain shot, he resorted to another mode of attack. He threw a vast quantity of grenades and fire works on board the British frigate. But his own now admitted the water on all sides, and threatened every moment to go to the bottom. Some of his officers having perceived it, asked him if he would surrender? 'No,' he answered them in a tremendous tone, and continued to push the grenades. The *Serapis* was already on fire in several places; the English could with difficulty, extinguish the flames. Finally, they caught a cartridge, which, in an instant, fired all the others with a horrible explosion. All who stood near the helm were killed, and all the cannon of that part were dismantled. Meanwhile, Pearson was not disheartened; he ordered his people to board. Paul Jones prepared himself to repulse them. The English in jumping on board him found the Americans ready to receive them on the point of their pikes; they made the best of their way back to their own vessel. But during this interval, the fire had communicated itself from the *Serapis* to the *Bonhomme Richard*, and both were a prey to the flames. No peril could shake these desperate men. The night was dark, the combatants could no longer see each other but by the blaze of the conflagration, and through dense volumes of smoke, while the sea was illuminated afar. At this moment, the American frigate *Alliance* came up. Amidst the confusion she discharged her broadside into the *Richard*, and killed a part of her remaining defenders. As soon as she discovered her mistake, she fell with augmented fury upon the *Serapis*. Then the valiant Englishman, seeing a great part of his crew either killed or disabled, his artillery dismantled, his vessel dismasted, and quite enveloped in flames, surrendered. All joined to extinguish the fire, and at length it was accomplished. The efforts made to stop the numerous leaks of the *Richard* proved less fortunate; she sunk the next morning. Out of three hundred and seventy-five men that were aboard that vessel, three hundred were killed or wounded. The English had but forty-nine killed, and their wounded amounted to no more than sixty-eight. History, perhaps, offers no example of an action more fierce, obstinate and sanguinary. During this time the *Pallas* had attacked the *Countess of Scarborough* and had captured her, not however without a stubborn resistance. After a victory so hard earned, so deplorable, Jones wandered, with his shattered vessels for some days, at the mercy of the winds in the north sea. He finally made his way good, on the sixth of October, into the waters of the *Texel*.

The events which we have just related are all that claim notice in the latter months of 1779, after the accession of Spain to the alliance formed against England. But at the commencement of the following year, other powers manifested dispositions which menaced that state with new enemies, or at least with exceedingly dubious friends.

1780. Ever since the commencement of the war, the Dutch had carried on privately a very lucrative commerce; they conveyed into the ports of France, ship timber as well as all sorts of military, and especially naval, stores. The English were apprised of it, and the British government had often complained of it, in strong terms, to the States-General, not only as contrary to the rules which England was accustomed to observe in time of war, with respect to the commerce of neutrals, and which themselves either tacitly or expressly acknowledged, but also as a violation of the treaties of commerce and alliance existing between the two nations. The same government had also remonstrated against the protection granted in Holland to French and American privateers. The States-General answered only by disavowal, or evasive explanations. But about the beginning of January intelligence was received in England, that a numerous convoy of Dutch vessels, laden with naval stores for account of France, was already at sea, and that in order to escape the vigilance of the British cruisers, this fleet had placed itself under the protection of the count de Byland, who, with a squadron of ships of the line and frigates, convoyed another merchant fleet bound for the Mediterranean. The British admiralty despatched captain Fielding, with a sufficient number of ships, to examine the convoy, and to seize any vessels containing contraband articles. The British squadron having met that of Holland, captain Fielding requested permission to visit the merchant ships. It was refused him. This notwithstanding, he despatched his boats for that purpose, which were fired at, and prevented from executing their orders by the Dutch. Upon this, the Englishman fired a shot ahead of the Dutch admiral; it was answered by a broadside; and count Byland, having received Fielding's in return, and being in no condition of force to pursue the contest further, then struck his colors. Most of the Dutch vessels that were in the predicament which occasioned the contest, had already, by pushing close to the shore, escaped the danger, and proceeded without interruption to the French ports. The others were seized. The Englishman then informed the Dutch admiral that he was at liberty to hoist his colors and prosecute his voyage. He hoisted his colors indeed; but he refused to separate from any part of his convoy; and he accordingly, with the whole of the fleet, which was seized, accompanied the British squadron to Spithead. The ships and their cargoes were confiscated as contraband. This intelligence excited a violent clamor in Holland. The Dutch were at this time divided in



two parties, one of which held for France, and the other for England. All those who belonged to the first were exceedingly indignant; they exclaimed that no consideration should induce them to endure patiently so daring an outrage. Even the partisans of the English could not venture to justify their conduct. It was easy to foresee that this incident was about to produce a rupture. Far from fearing, the British government wished it; it preferred an open war to the clandestine assistance which Holland was lending to France. It had, besides, already fixed a hankering eye upon the Dutch riches, which, in the security of peace, were spread over the seas, or were amassed, without defence, in distant islands. Moreover, the States-General had made no preparation for war, and it was to be supposed that they could not very suddenly enter the field.

This event, the instigations of France, the disposition to profit of the critical situation of Great Britain, at that time assailed by so many powerful enemies, and especially the desire to liberate the commerce of neutrals from British vexations, gave origin to that league of the states of the north, known by the name of the *Armed Neutrality*. It had, if not for author, at least for chief, the empress of Russia, Catharine II. who was immediately joined by the kings of Sweden and Denmark. The bases of this confederacy were, that neutral vessels might freely navigate from one port to another, even upon the coasts of belligerent powers; that all effects appertaining to one of these powers, become free so soon as they are on board a neutral vessel, except such articles as by a prior treaty should have been declared contraband; that to determine what articles were to be considered contraband, the empress of Russia referred to the tenth and eleventh articles of her treaty with Great Britain, the obligations of which were to be extended to all the other belligerent powers; that to specify what ports were to be deemed blockaded, it was agreed that those only should be accounted as such before which there should be stationed a sufficient number of enemy ships to render their entrance perilous; finally, that the preceding principles should serve as rules in judicial proceedings, and in sentences to be pronounced respecting the legality of prizes. To command respect for this confederation, the three allied courts agreed, that each of them should keep a part of its naval force equipped, and stationed so as to form an uninterrupted chain of ships prepared to protect their common trade, and to afford each other mutual support and succour. They also agreed, that when any vessel whatever should have shown by its papers that it was not carrier of any contraband article, it might place itself under the escort of ships of war, which should prevent its being stopped, or diverted from its destination. This article, which ascribed to the state interested, or to its allies, the right of judging of the nature of cargoes with respect to contraband, appeared to exclude the right of visit, so strenuously claimed by England; against whom, notwith-

standing the general terms that were employed, it was manifest that all this display of maritime force was directed. The allies accompanied the foregoing stipulations with professions of the most generous sentiments; they declared that they were armed for the defence of the rights of nature and of nations; for the liberty of the human race, and for the prosperity of Europe in particular. In effect, the European nations, with the exception of the English, manifested an extreme satisfaction with this new plan of the northern powers; the wisdom and magnanimity of Catharine II. became the object of universal encomium; so universal was the hatred which the maritime vexations of England had excited against that power! The articles of the armed neutrality were communicated to all the European states, especially to France, Spain, Holland, England, and Portugal, with invitation to accede to them. The courts of Versailles and Madrid, eager to profit of the circumstance to sow the seeds of division between Great Britain and neutrals, hastened to address their felicitations to the empress of Russia, and to answer that they were ready not only to join the confederacy, but that they had long before given their admirals and sea officers such instructions that the principles of the armed neutrality were already in force as to them. They added, that equity had directed them to those very measures which were now proclaimed by the confederate powers of the north. The court of Lisbon, accustomed to an excessive condescension towards England, declined the alliance. The States-General of Holland deliberated upon the course they had to pursue. The British ministers, either hoping or fearing what was to happen, or in order to constrain them to declare themselves, had already required them to furnish to England the subsidies stipulated by the treaty of alliance. The Dutch alleged the inevitable tardiness of their deliberations; the truth was, they were determined to give nothing. The cabinet of St. James then took a resolution calculated to compel them to a decision, and to prevent their joining the northern confederacy. It gave them to understand, that, notwithstanding the number and power of its enemies, it was resolved to proceed to the last extremities with the Dutch nation, unless it adhered to the ancient system of neutrality. Accordingly the king of Great Britain issued a proclamation, purporting that the nonperformance of the States-General with respect to the succours stipulated by the treaty of alliance, was to be considered as a violation of that treaty; that they had thereby fallen from those privileges which they derived only from the alliance; and that the subjects of the United Provinces were, therefore, henceforward to be considered upon the same footing with those of other neutral states not allied. By this step the British king, even before his demand had been expressly rejected, freed himself from the obligations of the treaty of alliance. He hoped by this vigorous procedure, so to intimidate the Dutch, that they would decline entering into



the almost universal combination of Europe against the maritime pretensions of England. His expectations were much disappointed. The French party possessed a decided preponderance in the republic, particularly in the most influential provinces, such as Holland and West Friesland. The impression also produced by the insult offered Byland, was too recent; hence, after long and frequent debates, it was voted, with unanimity of provinces, that the subsidies to England should not be paid; moreover, that the escort of ships of war should be given to the merchantmen of the republic, with the exception only of those which according to the stipulations of former treaties might be deemed contraband. It was further decreed, that the invitation of the empress of Russia should be accepted with gratitude, and that a negotiation for that purpose should be opened with prince Gallitzin, her majesty's envoy extraordinary to the States-General.

Already surrounded with enemies, and seeing Russia waver, whose power and alliance demanded a serious attention, England, without consenting to admit the principles of the armed neutrality, answered by vague generalities, which manifested, at least, a desire to preserve peace. Meanwhile, amidst the open or covert perils against which she had to defend herself, she not only betrayed no symptoms of discouragement, but even discovered a determination to prosecute the war with vigor upon the American continent. The only change which took place in her plans, as we have already seen, was to leave merely sufficient garrisons in New York, and to direct all her efforts against the southern provinces. Accordingly, to enable general Clinton to attack the Carolinas, admiral Arbuthnot had set sail for America, in the month of May, with a fleet of ships of war and upwards of four hundred transports. But soon after his departure from the coasts of England, he received intelligence that the French, under the conduct of the Prince of Nassau, had attacked the isle of Jersey, situated near the coasts of Normandy. Thinking it better to conform to the empire of circumstances, than to his instructions, he sent back his convoy into Torbay, and repaired with his squadron to the relief of Jersey. The attempt of the French miscarried. The admiral resumed his original route. But such were the obstacles that ensued this retardment that he lost much time in getting out of the channel, and gaining sea room to shape his course for America; so that it was late in August before he arrived at New York. The English at first, however, made no movement, because they were inhibited by the count d'Estaing, at that time engaged in the siege of Savannah. Finally, on intelligence of the issue of that enterprise, and the departure of the French admiral from the coasts of America, Clinton had embarked with seven thousand men, under convoy of Arbuthnot, upon the expedition of South Carolina.

England intended not only to carry on the war with energy upon the American continent, and to defend her possessions in the West

Indies, but she even projected conquests in this quarter, if the occasion should present itself. The ministers accordingly resolved to send to those islands a considerable reenforcement both of ships and troops, under the conduct of admiral Rodney, a man in whom the government, and even the whole British nation, had reposed extreme confidence. It appeared the more essential to despatch these succours to the West Indies, as the French were preparing on their part to pass thither a formidable reenforcement under the count de Guichen. But before admiral Rodney had put to sea, it was deemed expedient to employ him in a more important expedition. Spain had commenced hostilities by laying close siege and blockade to the fortress of Gibraltar. The blockade was confined to admiral don Barcelo, a seaman of great vigilance. He exerted his utmost diligence to prevent any sort of supplies from finding their way into the place. The garrison already began to suffer severely from scarcity. They could not even hope to receive provision from the neighboring coasts, by means of light boats which might have eluded the watchfulness of the Spaniards; for the inhabitants of the Barbary shores, and especially the emperor of Morocco, had declared themselves for Spain, as soon as they ascertained the inferiority of the English in the Mediterranean. There remained, therefore, no other way of revictualling the place but from England itself; and the convoy destined for this purpose required a formidable escort. Rodney was charged with this enterprise. He departed from the British coasts in the first days of the year, with a fleet of twenty-one sail of the line, and a considerable number of provision vessels. Fortune favored his first efforts. He had only been a few days at sea, when he fell in with a convoy of fifteen Spanish merchantmen, bound from St. Sebastian to Cadiz, under the guard of the Guipuscoa, a new ship of sixty-four guns, of four frigates from thirty-two to twenty-six, and of two smaller vessels. Rodney gave chase, and took the whole fleet. The capture was the more fortunate, as the greater part of the vessels were loaded with wheat, flour and other sorts of provision; and the remainder with bale goods and naval stores. The former he conveyed to Gibraltar, and the latter he sent back to England, where the naval stores were much wanted. But this was only the prelude to greater and more brilliant success. On the sixteenth of January, admiral Rodney fell in, off Cape St. Vincent, with a Spanish squadron of eleven ships of the line, under the command of don Juan Langara. The Spanish admiral, if he had chosen, might have avoided the encounter of a force so prodigiously superior to his own. But the moment he descried the enemy's sails from his mast head, instead of sending out his frigates to reconnoitre, and falling back upon a port, he immediately formed his ships in order of battle. When, on the near approach of the English, he became certain of their superiority, he endeavored to withdraw, but



it was already too late. Admiral Rodney had given the signal for a general chase, with orders to engage as the ships came up in rotation; taking at the same time the lee gage, to prevent the enemy's retreat into their own ports. The English ships so much outsailed the Spanish, that by four in the evening the headmost had come up with them, and began to engage; their fire was returned with great spirit and resolution by the Spaniards. The night was dark, tempestuous and dismal; the proximity of the shoals of St. Lucar rendered the scene more terrible. Early in the action the Spanish ship *San Domingo*, of seventy guns and six hundred men, blew up, and all on board perished. The action and pursuit continued until two in the morning. The Spanish admiral's ship, the *Phoenix*, of eighty guns, with three others of seventy, were taken and carried safely into Gibraltar. The *San Eugenio* and *San Julian*, had also surrendered to the English, who had shifted their officers, and put a certain number of British seamen on board each of them. But the sea being rough, the night tempestuous, and the breakers very near, the English officers, having no pilots that knew the Spanish coast, placed themselves at the discretion of their prisoners, who, from vanquished becoming victors, carried the two ships into the port of Cadiz. Two other ships of the line and two frigates, all greatly damaged, escaped into the same port. The following day the English had great difficulty in extricating their fleet from the shoals, and getting back into deep water. Don Juan de Langara had been wounded severely.

Admiral Rodney hastened to profit of his victory; he entered Gibraltar. In a short time he deposited there all the supplies he had brought; provision became so abundant that the fortress found itself in a situation to endure a long siege without further recruit. After having accomplished with equal utility to his country and glory to himself the orders of his court, Rodney proceeded, about the middle of February, with a part of his force, for the West Indies. He left the rest of his fleet with the Spanish prizes, on their way to England, under the conduct of rear-admiral Digby. Fortune, who had shown herself so propitious to the English, seemed disposed to serve them still on their return. They perceived at a great distance a squadron, consisting of several French ships of different sizes. It was a convoy bound to the Isle of France, under the protection of the *Proteus* and *Ajax*, both of sixty-four guns, and of the frigate *la Charmante*. The viscount du Chilleau commanded the whole. As soon as he discovered the English, he made a signal to the *Ajax* and the bulk of the convoy to make their escape by the rear. As to himself, he rallied about the *Proteus*, the frigate and some smaller vessels, in order to take up the attention of the enemy. His stratagem succeeded. Rear-admiral Digby gave no heed to the *Ajax*, and the greater part of the convoy which retired under her escort; he was

fully occupied in pursuit of the *Proteus*, which sailed with such celerity that she had little to fear; but unluckily, she carried away some of her spars, which so retarded her progress that she fell into the hands of the English, together with three transports. Such was the success of Rodney's expedition to Gibraltar. It was celebrated in England by unusual rejoicings, as well on account of its real importance, as because it was the first good news which had arrived for so long a time. The parliament voted public thanks to George Rodney.

Thus England, while she defended herself, on the one hand, against her enemies in Europe, prepared herself, on the other, to attack at once the republicans upon the American continent, and the French and Spaniards in the West Indies. Her resolution in the midst of so many perils, and such powerful foes, became the object of universal admiration. Her constancy was compared to that of Lewis XIV. who nobly faced the coalition of all Europe against him. She was declared to imitate the still more recent example of Frederic the Great, who had withstood all the efforts of the most formidable confederacy. Even those who had the most openly blamed the conduct of the British government towards its colonies, were now the very men who most extolled her present magnanimity. But thinking men better appreciated the truth; if they commended the firmness of the British monarch, they neither compared him to Lewis XIV. nor yet to Frederic the Great. They reflected that England, being an island, cannot without extreme difficulty be attacked in its interior parts, and in the very elements of its force; and that naval battles are never so decisive as those of land. It cannot be denied, however, that the ardor and intrepidity of the British nation seemed to increase with all the dangers of its position. The most formidable antagonists of the ministry suspended their attacks, in order to devote themselves exclusively to the necessities of the state. 'Let us first triumph abroad;' they exclaimed, 'we will then settle this controversy between ourselves.' In the country, as in the most opulent cities, a multitude of private individuals engaged to advance large sums in order to levy and organise troops. Nor private subjects only, but political and commercial bodies vied in promptness to offer the state their voluntary contributions. The East India Company presented the government with three ships of seventy-four guns, and a sum sufficient to raise and maintain six thousand seamen. Extraordinary bounties were given to those who presented themselves to serve the king, by sea or land. This lure, together with the love of country and hatred for the French and Spaniards, drew sailors to the ships in multitude; upon the whole surface of the kingdom the militia were seen forming themselves to the exercise of arms. In a word, all Great Britain was in motion to combat the Bourbons.



The people of Europe who had thought at first that she would find it difficult to resist the formidable forces which that House had marshalled for her destruction, began to believe that so much courage and firmness might be crowned with victory, or at least render the struggle still for a long time dubious, and consistent with her safety.

END OF BOOK ELEVENTH.

## BOOK TWELFTH.

1780. I HAVE NOW to describe an obstinate war, remarkable for its numerous encounters and variety of success, and one which, perhaps, more than any other, has demonstrated how uncertain is the fate of arms, how inconstant the favor of fortune, and with what pertinacity the human mind can arm itself in pursuit of that whereon it has fixed its desires. Victory often produced the effects of defeat, and defeat those of victory; the victors frequently became the vanquished, the vanquished the victors. In little actions was exhibited great valor; and the prosperous or unfortunate efforts of a handful of combatants had sometimes more important consequences than in Europe attend those terrible battles, where valiant and powerful nations rush to the shock of arms. The Carolinas saw no cessation of this fierce conflict, till by numberless reverses the cause of Great Britain began to be considered altogether hopeless upon the American continent.

Sir Henry Clinton, as we have related in the preceding book, had departed from the state of New York for the expedition of the Carolinas; the first object of it was the conquest of Charleston, the reduction of which, it was calculated, would involve that of the entire province. He took with him seven to eight thousand men, English, Hessians and loyalists. Among them was found a corps of excellent cavalry, a species of force very essential to the success of operations in open and flat countries. Clinton had likewise taken care to fill his transports with an immense quantity of military stores and provision. The English moved towards their object, animated with extreme ardor and confidence of victory. The winds and sea were at first highly favorable; but there afterwards arose a most violent tempest, which dispersed the whole fleet, and greatly damaged the most of the vessels. Some arrived about the last of January at Tybee, in Georgia; others were intercepted by the Americans. One transport foundered with all its lading; the horses, both artillery and troop, that were on board, nearly all perished. These losses, distressing at any time, were grievous and next to irreparable, under the present circumstances. They moreover, so retarded the enterprise of Charleston, that the Americans had time to put that place in a state of defence.

All the dispersed corps at length reassembled in Georgia. The victorious troops of Savannah received those of Clinton with a high flush of spirits; all exerted themselves with emulation to remedy the disasters sustained in the passage. When all their preparations were completed, that is, on the tenth of February, they set sail in the transports under convoy of some ships of war. Favored by the



winds they soon reached the mouth of North Edisto, a river which empties itself into the sea at a short distance from the Isle of St. John, upon the coast of South Carolina. After having reconnoitred the places and passed the bar, the British army landed, and took possession first of the above mentioned island, and next, that of James, which stretches to the south of Charleston harbor. It afterwards, by throwing a bridge over Wappoo Cut, extended its posts on the main land to the banks of Ashley river, which washes the walls of Charleston. From Wappoo Cut it was intended to pass the troops in galleys and flat boats to the left bank of the Ashley, upon which Charleston stands. But the delays occasioned by the events of the passage having given the Americans time to erect new fortifications and to reenforce the garrison, Clinton determined not to undertake the siege till after having drawn a reenforcement from general Prevost, stationed at Savannah, whom he accordingly directed to send him twelve hundred men, including the greatest number of cavalry possible. He had likewise written to Kynphausen, who, after his departure commanded in the state of New York, to forward him with all expedition, reenforcements and munitions. A few days after, general Patterson joined him with the troops from Georgia, after having endured excessive fatigues, and surmounted the numerous obstacles thrown in his way not only by swollen rivers and miry roads, but also by the enemy, whose light detachments had hung on his left flank from Savannah to far within the frontiers of Carolina. Meanwhile, Clinton intrenched himself upon the banks of the Ashley and of the adjacent arms of the sea, in order to secure his communications with the fleet. During this interval colonel Tarleton, of whom there will be frequent mention in the course of this history, an officer of cavalry, as skilful as enterprising, had repaired to the fertile island of Port Royal, where employing money with the disaffected and force with the patriots, he spared no exertions for the acquisition of horses to replace those lost in the passage. If he could not collect as many as the exigencies of the service demanded, yet the success much surpassed his expectations. Thus, about the last of March, every thing was in preparation for commencing the siege of Charleston; the British army was separated from the place only by the waters of the river Ashley.

On the other hand, the Americans had omitted none of those preparations, whether civil or military, which they deemed the most suitable for a vigorous defence; although, in truth, it had not been in their power to effect all that was requisite to meet the danger of the emergency. The paper currency was so out of credit with the inhabitants of South Carolina, that it was excessively difficult to purchase with it the necessaries of war. The want of soldiers was felt with equal severity. The militia, impatient to enjoy repose after the painful operations of Georgia, during the preceding winter, had disbanded and retired to their habitations.

Another motive also discouraged them from marching to the succour of Charleston; and that was, the fear of the smallpox, which it was known prevailed in that city. Moreover, the six regiments of the line, belonging to the provinces were so enfeebled by desertions, diseases, battle, and the expiration of engagements, that all together did not amount to a thousand soldiers. It should be added, that many of the Carolinians were induced to profit of the amnesty offered by general Prevost, at Savannah, some through loyalty towards the king, others to preserve their effects from pillage. In effect, the English put to sack and devastation, without lenity, the property of all those who continued to serve under the banners of Congress; and, besides, the victory of Savannah had penetrated minds with a great terror of the British arms. The major part were reluctant to immure themselves within a city which they believed little capable of resisting the assaults of so audacious an enemy.

Such was the penury of means to which South Carolina was reduced; the Congress displayed not much more energy. They had been seasonably apprised of the designs of the English, and would fain have averted the storm they saw going to burst upon South Carolina. But, on the one hand, the weakness of the army of Washington, which a great number of his soldiers had abandoned at the termination of their engagement; on the other, the force of the garrisons which Clinton had left in the state of New York, rendered it unadvisable to detach any effective succour to Charleston. Nevertheless, to support by words those whom they were unable to assist by deeds, or under the persuasion that the people, reanimated at the peril which menaced South Carolina, would voluntarily fly to arms, the Congress wrote to the chiefs of that province, to arm themselves with constancy, for it was intended to send them a reenforcement of nine thousand men. But the fact proved that they could only send fifteen hundred, of the regular troops of North Carolina and Virginia. The Congress despatched, besides, two frigates, a corvette, and some smaller vessels, to maintain, if possible, a communication by sea with the besieged city. The Carolinians were also exhorted to arm their slaves; a scheme, however, which was not put in execution, whether because of the universal repugnance that was felt to such a measure, or because there was not at hand a sufficiency of arms for the purpose. Notwithstanding this coldness of the citizens, the magistrates of Charleston, encouraged by the presence and words of general Lincoln, who directed all that concerned the military part, held a general council, in which it was resolved to defend the city to the last extremity. Yet more, knowing how important in the operations of war, and especially in all cases of emergency, is the unity of measures and power, they conferred a sort of dictature on John Rutledge, their governor, giving him authority to do whatever he should think necessary to the safety of



the republic. They withheld, however, the power over the life of citizens; as he could punish none with death without a legal trial. Vested with such an authority, Rutledge called out the militia; but few displayed their colors. He then issued a proclamation, summoning all persons inscribed on the military rolls, or having property in the city, to muster and join the garrison; their disobedience forfeited their estates. At so rigorous an order, some made their appearance; but still the number of those who took arms was far from answering the wishes of the governor. The inhabitants of the country seemed plunged in a kind of stupor; they wished, before they took their side, to see what would be the fate of events; in brief, the garrison of so considerable a city scarcely amounted to five thousand men, inclusive of regulars, militia and seamen. The first, who were principally relied on for the defence of the place, were to the number of about two thousand. Meanwhile, the fortifications were pushed with indefatigable industry. They consisted, on the land side, in a chain of redoubts, lines and batteries, extending from one river to the other, and covered with an artillery of eighty cannon and mortars. In the front of either flank, the works were covered by swamps, originating from the opposite rivers, and tending towards the centre; through which they were connected by a canal passing from one to the other. Between these outward impediments and the works were two strong rows of abattis, the trees being buried slanting in the earth, so that their heads facing outwards, formed a kind of fraise work against the assailants; and these were further secured by a ditch double picketed. In the centre, where the natural defences were unequal to those on the flanks, the Americans had constructed a horn work of masonry, as well to remedy that defect, as to cover the principal gate. Such were the fortifications which, stretching across the neck behind the city, and from the Ashley river to Cooper's river, defended it on the part of the land. But on the two sides where it is washed by these rivers, the Americans had contented themselves with erecting numerous batteries, constructed, the better to resist shot, of earth mingled with palmetto wood. All parts of the shore, where it was possible to land, had been secured by strong palisades. To support the defences on shore, the Americans had a considerable marine force in the harbor, consisting in eight of their own frigates, with one French frigate, besides several smaller vessels, principally galleys. These were judiciously moored at a narrow pass, between Sullivan's island and the middle ground; and if they had continued in this position, they might have severely annoyed the British squadron, on its approach to Fort Moultrie, situated on Sullivan's island, so much celebrated for the obstinate and successful defence which it made against the attack of the English in 1776. But when admiral Arbuthnot advanced with his ships to Charleston bar, the American flotilla, abandoning its station, and

leaving Fort Moultrie to its own fortune, retired to Charleston ; where most of the ships, with a number of merchant vessels, being fitted with chevaux-de-frize on their decks, were sunk to obstruct the channel of Cooper's river, where it flows between the left part of the town and a low sand bank called Shute's Folly. Thus, with the exception of Fort Moultrie, there remained nothing to prevent the British fleet from entering the harbor, to cooperate with the land forces. In this manner the inhabitants prepared to defend themselves valiantly against the attack of the enemy ; but they still founded their hope on the succours of their neighbors of North Carolina and Virginia.

Lincoln and Rutledge exhibited a rivalry of zeal and talent in their efforts to impart fresh confidence to the besieged, and new strength to the works. They were admirably seconded by two French engineers, de Laumoy and de Cambray. The troops of the line were charged with the defence of the intrenchments, as the post of peril, and the militia had the guard of the banks of the river.

As soon as Clinton had completed all his preparations, the twenty-ninth of March, having left a detachment to guard his magazines at Wappoo Cut, he passed the Ashley river without opposition, twelve miles above Charleston. Immediately after his debarkation he sent a body of infantry and cavalry to occupy the great road and scour the country to within cannon-shot from the place. The army then followed and took post across the isthmus behind the city at the distance of a mile and a half. From this moment, the garrison lost all communication with the land, the enemy being masters of both sides of the Ashley, there remained no way open for succours of men and provision but across the Cooper on their left. The royalists had soon transported to their camp, through the assistance of captain Elphinstone with his boats and armed galleys, all the heavy artillery, stores, and baggage. On the night of the first of April, they broke ground within eight hundred yards of the American works ; and in a week their guns were mounted in battery.

In the meantime, admiral Arbuthnot had made his dispositions for passing the bar in order to gain the entrance of Charleston harbor. The frigates, as drawing less water, passed without any difficulty ; but the ships of the line could not be got over till after having been lightened of their artillery, munitions, and even their water ; the whole squadron passed on the twentieth of March, Arbuthnot came to anchor at Five Fathom Hole ; he had still however to surmount, before he could take an active part in the siege of Charleston, the obstacle of Fort Moultrie, occupied by colonel Pinckney with a respectable force. The English admiral profiting of a south wind and flood tide, weighed anchor on the ninth of April, and passing it under a press of sail, took his station within cannon-shot from the



city near James Island. Colonel Pinckney had opened all his artillery upon the British vessels, at the moment of their passage; but such was the rapidity of their way, that it did them little damage. The dead and wounded were less than thirty; a solitary transport was abandoned and burned.

In this state of things, the batteries ready to be opened, and the place already invested by sea and land; Clinton and Arbuthnot sent a joint summons to general Lincoln; holding out the fatal consequences of a cannonade and storm, and stating the present as the only favorable opportunity for preserving the lives and property of the inhabitants. The American answered spiritedly, that he was determined to defend himself. The English immediately commenced their fire; the place answered it briskly. But the besiegers had the advantage of a more numerous artillery, particularly in mortars, which made great ravages. The pioneers and miners, under the direction of the same Moncrieffe who had gained so much honor in the defence of Savannah, pushed forward the works with extreme rapidity. The second parallel was already completed and furnished with its batteries; every thing promised the English an approaching victory; but the Americans had assembled a corps on the upper part of Cooper river, at a place called Monk's Corner. They were under the conduct of general Huger; and, from that position they could invest the besiegers on their rear, revictual Charleston, and in case of extremity, enable the garrison to evacuate the place, and retreat with safety into the country.

Besides, however feeble was this corps, it might serve as an incentive and rallying point for continual accessions. North Carolina had already despatched to their camp a great quantity of arms, stores and baggage. Under these considerations, general Clinton detached fourteen hundred men, under lieutenant-colonel Webster, to strike at this body of republicans before it should become more considerable, to break in upon the remaining communications of the besieged, and to seize the principal passes of the country. Colonel Webster was accompanied by Tarleton and Ferguson, both partisans of distinguished gallantry. The Americans had established their principal cantonments on the left side of the Cooper, and being masters of Biggins Bridge, on that river, they had passed all their cavalry to the right bank. This position was strong, the bridge being accessible only by a causeway through an impracticable morass; but they were off their guard, having neglected to post videttes, and to reconnoitre the environs. Moreover, their dispositions were defective; they had placed the cavalry in front, and the infantry in rear. The English arrived unexpectedly, at three in the morning; their attack was impetuous, it routed the Americans in a few instants; all perished save those who sought safety by flight. General Huger, and the colonels Washington and Jamieson, threw themselves into

the morass, and were fortunate enough to escape by favor of the darkness. Four hundred horses, a prize of high value, fell into the hands of the victors, with many carriages loaded with arms, clothing and stores. The royalists took possession of the bridge, and, soon after, secured another passage lower down, and overran the country on the left side of the river, particularly the district of St. Thomas. In this manner the besieged were deprived also of the Cooper river, and Charleston found itself completely enclosed. The garrison was not judged sufficiently strong to warrant any opposition to this enterprise. The Americans attempted only to fortify a point on the left bank, called Point Lamprey; but Webster's corps being considerably reenforced, and lord Cornwallis having taken the command on that side of the river, they found themselves constrained to abandon this last post. The British foraged without obstacle, prevented the assembling of the militia, and cut off every species of succour. A few days after, Tarleton having advanced with incredible celerity upon the banks of the Santee river, attacked and routed another body of republican cavalry, commanded by colonel Buford; arms, horses, munitions, every thing fell into the power of the victor. Adverse fortune continued to pursue the republicans. Admiral Arbuthnot landed on Sullivan's Island a body of seamen and marines, men of approved hardihood. He began to enclose Fort Moultrie; having procured a full knowledge of the state of the garrison and defences of the place, he prepared to storm it on the part of the west and northwest, where the works were the weakest. The garrison, sensible of the impossibility of relief, the English being masters of the sea, and seeing the means of attack incomparably superior to those of resistance, surrendered, the seventh of May. Thus Fort Moultrie, which four years before had repulsed all the forces of admiral Hyde Parker, fell without firing a shot into the power of the royalists.

In the meantime, the besiegers had completed their third parallel, which they carried close to the canal we have already described; and by a sap pushed to the dam which supplied it with water on the right, they had drained it in several parts to the bottom. They hastened to arm this parallel with its batteries, and to complete the traverses and other mines of communication. The place being thus environed, and the bombardment about to commence, Clinton summoned Lincoln anew. A negotiation was opened, but the American commander required not only that the citizens and militia should be free with respect to their persons, but that they should also be permitted to sell their property, and retire with the proceeds wherever they might see fit; the English general refused to grant these conditions. He insisted that the whole garrison should surrender at discretion; and, as to property, he would agree to nothing further than that it should not be given up to pillage. The conferences were



broken off, and hostilities recommenced. The fortifications were battered with violence by the heavy artillery; bombs and carcasses overwhelmed the town, and lighted frequent conflagrations; the Hessian marksmen felled all that showed themselves at the embrasures, or on the ramparts. Neither shelter nor retreat remained to the besieged; every thing indicated that the moment of surrender must soon arrive. The fire of the place was already become languid; its artillery was in part dismounted, and its best cannoniers either killed or out of service; and the English had pushed on their works till they issued in the ditch of the place. The city was menaced with an assault; discord began to break out within; the timid and those attached to the royal party murmured aloud; they conjured Lincoln not to expose to inevitable destruction, so rich, so important a city. They represented that the stock of provision was nearly exhausted; that the engineers considered it impossible to sustain a storm; in a word, that there was not the least way of safety left open.

In so terrible an extremity, Lincoln divested himself of his natural inflexibility; and, on the twelfth of May, the capitulation was signed. The garrison were allowed some of the honors of war; but they were not to uncase their colors, nor their drums to beat a British march. The continental troops and seamen were to keep their baggage, and to remain prisoners of war until they were exchanged. The militia were to be permitted to return to their respective homes, as prisoners on parole; and while they adhered to their parole, were not to be molested by the British troops in person or property. The citizens of all sorts to be considered as prisoners on parole, and to hold their property on the same terms with the militia. The officers of the army and navy, to retain their servants, swords, pistols, and their baggage unsearched. As to general Lincoln, he was to have liberty to send a ship to Philadelphia with his despatches.

Thus, after a siege of forty days, the capital of South Carolina fell into the hands of the royalists. Seven general officers, ten continental regiments, much thinned, it is true, and three battalions of artillery, prisoners of the English, gave signal importance to their victory; the whole number of men in arms who were taken, was estimated at six thousand. Four hundred pieces of artillery, of every sort, were the prey of the victors, with no small quantity of powder, balls and bombs; three stout American frigates, one French, and a polacre of the same nation, augmented the value of the conquest. The loss of men was not great on either side, and was not very unequally shared.

The Carolinians complained greatly of their not being properly assisted by their neighbors, particularly the Virginians, in this long and arduous struggle. The conduct of general Lincoln was unanimously blamed, though very differently judged. Some reproached

him for having allowed himself to be cooped up in so extensive and indefensible a town, instead of continuing the war in the open field. They said that if he had taken this course, he might have preserved to the union a considerable army, and the most fertile part of the province; that it would have been much better to harass and fatigue the enemy by marches, retreats, ambuscades, and well concerted attacks; that Washington had acted very differently, and with greater utility to his country, when to the loss of his army, he preferred that of the island of New York, and even of the city of Philadelphia itself. It was not Lincoln alone, however, who should have been made responsible for events, but the Congress and the neighboring provincial states; since they promised at the approach of danger, reinforcements which they did not furnish.

Other censors of the general's conduct condemned him for not having evacuated the town, when all the roads were still open on the left side of the Cooper river. But if he followed an opposite counsel, it should be attributed, at first, to this same hope of promised succour; and then, after the rout of Monk's Corner, and the English had occupied the country between the Cooper and the Santee, to the fear he justly entertained of encountering an infinite superiority of force, particularly in cavalry, and to the repugnance he felt to leave Charleston at discretion in the hands of the enemy.

As soon as general Clinton had taken possession of that capital, he hastened to take all those measures, civil as well as military, which were judged proper for the reestablishment of order; he then made his dispositions for recovering the rest of the province, where every thing promised to anticipate the will of the victor. Determined to follow up his success, before his own people should have time to cool, or the enemy to take breath, he planned three expeditions; one towards the river Savannah, in Georgia, another upon Ninety-Six, beyond the Saluda, both with a view to raise the loyalists, very numerous in those parts; the third was destined to scour the country between the Cooper and Santee, in order to disperse a body of republicans, who, under the conduct of colonel Buford were retiring by forced marches towards North Carolina. All three were completely successful; the inhabitants flocked from all parts to meet the royal troops, declaring their desire to resume their ancient allegiance, and offering to defend the royal cause with arms in hand. Many even of the inhabitants of Charleston, excited by the proclamations of the British general, manifested a like zeal to combat under his banners. Lord Cornwallis, after having swept the two banks of the Cooper and passed the Santee, made himself master of Georgetown. Such was the devotion, either real or feigned, of the inhabitants towards the king; such was their terror, or their desire to ingratiate themselves with the victor, that not content with coming in from every quarter to offer their services, in support of



the royal government, they dragged in their train as prisoners, those friends of liberty, whom they had lately obeyed with such parade of zeal, and whom they now denominated their oppressors. Meanwhile, colonel Buford continued his retreat with celerity, and it appeared next to impossible that he should be overtaken. Tarleton, nevertheless, offered to attempt the enterprise, promising to reach him. Cornwallis put under his command for this object, a strong corps of cavalry, with about a hundred light infantry mounted on horseback. His march was so rapid, that on the twenty-eighth of May he had gained Cambden, where he learned that Buford had departed the preceding day from Rugeleys Mills, and that he was pushing on with extreme speed, in order to join another body of republicans that was on the march from Salisbury to Charlotte, in North Carolina. Tarleton saw the importance of preventing the junction of these two corps; accordingly, notwithstanding the fatigue of men and horses, many of these having already dropped dead with exhaustion, notwithstanding the heat of the season, he redoubled his pace, and at length presented himself, after a march of one hundred and five miles in fifty-four hours, at a place called Wacsaw, before the object of his pursuit. The English summoned the Americans to throw down their arms; the latter answered with spirit, that they were prepared to defend themselves. The colonel drew up his troops in order of battle; they consisted of four hundred Virginia regulars, with a detachment of horse. He formed but one line, and ordered his artillery and baggage to continue their march in his rear, without halting; his soldiers were directed to reserve their fire till the British cavalry were approached within twenty yards. Tarleton lost no time in preparation, but charged immediately. The Americans gave way after a faint resistance; the English pursued them with vigor, and the carnage was dreadful. Their victory was complete; all, in a manner, that were not killed on the spot, were wounded and taken. Such was the rage of the victors, that they massacred many of those who offered to surrender. The Americans remembered it with horror. From that time it became with them a proverbial mode of expressing the cruelties of a barbarous enemy; to call them *Tarleton's quarter*. Artillery, baggage, munitions, colors, every thing, fell into the power of the English. It appears that colonel Buford committed two faults, the most serious of which was the having awaited, on open ground, an enemy much superior in cavalry. If instead of sending his carriages behind him, as soon as he perceived the royal troops, he had formed them into a cincture for his corps, the English would not have attempted to force it, or would have exposed themselves to a sanguinary repulse. The second, was that of forbidding his men to fire at the enemy, till he was within twenty paces; it ensued that Tarleton's cavalry was enabled to charge with more order and efficacy. That officer im-

mediately returned, followed by the trophies of his victory, to Camden, where he rejoined lord Cornwallis. The American division which had advanced to Charlotte, changed its plan, on hearing of the discomfiture of Wacsaw, and fell back with precipitation on Salisbury.

This reverse destroyed the last hopes of the Carolinians, and was soon followed by their submission. General Clinton wrote to London, that South Carolina was become English again, and that there were few men in the province who were not prisoners to, or in arms with the British forces. But he was perfectly aware that the conquest he owed to his arms could not be preserved but by the entire reestablishment of the civil administration. To this end, he deemed it essential to put minds at rest by the assurance of amnesty, and to oblige the inhabitants to contribute to the defence of the country, and to the restoration of the royal authority. Accordingly, in concert with admiral Arbuthnot, he published a full and absolute pardon in favor of those who should immediately return to their duty, promising that no offences and transgressions heretofore committed in consequence of political troubles, should be subject to any investigation whatever. He excepted only those who, under a mockery of the forms of justice, had imbrued their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens, who had shown themselves adverse to revolt and usurpation. He had then to reflect that a great number of the Carolinians were prisoners of war on parole, and that while they were considered as such, they could not equitably be constrained to take arms in favor of the king. But, in the pride of victory, Clinton thought he might sport with the public faith, and got over this difficulty by declaring, in a proclamation issued on the third of June, that the prisoners of war were free, and released from their parole, with the exception of the regular troops taken in Charleston and Fort Moultrie; he added, that they were reestablished in all the rights and all the duties of British subjects. But that no doubt might remain with regard to his intentions, and to prevent all conjecture, he gave notice that every man must take an active part in support of the royal government, and in the suppression of that anarchy which had prevailed already but too long. For the attainment of this object, he required all persons to be in readiness with their arms at a moment's warning; those who had families, to form a militia for home defence; but those who had none, to serve with the royal forces for any six months of the ensuing twelve, in which they might be called upon to assist, as he said, 'in driving their rebel oppressors, and all the miseries of war, far from the province.' They were not to be employed, however, out of the two Carolinas and Georgia. Thus citizens were armed against citizens, brothers against brothers; thus the same individuals who had been acknowledged as soldiers of the Congress, since they had been comprehended in the capitulation as



prisoners of war, were constrained to take arms for the king of England; a violence, if not unprecedented, at least odious, and which rebounded, as we shall see by the sequel, on the heads of those who were guilty of it. General Clinton seeing the province in tranquillity, and the ardor which appeared universal, of the inhabitants to join the royal standard, distributed his army in the most important garrisons; when, leaving lord Cornwallis in command of all the forces stationed in South Carolina and Georgia, he departed from Charleston for his government of New York.

That city, during his absence, had been exposed to a danger as unexpected as alarming. A winter, unequalled in that climate for its length and severity, had deprived New York and the adjoining islands of all the defensive benefits of their insular situation; the Hudson river, with the straits and channels by which they are divided and surrounded, were every where clothed with ice of such a strength and thickness, as would have admitted the passage of armies, with their heaviest carriages and artillery. This change, so suddenly wrought in the nature of the situation, caused the British commanders extreme inquietude; they feared the more for the safety of New York, as its garrison was then very feeble, and the army of Washington not far off. Accordingly, they neglected none of those prudential measures which are usual in similar cases; all orders of men in New York were embodied, armed and officered. The officers and crews of the frigates undertook the charge of a redoubt; and those of the transports, victuallers and merchantmen, were armed with pikes, for the defence of the wharves and shipping. But Washington was in no condition to profit of this unlooked for event. The small army which remained with him butted at Morristown, was inferior in strength even to the British regular force at New York, exclusive of the armed inhabitants and militia. He sent lord Sterling, it is true, to make an attempt upon Staten Island, and to reconnoitre the ground; but that general, observing no movement in his favor on the part of the city, returned to his first position. Thus the scourge of short engagements and the torpor which prevailed at that time amongst the Americans, caused them to lose the most propitious occasion that could have been desired, to strike a blow that would have sensibly affected the British power. If their weakness constrained them to inaction in the vicinity of New York, the English did not imitate their example. As soon as the return of spring had freed them from the danger they had apprehended during the season of ice, they renewed their predatory exploits in New Jersey. Their object in these excursions of devastation and plunder, was to favor the operations in Carolina, in order that the enemy, feeling insecure at various points, might carry succour to none.

About the beginning of June, and a few days previous to the return of general Clinton, the generals Knyphausen, Robertson, and Tryon,

who during his absence commanded the troops cantoned at New York, had entered New Jersey with a corps of five thousand men, and had occupied Elizabethtown; they conducted themselves there with generosity, and abstained from all pillage. They afterwards advanced and took possession of Connecticut Farms, a new and flourishing village. Irritated at the resistance they had experienced in their march, having been harassed incessantly by the country militia, who had risen against them from all the neighboring parts, they set fire to this place; only two houses escaped; even the church was a prey to the flames. This disaster was signalised by a deplorable event, which contributed not a little to redouble the indignation of the republicans against the royalists. Among the inhabitants of Connecticut Farms was a young gentlewoman, as celebrated for her virtues as for the singular beauty of her person. Her husband, James Cadwell, was one of the most ardent and influential patriots in that province. He urged her, and resorted to the entreaties of friends to persuade her to withdraw from the danger; but trusting to her own innocence for protection, she awaited the invaders. She was surrounded by her little children, and near her a nursery maid held in her arms the youngest of her offspring. A furious soldier appeared at the window, a Hessian, as it is said; he took aim at this unfortunate mother, and pierced her breast with an instantly mortal shot; her blood gushed upon all her tender orphans. Other soldiers rushed into the house and set it on fire, after having hastened to bury their victim. Thus, at least, the republicans relate this horrible adventure. The English pretended that the shot had been fired at random, and even that it was discharged by the Americans, since it came from the part by which they retired. However the truth may be, the melancholy fate of this gentlewoman, fired the breasts of the patriots with such rage, that they flew from every quarter to take vengeance upon the authors of so black a deed. The royal troops had put themselves on the march to seize a neighboring town called Springfield. They had nearly reached it, when they were informed that general Maxwell awaited them there, with a regiment of New Jersey regulars and a strong body of militia, impatient for combat. The English halted, and passed the night in that position. The next morning they fell back with precipitation upon Elizabethtown, whether their commanders thought it imprudent to attack an enemy who bore so menacing a countenance, or that they had received intelligence, as they published, that Washington had detached from Morristown a strong reinforcement to Maxwell. The Americans pursued them with warmth, but to little purpose, from the valor and regularity displayed in their retreat.

At this conjuncture, general Clinton arrived at New York, and immediately adopted a plan from which he promised himself the most decisive success. His purpose was to dislodge Washington from the



strong position he occupied in the mountainous and difficult country of Morrisonia, which, forming a natural barrier, had furnished the American captain-general with an impregnable shelter against the attacks of the English, even when his force was the most reduced. Accordingly, Clinton having embarked a considerable body of troops at New York, executed such movements as made it appear that his design was to ascend the Hudson river, in order to seize the passes in the mountains towards the lakes. He had persuaded himself that Washington, as soon as he should be informed of this demonstration, would instantly put himself in motion, and in the fear of losing these passes, would advance with the whole or the greater part of his force, in order to defend them. The British general intended to seize this occasion to push rapidly with the troops he had at Elizabethtown, against the heights of Morrisonia, and thus to occupy the positions which constituted the security of Washington. And, even on the supposition that their distance should render it unadvisable to maintain them, the destruction of the extensive magazines which the republicans had established there, offered a powerful attraction. Washington, in effect, who watched all the movements of Clinton, penetrated his designs. Fearing for West Point, and the important defiles of that part, he retained with him only the force indispensably requisite to defend the heights of Morrisonia, and detached the rest upon the banks of the Hudson, under general Greene. The royalists then marched with rapidity from Elizabethtown towards Springfield. This place is situated at the foot of the heights of Morrisonia, on the right bank of a stream that descends from them, and covers it in front. Colonel Angel guarded the bridge with a small detachment, but composed of picked men. Behind him the regiment of colonel Shrieve formed a second line, and ascending towards the heights near Shorts Hill, were posted the corps of Greene, Maxwell, and Stark. There were few continental troops, but the militia were numerous and full of ardor.

On arriving at the bridge, the royalists attacked colonel Angel with great impetuosity. He defended himself bravely, killing many of the enemy, and losing few of his own. At length, yielding to number, he fell back in perfect order upon the second line. The English passed the bridge, and endeavored to pursue their advantage. Shrieve resisted their efforts for a while; but too inferior in men, and especially in artillery, he withdrew behind the corps of Greene. The English, then examining the situation of places, and the strength of the American intrenchments, abandoned the design of assaulting them. Perhaps the approach of night, the impracticable nature of the country, the obstinate defence of the bridge, the sight of the militia rushing towards the camp from all parts, and the danger of losing all communication with Elizabethtown, contributed to this abrupt change in the resolutions of the British generals. Exasperated at these un-

expected obstacles, they devoted to pillage and flames the flourishing village of Springfield; they afterwards returned upon Elizabethtown. Enraged at seeing this conflagration, the republicans pursued the British troops with so much violence, that only their discipline and the ability of their commanders could have saved them from total destruction. They profited of the cover of night to abandon the shores of New Jersey, and passed into Staten Island. Thus the design of Clinton was baffled by a resistance for which he was little prepared. The English gained by this expedition only the shame of repulse, and eternal detestation on the part of their enemies. Washington, in official reports, greatly commended the valor of his troops.

But it is time to resume our narrative of the affairs of Carolina. The English administration, which, after the conquest of that province had been established by the royal troops, deliberated upon the means of repairing the evils caused by the war and by civil dissensions, in order to confirm the return of monarchical authority. Since that of the Congress had ceased to exist in the country, the paper currency had fallen into such discredit, that it was not possible to circulate it at any rate whatever. Many individuals had been forced to receive as reimbursement for credits of long standing, those depreciated bills; others had balances still due them upon contracts stipulated according to the nominal value of the paper. It was resolved, therefore, to compel the debtors of the first to account with them by a new payment in specie, for the difference that existed between the real and the nominal value of the bills; and to establish a scale of proportion, according to which, those who owed arrearages should satisfy their creditors in coined money. To this end, thirteen commissioners were appointed. They were to inform themselves with accuracy of the different degrees of the depreciation of the paper, and afterwards to draw up a table of reduction, to serve as a legal regulation in the payment of the debts above specified. The commissioners proceeded in the execution of this difficult task with equal justice and discernment; they compared the price of the products of the country, during the circulation of the bills, with that they had borne a year before the war. Examining then the different rates of exchange of the bills for specie, they formed, not only year by year, but also month by month, a table, the first column of which contained the dates, the second the ratio of the value of the bills to that of specie, the third the ratio of the value of bills to the price of produce, and the fourth the proportional medium of depreciation. This extinction of the value of bills of credit, occasioned by the presence of the English in Georgia and Carolina, induced those inhabitants who still held them, to carry or send them into other provinces, where they continued to have some circulation. But this influx itself, added to the loss of Carolina, and the sinister aspect which the situation of



the affairs of Congress presented at this epoch, accelerated the fall of paper money in all the states of the confederation. Too well convinced that there was no remedy capable of arresting the progress of this appalling evil, the Congress determined to yield to the storm. They decreed that in future their bills should pass, no longer at their nominal, but only at their conventional value; and they also drew up a scale of depreciation for the regulation of payments. This resolution, which, though assuredly a violation of the public faith, was, with the exception of dishonest debtors, both agreeable and advantageous to all classes. Can there, in fact, exist, for a nation, a greater calamity than to have a currency as the representative of money, when that currency is fixed by law, and variable in opinion? It is also to be considered that the bills of credit were then in the hands, not of the first, but of the last possessors, who had acquired them at their depreciated value. It was only to be regretted that the Congress had made so many solemn protestations of their intention to maintain the nominal value of their paper. Even the tenor of the bills, the terms of the law of their creation, all the public acts which related to them, were so many engagements that a dollar in paper should always be given and received for a dollar in silver. Scarcely were a few months elapsed since the Congress, in a circular letter, had spoken of the same resolution they had now taken, as a measure of the most flagrant injustice. In that letter they affirm, that even the supposition of a similar breach of faith, ought to excite universal abhorrence. But such is the nature of new governments, especially in times of revolution, where affairs of state are so much under the control of chance, that they frequently promise what they cannot perform; the empire of circumstances seems to them a fair plea for not keeping faith. Their precarious positions should render them at least less prodigal of promises and oaths; but, as inexperienced as presumptuous, and vainly believing their object attained, when they have found means to push on for a day, they seem the more bold in contracting engagements, the less it is in their power to fulfill them.

The proclamation by which the British commanders had absolved the prisoners of war from their parole, and restored them to the condition of British subjects, in order to compel them to join the royal troops, had created a deep discontent among the Carolinians. The greater part desired, since they had lost liberty, to remain at least in tranquillity at their homes, thus conforming themselves to the time, and submitting to necessity. If this repose had been granted them, they would not have exerted themselves to obtain a change; they would have supported less impatiently the unhappy situation of the republic; little by little they would have accustomed themselves to the new order of things, and would have forgotten the past. But this proclamation rekindled their rage. They cried with one voice, 'if we must resume arms, let us rather fight for America and our

friends, than for England and strangers !' Many did as they said. Released from their parole, considering themselves at liberty to take arms anew, and determined to venture all to serve their cause, they repaired by circuitous and unfrequented ways into North Carolina, which was still occupied by the troops of Congress. Others continued to remain in the country, and in the condition of prisoners of war, deferring to take their resolution till the British officers should actually summon them to enter the field. The greater part, submitting to circumstances, could not resolve to abandon their property, and withdraw into distant provinces as some of their fellow-citizens had done. In dread of the persecutions of the English, and even of their own countrymen, and desirous to win favor with their new masters, they had recourse to dissimulation. They preferred to change their condition, and from prisoners of war to become British subjects. This resolution appeared to them the more expedient, as a report was then in circulation, perhaps purposely forged, that the Congress were come to the determination no longer to dispute with the English the possession of the southern provinces. This rumor was directly opposite to the truth ; for in the sitting of the twenty-fifth of June, the Congress had declared with much solemnity that they purposed to make every possible exertion for their recovery. But the prisoners of Carolina knew nothing of what passed without, and from day to day they became more confirmed in the idea that their country would remain under British domination. Thus, between choice and compulsion, the multitude resumed the bonds of submission. But the English could have wished to have all under their yoke ; they saw with pain that within as well as without the province, there remained some individuals devoted to the party of Congress. Their resentment dictated the most extraordinary measures against the property and families of those who had emigrated, and of those who had remained prisoners of war. The possessions of the first were sequestered and ravaged ; their families were jealously watched and subjected, as rebels, to a thousand vexations. The second were often separated from their hearths, and confined in remote and unhealthy places. These rigors constrained some to retract, and bend the neck under the new slavery ; others to offer themselves as good and loyal subjects of the king. Among them were found individuals who had manifested the most ardor for the cause of liberty, and who had even filled the first offices, under the popular government. They generally colored their conversion with saying, that they had never aspired to independence, and that they abhorred the alliance of France. Thus men will rather stain themselves with falsehood and perjury, than live in misfortune and poverty ! Such was the conduct of the inhabitants of the country ; but those of the city, having by the terms of capitulation the right to remain in their habitations, were not comprehended in the proclama-



tion of the third of June. It was requisite, therefore, to employ other means to induce them to stoop to allegiance. The English and more zealous loyalists manœuvred in such a manner, that more than two hundred citizens of Charleston subscribed and presented to the British generals an address, by which they congratulated them upon their victories. This step had been concerted. It was answered them, that they should enjoy the protection of the state and all the privileges of British subjects, if they would sign a declaration of their allegiance and readiness to support the royal government. They obeyed; and their example had many imitators. Hence arose a distinction between subjects and prisoners. The first were protected, honored and encouraged; the second were regarded with contempt, persecuted and harassed in their persons and property. Their estates in the country were loaded with taxes, and even ravaged. Within the city they were refused access to the tribunals, if they had occasion to bring suits against their debtors; while on the other hand they were abandoned to all the prosecutions of their creditors. Thus forced to pay, they were not permitted to receive. They were not suffered to go out of the city without a pass, which was often refused them without motive, and they were even threatened with imprisonment unless they took the oath of allegiance. Their effects were given up to the pillage of the soldiery; their negroes were taken from them; they had no means of redress, but in yielding to what was exacted of them; while the claims of subjects were admitted without question. The artisans were allowed to labor, but not to enforce payment for their work, if their customers chose to refuse it. The Jews had been permitted to purchase many valuable goods of the British traders who had followed the army; but unless they became subjects, they were not allowed to sell them. In brief, threats, fraud, and force, were industriously exercised to urge the inhabitants to violate their plighted faith, and resume their ancient chains. The greater part had recourse to dissimulation, and by becoming subjects, were made partakers of British protection; others, more firm, or more virtuous, refused to bend. But they soon saw an unbridled soldiery sharing out their spoils; some were thrown into pestilential dungeons; others, less unfortunate or more prudent, condemned themselves to a voluntary exile.

Amidst the general desolation, the women of Carolina exhibited an example of more than masculine fortitude. They displayed so ardent, so rare a love of country, that scarcely could there be found in ancient or modern history an instance more worthy to excite surprise and admiration. Far from being offended at the name of rebel ladies, they esteemed it a title of distinction, and glory. Instead of showing themselves in assemblies, the seat of joy and brilliant pleasures, they repaired on board ships, they descended into dungeons, where their husbands, children and friends were in confinement;

they carried them consolations and encouragements. 'Summon your magnanimity,' they said, 'yield not to the fury of tyrants; hesitate not to prefer prisons to infamy, death to servitude. America has fixed her eyes on her beloved defenders; you will reap, doubt it not, the fruit of your sufferings; they will produce liberty, that parent of all blessings; they will shelter her forever from the assaults of British banditti. You are the martyrs of a cause the most grateful to heaven, and sacred for men.' By such words these generous women mitigated the miseries of the unhappy prisoners. They would never appear at the balls or routs that were given by the victors; those who consented to attend them were instantly despised, and dropped by all the others. The moment an American officer arrived at Charleston as prisoner of war, they sought him out, and loaded him with attention and civilities. They often assembled in the most retired parts of their houses, to deplore without restraint the misfortunes of their country. Many of them imparted their noble spirit to their hesitating and wavering husbands; they determined them to prefer a rigorous exile to their interest and to the sweets of life. Exasperated at their constancy, the English condemned the most zealous to banishment and confiscation. In bidding a last farewell to their fathers, their children, their brothers, their husbands, these heroines, far from betraying the least mark of weakness, which in men might have been excused, exhorted them to arm themselves with intrepidity. They conjured them not to allow fortune to vanquish them, nor to suffer the love they bore their families to render them unmindful of all they owed their country. When comprehended, soon after, in the general decree of banishment issued against the partisans of liberty, they abandoned with the same firmness their natal soil. A supernatural alacrity seemed to animate them when they accompanied their husbands into distant countries, and even when immured with them in the fetid ships, into which they were inhumanly crowded. Reduced to the most frightful indigence, they were seen to beg bread for themselves and families. Among those who were nurtured in the lap of opulence, many passed suddenly from the most delicate and the most elegant style of living to the rudest toils, and to the humblest services. But humiliation could not triumph over their resolution and cheerfulness; their example was a support to their companions in misfortune. To this heroism of the women of Carolina, it is principally to be imputed, that the love, and even the name of liberty, were not totally extinguished in the southern provinces. The English hence began to be sensible, that their triumph was still far from secure. For, in every affair of public interest, the general opinion never manifests itself with more energy than when women take part in it with all the life of their imagination. Less powerful as well as less stable than that of men when calm, it is far more vehement and pertinacious when roused and inflamed.



Such was the spectacle presented at that time in South Carolina; on the one hand, an open resistance to the will of the conqueror, or a feigned submission; on the other, measures that continually operated an effect directly contrary to that which their authors expected from them. Meanwhile, the heat of the season, the dubious state of the province itself, and the necessity of deferring the campaign until the harvest was over, occasioned an almost general suspension of arms. It was not possible for the English to think of the conquest of North Carolina before the last of August or the beginning of September. Lord Cornwallis resolved to canton his troops in such a manner, that they should be in readiness to support the loyalists, to repress the discontented, and to undertake the invasion of that province as soon as the proper season should arrive. He was particularly careful to collect provision and munitions of war. His principal magazines were established at Camden, a large village situated on the banks of the river Wateree, and upon the road which leads into North Carolina.

He feared lest the loyalists of that province, stimulated by excess of zeal, should break out before the time, which might lead to their destruction. His emissaries continually exhorted them to await the time of harvest in tranquillity, and to content themselves with preparing subsistence for the royal troops, who would advance to their succour towards the month of September. These prudent counsels had not the effect to prevent the loyalists of Tryon county from rising at the instigation of colonel Moore. But instantly crushed by a corps of republicans, under the command of general Rutherford, they paid dearly for the contempt with which they had presumed to treat admonitions dictated by foresight. Eight hundred loyalists, however, under the conduct of colonel Bryan, made good their junction with the royal troops. But while the British generals were making their dispositions to profit of the favorable season to attack North Carolina, in order to open themselves a passage into the heart of Virginia, the Congress exerted all diligence to put themselves in a situation to recover South Carolina. Their efforts, as we shall see, were not without success. Thus the flames of war, for the moment almost extinguished, were on the point of being rekindled with more violence than ever.

Before entering upon the recital of the events of the bloody campaign that ensued, it is necessary to describe what passed in the West Indies between two powerful and equally spirited rivals. Already a very obstinate action had taken place between the chevalier de la Motte Piquet and commodore Cornwallis, in the waters of La Grange, to the east of Cape Francois. The first had four ships, two of which of seventy-four guns, the *Annibal* and the *Diademe*. The other had only three, the heaviest of which was the *Lion*, of sixty-four guns. But this engagement was merely a prelude to the

battles that followed shortly after. About the last of March, the count de Guichen had arrived in the West Indies with such considerable reinforcements, that the French fleet there amounted to twenty-five sail of the line. Resolved to profit of their superiority by sea as well as by land, the French embarked a strong body of troops, under the conduct of the marquis de Bouille, and presented themselves with twenty-two ships of the line before the island of St. Lucia. Their intention was to carry it by assault. But general Vaughan, who commanded on shore, had neglected no measure of defence; and admiral Hyde Parker, who had repaired thither from the coasts of America, had so advantageously posted sixteen sail of the line at Gros Islet, that the French commanders abandoned their project, and returned to Martinico. A few days after, admiral Rodney arrived at St. Lucia with reinforcements from Europe; his junction with Parker placed at his command twenty-two sail of the line. Full of confidence in his strength, the English admiral sailed immediately for Fort Royal bay in Martinico, in order to challenge his enemy to battle. But the count de Guichen, who was not disposed to engage a decisive action, except when he should think it expedient, did not go out of the port. Rodney having left some swift sailing frigates to watch the motions of the French, and to give notice, in case they should sail, returned with the remainder of his fleet to St. Lucia. The count de Guichen did not remain long inactive. He put to sea, in the night of the thirteenth of April, with twenty-two sail of the line, and four thousand land troops, prepared to undertake any operation that should offer some hope of success. Rodney was soon advised of it, and sailed in quest of him; his fleet consisted of twenty ships of the line, and the Centurion of fifty guns. He commanded the centre himself, rear-admiral Hyde Parker the van, and rear-admiral Rowley the rear division. The French were standing through the channel of Dominica, intending afterwards to stretch off to windward of Martinico. Their van was under the conduct of the chevalier de Sade, the main body was led by the commander-in-chief, the count de Guichen, and the rear by the count de Grasse. The two armaments came in sight of each other towards evening, on the sixteenth of April. The French, whose ships were encumbered with soldiers, and who found themselves under the wind, endeavored to avoid an engagement. But the English bore down upon them. The count de Guichen profited of the night to manœuvre so as not to be obliged to join battle; Rodney, on the contrary, in order to render it inevitable. On the succeeding morning, the two fleets executed various evolutions with admirable skill; and, a little before one o'clock, the French rear was brought to action by the British van. For it is to be observed, that in tacking to take an inverse order of battle, the French van was become rear. Meanwhile, Rodney arrived with his division upon the French



centre ; his own ship, the Sandwich, of ninety guns, was encountered by M. de Guichen, in the Couronne, of eighty, and by his two seconds, the Fendant and Triumphant. But in crowding sail before the action, the French fleet had not been able to keep its distances perfectly. Its rear, moreover, which had become head of the line, being composed of more heavy sailing ships than those of the two other divisions, there had resulted thence a considerable chasm between that squadron and the centre. This separation was still increased by the drift of the Actionnaire, which, instead of standing, as the last vessel of the centre, the first of the rear, had suffered herself to fall to leeward of the line. Rodney resolved to seize the opportunity, and moved in order to cut off this rear guard from the rest of the fleet. But the Destin, commanded by M. Dumaitz de Goimpy, being at the head of that division, threw herself across his way, and engaged the Sandwich with so much vigor as to arrest his passage. The French ship would have been crushed, however, by a force so greatly superior, if the count de Guichen, perceiving the design of his adversary, had not made a signal to the ships of his centre to put about, and push, wind ast, all together, in order to rejoin and extricate the rear. This movement, executed with extreme celerity, completely baffled the plan of the British admiral, and, consequently, saved the French fleet from a total defeat. Rodney now finding himself exposed to have the blow he had meditated against his adversary retorted upon himself, recoiled instantly, and pressed to regain his place in the line with his other ships. Soon after he made his dispositions for renewing the action ; but seeing the crippled condition of several of his ships, and the particularly dangerous state of the Sandwich, which was with difficulty kept above water, he thought it more prudent to desist. The count de Guichen drew off to refit ; he afterwards touched at Guadaloupe in order to put ashore his sick and wounded. Rodney continued to manœuvre in the open sea for some days, and then returned to cruise off Fort Royal bay, hoping to intercept the French fleet, which he believed was on its way for that anchorage. But at length, the enemy not appearing, and finding it necessary to disembark the sick and wounded, and to refit and water his fleet, he put into Choc Bay, in St. Lucia. The loss of the British in this action, amounted to one hundred and twenty killed, and to three hundred and fifty-three wounded. Of the French, two hundred and twenty-one died, and five hundred and forty were wounded. Rodney in the report of the battle which he sent to England, passed high encomiums on the talents and gallantry of the French admiral ; and added, that he had been admirably seconded by his officers. This was an indirect reproach to his own ; of whom, generally, he felt that he had much reason to complain. The two parties alike claimed the honor of victory, as it is usual in every combat, the issue of which is not deci-

sive. After having repaired his ships, and taken aboard the troops under the command of the marquis de Bouille, M. de Guichen again put to sea. His design was to ascend to windward of the islands by the north of Guadaloupe, and then to disembark his land forces at Gros Islet, in St. Lucia. Apprised of this movement, Rodney immediately set sail in search of the French fleet. He issued from the channel of St. Lucia, as it was standing off the extremity of Martinico, towards Point de Salines. At sight of the British armament, the French admiral became sensible that he must abandon the attack of St. Lucia. His prudence is to be applauded in abstaining from coming to battle, although his position to windward of the enemy had placed it in his power; but he inclined first to secure the advantages which were offered him by the nature of those seas, and the direction of the wind. He manœuvred to retain the weather-gage, and, at the same time, to draw the English to windward of Martinico. In case of a check, he had in that island a certain refuge, and if victor, he left none for his enemy. The British admiral labored on his part to gain the wind, and continued to approach more and more. The hostile fleet had received each a reenforcement of one ship of the line; the French, the Dauphin Royal; the English, the Triumph. These evolutions, in which the two admirals displayed no ordinary degree of skill and judgment in seamanship, were prolonged for several days, and still Rodney had not been able to attain the object of his efforts. The French, whose ships were superior in point of sailing, to entice the English, as has been said, more to windward of Martinico, suffered themselves to be approached from time to time, and then suddenly spreading all sail, departed out of reach. This sport succeeded with them at first perfectly; but at length the French were nearly entangled into a general engagement, in a situation which presented more than one sort of peril; for their intention being to avoid it, they found themselves in no suitable order for battle. The wind had gradually veered to the south. Vigilant to profit of this change, Rodney put his ships about, and pushed on the other tack to gain the wind upon the French. He would have effected his purpose, if the wind had not, in this critical moment, suddenly shifted to the southeast. The count de Guichen could then also put himself on the other tack, which movement presented such a front to the English as no longer permitted them to gain the wind of him. He afterwards continued to retire in order to avoid an action. But in consequence of the last manœuvres, the two fleets being brought within cannon-shot of each other, the English pressed forward their van upon the French rear. It was already towards night fall, on the fifteenth of May. The headmost of the British ships, and particularly the Albion, found themselves exposed unsupported to the fire of the whole French division, and were excessively damaged. The others rejoined them; but the French



being better sailers, then retired. Such was the second rencounter between admiral Rodney and the count de Guichen. The French preserved the advantage of the wind. The two armaments continued in sight of each other during the three ensuing days, both manœuvring according to the plan of operations adopted by their respective admirals. Finally, in the morning of the nineteenth of May, the English being advanced to the windward of Martinico about forty leagues, and distant between four and five, to the southeast, from the French, the count de Guichen determined to accept battle, and accordingly took in sail. But as soon as the British van was within reach, he made a signal for his own to bear down upon it, and the action was engaged with great spirit on both sides. The other divisions formed successively in order of battle, the French retaining the weathergage. The conflict became general, the two fleets combating, the one with its starboard, the other with its larboard guns. But the ships of the French van and centre, having shortened sail in order to come to closer action with the enemy, it was to be feared lest the English should tack all at once in order to charge the rear, which was then at a considerable distance astern. To prevent the fatal consequences that might have ensued from such a movement on the part of the enemy, M. de Guichen put about himself, and proceeded to form again in a line with his rear. No manœuvre could have been more suitable to the conjuncture; if it had not been executed in season, the French admiral would have found himself in the most perilous predicament. A few moments after, nine British ships having tacked, advanced with a press of sail upon the French rear; but when they saw that the main body and van had rejoined it, and that the three divisions presented themselves in the best order, they resumed their station in their own line. Rodney rallied such ships as were dispersed, and again drew up his fleet in order of battle. The two armaments thus remained in presence until night, and even till the succeeding morning, but without renewing the engagement; they probably found that they had suffered too much in this and in the preceding action. Rodney sent the Conqueror, the Cornwall, and the Boyne, which were the most damaged, to be repaired at St. Lucia, and set sail with the rest of his fleet for Carlisle Bay in the island of Barbadoes. The Cornwall went to the bottom near the entrance of Careenage harbor. The count de Guichen returned with his fleet to Fort Royal bay, in Martinico. The loss of the English in these two last actions was sixty-eight killed and three hundred wounded. The French lost one hundred and fifty-eight killed, and upwards of eight hundred wounded. Among the former were numbered many officers of distinction, and even the son of the count de Guichen. The English also had to regret several officers of much reputation. Such was the result of the three battles fought between the French and Eng-

lish in the West Indies ; their forces were nearly equal ; their valor and skill were entirely so.

Here it may be observed, of what importance are the talents and experience of commanders to the event of combats, and to preserve nations from the most terrible reverses. For, it is evident, that if either of the two hostile admirals, in the course of the three days we have been describing, or during all those which they passed in observing each other, had committed a single fault, the defeat and ruin of his fleet must have been its inevitable consequence.

If hitherto the forces of France and of England had been pretty equally balanced in the West Indies, it was not long before the first acquired a decided superiority, by the junction of a Spanish squadron which arrived in those seas. Spain had conceived an ardent desire to acquire Jamaica ; and the French as eagerly coveted the possession of the other islands which were still in the power of the enemy. If these objects had been attained, the English would have witnessed the total extinction of their domination in the West Indies. With such views don Joseph Solano had departed from Cadiz, about the middle of April, with twelve sail of the line and some frigates. This squadron escorted upwards of eighty transports, containing eleven thousand Spanish infantry, with a prodigious quantity of artillery and munitions of war ; an armament as formidable as flourishing, and suited without question, to justify the hopes with which the allied courts had flattered themselves, particularly that of Madrid. Already don Solano was well on his way across the Atlantic, shaping his course for Fort Royal, in Martinico. It was there he purposed to make his junction with all the French forces. Rodney continued at anchor in Carlisle Bay, attending to the health of his crews, recruiting his provisions and water, and refitting his ships. He had no mistrust of the storm that was about to burst upon him. But captain Mann, who was cruising at large with the frigate *Cerberus*, fell in with the Spanish convoy ; aware of all the importance of the discovery, and feeling assured that his admiral would receive it well, he took upon himself to quit his cruise and return to the West Indies, in order to give the alarm. Upon this intelligence Rodney put to sea with the least possible delay, for the purpose of meeting the Spanish squadron ; confident of victory, if he could fall upon it before its union with the French fleet. Conjecturing with reason, that it was bound to Martinico, he awaited it upon the route usually taken by vessels destined for that island. His dispositions were very judicious ; but the prudence and precautions of the Spanish admiral rendered them fruitless. Without any intimation of the design of the English, and of the danger that menaced him, don Solano, as if directed by a secret presentiment, instead of steering directly towards Fort Royal, of Martinico, shaped his course more to the north on his right, and stood for the islands of Dominica and Guadaloupe.



As soon as he was arrived in their vicinity, he detached a very swift sailing frigate to the count de Guichen, to request him to come out and join him. The French admiral issued with eighteen ships; and being informed that the English were cruising to windward of the Antilles, in order to avoid encountering them, he sailed under the lee of those islands. This voyage was so well conducted, that the two armaments came together between Dominica and Guadaloupe. Assuredly if all these forces, which greatly surpassed those of Rodney, could have been preserved entire, or if the allies had acted more in concert, they must have attained their object, namely, the absolute annihilation of the British power in the West Indies. But these forces, in appearance so formidable, bore within themselves the elements of their own destruction. The length of the passage, the want of fresh provision, the change of climate and the defect of cleanliness, had generated among the Spanish soldiers a contagious fever, which had spread with incredible rapidity, and made horrible ravages. Besides the deaths in the passage, the squadron had put ashore twelve hundred sick at Dominica, and at least an equal number at Guadaloupe and Martinico. The salubrity of the air, and that of the new diet on which they were put in those islands, did not, however, abate the fury of the pestilence; it swept off every day the most valiant soldiers; it soon attacked also the French, though with less violence than the Spaniards. This unexpected scourge not only diminished the ardor of the allies, but also deprived them of great part of the means essential to the success of their enterprises; they were, moreover, thwarted by the clash of opinions. The Spaniards wanted to undertake in the first place the expedition of Jamaica, the French that of St. Lucia and the neighboring islands. It followed, that all these projects miscarried alike. Compelled to relinquish the brilliant hopes with which they had flattered themselves, the allies reembarked their troops, scarcely yet well recovered, and made sail in company towards the leeward islands. The count de Guichen escorted the Spaniards into the waters of St. Domingo, and then leaving them to pursue their voyage, came to anchor at Cape Francois. Here he made his junction with the squadron of M. de la Motte Piquet, who had been stationed in that part for the protection of commerce. The Spaniards proceeded to the Havannah. At the news of the juncture of the allied fleets, Rodney repaired to Gros Islet bay, in St. Lucia. But as soon as he was advised that they had sailed from Martinico, he profited of a reenforcement of ships and troops that was arrived to him from England, under the conduct of commodore Walsingham, to put Jamaica in a respectable state of defence against the attacks of the allies. He kept the rest of his force at St. Lucia, to watch the motions of the enemy and cover the neighboring islands. Thus vanished the high hopes which had been conceived in France as well as in Spain, from the formidable war-

like apparatus directed against the British West Indies. This failure was less the fault of fortune than of that diversity of interests which too frequently produces a want of harmony between allies; they will not march together towards the same object, and disunited they cannot attain it.

The events we have been relating were succeeded, in the West Indies, by a sort of general truce between the two parties. But though the fury of men was suspended for a while, that of the elements broke out in a manner much more tremendous. It was now the month of October, and the inhabitants of the islands were in the enjoyment of that unexpected tranquillity which resulted from the cessation of arms, when their shores, and the seas that washed them, were assailed by so dreadful a tempest, that scarcely would there be found a similar example in the whole series of maritime records, however replete with shocking disasters and pitiable shipwrecks. If this fearful scourge fell with more or less violence upon all the islands of the West Indies, it no where raged with more destructive energy than in the flourishing island of Barbadoes. It was on the morning of the tenth that the tornado set in, and it hardly began to abate forty-eight hours after. The vessels that were moored in the port, where they considered themselves in safety, were wrenched from their anchors, lanced into the open sea, and abandoned to the mercy of the tempest. Nor was the condition of the inhabitants on shore, less worthy of compassion. In the following night, the vehemence of the hurricane became yet more extreme; houses were demolished, trees uprooted, men and animals tossed hither and thither, or overwhelmed by the ruins. The capital of the island was well nigh rased to a level with the ground. The mansion of the governor, the walls of which were three feet in thickness, was shaken to its foundations, and every moment threatened to crumble in ruins. Those within had hastened to barricade the doors and windows to resist the whirlwinds; all their efforts were of no avail. The doors were rent from their hinges, the bars and fastenings forced; and chasms started in the very walls. The governor with his family sought refuge in the subterraneous vaults; but they were soon driven from that shelter by the torrents of water that poured like a new deluge from the sky. They issued then into the open country, and with extreme difficulty and continual perils repaired under the covert of a mound, upon which the flagstaff was erected; but that mass being itself rocked by the excessive fury of the wind, the apprehension of being buried under the stones that were detached from it, compelled them again to remove, and to retire from all habitation. Happily for them they held together; for, without the mutual aid they lent each other, they must all inevitably have perished. After a long and toilsome march in the midst of ruins, they succeeded in gaining a battery, where they stretched themselves face downward



on the ground, behind the carriages of the heaviest cannon, still a wretched and doubtful asylum, since those very carriages were continually put in motion by the impetuosity of the storm. The other houses in the city being less solid, had been prostrated before that of the governor, and their unhappy inhabitants wandered as chance directed during that merciless night, without shelter and without succour. Many perished under the ruins of their dwellings; others were the victims of the sudden inundation; several were suffocated in the mire. The thickness of the darkness, and the lurid fire of the lightning, the continual peal of the thunder, the horrible whistling of the winds and rain, the doleful cries of the dying, the despondent moans of those who were unable to succour them, the shrieks and wailings of women and children, all seemed to announce the destruction of the world. But the return of day presented to the view of the survivors a spectacle which the imagination scarcely dares to depict. This island, lately so rich, so flourishing, so covered with enchanting landscapes, appeared all of a sudden transformed into one of those polar regions where an eternal winter reigns. Not an edifice left standing; wrecks and ruins every where; every tree subverted; not an animal alive; the earth strown with their remains, intermingled with those of human beings; the very surface of the soil appeared no longer the same. Not merely the crops that were in prospect, and those already gathered, had been devoured by the hurricane; the gardens, the fields, those sources of the delight and opulence of the colonists, had ceased to exist. In their place were found deep sand or sterile clay; the enclosures had disappeared; the ditches were filled up, the roads cut with deep ravines. The dead amounted to some thousands; thus much is known, though the precise number is not ascertained. In effect, besides those whose fallen houses became their tombs, how many were swept away by the waves of the swollen sea and by the torrents, resembling rivers, which gushed from the hills? The wind blew with a violence so unheard of, that if credit be given to the most solemn documents, a piece of cannon which threw twelve-pound balls, was transported from one battery to another at more than three hundred yards distance. Much of what escaped the fury of the tempest fell a prey to the frantic violence of men. As soon as the gates of the prisons were burst, the criminals sallied forth, and joining the negroes, always prepared for nefarious deeds, they seemed to brave the wrath of heaven, and put every thing to sack and plunder. And perhaps the whites would have been all massacred, and the whole island consigned to perdition, if general Vaughan, who happened to be there at the time, had not watched over the public safety at the head of a body of regular troops. His cares were successful in saving a considerable quantity of provision, but for which resource the inhabitants would only have escaped the ravages of the hurricane, to be victims

of the no less horrible scourge of famine. Nor should it be passed over in silence by a sincere friend of truth and honorable deeds, that the Spanish prisoners of war, at this time considerably numerous in Barbadoes, under the conduct of don Pedro San Jago, did every thing that could be expected of brave and generous soldiers. Far from profiting of this calamitous conjuncture to abuse their liberty, they voluntarily encountered perils of every kind to succour the unfortunate islanders, who warmly acknowledged their services. The other islands, French as well as English, were not much less devastated than Barbadoes. At Jamaica, a violent earthquake added its horrors to the rage of the tornado; the sea rose and overflowed its bounds with such impetuosity, that the inundation extended far into the interior of the island.

In consequence of the direction of the wind, the effects of the sea-flood were the most destructive in the districts of Hanover and Westmoreland. While the inhabitants of Savanna la Mer, a considerable village of Westmoreland, stood observing with dismay the extraordinary swell of the sea, the accumulated surge broke over them, and in an instant, men, animals, habitations, every thing, was carried with it into the abyss. Not a vestige remained of that unhappy town. More than three hundred persons were thus swallowed up by the waves. The most fertile fields were left overspread with a deep stratum of steril sand. The most opulent families were reduced in a moment to the extreme of indigence. If the fate of those on shore was deplorable beyond all expression, the condition of those who were upon the water was not less to be pitied. Some of the vessels were dashed upon shoals and breakers, others foundered in the open ocean, a few made their way good into port, but grievously battered and damaged. The tempest was not only fatal to ships under sail; it spared not even those that were at anchor in the securest havens. Some bilged in port, and many were drifted out to sea by the resistless fury of the billows. Among the first was the Thunderer, of seventy-four guns, which sunk with all on board. Several frigates were so shattered that they were not thought worth repairing. The English had to regret, in all, one ship of seventy-four, two of sixty-four, and one of fifty guns, besides seven or eight frigates.

Amidst so many disasters, they found, at least, some succour in the humanity of the marquis de Bouille. A number of English sailors, the wretched relics of the crews of the Laurel and Andromeda, wrecked upon the coasts of Martinico, fell into the power of that general. He sent them free to St. Lucia, saying, that he would not treat as prisoners men who had escaped the rage of the elements. He expressed a hope that the English would exercise the same generosity towards those Frenchmen whom a similar destiny might have delivered into their power. He testified his regrets that he had only been able to save so few of the English seamen, and that



among them there was not a single officer. He concluded with observing that, as the calamity had been common and general, humanity should be extended alike towards all its victims. The merchants of Kingston, the capital of Jamaica, animated by the most honorable social sentiments, immediately made a subscription of ten thousand pounds sterling for the relief of the sufferers. The parliament, as soon as it was apprised of this catastrophe, voted, notwithstanding the pressure of the expenses of the war, a donation of eighty thousand pounds sterling to the inhabitants of Barbadoes, and another of forty thousand to those of Jamaica. Nor was public munificence the only source of their succours; a great number of private citizens likewise contributed largely to alleviate the distresses of these unfortunate West Indians.

The fleet of the count de Guichen, and that of admiral Rodney, were not exposed to the hurricane. The first was already departed for Europe, in the month of August, escorting, with fourteen sail of the line, a rich and numerous fleet of merchantmen. In consequence of his departure, and in ignorance of his designs, Rodney, to whom, moreover, the Spanish troops landed at the Havannah gave no little disquietude, detached a part of his force to cover Jamaica, and made sail with the rest for New York. But before he reached the American continent, and even before he departed from the West Indies, there had happened a surprising revolution in public affairs, of which we shall give an account in due time. While men were engaged in so fierce a war upon the continent, and in the islands of America, while they had to combat there the fury of the elements, the belligerent powers were far from remaining inactive in Europe. Greater unity was observable in the counsels of England; but, however excellent her marine, it was inferior in force to that of the allied courts. These, on the other hand, had more ships and more soldiers; but often directed towards very different objects, by opposite interests, they did not obtain the success to which they might have aspired. Thus, for example, the Spaniards, always principally aiming at the conquest of Gibraltar, assembled their forces, and lavished their treasure at the foot of that fortress. From the same motive they kept their ships in the port of Cadiz, instead of joining them with those of France, and attempting in concert to strike a decisive blow at the British power. It followed that France was obliged to send her squadrons into that same port; and, meanwhile, the British fleets were blockading her atlantic ports, intercepting her commerce, capturing her convoys, and the frigates that escorted them.

Admiral Geary, who, on the death of sir Charles Hardy, had been appointed to the command of the channel fleet, had put to sea with about thirty sail of the line. He fell in, the third of July, with a fleet of French merchantmen, loaded with cochineal, sugar, coffee, and cotton, under the guard of the ship of war *Le Fier*, of fifty guns.

The English gave chase, and captured twelve sail, and probably would have swept the whole convoy, but for a thick fog and the great proximity of the coasts of France; the rest made their ports in safety. Several other French ships, and even some frigates, fell a short time after, into the power of the English, but not without a gallant resistance. As we cannot go into a narrative of all the encounters that took place, we will not, however, omit the name at least of the chevalier de Kergarion, captain of the *Belle Poule*, who with that frigate, of only thirty-two guns, defended himself a long time against the *Nonesuch* man of war, of sixty-four, commanded by James Wallace. Nor was it till after the death of the intrepid Kergarion, that his successor, M. de la Motte Tabouret, yielded to the necessity of striking his colors; his frigate was completely dismasted; the greater part of the crew had perished.

The allies made themselves ample amends for these losses on the ninth of August. Towards the latter end of July, a numerous fleet of king's ships and merchantmen, had set sail from the ports of England for the two Indies. Five of the first, besides much of munitions of war, arms and artillery, were loaded with an immense quantity of rigging for the use of the British fleet, stationed in those distant seas. Eighteen others were either victualling ships or transports, carrying military stores and recruits, to reenforce the army of America. The others were vessels of commerce, whose cargoes were extremely valuable. This fleet was escorted by the *Romulus* ship of the line, and three frigates. It was pursuing its voyage, having in sight, at a great distance, the coasts of Spain, when, in the night of the eighth of August, it fell into the midst of a squadron of the combined fleet, which was cruising upon the accustomed route of ships destined for the East or West Indies. The hostile squadron was commanded by admiral don Lewis de Cordova. The English mistook his lanterns at mast head for those of their own commander, and steered accordingly. At break of day, they found themselves intermingled with the Spanish fleet. Don Cordova enveloped them, and shifted the crews of sixty vessels; the ships of war escaped him. His return to Cadiz was a real triumph. The people flocked to behold the prisoners, and this rich booty; a spectacle the more grateful for being uncommon, and little expected. Near three thousand prisoners were put ashore, of every condition, and of every age. Of this number, were sixteen hundred sailors, a heavy loss for England, and passengers not a few. The English even regretted much less the cargoes of commercial articles than the munitions of war, of which their armies and fleets in both Indies experienced the most pressing need. So brilliant a success was received by the Spanish nation with infinite exultation. The news of it spread, on the contrary, a sort of consternation in Great Britain. The ministers found themselves the object of the bitterest reproaches; the public voice



accused them of temerity. 'They knew,' it was exclaimed, 'that the allies had a formidable force at Cadiz; why did they not direct the convoy to avoid the coasts of Spain?'

The events of maritime war, did not divert attention from the siege of Gibraltar. Spain, as we have already seen, attached an extreme importance to the conquest of this place. She appeared to make it the capital object of the war, and the aim of all her efforts. It must be admitted, in effect, that, apart from all political considerations, so powerful a monarch could not have seen without indignation, a fortress upon his own territory possessed by foreigners, who, from its summit, appeared to set him at defiance. Gibraltar revived the history of Calais, which had also long appertained to England, but which the French at length recovered; the Spaniards promised themselves the like good fortune. Accordingly, after that place had been re-victualled by Rodney, the Spanish admiral, don Barcelo, exerted all his vigilance to prevent its receiving any fresh succours. On the other hand, general Mendoza, who commanded the troops on shore, endeavored to press the fortress on the land side. He daily added new works to his camp of St. Roch, and pushed his approaches with all possible diligence. But whatever was the assiduity and ability of the Spanish commanders, they were so thwarted by the instability of the winds and sea, and the British officers displayed so much talent and activity, that, from time to time, victualling transports found their way into the place. The garrison forgot their sufferings, and resumed courage, while the Spaniards could but gnash with rage at seeing the resistance protracted so long beyond their confident expectations.

The efforts of the garrison were powerfully seconded by some ships of war which admiral Rodney had left in the port; one of this number was the Panther, of seventy-four guns. To remove so troublesome an obstacle, the Spaniards formed a design to burn this squadron with the transport vessels at anchor behind it. They hoped even to involve in the conflagration the immense magazines of munitions which had been constructed upon the shore. They prepared for this purpose seven fire-ships, which were to be accompanied by an immense number of armed galleys and boats. Don Barcelo advanced his fleet, and formed it in line of battle across the mouth of the harbor, as well to direct and second the attack, as to intercept any vessel that should attempt to escape. On the side of the land, don Mendoza held himself in readiness to menace the garrison upon all points; he was to commence the most vigorous bombardment as soon as the fire should break out on board the British squadron. The night of the sixth of June was chosen for the enterprise. The darkness, the wind, and the tide, were alike propitious. The English manifested a perfect security. The fire-ships advanced, and every thing promised success, when the Spaniards, either through impatience, or, from the extreme obscurity of the night, misjudging their

distance, or else not wishing to approach nearer, applied the fire with too much precipitation. This unexpected sight apprised the English of their danger. Immediately, without terror, and without confusion, officers and soldiers throw themselves into boats, intrepidly approach the fire-ships, make fast to them, and tow them off to places where they can do no mischief. The Spaniards, after this fruitless attempt, withdrew.

Meanwhile, don Mendoza busied himself with unremitting ardor in urging the labors of his lines. General Elliot, to whom the king of England had confided the defence of the place, suffered his adversary to go on; but when he saw his works well nigh completed, he opened upon them so violent a cannonade, that in a short time he demolished and ruined them entirely. He also made frequent sallies, in which he filled up the trenches and spiked the artillery of the besiegers. The English became daily more confident; the Spaniards, on the contrary, seemed less animated and sanguine. Chagrined that a handful of men, since the garrison of Gibraltar, including officers, did not exceed six thousand combatants, should not only presume to resist them, but even to attack them with success, they had recourse to an expedient, which at length rendered the defence of the place exceedingly difficult and perilous, and finally operated the total destruction of the city; and that was, to construct an immense number of craft, which they called gun-boats. Their burthen was from thirty to forty tons, and their crew from forty to fifty men; they were armed at the prow with a twenty-six pounder; others mounted mortars. Besides a large sail, they had fifteen oars on each side. As they were easily worked, it was intended to employ them to overwhelm the town and forts with bombs and balls during the nights, and even, if the opportunity should present itself, to attack the frigates. It was believed that two of these gun-boats might engage a frigate with advantage, because of their little elevation above the water, and the diminutive scope they afforded to the balls of the enemy. The governor of Gibraltar, not having a similar flotilla at his disposal, it became almost impossible for him to avoid its effects. The Spaniards were sensible of it, and this consideration revived their ardor, and reanimated their hopes.

While the arms of England prevailed upon the American continent; while those of the two ancient rivals balanced each other in the West Indies, and the war was carried on in Europe with such variety of success that it was singularly difficult to conjecture what would be the issue of the mighty struggle, the situation of affairs in the United Provinces, which had hitherto offered only doubt and incertitude, began to assume a less ambiguous aspect. It seemed to have been decreed by destiny, that the quarrel of America should shake the whole globe. The coalition of the arms of Holland with those of the Bourbons and of the Congress, seemed to consummate the formida-



ble league that was to level the last stroke at the British power. From the very commencement of the troubles of America, her cause had found many more partisans in Holland than that of England. Many motives concurred to this disposition of minds; the political opinions which obtained generally in Europe; the persuasion that prevailed among the Hollanders that the interests of protestantism were inseparable from this discussion; the apprehension entertained by the dissenters of the usurpations, real or supposed, of the church of England; and, finally, the similarity of the present condition of the Americans to that in which the United Provinces found themselves in the time of their wars against Spain. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at if the French party in Holland gained every day upon the English party. It is also to be observed, that even those most attached to the latter party by the remembrance of ancient friendship, by the community of commercial predilections, and by the apprehension of the evil that France might do them in future, were among the most forward to condemn the policy pursued by the British government towards its colonies. They censured it the more sincerely, as they foresaw that one of its inevitable consequences would be to interrupt the good understanding they wished to preserve, and to confirm the ascendancy of French politics in Holland. To these considerations should be added, the jealousy that existed of the power of the Stadtholder, allied by consanguinity to the king of England, it was feared lest that monarch might lend him support to accomplish the usurpations he meditated, or was suspected of meditating. The republicans, therefore, were not without anxious apprehensions respecting the intentions of the British government. They dreaded the dark reach of its policy; they shuddered in thinking that it might one day subject them by the hand of the Stadtholder to that same destiny which it was now striving to entail on America. Every day these sinister images were presented to all eyes; they had a powerful influence on public opinion. Of the seven United Provinces, that which inclined the most decidedly for France was by far the most wealthy and powerful, Holland. The first of the cities of the republic, Amsterdam, manifested the same sentiments. To foment these dispositions, and to draw other provinces and other cities into the same way of thinking, the French government had recourse to the agency of that love of gain, whose empire is particularly so despotic with those who apply themselves to commerce. It declared that it would cause to be seized upon sea every Dutch vessel found employed in any sort of trade with Great Britain, those only excepted which belonged to the cities of Amsterdam and Harlem. The effect of this measure was, that several important cities, among others Rotterdam and Dordrecht, had gone over to France, in order to participate in the privileges she granted.

It was already two years since from this complication of different interests, there had resulted a standing negotiation, at Aix la Chapelle, between John Neuville, acting in the name of the pensioner Van Berkel, a declared partisan of France, and William Lee, commissioner on the part of Congress. Van Berkel, as chief of the government of the city of Amsterdam, succeeded, after many and protracted discussions, in bringing about a treaty of amity and commerce between that city and the United States of America. This treaty, it was said, was merely eventual, since it was not to take effect until the independence of the colonies should have been acknowledged by England. But was it not a recognition of that independence as already absolute, to negotiate and treat with the United States? The treaty, it is true, had only been concluded with the single city of Amsterdam; but it was hoped that the preponderance of that capital in the province of Holland would easily draw after it the rest of that province, and that the example of Holland would guide the other six.

These negotiations were conducted with so much secrecy, that no whisper of them had reached England. But the Congress, ardently desirous that the result of these mysterious stipulations should be as public as possible, appointed to this effect their president, Laurens, minister plenipotentiary to the States-General. This resolution was the more readily adopted, since it was not doubted in America, and the correctness of the opinion was demonstrated by the event, that the Dutch were exasperated to the last degree by the insulting shackles which England attempted to impose on their commerce with France, and especially by that intolerable seizure of the convoy of the count de Byland. Far from attempting to palliate these outrages, and to appease discontents, M. York, ambassador of the king of England at the Hague, had just delivered the States-General a memorial, framed in so arrogant a style, that it was universally considered as offensive to the dignity of a free and independent nation.

But fortune, who seems to make her sport of the best concerted projects, willed that those of the Hollanders should come to the knowledge of the British ministers before they could receive their accomplishment. No sooner was Laurens departed from the American shores, than he was encountered and captured off Newfoundland, by the British frigate Vestal. At sight of the enemy, he had thrown all his papers overboard; but by the celerity and dexterity of a British sailor, they were rescued from the water before they were materially injured. Laurens was carried to London, and shut up in the tower as a state prisoner. Among his papers, the British ministers found the treaty above mentioned, and some letters relative to the negotiations at Aix la Chapelle. Forthwith, M. York made a great stir at the Hague. He required the States-General in the



name of his master, not only to disavow the doings of the pensioner Van Berkel, but also to make instant reparation to his Britannic majesty, by the exemplary punishment of that magistrate and his accomplices, as perturbators of the public peace, and violators of the laws of nations. The States-General withholding their answer, the British envoy renewed his instances with excessive fervor; but the Dutch government either from its reluctance to drop the mask at present, or merely from the accustomed tardiness of its deliberations, signified to York that the affair should be taken under serious consideration. The States-General were inclined to gain time to recall into their ports the rich cargoes they had afloat upon the ocean, as well as those which, in the security of a long peace, had been deposited in their islands.

On the other hand, the British ministers, goaded by impatience to lay hand upon those riches, and little disposed to allow the Dutch sufficient leisure to make the necessary war preparations, pretended not to be at all satisfied with the answer of the States-General. They recalled the ambassador at the Hague immediately. A little after, there followed on both sides the usual declarations. Thus were dissolved all those relations of good understanding, which had so long existed between two nations connected by reciprocal congenialities, and by many and important common interests. This new enemy was the more to be apprehended for England, as his dexterity in maritime war was rendered more formidable by his proximity. But on the one hand pride, perhaps necessary to a powerful state, and the thirst of conquest, always blameable and never satisfied; on the other, intestine dissensions, and the debility of land force, which inspired more dread of continental neighbors than could well comport with independence, precipitated Great Britain and Holland into a war decidedly and openly condemned by all sound statesmen.

It is time to remand our attention upon the American continent. After the capture of Charleston and invasion of South Carolina, a great and astonishing change was wrought in the minds of the colonists. Their salvation resulted from those very causes which seemed to prognosticate an impending perdition. So true it is that the spur of adversity forces men to exert for their own interests, efforts to which the sweets of prosperity cannot induce them! Never was this truth better exemplified than in the present conjuncture; the reverses of Carolina, far from having dejected the Americans, developed in them on the contrary a courage more active, and a constancy more pertinacious. They could no longer be reproached with that torpor which they had manifested in the preceding years, with that apathy which had been the source of so much pain to their chiefs, as of such heavy disasters to the republic. A new ardor inflamed every heart to fly to the succour of country; there seemed a rivalry for the glory of immolating all to the republic; things looked

as if the first days of the revolution were come back, when the same spirit and the same zeal broke out on all parts against England. Every where private interests were postponed to the public weal; every where it was exclaimed, 'let us drive this cruel enemy from the most fertile provinces of the union; let us fly to the succour of their inhabitants; let us crush the satellites of England that have some how escaped American steel, and terminate at a single blow a war protracted too long.' Thus ill fortune had again tempered the souls of this people, at the very moment when they were supposed the victims of dejection and despair. Their fury was still quickened by the devastations which the royal troops had recently committed in Carolina and New Jersey. Their hope became confidence, on observing that the consequences of the reduction of Charleston had been to divide the enemy's forces, and to distribute them at so great distances, that they might be attacked at every point with assurance of success. And how were these hopes multiplied by the authentic advice of the approaching arrival of French succours! Already a great number of Americans counted the conquest of New York as a compensation of the occupation of Charleston.

The marquis de la Fayette was in effect just returned from France, whence he had brought the most cheering intelligence. He announced that the troops were already embarked, and the ships that bore them on the point of getting under sail for America. This report might be depended on. The marquis de la Fayette had ascertained it with his own eyes, after having exerted himself with much zeal to accelerate the preparatives of the expedition. He was warmly thanked for it by Washington and the Congress. His presence was grateful to the American people; it redoubled, especially, the ardor of the soldiers, who mutually incited one another, to show themselves not unworthy of the allies they expected. They declared aloud that an eternal reproach would be their portion, if through a base apathy they should lose the glorious occasion about to be offered them in this powerful cooperation of France. They reminded each other that the eyes of all Europe were upon them, and that on the issue of the present campaign depended the liberty, the glory, the future destiny of the American republic. The Congress, all the established authorities, and even private citizens of weight with the multitude dexterously profited of this new enthusiasm; they neglected no means that could cherish and propagate it. The Congress addressed circular letters to all the states earnestly exhorting them to complete the regiments, and despatch to the army the contingent that each of them was bound to furnish. These instances were strongly seconded by generals Washington, Reed, and other influential chiefs.

Their efforts had all the success desirable. The militia had recovered their spirits, and they rejoined their colors from all quarters.



The authority of Congress revived on every side, and acquired new vigor. Sensible to the wants of the state, the capitalists subscribed with promptitude considerable sums to the relief of the public treasure, the exhaustion of which was then extreme. The city of Philadelphia first gave the example of these sacrifices; it was not unfruitful. It was soon followed by all Pennsylvania and the other provinces. The ladies of Philadelphia, animated by the most ardent patriotism, formed a society, and placed at their head mistress Washington, a wife worthy of such a husband. After having subscribed for the use of the state to the extent of their means, they went from house to house to stimulate the liberality of the citizens in favor of the republic. Their zeal was not steril; they collected large sums which they lodged in the public chest, to be used in bounties to such soldiers as should merit them, and in augmentation of pay to all. They were imitated with enthusiasm by the ladies of the other states. But among all the institutions that signalised this epoch, none is more worthy of attention, than the establishment of a public bank. The funds lodged in it by the stockholders, by lenders, and by Congress, might be employed to defray the army. The Congress found herein not only a great facility on the part of the most wealthy commercial houses of Philadelphia, but even received from them the most generous offers. The subscribers obligated themselves to furnish a capital of three hundred thousand pounds Pennsylvania currency, which rates the Spanish dollar at seven shillings and sixpence. It was to have two directors, with authority to borrow money upon the credit of the bank for six months, or any shorter time, and to give the lenders, bills bearing an interest of six per cent. The bank was to receive the deposits of Congress; that is, the public revenue accruing from taxes or other sources; but when these deposits and the funds borrowed should not suffice, the stockholders were bound to furnish such proportion as should be deemed necessary, of the sums for which they might have subscribed. The sums obtained in the different ways above mentioned, were not to be employed for any other purpose but that of procuring supplies for the troops. The stockholders were to appoint an agent, whose office it should be to make purchases, and to transmit the articles bought, such as meat, flour, rum, etc., to the commander-in-chief, or to the minister of war; this agent should have authority to draw upon the directors for his payments. The said agent was also to keep open a store well stocked with rum, sugar, coffee, salt and other articles of general consumption, with obligation to sell them by retail at the same price he should have bought them for in quantity of those with whom he should have contracted for the supplies of the army, with a view of being more promptly and better served by those contractors. Although out of the bank, few lenders presented themselves, because the greater part before advancing their money, would have wished

more stability in the state, yet subscribers were soon found for a capital of three hundred and fifteen thousand pounds of Pennsylvania. Each of them gave their written obligation to furnish the directors a definite sum in gold or silver coin. Thus, private citizens, prompted by the most laudable zeal for the country, stepped forward to support the public credit with their personal responsibility; a conduct the more worthy of encomium, as the situation of affairs still offered but too many motives of doubt and distrust.

Could it have been imagined, however, that at the very moment when a victorious enemy still threatened the existence of their infant republic, the Americans did not rest content with offering their blood and their treasure for its defence? Amidst the din of arms, they were studious to accelerate the advancement of philosophy, science and the arts. They reflected that without the succour of these lights, war tends directly to barbarism, and even peace is deprived of its most precious sweets. In devoting themselves to these noble cares, they regarded not merely the advantages that were to redound thence for the greater civilisation of their country; they had also in view to demonstrate at home and abroad, by this profound security, in the midst of so many agitations, what was their contempt for the danger, and their confidence in the success of their enterprise. Such were the considerations under which the state of Massachusetts founded at Boston a society, or academy of arts and sciences. Its statutes corresponded to the importance of the institution. Its labors were principally directed to facilitate and encourage a knowledge of the antiquities and natural history of America; to ascertain the uses to which its native productions might be applied; to promote medical discoveries, mathematical inquiries, physical researches and experiments, astronomical, meteorological and geographical observations; improvements in the processes of agriculture, arts, manufactures and commerce; the academy was, in brief, to cultivate every art and science that could tend to advance, according to its own language, the 'interests, the honor, the dignity, and the happiness of a free, independent and virtuous people.' On the fourth of July, after having celebrated with the greatest solemnity the anniversary of independence, the president of Congress, the governor of the state of Pennsylvania and the other authorities, both of the city and province, as also the chevalier de la Luzerne, the minister of France, repaired with no ordinary pomp to the university, to attend the collation of degrees. The director of the studies delivered an address well suited to the occasion. The generous spirit of the students was fired with new ardor for their country; all the audience shared their enthusiasm, and drew from it the most felicitous presages. It was amidst this general display of zeal and efforts to proceed with honor in the chosen career, that the succours sent by France to the support of her allies, made their appearance at Rhode Island. At



this sight, transports of exultation burst forth throughout the American continent. They consisted of a squadron of seven sail of the line, among which was the *duc de Bourgogne*, of eighty-four guns, with five frigates and two corvettes, under the conduct of M. de Ternay. This force convoyed a great number of transports, which brought six thousand soldiers, at the orders of the count de Rochambeau, lieutenant-general of the armies of the king. According to an agreement made between the court of Versailles and the Congress, Washington, as captain-general, was to command in chief all the troops, as well French as American. The king of France had created him, to this intent, lieutenant-general of his armies, and vice-admiral of his fleets. The inhabitants of Newport celebrated the arrival of the French by a general illumination. General Heath received them with every mark of welcome and courtesy.

It being rumored at that time that Clinton meditated an attack upon Rhode Island, the French troops were put in possession of all the forts. They fortified themselves therein with so much diligence, that in a short time they were in a situation to defy the efforts of any enemy whatsoever.

The general assembly of the state of Rhode Island sent a deputation to compliment the general of his most christian majesty. They said many things of the profound acknowledgment of America towards that generous monarch. They promised on their part every sort of aid and succour. The count de Rochambeau answered them that the corps he had brought, was merely the vanguard of the army which the king his master was about to send to their assistance. That his majesty sincerely wished the liberty and happiness of America, and that his troops should observe an exemplary discipline among those whom they were to regard in the light of kindred. He concluded with saying, that as brothers, he himself, his officers, and all his people, had voluntarily devoted their lives to the service of the Americans.

The presence and promises of the French general inspired all hearts with courage and with hope; but the partisans that England had preserved in the country, were forced to disguise their rage. Washington, the more to cement the union of the two nations, ordered that in the banners of his army, the ground of black, which is the color of America, should be surrounded with white, the distinctive color of France.

At this epoch, admiral Arbuthnot, who still occupied the New York station, had with him only four ships of the line; and, far from contemplating an attack, was himself in dread of being attacked. A few days after, however, admiral Graves arrived from England, with six other sail of the line. This superiority of force decided the English to undertake an expedition against Rhode Island. Admiral Graves repaired thither first with his squadron, to see if any mean

would offer itself to destroy that of the enemy in the very harbor of Newport; but the French had made such imposing preparations of defence, that, without temerity, nothing could be attempted against them. The British squadron made the best of its way back to New York. Meanwhile, general Clinton, being resolutely determined not to suffer the French to establish themselves on a permanent footing in that part, formed a design to attack Rhode Island with a picked corps of six thousand men, that should disembark at some point the most favorable to the enterprise. The admiral gave into the plan, although to his private judgment, it presented little probability of success. The British squadron got under sail, and already it had proceeded as far as Huntingdon bay, in Long Island, when Washington, who watched all the movements of his adversary, began to stir. Seeing general Clinton advance with so considerable a corps, and finding himself, thanks to fresh reinforcements, at the head of twelve thousand men, he descended by forced marches along the banks of the Hudson. Arrived at Kings Bridge, he menaced to carry even the city of New York, then disgarnished, and exposed almost without defence to a coup de main. On the other hand, the militia of New England had run to arms, panting to give the French, in the outset, a high notion of their force and of their zeal. Already ten thousand men were on the march towards Providence, and a still greater number were preparing to follow them. The British generals were not long in being apprised of all these movements, and found themselves still more divided in opinion than before. These motives combined, determined Clinton to relinquish his projects; he returned without delay to New York, with all his forces. The timidity manifested by the English in this occurrence, was a fresh spur to the ardor of the Americans. They already considered the garrison of New York as vanquished, and within their grasp. They had, moreover, a particular subject of encouragement. The French that were arrived in Rhode Island, had brought an immense quantity of the coined money of their country. According to the custom of the military of their nation, they never lost any occasion of spending it to the last crown. It followed, that in a short time French specie became so common in the United States, as to restore some vigor to the body politic, which, from the exhaustion of its finances, was become languid to a point even almost threatening an absolute dissolution. The bills of credit, it is true, experienced an increase of depression; but this evil excited no alarm. For a long time, this paper had lost all confidence, and the state soon after relieved itself of it altogether, as will be seen in the sequel of this history.

The various causes we have noticed, had generally infused new life into the Americans of the different states; but it is to be observed that they operated with more efficacy on the inhabitants of the southern provinces. These were more immediately exposed to dan-



ger, and they had besides, peculiar motives for detesting the insolence of the English. Accordingly, as soon as the occasion was offered them, they assembled upon different points of North Carolina, and upon the extreme frontier of South Carolina. These assemblages, commanded by daring chiefs, gave no little annoyance to the royal troops. They insulted their posts, and sometimes, even carried them. But among all the officers who distinguished themselves at the head of these desultory parties, none appeared with more splendor than colonel Sumpter. Born himself in South Carolina, his personal importance, military talents and prowess, had rendered him there an object of general consideration. The greater part of those Carolinians whom their aversion to British domination had induced to fly from their homes, had hastened to place themselves under the standard of their intrepid fellow-citizen. They were already sufficiently numerous to keep the field, and to menace the enemy upon all points. They had no pay, no uniforms, nor even any certain means of subsistence; they lived upon what chance, or their own courage, provided them. They experienced even a want of arms and munitions of war; but they made themselves rude weapons from the implements of husbandry; instead of balls of lead, they cast them of pewter, with the dishes which the patriots cheerfully gave them for that purpose. These resources, however, were very far from sufficing them. They were seen, several times, to encounter the enemy with only three charges of ammunition to a man. While the combat was engaged, some of those who were destitute of arms or ammunition, kept themselves aside, waiting till the death or wounds of their companions should permit them to take their place. The most precious fruit, to their eyes, of the advantages they gained over the English, was that of being enabled to acquire muskets and cartridges at the expense of the vanquished. At length, colonel Sumpter, finding himself at the head of a numerous corps, attacked one of the most important positions of the enemy, at Rocky Mount. He was repulsed, but not discouraged. Never giving repose either to himself or to his adversaries, he fell, a short time after, upon another British post, at Hanging Rock, and put to the edge of the sword all that defended it, regulars and loyalists. He subjected to a similar fate colonel Bryan, who was come from North Carolina with a body of loyalists of that province. Infesting the enemy upon all points at once, he eluded all their efforts to quell him. His invincible courage and perfect knowledge of the country, offered him continually new resources. As rapid in his attacks as industrious in his retreats, victor or vanquished, he escaped all the snares of his foes. Colonel Williams served no less usefully the same cause, at the head of a light detachment of Carolinians of the district of Ninety-Six. In one of his frequent excursions he surprised and cut in pieces a body of loyalists on the banks of the river Ennoree. This partisan war had the double advantage of restoring

confidence to the Americans, of continually mining the forces of the English, and of supporting the party of Congress in these provinces. These smart skirmishes were only, however, the prelude of the bloody battles that were about to ensue between the principal armies.

As soon as Washington was first apprised of the siege of Charleston, he had put on the march towards South Carolina a reinforcement of fourteen hundred continental troops of Maryland and of Delaware, under the conduct of the baron de Kalb. That officer displayed great activity in the execution of his orders, and, if it had been possible for him to gain the point of his destination, it is probable that things would have taken another direction. But the defect of provision, the difficulty of places, and the excessive heat of the season, opposed him with such and so many impediments, that he could only progress step by step. It is related, that this detachment had no other subsistence for many days than the cattle that were found astray in the woods. Sometimes, finding themselves totally destitute of flesh and flour, the soldiers were constrained to sustain life with the grain of unripe wheat and such fish as they could procure; they supported such hardships and distress with an heroic constancy. In passing through Virginia, they were reenforced by the militia of that province; and, on their arrival at the banks of Deep river, they made their junction with the troops of North Carolina, commanded by general Caswell. These detachments combined formed a corps of six thousand effective men; a force so considerable with respect to the United States, as to induce the Congress to employ it without delay for the expulsion of the English from the two Carolinas. Wishing to confide this operation to a man whose name should exercise a happy influence, they made choice of general Gates. The baron de Kalb was recalled; as a stranger, unacquainted with the country, and ignorant of the proper mode of governing undisciplined militia, he could not retain the command.

General Gates arrived at the camp on Deep river the twenty-fifth of July. He immediately reviewed the troops, to ascertain their number and quality. He afterwards advanced upon the Pedee river, which, in the lower parts, separates the northern from the southern Carolina. The name and fortune of Gates produced so favorable and so rapid an effect, that not only the militia flocked to his standard, but also that munitions and provision abounded in his camp. The general impulse was given. Already the inhabitants of that tract of country which extends between the Pedee and Black river, were in arms against the royal troops. Colonel Sumpter, with a corps of infantry and light horse, incessantly harassed the left of the English, in the hope of intercepting their communication with Charleston; his parties scoured all the environs.

As soon as general Gates was arrived upon the confines of South Carolina, he issued a proclamation, by which he invited the inhabit-



ants to join him in vindicating the rights of America. He promised an entire amnesty, and remission of all penalty in favor of those from whom the victors should have extorted oaths, excepting only such individuals as should have exercised acts of barbarity or depredation against the persons and property of their fellow-citizens. This proclamation was not unfruitful; not only the people ran to arms in multitude to support the cause of Congress, but even the companies levied in the province for the service of the king either revolted or deserted. Strengthened by these accessions, colonel Sumpter became every day a more formidable enemy for the English. While Cornwallis was occupied at Charleston with the administration of Carolina, lord Rawdon had taken the command of the troops cantoned at Cambden and the adjacent country. He had directed upon Georgetown a convoy of sick soldiers, under the escort of a detachment of Carolinians, commanded by colonel Mills. About the middle of the route, these militia mutined, and having seized their officers, conducted them with the sick English to the camp of general Gates. Colonel Lisle, one of those who had taken oath to the king, gained over a battalion of militia that had been levied in the name of Cornwallis, and led it entire to colonel Sumpter. The latter who incessantly scoured the western bank of the Wateree, had captured considerable convoys of munitions of war, rum and provision that had been sent from Charleston upon Cambden. There had also fallen into his power at the same time, a great number of sick, with the soldiers that formed their escort. Already the route from Cambden to Ninety Six was invested by the republicans; and they began to show themselves in force upon that from Cambden to Charleston. Thus the affairs of the king in the Carolinas began to assume an unfavorable aspect. Lord Rawdon, seeing so lowering a tempest about to burst upon him, and destitute of sufficient means to avert its effects, concentrated what troops he had in the vicinity of Cambden, and distributed his cantonments upon the right bank of Lynches Creek. He hastened to give notice of his critical position to lord Cornwallis. In the meantime, Gates appeared with all his forces upon the other bank, and encamped in the front of the enemy. There ensued very warm and frequent skirmishes, with balanced success. The American general would have desired a decisive action, and to profit of his superiority to attack lord Rawdon even in his quarters. But on examination, finding the enemy's position too strong, he dropped the design. His conduct appeared dictated by wisdom; but at the same time, he let slip an opportunity for gaining a signal advantage. If he had ascended by forced marches to the source of the Lynche, he turned without difficulty the left wing of lord Rawdon, and might even seize Cambden on the rear of the British army; this stroke would have decided the fate of the campaign; but either Gates did not see it,

or was afraid to undertake it. A short time after, the British general seeing his right menaced by a movement of the Americans, and fearing for his magazines and hospital, abandoned the banks of the Lynche, and fell back upon Cambden with all his troops. His retreat was in no shape molested by the enemy. At that very time lord Cornwallis arrived in camp. Having surveyed the state of things, and finding to what a degree the forces and audacity of the republicans were augmented, he detached numerous parties on discovery, filled up the companies with the more vigorous convalescents, ordered distributions of arms, and the remounting of Tarleton's legion, which needed horses. Notwithstanding all his efforts, he had not, however, been able to assemble above two thousand men, of whom about fifteen hundred were veteran troops, the rest loyalists and refugees. To attack with means so feeble an enemy so superior, appeared little less than temerity. Cornwallis might indeed have made his retreat to Charleston; but in that case he must have left about eight hundred sick, with a vast quantity of valuable stores, to fall into the hands of the enemy. He likewise foresaw, that excepting Charleston and Savannah, a retreat would be attended with the loss of the two whole provinces of South Carolina and Georgia. On the other hand, he observed, that the major part of his army was composed of soldiers as perfectly equipped as inured to war, and commanded by officers of approved valor and ability. He saw in victory the entire reduction of the two Carolinas, whereas even discomfiture could scarcely have worse consequences than retreat.

Under these considerations, he determined not only to face the enemy, but even to hazard a general action. Cambden, the centre of the British line, not being a fortified place, and the boldest resolutions being often also the most fortunate, Cornwallis would not await the Americans in his cantonments. He formed a design to attack the position of Rugeleys Mills, which the enemy occupied, with a view of forcing him to an engagement. On the fifteenth of August, all the royal troops were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march. About ten o'clock in the evening, the columns put themselves in motion for Rugeleys. The first commanded by colonel Webster, consisted in light infantry and dragoons. The second, under the conduct of lord Rawdon, was composed of Irish volunteers and loyalists. Two English battalions formed the reserve. In the rear was the baggage and a detachment of grenadiers. The English marched amid the obscurity of the night, in the most profound silence. The columns passed the little stream of Saunder, and had already left Cambden ten miles behind them. But while the English were advancing upon Rugeleys Mills, the Americans themselves had quitted that place, at ten o'clock, with intent to surprise them. Gates and Cornwallis had both at once formed the



same design, the one against the other. The American van consisted in the legion of cavalry of colonel Armand, flanked on the right by the light infantry of colonel Porterfield, and on the left by the light infantry of major Armstrong. Next, marched the brigades of Maryland regulars, with the militia of North Carolina and Virginia. The baggage followed the rear guard, formed of a numerous corps of volunteers, with light horse at the two flanks. General Gates had commanded his troops to march compact and in silence, and not to fire without order. He had sent to Wacsaw, on his rear, the sick, the unnecessary baggage, in a word, whatever might tend to impede his march. So many precautions on both sides, indicated that the two generals had mutually penetrated one the other. It was yet only two in the morning, when the advanced guard of the British army encountered the head of the first American column. It was briskly repulsed by colonel Porterfield; but that officer received a serious wound. The English, supported by two regiments of infantry, charged the Americans in their turn. The action was engaged with spirit, and the loss considerable on both sides; but, all of a sudden, equally fearing the hazard of a nocturnal conflict, the two generals suspended the fire, and again the most profound silence reigned in the midst of darkness; the day was impatiently awaited.

Meanwhile, Cornwallis ascertained by the people of the country, that the ground was as propitious to him as it was unfavorable to the enemy. Gates, in effect, could not advance to the attack but through a narrow way, bordered on either side by deep swamps. This circumstance, by depriving the Americans of the advantage of superior number, reestablished an equality of forces. The British general formed his plan of battle accordingly. By daylight he disposed the front of his army in two divisions; that of the right, commanded by colonel Webster, had its right flank covered by a morass, and its left supported upon the great road; the other division under the conduct of lord Rawdon had in like manner a morass on its left, while its right was reunited by the highway to the corps of Webster. The artillery was placed between the two divisions. A battalion drawn up behind each, served them as a sort of rear guard. Tarleton's legion was posted upon the right of the road, in readiness to attack the enemy or receive him according to the occasion. The Americans, on their part, made all the dispositions that appeared to them the most suitable. Gates divided his vanguard in three columns. That of the right, commanded by general Gist, having the morass on its right, connected by its left upon the great road with the column of the centre, composed of the North Carolina militia, led by general Caswell. The column of the left comprised the militia of Virginia, at the orders of general Stevens. Behind the Virginians were posted the light infantry of Porterfield and Armstrong. Colonel Armand had placed his cavalry behind the left, to face the legion of Tarleton.

The continental troops of Maryland and Delaware formed the reserve. They were inured to war, and upon their valor rested the chief hope of success. They were commanded by general Smallwood. The artillery was placed in part upon the right of the continental troops, and in part upon the highway.

Such was the order of battle of the two armies; when just as the action was about to commence, Gates, not satisfied with the position of the divisions of Caswell and Stevens, very imprudently ordered them to change it for another which appeared to him better. Cornwallis at sight of this movement, resolved to profit of it instantly. Accordingly, he ordered colonel Webster to advance and make a vigorous attack upon Stevens, whose troops were still undulating, from their not having yet been able to reform their ranks. Colonel Webster obeyed with celerity. The battle thus commenced between the right of the English and the left of the Americans; it soon became general. The morning being still and hazy, the smoke hung over and involved both armies in such a cloud that it was difficult to see the state of destruction on either side. The British troops, however, intermingling a quick and heavy fire with sharp charges at the point of the bayonet, evidently gained ground upon the Americans. At length the Virginians, pressed by colonel Webster, and already half broken by the unadvised movement directed by Gates, after a feeble resistance, shamefully betook themselves to flight. The Carolinian militia, finding themselves uncovered, soon began to give way, and at last turned the back with a similar baseness. Their officers attempted in vain to rally them; they were themselves involved in the rout. The left wing of the Americans was totally broken; Gates and Caswell made some efforts to reform it; but Tarleton adroitly seized the decisive moment, and with a furious charge, carried to its height the confusion and consternation of that wing; all the troops that composed it threw themselves into the neighboring woods. Their flight exposed the left flank of a Carolinian regiment, and of the regulars of Maryland and Delaware, who were already attacked in front. The right wing of the English, now completely victorious, turned furiously upon the American centre. This division defended themselves with the utmost gallantry; if it was not in their power to restore the fortune of the day, they saved at least the honor of the republican standard.

Opposing the enemy with a terrible fire, or the push of their bayonets, they withstood all his efforts. The baron de Kalb led them several times to the charge; and they even recovered lost ground. But at length, surrounded on all sides, overwhelmed by number, and penetrated by cavalry, they were constrained to abandon the field of battle, but without having left a bloodless victory to their foes. Pierced with eleven wounds, the baron de Kalb fell dying into the power of the victors. The rout was general; each provided for his



own safety. General Gist could rally no more than an hundred infantry, and the dragoons of Armand. The British cavalry pursued the vanquished with vehemence for the space of twenty-three miles, and without halting, till exhaustion imposed the necessity of repose.

The loss of the Americans in this action was very considerable. The number of the dead, wounded and prisoners, was estimated at upwards of two thousand. Among the first was general Gregory, and among the prisoners, the baron de Kalb, and general Rutherford, of Carolina. Eight pieces of brass cannon, two thousand stand of arms, several colors, with all the baggage and stores, fell into the hands of the conqueror. The loss of the British in killed and wounded amounted, including officers, only to three hundred and twenty-four.

Three days after the battle, the baron de Kalb, perceiving the approach of death, requested his aid-de-camp, the chevalier Dubuisson, to express in his name to generals Gist and Smallwood, his high sense of the valor displayed in the battle of Cambden by the regular troops of Maryland and Delaware. He spent his last breath in declaring the satisfaction which he then felt in having fallen in the defence of a cause so noble, and, to him, so dear. The Congress ordered that a monument should be erected him at the city of Annapolis, the capital of Maryland.

General Gates was reproached with several grave errors. The least excusable was doubtless that of having undertaken to change his order of battle in presence of the enemy. Perhaps he was also in fault to march in the night unwarlike militia, who knew not even how to keep their ranks. He retreated to Hillsborough, in North Carolina. Generals Gist and Smallwood fell back upon Charlotte-town, and afterwards upon Salisbury, where they endeavored to rally the fugitives and to reorganise their divisions; but the cause of England triumphed throughout the province of South Carolina; the banners of the republic no longer waved in any part of it. Colonel Sumpter alone continued to show himself upon the banks of the Wateree, with a corps of about a thousand men, and two field pieces. But on the news of the late discomfiture of Gates, he retired promptly towards the fords of Catawba, in the upper parts of North Carolina. Lord Cornwallis, a man of great activity, reflecting that his advantages were insecure till he should have destroyed this last body of republicans, detached colonel Tarleton in pursuit of it. The latter, moving with his accustomed celerity, fell unexpectedly upon the position of Sumpter, who had thought he might take some repose on the banks of Fishing Creek. Tarleton surprised him so completely, that his men, lying totally careless and at ease, were mostly cut off from their arms. Their only resource was in a prompt flight; but a great number fell into the hands of the enemy, who slaughtered them after they had surrendered. Tarleton alleged

that he could not grant them life, because his whole party was not equal in number to one third of Sumpter's. At length the carnage ceased, when the English and loyalists that were detained prisoners in the rear of Sumpter's position had been liberated. The cannon, stores and baggage, were the prey of the victors. Colonel Sumpter, with a few of his followers, made good their escape. The disaster of his corps could not be imputed to him; he had not omitted to send out scouts upon the direction of the enemy, but that service was acquitted with an unpardonable negligence. Tarleton returned to Cambden the third day, with his prisoners, booty, and the loyalists he had retaken.

After the battle of Cambden, Cornwallis, in order not to lose by his tardiness the fruits of victory, could have wished to advance immediately into North Carolina, a feeble province, and very ill disposed towards the Congress. Thence he could march to the conquest of Virginia. Unquestionably, the presence of the victorious army in that part would have dispersed the relics of the vanquished, prevented their rallying anew, and encouraged the friends of the royal cause to show themselves, and even to act. But the British general encountered divers obstacles that opposed the execution of this plan. The heat of the season was excessive, the climate unhealthy, and the hospitals were encumbered with wounded and sick. The necessaries for encampment were almost entirely wanting; there was not a single magazine upon the frontiers of the Carolinas; and North Carolina could furnish but very little provision. Yielding to these considerations, Cornwallis relinquished all ulterior operation, distributed his troops in cantonments, and returned to Charleston. He thought himself sure at least of the submission of all South Carolina and of the not distant conquest of North, as soon as the season and the state of his magazines should favor the enterprise. In the meantime, he wrote frequently to the friends of royalty in North Carolina, exhorting them to take arms, to assemble in force, and to make themselves masters of the most ardent republicans with their munitions and magazines. He counselled them even to seize the fugitives and stragglers of the rebel army. He promised them, that it should not be long before he marched to their assistance. And to inspire them with confidence in his words, even before he could move with his whole army, he detached major Ferguson, an able and enterprising partisan, upon the western frontiers of North Carolina. He had under his command a thousand loyalists and a corps of cavalry. His mission was to encourage by his presence the enemies of the revolution, and especially to open a correspondence with the inhabitants of Tryon county, who, more than the others, showed themselves attached to the name of England.

Unable to operate in the field, Cornwallis turned his attention towards the internal administration, in order to consolidate the acqui-



sition of South Carolina. Resolved to have recourse to extreme remedies for terminating the crisis in which that province found itself, he purposed to spread terror among the republicans by the rigor of punishment, and to deprive them of the means to do harm, by depriving them of the means to subsist. Accordingly, he addressed orders to all the British commanders, that without any delay they should cause to be hung all those individuals, who, after having served in the militia levied by the king, had gone over to the rebels; that they should punish with imprisonment and confiscation those, who, having submitted at first, had taken part in the last rebellion, to the end that their effects might be applied to indemnify those subjects whom they should have oppressed or despoiled. It cannot be denied, that if it was possible to excuse such severity towards those who had exchanged the condition of prisoners of war for that of British subjects, it was worthy of an eternal blame in respect to those who had wished to remain in the first of these conditions. In effect, had they not been released from their parole by the authentic proclamation of Cornwallis himself, under date of the third of June? But victors, too often, by vain subtilties, or even without deigning to have recourse to them, especially in political convulsions, make sport of violating their faith, as if it were a necessity for them to add to the evils inseparable from war, all the vexations of perfidy! However this might be, and however rigorous were the orders of Cornwallis, they were every where punctually executed. Carolina was become a theatre of proscriptions. Several British officers openly testified their abhorrence of this reign of blood; but the greater part, and Tarleton more than any other, commended it without shame, as useful and necessary to the success of the royal cause. Already Tarleton had complained bitterly of the clemency, as he called it, exercised by Cornwallis prior to the battle of Cambden; this clemency, he said, was not only good for nothing, but also prejudicial in every thing, since it rendered friends less hearty, and enemies more audacious. This reproach would certainly have been founded, if it were true that in war utility alone deserves regard, and that nothing is due to humanity, good faith and justice. Nobody denies, for example, that to poison springs; massacre all the prisoners that can be taken, bring off into slavery all the inhabitants of a country, without distinction of age or sex, and without regard for the law of nations, might sometimes have a useful tendency. We see, nevertheless, that in all time, civilised nations, and conquerors not entirely barbarous, have abstained from these horrible extremities. But in the present occurrence, the English showed themselves without pity for the most respectable men of the country. The inhabitants of Cambden, of Ninety Six, of Augusta, and other places, saw inhumanly gibbeted men, whose only crime was that of having been too faithful to a cause which they considered as that of their country and of justice.

All minds were penetrated with horror ; all hearts were inflamed with an implacable and never dying hatred against such ferocious victors. A cry of vengeance resounded amidst this exasperated people ; all detested a king who had devoted them to the oppression of these brutal executors of his will. His standard became an object of execration. The British generals learned by cruel experience, that executions and despair are frail securities for the submission of a people planted in distant regions, actuated by a common opinion, and embarked with passion in a generous enterprise. Nor were these the only rigors which Cornwallis thought it expedient to exercise, in order to confirm the possession of the provinces conquered by his arms. To complete the reduction of the patriots, he employed arrests and sequestrations. He feared that the presence in Charleston of the leading men, who, persevering in their character of prisoners of war, had refused to accept that of subjects, might tend to keep alive a spirit of resistance. He likewise learned, as the British writers affirm, that these prisoners had maintained a secret correspondence with the enemies of the English name, the proofs of which had been found in the baggage of the American generals captured at the battle of Cambden. These motives appeared to him sufficient to justify the seizure and imprisonment at St. Augustin, in East Florida, of more than thirty of the most influential chiefs of the American party. They were all of the number of those who had taken the most active part in the organisation of the republican government, and who had shown themselves the most ardent partisans of the present war. Then desirous to prevent those who were, or whom he believed, opposed to Great Britain, from assisting the Congress with their pecuniary means, or with a hope to constrain them to submission, he issued a proclamation purporting the sequestration of the possessions of whoever should hold correspondence with the Congress, act in its name, join the enemies of England, or excite the people to revolt by word or deed. He constituted at the same time, a commissioner over sequestrated estates, with obligation to account to the families of the forfeited for a part of their nett revenue ; a fourth to those consisting of a wife and children, and a sixth to wives without children. A clause required, however, that these families should reside in the province. These different measures, combined with a rigorous watchfulness over the movements of the suspected, appeared to the English a sure guaranty for the return of tranquillity and obedience in the province of South Carolina. *And as to North Carolina*, it could no longer hope to resist them when the weather became temperate, and the harvests were over. We shall see, in the course of this history, how far these hopes were confirmed by the event.

Whilst the season had caused the suspension of hostilities in the two Carolinas, and while, in the state of New York, the superiority of the Americans by land, and that of the English by sea, had occa-



sioned a similar cessation of arms, an unexpected event arrested the general attention. During some time a design had been maturing in the shades of mystery, whose execution, had it succeeded to the wish of its authors, would have involved the total ruin of the army of Washington, and, perhaps, the entire subjugation of America. A single instant more, and the work of so many years, cemented at such a cost of gold and blood, might have been demolished to its foundations by a cause altogether unthought of. The English had well nigh arrived by means of treason, at that object which with five years of intrigues and of combats they had not been able to attain; and it was even at the hands of the man they least suspected, that the Americans were to have received the most fatal blow. They had but too manifest a proof that no confidence can be placed in courage when disunited from virtue. They learned that men who displayed the most enthusiasm for a cause, are often also those who become the soonest unfaithful; and that an insatiable thirst of pelf, coupled with mad prodigalities, easily conduct the ambitious spendthrift to barter basely for gold even the safety of his country. Private virtues are incontestably the original and only basis of public integrity; and it should never be forgotten, that the man without morals, who arrives at the first offices of the republic, has no other object but to satiate his ambition or his cupidity, at the expense of his fellow-citizens. If he encounter obstacles, he is ripe for deeds of violence within, and treason without. The name of general Arnold was deservedly dear to all the Americans; they considered him as one of their most intrepid defenders. Numerous wounds, and especially that which had almost deprived him of the use of one leg, had forced him to take repose at his seat in the country.

The Congress, with the concurrence of Washington, in recompense for his services, appointed him commandant of Philadelphia, immediately after that city was evacuated by the English, and returned under American domination. Here Arnold lived at an enormous expense, and showed himself extremely grasping in order to support it. He had established himself in the house of Penn, and had furnished it in the most sumptuous manner. His play, his table, his balls, his concerts, his banquets, would have exhausted the most immense fortune. His own, and the emoluments of his employment, being far from sufficient to defray such extravagance, he had betaken himself to commerce and privateering. His speculations proved unfortunate; his debts accumulated, his creditors tormented him. His boundless arrogance revolted at so many embarrassments; yet he would diminish nothing of this princely state. Under these circumstances, he conceived the shameful idea of reimbursing himself from the public treasure for all he had squandered in riotous living. Accordingly, he presented accounts more worthy of a shameless usurer than of a general. The government, astonished and indig-

nant, appointed commissioners to investigate them. They refused not merely to approve them; they reduced the claims of Arnold to half. Enraged at their decision, he loaded them with reproaches and insults, and appealed from it to the Congress. Several of its members were charged to examine these accounts anew, and to make report. They declared that the commissioners had allowed Arnold more than he had any right to demand. His wrath no longer observed measure; the Congress itself became the object of the most indecent invectives that ever fell from a man in high station. This conduct, far from restoring tranquillity, produced a quite contrary effect. That spirit of order for which the Americans are distinguished, did not permit them to quit thus an affair already in progress. Arnold was accused of peculation by the state of Pennsylvania, and brought before a court martial to take his trial. Among the charges laid against him, he was accused of having converted to his own use the British merchandise he had found and confiscated at Philadelphia, in 1778; as also of having employed the public carriages for the service of different private individuals, and especially for his own and that of his associates in the commerce of New Jersey. The court sentenced him to be reprimanded by Washington. This sentence neither satisfied the accused nor the accusers. The latter exclaimed that more regard had been shown to the past services of Arnold than for justice; the former broke into bitter complaints of the iniquity of his judges and ingratitude of his country. His pride could not brook so public a disgrace; he had seen himself the idol of his fellow-citizens, and he was now become the object of their contempt, if not hatred. In the blindness of his vengeance, and in the hope that he might still glut his passion with British gold, since he no longer could with American, he resolved to add perfidy to avidity, and treason to pillage. Determined that his country should resume the yoke of England, he developed his projects in a letter which he addressed to colonel Robinson. General Clinton was immediately made acquainted with its contents. He committed this secret negotiation to major Andre, his aid-de-camp, a young man as distinguished for the suavity of his manners and the gentleness of his temper, as for the singular comeliness of his person. Arnold and Andre corresponded together under the assumed names of Gustavus and Anderson. The American general was promised a corresponding rank in the British army, and considerable sums of gold. He, on his part, engaged to render the king some signal service. The consequence of this understanding was a demand that West Point should be given up to the royal troops. That fortress, situated upon the western bank of the Hudson, is of extreme importance, in that it defends the passage of the mountains in the upper part of the river. Accordingly, the Americans had been at such pains and expense to render it impregnable, that it was called with reason *the Gibraltar of America*. Into this all important citadel,



Arnold formally pledged himself to introduce the English. Hence, pretending to have taken an aversion to the residence of Philadelphia, and that he wished to resume an active service in the army, he requested and obtained the command of West Point, and of all the American troops cantoned in that quarter. But his plan embraced more than the mere delivery of the fortress; he purposed so to scatter his forces in the environs, that Clinton might easily fall upon them by surprise, and cut them off at the same stroke. Masters of West Point, and having no more enemies before them, the English would then have marched rapidly against Washington, who had distributed his troops upon the two banks of the Hudson; their destruction must have been total and inevitable. Thus, therefore, besides West Point, and those passes which had been so often disputed, and for which the British government had undertaken the fatal expedition of Burgoyne, the Americans would have lost their whole army, their artillery, their munitions of war, and their best officers. May it not even be conjectured that, if the English should have profited of the confusion and consternation which could not fail to have resulted from so sudden a catastrophe, the United States would have found themselves necessitated to receive the law of the conqueror?

About the middle of September, Washington had been called to Hartford, in Connecticut, upon some affairs which required his presence. The conspirators considered the occasion propitious for the accomplishment of their designs. It was agreed that, in order to concert more particularly the last measures, major Andre should repair secretly to the presence of Arnold. Accordingly, in the night of the twenty-first of September, he landed from the Vulture sloop of war, which already long since Clinton had stationed up the river not far from West Point, to facilitate the correspondence between the two parties. Arnold and Andre passed the whole night in conference. The day having dawned before all their dispositions were concluded, the British aid-de-camp was concealed in a secure place. The following night, he wished to regain the Vulture; but the boatmen would not convey him thither, because the excess of his precautions had inspired them with some distrust. He was obliged to take the way of the land. Arnold gave him a horse and a passport under the name of Anderson. Until then he had worn the British uniform under a riding coat; he threw it off, and took a common dress, though, it is said, much against his will, and at the earnest importunity of Arnold. He had already safely passed the American guards and outposts, and might reasonably hope to arrive without obstacle at New York; but fate had reserved a different issue for the infamous perfidy of Arnold; and the generous devotion of major Andre towards his country.

As he was going through Tarrytown, a village situated in the vicinity of the first British posts, three soldiers of the militia, who

happened to be there, threw themselves across his passage. He showed them his passport; they suffered him to continue his route. All of a sudden, one of these three men, more distrustful than his comrades, thought he had observed something particular in the person of the traveller; he called him back. Andre asked them where they were from. 'From down below,' they replied, intending to say from New York. The young man, too frank to suspect a snare, immediately answered, 'and so am I.' They arrest him. He then declared himself, for what he was, a British officer. He offered all the gold he had with him, a valuable watch, rewards and rank in the British army, as the price of his release; all his efforts were vain. John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wert, such were the names of the three soldiers, were found incorruptible; a disinterestedness the more worthy of eulogium, as they were poor and obscure. Thus in the very moment when one of the most distinguished chiefs of the American army, a man celebrated throughout the world for his brilliant exploits, betrayed out of a base vengeance the country he had served, and sold it for a purse of gold, three common soldiers preferred the honest to the useful, and fidelity to fortune. They diligently searched their prisoner, and found in his boots several papers written by the hand of Arnold himself, containing the most detailed information with respect to the positions of the Americans, their munitions, the garrison of West Point, and the most suitable mode of directing an attack against that fortress. Major Andre was conducted before the officer who commanded the advanced posts. Afraid of hurting Arnold by an immediate disclosure of his true character, and braving the danger of being instantly put to death as a spy, if it should be discovered that he had concealed his real name, he persisted in affirming that he was Anderson, as indicated by his passport. The American officer was at a loss what to decide; he could not persuade himself that his general, after having so often shed his blood for the country, was now resolved to betray it. These hesitations, the negations of Andre, the distance at which Washington, and even Arnold, found themselves, gave the latter time to escape. As soon as he heard that Andre was arrested, he threw himself into a boat and hastened on board the *Vulture*. The news of this event excited universal amazement. The people could scarcely credit the treachery of a man in whom they had so long placed the utmost confidence. The peril they had run filled them with consternation; the happy chance which had rescued them from it, appeared a prodigy. 'God,' they said, 'has not permitted that men of honor should be victims of perfidy; it is his almighty hand that has saved us; he approves and protects the cause of America.' Maledictions were heaped upon Arnold, praises upon those who had arrested Andre.



Meanwhile, Washington returned from Connecticut to his camp. Suspecting, first of all, that the plot might have more extensive ramifications, and not knowing on what individuals to fix his eye, he busied himself in taking the most prompt and efficacious measures to baffle their pernicious designs. He feared also lest the contagion of example might incite even those who were strangers to the conspiracy to entertain rash desires for a new order of things. He knew that the way once cleared by some audacious individuals, the multitude are but too apt to hurry blindly after them. These apprehensions offered themselves the more naturally to his mind, as the pay of his troops was considerably in arrear, and as they were in want of many of the necessaries not only of war, but even of life. The precautions of the commander-in-chief were fortunately superfluous. Nobody stirred; nothing led to the presumption of Arnold's having had accomplices.

When major Andre, from the time elapsed, could infer that Arnold must be in safety, he revealed his name and rank. He appeared less solicitous about his safety, than to prove that he was neither an impostor nor a spy. He endeavored to refute the appearances which seemed to depose against him. He affirmed that his intention had been merely to come and confer, upon neutral ground, with a person designated by his general; but that thence he had been trepanned and drawn within the American lines. From that moment, he added, none of his steps could be imputed to his default, since he then found himself in the power of others. Washington, meanwhile, created a court martial; among its members, besides many of the most distinguished American officers, were the marquis de la Fayette and the baron de Steuben. Major Andre appeared before his judges; they were specially charged to investigate and define the nature of the offence, and the punishment it involved, according to the laws of war. The demeanor of the young Englishman was equally remote from arrogance and from meanness. His blooming years, the ingenuous cast of his features, the mild elegance of his manners, had conciliated him an interest in every heart.

In the meantime, Arnold, being safely arrived on board the *Vulture*, immediately wrote a letter to Washington. He impudently declared in it that it was the same patriotism of which he had never ceased to give proofs since the origin of the contest, which had now prescribed him his present step, whatever men might think of it, always so ill judges of the actions of others. He added, that he asked nothing for himself, having already but too much experience of the ingratitude of his country, but that he prayed and conjured the commander-in-chief to have the goodness to preserve his wife from the insults of an irritated people, by sending her to Philadelphia among her friends, or by permitting her to come and rejoin him at New York. This letter was followed by a despatch from colonel

Robinson, likewise dated on board the Vulture. He earnestly demanded that major Andre should be released, urging in his defence, that he had gone ashore on public business and under the protection of a flag, as well by the invitation of Arnold as by the command of his own general; that he was the bearer of a regular passport for his return to New York; that all his doings during the time he had passed with the Americans, and especially the change of his dress and name, had been dictated by the will of Arnold. The colonel concluded with alleging that the major could no longer be detained without a violation of the sanctity of flags and a contempt for all the laws of war as they are acknowledged and practised by all nations. General Clinton wrote in much the same style in favor of Andre. In the letter of that general was enclosed a second from Arnold; its language could not pretend to the merit of reserve. He insisted that in his character of American general, he was invested with the right to grant Andre the usual privilege of flags, that he might approach in safety to confer with him; and that in sending him back, he was competent to choose any way he thought the most proper. But major Andre betrayed less anxiety respecting his fate than was manifested in his behalf by his countrymen and friends. Naturally averse from all falsehood, from all subterfuge, desirous, if he must part with life, to preserve it at least pure and spotless to his last hour, he confessed ingenuously that he had by no means come under the protection of a flag; adding, that if he had come so accompanied, he should certainly have returned under the same escort. His language manifested an extreme attention to avoid imputing fault to any; abjuring, on the contrary, all dissimulation in regard to what concerned him personally, he often avowed more than was questioned him; so much generosity and constancy were universally admired. The fate of this unfortunate young man wrung tears of compassion even from his judges. All would have wished to save him, but the fact was too notorious. The court martial, on the ground of his own confession, pronounced that he was, and ought to be considered as a spy, and as such to be punished with death. Washington notified this sentence to Clinton, in the answer to his letter. He recapitulated all the circumstances of the offence, inviting him to observe, that although they were of a nature to justify towards major Andre the summary proceedings usual in the case of spies, still he had preferred to act in respect of him with more deliberation and scruple; that it was therefore not without a perfect knowledge of the cause that the court martial had passed the judgment of which he apprised him. But Clinton, half delirious with anguish at the destiny of Andre, whom he loved with the utmost tenderness, did not restrict himself to the efforts he had already made to preserve him. He again wrote to Washington, praying him to consent to a conference between several delegates of the two



parties, in order to throw all the light possible upon so dubious an affair. Washington complied with the proposal; he sent general Greene to Dobbs Ferry, where he was met by general Robertson on the part of the English. The latter exerted himself with extreme earnestness to prove that Andre could not be considered as a spy. He repeated the arguments already advanced of the privilege of flags, and of the necessity that controlled the actions of Andre while he was in the power of Arnold. But perceiving that his reasoning produced no effect, he endeavored to persuade by the voice of humanity; he alleged the essential importance of mitigating by generous counsels the rigors of war; he extolled the clemency of general Clinton, who had never put to death any of those persons who had violated the laws of war; he reminded, that major Andre was particularly dear to the general-in-chief, and that if he might be permitted to reconduct him to New York, any American, of whatever crime accused, and now in the power of the English, should be immediately set at liberty. He made still another proposition; and that was, to suspend the execution of the judgment, and to refer the affair to the decision of two officers familiar alike with the laws of war and of nations, such as the generals Knyphausen and Rochambeau. Finally, general Robertson presented a letter from Arnold, directed to Washington, by which he endeavored to exculpate the British prisoner, and to take all the blame of his conduct upon himself. He did not retire till after having threatened the most terrible retaliations, if the sentence of the court martial was executed; he declared in particular, that the rebels of Carolina, whose life general Clinton had hitherto generously spared, should be immediately punished with death. The interposition of Arnold could not but tend to the prejudice of Andre; and even if the Americans had been inclined to clemency, his letter would have sufficed to divert them from it. The conference had no effect.

Meanwhile, the young Englishman prepared himself for death. He manifested at its approach, not that contempt which is often no other than dissimulation, or brutishness; nor yet that weakness which is peculiar to effeminate, or guilty men, but that firmness which is the noble characteristic of the virtuous and brave. He regretted life, but he sighed still deeper at the manner of losing it. He could have wished to die as a soldier, that is to be shot; but he was doomed to the punishment of spies and malefactors, to the infamous death of the halter. This idea struck him with horror; he painted it with force to the court martial. It made him no answer, not willing to grant his request, and esteeming it a cruelty to refuse it expressly. Two other causes of despair increased the anguish of the unhappy youth. One was the fear that his death would reduce to indigence and wretchedness a mother and three sisters, whom he tenderly loved; and whom he supported with his pay; the second,

lest the public voice should accuse Clinton of having precipitated him, by his orders, into his present dreadful situation. He could not think, without the most bitter regrets, that his death might be laid to the charge of that man, whom he loved and respected the most. He obtained permission to write to him; he used it but to recommend to his protection his unhappy mother and sisters, and to bear testimony that it was not only against his intentions, but even against his positive orders, that he had introduced himself into the camp of the Americans, and had assumed a disguise. The second day of October was destined to be the last of his existence. Brought to the foot of the gibbet, he said; and must I die thus? He was answered, that it could not be otherwise. He did not dissemble his profound grief. At length, after having past a few moments in prayer, he pronounced these words, which were his last; 'bear witness that I die as a brave man should die.' Such was the just, but melancholy end of a young man deserving in so many respects of a better destiny. It cast a damp of sadness over enemies as well as friends. Arnold gnashed with rage, if, however, that polluted soul was still capable of remorse. The English themselves eyed him with abhorrence, both as traitor, and as original cause of the death of the hapless Andre. In policy, nevertheless, any instrument being thought good provided it serves the end proposed, Arnold was created brigadier-general in the British armies. Clinton hoped that the name and influence of this renegade would induce a great number of the Americans to join the royal standard. Arnold at least was well aware, that since he had abandoned them, he could not show too much fervor for the cause of England. And such being the irresistible ascendant of virtue, that even the most depraved are forced to assume its semblance, he thought fit to publish a memorial, by which he hoped to mask his infamy. He alleged that in the commencement of the troubles, he had taken arms because he believed the rights of his country were infringed; that he had given into the declaration of independence, although he had thought it ill timed; but that when Great Britain, like a relenting and tender mother, had extended her arms to embrace them, offering them the most just and the most honorable conditions, the refusal of the insurgents, and especially their alliance with France, had entirely changed the nature of the quarrel, and transformed a glorious cause into a criminal revolt; that ever since that epoch he had been desirous to resume the relations of ancient allegiance towards England. He declaimed with violence against the Congress; he painted in the most odious colors its tyranny and avarice; he railed against the union with France, affecting a profound grief that the dearest interests of the country had thus been sacrificed to an arrogant, inveterate and perfidious enemy. He represented France as too feeble to establish independence, as the bitterest foe of the protestant faith, as deceitfully



pretending a zeal for the liberty of the human race, while she held her own children in vassalage and servitude. Arnold finished with declaring, that he had so long delayed the disclosure of his sentiments, from a wish, by some important service, to effect the deliverance of his country, and at the same time to avoid as much as possible the effusion of blood. He addressed this memorial to his countrymen in general. A few days after, he published another, directed to the officers and soldiers of the American army. He exhorted them to come and place themselves under the banners of the king, where they would find promotion and increase of pay. He vaunted of wishing to conduct the flower of the American nation to peace, liberty and safety; to rescue the country from the hands of France, and of those who had brought it to the brink of perdition. He affirmed that America was become a prey to avarice, an object of scorn for her enemies, and of pity for her friends; that she had exchanged her liberty for oppression. He represented the citizens thrust into dungeons, despoiled of their property; the youth dragged to war, blood streaming in torrents. 'What,' he exclaimed, 'is America now, but a land of widows, orphans and beggars? If England were to cease her efforts for her deliverance, how could she hope to enjoy the exercise of that religion for which our fathers once braved ocean, climate and deserts? Has not the abject and profligate Congress been seen of late to attend mass, and to participate in the ceremonies of an antichristian church, against the corruptions of which our pious ancestors would have borne testimony at the price of their blood?' These declamations of a traitor proved the more fruitless the more they were insolent and exaggerated. America, moreover, had writers who stepped forward to refute them, in a style as animated as the reasoning was triumphant. They observed, among other things, that none more than Arnold, even subsequent to the rejection of accommodation with England, had been the devoted and obsequious courtier of France, none more than him had danced attendance upon her generals and agents; that on the first arrival of the minister Gerard at Philadelphia, he had pressed him to inhabit his house; that he had lavished, in his honor, the most sumptuous banquets, the most splendid balls, the most gorgeous galas; that he had been the supple flatterer of Silas Deane, the most servile tool of France, in a word, that on all occasions he had given the French grounds to believe that they had not in all the United States a more sincere friend than himself. 'But such,' it was said, 'is the ordinary conduct of the ambitious; alternately cringing and supercilious, they are not ashamed to tax others with their own vices.' Thus Arnold found retorted against himself those arguments from which he had anticipated the most success.

As to the Congress, they deemed it beneath their dignity to appear to take the least notice of the perfidy or the pamphlets of Arnold.

Only to testify their high sense of the noble conduct of the three soldiers who had arrested major Andre, they passed a resolution creating in favor of each of them a life annuity of two hundred dollars, free of all deductions. They also decreed that they should be presented with a silver medal, struck express, bearing upon one face the word *Fidelity*, and upon the other the following motto; *Vincit amor patriæ*. The executive council of Pennsylvania issued a proclamation summoning Benedict Arnold, in company with some other vile men, to appear before the tribunals to make answer for their defection, and declaring them, otherwise, subject to all the pains and penalties usually inflicted on criminals convicted of high treason. This was the only act in which any public authority deigned to make mention of Arnold.

The details of the conspiracy of New York have necessarily diverted our attention for some time from the theatre of war. We proceed now to recount the various success of the British arms in the Carolinas. The month of September approached its close, when the British generals, who had reenforced their troops and recruited their necessary stores and provision, resolved to reenter the field and complete those operations which they had commenced, and which were to be the most important fruit of the victory of Cambden. They flattered themselves that the rumor alone of their march upon North Carolina would suffice to determine the American army to evacuate it immediately. They already beheld in no distant perspective not only the conquest of that province, but also that of Virginia. They calculated that when to the possession of the two Carolinas, of Georgia and New York they should have added this, Virginia, so fertile and so powerful, the Americans, crushed by the burthen of the war, must of necessity submit to the laws of Great Britain. The decline and humiliation of their enemies appeared to them inevitable. Lord Cornwallis and general Clinton were to cooperate simultaneously to bring about this grand result; the first, by advancing from South into North Carolina; the second, by sending a part of his army from New York into the lower parts of Virginia, where, after having passed the Roanoke, it was to operate its junction with the army of Cornwallis upon the confines of North Carolina. In pursuance of this plan, Clinton had detached upon the Chesapeake bay a corps of three thousand men, under the command of general Leslie. He landed his troops as well at Portsmouth as upon the adjacent points of that coast, ravaging and burning all the magazines, and especially those of tobacco, of which an immense quantity was destroyed. Many merchant vessels fell into the hands of the English. In this quarter, they were to wait for news of the approach of Cornwallis, then to push rapidly forward to the banks of the Roanoke, where the junction was to be effected. But the distance being great, and as unforeseen accidents might impede the



contemplated union of the two corps, Clinton had directed Leslie to obey the orders of Cornwallis. His intention was, that if the junction by land was found subject to insurmountable obstacles, Cornwallis might cause a part of that corps to come round to him in the Carolinas, by way of the sea. That general, on his part, had put himself on the march from Cambden upon Charlottetown, a village situated in North Carolina. Nevertheless, to hold South Carolina in check, and to preserve the way open to retreat thither, if it was necessary, he had not contented himself with leaving a strong garrison in Charleston. Several detachments were distributed upon different points of the frontier; colonel Brown was posted at Augusta, colonel Cruger at Ninety Six, and colonel Turnbull with a stronger corps at Cambden. Lord Cornwallis had then advanced, with the main body of the army and some cavalry, by the way of Hanging Rock, towards Catawba, while Tarleton with the rest of the cavalry passed the Wateree and ascended along its eastern bank. The two corps were to rendezvous, and reunite at Charlottetown. They arrived there in effect about the last of September. But the English were not slow in perceiving that they had undertaken a far more arduous enterprise than they had contemplated. The country in the environs of Charlottetown was steril, and broken by narrow and intricate defiles. The inhabitants were not only hostile, but also most vigilant and audacious in attacking detached parties, in cutting off couriers and convoys while on the way from Cambden to Charlottetown. Hence the royalists could not sally into the open country, whether to forage, or gain intelligence, except in strong detachments. Moreover, colonel Sumpter, always enterprising, and prompt to seize any occasion for infesting the British, seemed to be every where at once, upon the frontiers of the two Carolinas. Another partisan corps of similar audacity, had just been formed under the conduct of colonel Marion. Finally, the alarming intelligence was announced, that colonel Clarke had assembled a numerous body of mountaineers from the upper parts of the Carolinas, a most hardy and warlike race of men. Though the valiant defence of colonel Brown had defeated a coup de main which they had attempted against Augusta, yet they still kept the field. Their chief had led them into the mountainous part in order to unite with colonel Sumpter, or, at least, if the corps of Ferguson prevented that, to await new reinforcements of the inhabitants of those regions, whose ardor he well knew.

The royalists thus found themselves surrounded by clouds of republicans. Placed in the midst of a country where every thing combined against them, they more resembled a besieged army than troops marching upon an expedition. An unexpected accident came to aggravate yet more the distress of their position. Colonel Ferguson, as we have already seen, had been detached by lord Cornwallis upon the frontiers of North Carolina, to encourage the loyalists to

take arms. A considerable number had repaired to his standard, but the greater part were of the most profligate and of the most ferocious description of men. Believing any thing admissible with the sanction of their chief, they put every thing on their passage to fire and sword. Excesses so atrocious must have inflamed the coldest hearts with the desire of vengeance ; they transported the mountaineers with fury. They descended into the plain by torrents, arming themselves with whatever chance threw within their reach. They foamed at the name of Ferguson ; they conjured the chiefs they had given themselves, to lead them upon the track of this monster, that they might make him expiate the ravages and blood with which he had stained himself. Each of them carried, besides his arms, a wallet and a blanket. They slept on the naked earth, in the open air ; the water of the rivulets slaked their thirst, they fed on the cattle they drew after them, or on the game they killed in the forests. They were conducted by the colonels Campbell, Cleveland, Selby, Seveer, Williams, Brandy and Lacy. Every where they demanded Ferguson with loud cries. At every step they swore to exterminate him. At length they found him. But Ferguson was not a man that any danger whatever could intimidate. He was posted on a woody eminence which commands all the adjacent plain, and has a circular base. It is called Kings Mountain. An advanced guard defended its approach by the direct road. The mountaineers soon forced them to fall back ; then, forming in several columns, they endeavored to make their way good to the summit. The attack and the defence were equally obstinate ; some from behind trees, others under the cover of rocks, maintained an extremely brisk fire. At length those commanded by Cleveland arrived upon the brow of the hill. The English repulsed them with the bayonet. But the column of Selby came up at the same instant, and it was necessary to dispute the ground with it immediately. It began to give way, when colonel Campbell took part in the combat. Ferguson received him with gallantry ; but what could avail his efforts against assaults incessantly renewed and always with more fury ! He was surrounded ; and he did all that a man of skill and courage could do to extricate himself. But already the crown of the mount was inundated with Americans. They summoned Ferguson, in vain to surrender ; he perished sword in hand. His successor immediately demanded and obtained quarter. The carnage had been dreadful ; the royalists had to regret above eleven hundred men in killed, wounded and prisoners, a loss extremely serious in the present circumstances. All the arms and munitions fell into the power of the conquerors. They observed the laws of war towards the English ; but they displayed an excessive rigor against the loyalists. They hung several without listening to their remonstrances. They alleged, that this execution was only a just reprisal for that of the republicans put to death by



the loyalists at Cambden, at Ninety Six, and at Augusta. They even insisted that the persons whose lives they had taken, had forfeited them by their crimes according to the laws of the country. Thus was added to the inevitable rigors of war, all the ferocity of civil dissensions.

The mountaineers, after this victory, returned to their homes. The check of Kings Mountain was a heavy blow to the British interests in the Carolinas. The position of Cornwallis became critical. The loyalists no longer manifested the same zeal to join him; and he found himself with a feeble army in the midst of a hostile and sterile country. He clearly foresaw that a movement forward would but increase the embarrassments under which he already labored. Compelled, therefore, to relinquish for the present the invasion of North Carolina, where the public mind was decidedly in favor of the republicans, he resolved, at least, to maintain himself in South Carolina until he should have received reenforcements. He accordingly abandoned Charlottetown, repassed the Catawba, and took post at Winnsborough. From that point, he was at hand to correspond with Cambden and Ninety Six; and the fertility of the adjacent country secured him better quarters. At the same time he sent orders to general Leslie, who was still in Virginia, to embark his troops forthwith, and after having touched at Wilmington, to repair with all expedition to Charleston.

The retreat of the English from Charlottetown to Winnsborough, and their defeat at Kings Mountain, animated the republicans with uncommon alacrity. They hastened in multitude to place themselves under the standards of their most daring chiefs, among whom the more prominent were the colonels Sumpter and Marion. The latter scoured the lower, the former the upper parts of the province. Sometimes Cambden, sometimes Ninety Six were menaced. The royal troops could scarcely quit their camp for provision, wood or forage, without running the greatest hazard of being surprised. To put an end to these continual alarms, Tarleton made a movement which menaced colonel Marion; but the American, who intended only to harass his enemy, and not to engage him in the open field, retired precipitately. The Englishman pursued him; but he received, at the same instant, orders from lord Cornwallis, enjoining him to turn upon colonel Sumpter. That partisan was on the march towards Ninety Six; he had already surprised major Wemis upon Broad river, and captured many prisoners, both horse and foot. Tarleton, exerting a scarcely credible diligence, appeared unexpectedly in the presence of Sumpter, who was encamped upon the right bank of the river Tiger, at a place called Blackstocks. The position of the Americans was formidably strong; it was covered in front by the river, log houses and palisades; and upon the two flanks by inaccessible mountains, or narrow and difficult defiles. Tarleton,

hurried on by his ardor, and fearing lest Sumpter should pass the Tiger and escape him, left his light infantry, and even a part of his legion, behind, and pushed forward upon the enemy with a body of grenadiers and the rest of his cavalry. The action was engaged with reciprocal desperation. A British regiment was so roughly treated that it was compelled to fall back in the greatest disorder. Tarleton, to restore the battle, headed an impetuous charge upon the centre of the Americans; they received it without giving way. The Englishman then found himself constrained to retreat, leaving upon the field of battle a great number of dead and wounded, among whom were found several officers of note. But night being come, colonel Sumpter, who was dangerously wounded in the shoulder, did not judge it prudent to await the British troops that Tarleton had left behind him, and he accordingly repassed the river. His wound not permitting him to retain the command, he was carried by faithful soldiers into the secure regions of the mountains. The greater part of his corps then disbanded. Tarleton, after having scoured, for a few days, the country on the left bank of the Tiger, returned by easy marches to resume his position upon Broad river, in South Carolina. This petty war, these frequent rencounters, more and more invigorated the warlike spirit of the troops of the two parties.

Meanwhile, general Gates had succeeded in assembling some few troops, the greater part cavalry, and in order to support the partisans of Congress, as well as to afford them a rallying point, he recrossed the river Yadkin, and took post at Charlottetown, with intent to winter there. He thought that hostilities could not be continued during the bad season, which was then about to set in. While he applied himself with zeal to these preparatory dispositions, and fortune seemed inclined to smile upon him anew, general Greene arrived at camp. His military reputation and his tried devotion to the cause of the republic, had decided the Congress and Washington to intrust him with the command in the southern provinces, in the room of Gates. The latter evinced, in this conjuncture, that country was dearer to him than power and glory. He supported so unpleasant an incident with such constancy, that he did not betray a single mark of discontent. When he passed through Richmond, in returning to his own province, the assembly of Virginia sent a deputation to compliment him. It gave him assurance that the remembrance of his glorious achievements could not be effaced by any misfortune, praying him to be persuaded that the Virginians in particular would never neglect any occasion to manifest the gratitude they bore him, as members of the American Union. General Greene brought with him no reenforcement from the northern army; he expected to find sufficient forces in the southern quarter. He was accompanied only by colonel Morgan with some riflemen, who had acquired the highest reputation. His army was consequently extremely feeble; but the woods, the



swamps, the rivers, with which the country was every where broken, were means of defence sufficient to reassure him. As his intention was merely to infest the enemy, by avoiding general actions he hoped to be able to harass, and little by little to reduce him. It was about the same time that general Leslie arrived from Virginia at Charleston, with a reenforcement of more than two thousand regular troops. He found fresh orders in that city, in pursuance of which, he put himself immediately on the march with fifteen hundred men, to rejoin lord Cornwallis at Winnsborough.

1781. This addition of force renewed with the British general the desire to reduce North Carolina, and to proceed thence into Virginia. But the better to secure the success of this enterprise, a council of war decided that it should not be confided to the army of Cornwallis alone; and that it was proper that it should be supported by another expedition simultaneously directed on the part of Virginia itself; not that the troops which could be employed in that part were in a situation to achieve the conquest of the province without the assistance of lord Cornwallis, but they might at least be able to discourage the Virginians from passing reenforcements to general Greene. Agreeably to this plan, Arnold had been detached to the Chesapeake bay, where he was to disembark his troops at whatever point he might judge the most favorable to a mischievous impression. The English also flattered themselves, that his name and example would influence a great number of the Americans to desert from the colors of the republic to those of the king. Arnold received this commission with ecstasy; he departed to execute it with fifty transports and sixteen hundred men. The moment he had landed, he commenced the most shocking ravages. Richmond and Smithfield experienced all his fury. But the country was alarmed on all parts, the inhabitants flew to arms; he was obliged to fall back upon Portsmouth, where he labored to intrench himself. He would not abandon that coast, because he was sensible how much his presence disquieted the Americans. On the other hand, however, he could not with forces so insufficient keep the field in the midst of a province whose numerous population was animated by the most violent hatred against England.

This piratical expedition, therefore, produced but very imperfectly the effect which the British generals had hoped from it. It delayed, it is true, those succours which the Virginians destined for the Carolinas; but not one of them joined Arnold. Devastations, plunder, conflagrations, had no such fascination as could gain him partisans. The campaign had already opened in South Carolina. The two hostile generals manœuvred each according to the plan he had framed. Lord Cornwallis had set out from Winnsborough, and was marching between the Broad and Catawba river, on the upper route, towards North Carolina. He had already arrived at Turkey Creek.

To arrest his progress, general Greene resolved to demonstrate an intention to attack Ninety Six, while colonel Morgan, with five hundred Virginian regulars, some companies of militia, and the light horse of colonel Washington, was detached to guard the passages of the river Pacolet. As to Greene himself, he went to encamp at the confluence of Hicks Creek with the Pedee, opposite to Cheraw Hill. He was blamed by many military critics, for having thus divided his forces. In effect, if the English had pushed rapidly forward, they might have thrown themselves between the corps of Greene and Morgan, and crushed them both without difficulty. But perhaps the American general had calculated that the royalists were embarrassed by too many obstacles to act with such celerity; perhaps, also, he had not yet heard of the junction of Leslie and Cornwallis. The latter general immediately detached Tarleton with his legion of cavalry and a body of infantry to cover Ninety Six. On arriving in that part, Tarleton found every thing quiet; the enemy had retired after some light skirmishes. He then determined to march against Morgan, confident of being able either to rout him by surprise, or at least to drive him beyond the Broad river, which would have left the ways clear to the royal army. He consulted lord Cornwallis by letter, who not only approved his design, but resolved also to concur to its execution, by ascending the left bank of the Broad, in order to menace the rear of Morgan. Every thing went well for them at first. Tarleton, after having passed with equal celerity and good fortune the rivers Ennoree and Tiger, presented himself upon the banks of the Pacolet. Morgan retreated thence forthwith, and Tarleton set himself to pursue him. He pressed him hard. Morgan felt how full of danger was become the passage of Broad river, in the presence of so enterprising an enemy as now hung upon his rear. He therefore thought it better to make a stand. He formed his troops in two divisions; the first composed of militia, under the conduct of colonel Pickens, occupied the front of a wood, in view of the enemy; the second, commanded by colonel Howard, was concealed in the wood itself, and consisted of his marksmen and old continental troops. Colonel Washington, with his cavalry, was posted behind the second division, as a reserve. Tarleton soon came up, and formed in two lines; his infantry in the centre of each, and his horse on the flanks. Every thing seemed to promise him victory. He was superior in cavalry, and his troops, both officers and soldiers, manifested an extreme ardor. The English attacked the first American line; after a single discharge, with little harm to the enemy, it fled in confusion. They then fell upon the second; but here they found a more obstinate resistance. The action was engaged and supported with equal advantage. Tarleton, to decide it in his favor, pushed forward a battalion of his second line, and at the same time directed a charge of cavalry upon the right flank of the Americans. He was afraid to



attack their left, supported by colonel Washington, who had already vigorously repulsed an assault of the British light horse. The manœuvre of Tarleton had the expected effect; the American regulars gave way, and were thrown into disorder. The English rushed on, persuaded that the day was now their own. Already Tarleton, with his cavalry, was in full pursuit of the routed, when colonel Washington, whose troop was still entire, fell upon the enemy with such impetuosity, that in a few moments he had restored the battle. During this interval, colonel Howard had rallied his continental troops, and led them back upon the English. Colonel Pickens had also, by prodigious efforts, reassembled the militia, and again brought them to the fire. Morgan was visible every where; his presence and words re-animated the spirits of his soldiers. He profited of that moment of enthusiasm to precipitate them in one general charge upon the enemy. The shock was so tremendous, that the English at first paused, then recoiled, and soon fled in confusion. The Americans pursued them with inexpressible eagerness. It was in vain that the British officers employed exhortations, prayers and threats, to stay the fugitives; the discomfiture was total. Tarleton lost, in dead, wounded and prisoners, more than eight hundred men, two pieces of cannon, the colors of the seventh regiment, all his carriages and baggage. He regretted especially the horses killed or taken in this engagement. The nature of the country, which is flat and open, renders cavalry of the utmost importance to a campaign in that quarter.

Such was the issue of the battle of Cowpens, the effects of which were heavily felt by the English during the whole course of the war of the Carolinas and Virginia; it was, in a word, decisive of the fate of those provinces. The destruction of the British cavalry, the total defeat of Tarleton, who had been, until that epoch, the terror of the inhabitants, animated them with fresh spirits. Dejection and despondency were exchanged for confidence and enthusiasm. The Congress voted public thanks to colonel Morgan, and presented him with a medal of gold. Colonels Washington and Howard received medals of silver, and colonel Pickens a sword.

The news of the sanguinary check of Cowpens, was extremely afflictive to lord Cornwallis. He had lost in it the best part of his light troops, and they were to have been the principal instrument of his ulterior operations. But far from allowing himself to be discouraged by this blow, he resolved to prosecute his designs with the corps he had left. He hoped to obtain from it the same service as from light troops, by destroying his heavy baggage, and all the carriages that were not of absolute necessity. Two entire days were employed in the destruction of superfluous incumbrances. A few wagons only were kept, for the accommodation of the sick and wounded, and the transportation of salt and ammunition. The soldier witnessed the annihilation of his most valuable effects; the casks con-

taining wine and rum were all staved, and the troops set forward with no other provision than a small quantity of flour. The royal army submitted to all these inconveniences with admirable temper and patience, and manifested the utmost eagerness to accomplish the wishes of its general. He had two objects in view at that time. One was, to fall immediately upon Morgan, worst him, retake the prisoners he had made, and prevent his junction with general Greene, who still continued upon Hicks Creek. The second, and by far the most important, was to push forward by forced marches upon Salisbury, and towards the sources of the Yadkin, before Greene should have crossed that river. If he effected this design, it followed of necessity, that the American general would be cut off from the succours he expected from Virginia, and constrained either to retreat precipitately, with the loss of his artillery and baggage, or to accept a battle under every disadvantage. Lord Cornwallis set out upon the first of these projects. He directed his march with celerity upon the Catawba, in the hope of surprising and crushing Morgan before he could pass that river. But the Americans were upon their guard. After his victory of Cowpens, Morgan, who knew very well that Cornwallis was not far off, had sent his prisoners upon his rear, under the guard of an experienced officer, and soon after set forward himself with all his troops towards the Catawba. Such was the diligence of his march, that on the twenty-ninth of January he had crossed the river, with all his artillery, stores, baggage and prisoners. The Americans were no sooner upon the left bank than the British appeared on the right; the chagrin of Cornwallis is readily conceived. Morgan, still keeping his prisoners on the march towards Virginia, neglected no measures that might tend, if not to arrest, at least to retard the progress of the royal troops. But they soon had even the elements to contend with. There had fallen the preceding night such an abundant rain in the neighboring mountains, that the ford of Catawba became immediately impassable. If this swell of the waters had taken place a few hours sooner, Morgan would have found himself in a critical position.

In this state of things, general Greene arrived at the camp of Morgan, and took the command upon himself. Penetrating the designs of Cornwallis, he had left orders with the troops stationed at Hicks Creek, to make the best of their way, without baggage or incumbrance of any sort, towards the mountainous part, in order to approach the sources of the rivers where they become more fordable. Their point of rendezvous was indicated at Guildford Court House, in North Carolina. Whilst Greene rejoined the corps of Morgan, upon the left bank of the Catawba, general Huger executed his orders with as much zeal as intelligence. The rains were such as to be thought extraordinary even at this season; the bridges were broken, the streams excessively swollen, the roads deep and heavy, or stony and knobbed by frost. The soldiers were destitute of shoes,



of clothing, and often of bread. They seemed to vie with the English in constancy, and supported all their sufferings without a murmur. Not one of them deserted, and in this respect they had more merit than their adversaries. The Americans in disbanding, repaired to their homes and repose; whereas the English deserter must have wandered in a country where every thing opposed him. During the march of this division upon Guildford, the waters of the Catawba diminished, and the royal troops prepared themselves to cross it. But the republicans seemed determined to dispute their passage. Besides the intrepid phalanx of Morgan, all the militia of the counties of Rohan and Mecklenburgh, where the British name was loathed, had assembled upon that point. Notwithstanding these obstacles, Cornwallis took a resolution to attempt the enterprize.

He was excited to this movement by the hope of giving the enemy a decisive blow, either by reaching the corps of Huger before its arrival at Guildford, or by throwing himself between it and Virginia. He accordingly marched and counter marched along the right bank of the Catawba, holding out an intent to pass in different places, in order to elude the attention of the Americans. But his real design was to cross at Gowans Ford. In effect, on the morning of the first of February, the English entered the water; the river was broad, deep, and full of large stones. The republicans were drawn up on the left bank, and commanded by general Davidson. But this corps was composed entirely of militia; Morgan with his veterans guarded another passage. The English, however, had to encounter a very brisk and well directed fire; but they supported it with intrepidity, successfully traversed the bed of the river, and gained the opposite bank. The Americans were formed to receive them, and the action commenced. General Davidson was killed at the first discharge; his militia betook themselves to flight, and the detachments posted at other points ran off in the same manner. The whole royal army arrived without obstacle upon the left bank. A single corps of militia, amidst the general route, made a stand at the post of Tarrant; colonel Tarleton charged them vigorously and routed them with severe execution. But colonel Morgan retired untouched, and with celerity towards Salisbury. He hoped to arrive there in season to cross the Yadkin at that place, and thus to put a large river between him and the royal army. The English followed him with great ardor, panting to take their revenge for the defeat of Cowpens. But the American displayed so much activity, and threw so many impediments in the way of his pursuers, that he passed the Yadkin with all his troops, and without any loss, in the first days of February; partly by the ford, and partly in batteaux. He drew all the boats he could find to the left bank. The English at length arrived, under the conduct of general O'Hara. They perceived the enemy drawn up on the opposite side, prepared to oppose

their passage. They would, nevertheless, have attempted it but for the sudden swell of the Yadkin, through the rains that fell that very day. The pious inhabitants of America considered this sudden increment of the rivers as a manifest token of the protection which heaven granted to the justice of their cause. They observed, that if the waters of the Catawba, and afterwards those of the Yadkin, had swelled a few hours sooner, their army, unable to cross, must have been cut in pieces by the furious enemy that pursued it. If, on the contrary, these rivers had not increased all of a sudden, a few hours later, the British would have passed as easily as the Americans, and would have intercepted their retreat. These two consecutive events, and the critical moment at which they took place, were esteemed alike providential. Seeing the impossibility of crossing the Yadkin at the ford of Salisbury, which is the most commodious, and the most frequented, Cornwallis resolved to march up the river, hoping to find it fordable at the place where it branches; this he effected; but the delay occasioned by the circuit, afforded the Americans time enough to reach Guildford without being disquieted. It was there, that, on the seventh of February, the two divisions of the American army operated their junction; that of general Huger which, notwithstanding all his diligence, was the last to arrive, and that of colonel Morgan. Greene felt the more joy at this union, as it was highly honorable to his ability. Thus by the prudence of the American commanders, and by the fortitude and celerity of their soldiers, together with a happy coincidence of fortuitous causes, was defeated the double plan of lord Cornwallis. He could neither exterminate Morgan, nor prevent his reunion with Huger. There remained now but one operation which could indemnify him for so many losses; and that was to cut Greene off from Virginia. The two armies were already upon the confines of that province. It is separated from North Carolina by the Roanoke, which in its upper part is called the Dan. The British general conceiving that river not fordable in the lower parts, calculated that if he could gain the high country, he should be at liberty to move as he might see fit. For supposing that Greene could not pass the Dan, he would then be surrounded on all sides; on the north by Cornwallis himself, on the west by great rivers, on the south by lord Rawdon, who remained at Cambden with a respectable force, and on the east by the sea. Moreover, notwithstanding the juncture of the American troops, they were still so inferior to those of the English, that the latter considered themselves perfectly assured of a complete victory. The two parties were equally aware that success must depend on the rapidity of marches; they accordingly both bent their course, with all possible velocity, upon the fordable parts of the Dan. The English, desirous to repair the time lost in their preceding passages, exerted prodigious efforts, and occupied the fords the first. The position of



Greene was now truly critical. He turned rapidly towards a lower ford, called Boyds Ferry, uncertain of the safety or destruction of his army, since he was ignorant if that ford was practicable. The royal troops pursued him with vehemence; they looked upon their approaching victory as a positive certainty. Greene, in so pressing an emergency, summoned all the faculties of his soul, and did all that could have been expected of a consummate general.

He formed a strong corps of his best light troops, consisting in the regiments of cavalry of Lee, of Bland, and of Washington, in companies of light infantry, drawn from regiments of the line, and in some riflemen. He charged the commander of this corps to sustain the efforts of the enemy, and to bear in mind that the salvation of the army was in his hands. As to himself, with the rest of his troops and the heavy baggage, he proceeded with all expedition towards Boyds Ferry. The royalists pushed forward with eagerness from Salem to the sources of the Haw, from that point to Reedy Fork, from there to Troublesome Creek, and thence towards the Dan. But the detached corps which has just been mentioned, by continual skirmishes, and the breaking up of roads and bridges, materially retarded their march. Greene had already reached the margin of the river; he found it fordable; some boats at hand accelerated the passage, he gained the Virginian shore; all the baggage was passed over with equal success. Even the gallant rear guard, which had preserved the army, arrived a little after, and crossed with the same happy auspices, to the safe side of the river.

It was not long before the English, full of earnestness, made their appearance upon the right of the Dan; they perceived upon the opposite bank the American army formed in menacing array. All their hopes were vanished; the fruit of all their efforts, of all their sufferings, was lost irrecoverably. The retreat of general Greene and the pursuit of lord Cornwallis, are worthy to be placed among the most remarkable events of the American war; they would have done honor to the most celebrated captains of that, or any former epoch.

Compelled so unexpectedly to relinquish the object of his sanguine hope, lord Cornwallis meditated upon the course he had now to pursue. The attack of Virginia, with forces so enfeebled as were his own, appeared to him the more perilous, as the American army preserved the most imposing attitude. Under this consideration, he determined to remain in North Carolina, of which he was master, and set himself to levy troops in the name of the king. With this intent he quitted the banks of the Dan, and repaired by easy marches to Hillsborough; where having erected the royal standard, he invited the inhabitants, by an energetic proclamation, to form themselves into regular companies. But these efforts were not attended with the success he had hoped; a great number of the country people came

to his head quarters, but the greater part to satisfy their curiosity, to gain intelligence, and to make their profit of it. All manifested an extreme repugnance to arming against the Congress. Lord Cornwallis complained publicly of their coldness. He saw that he could place no dependence upon the assistance of the people of this province, formerly so celebrated for their attachment to the name of the king. The long domination of the republicans, and the horrible enormities committed by the royal troops in different parts of the American continent, had given birth to sentiments of quite another cast. Insensibly detached from the cause of the king, the inhabitants, besides, could not forget the vicinity of the republican army, which at any moment might again penetrate into their province. About this time, a British squadron, and a body of troops detached from Charleston, took possession of Wilmington, a city of North Carolina, situated not far from the mouth of Cape Fear river. They fortified themselves there, seized munitions of war, and even some vessels, both French and American. This expedition had been ordered by Cornwallis prior to his departure from Winnsborough, in pursuit of Morgan. Its principal object was that of opening a communication between the country about Hillsborough and the sea, by the way of Cape Fear river; an object of the utmost importance, as it afforded a sure mode of passing supplies to the army.

The retreat of Greene into Virginia, although it had not produced upon the minds of those Carolinians who remained faithful to the king, all that effect which Cornwallis had expected from it, had, nevertheless, excited in some, fresh hopes and desires of a new order of things. The British general redoubled his efforts and instances to induce them to take arms. The district situated between the Haw and the Deep river, was represented as particularly abounding in loyalists; Cornwallis sent them Tarleton to animate and embody them. His exhortations were not in vain. The family of Pill, one of the most considerable of the country, was also the most ardent to set the example. Already a colonel of that family had assembled a considerable body of his most audacious partisans, and was on his way to join Tarleton. But general Greene, who was fully sensible how prejudicial it would prove to the arms of Congress if he suffered its cause to succumb entirely in North Carolina, and fearing lest the loyalists might operate a revolution in that province, had detached anew upon the right bank of the Dan, a body of cavalry under the conduct of colonel Lee, with a view of intimidating the partisans of England, reassuring those of the Congress, and disquieting the movements of the enemy in the interior of the country. He intended also himself, as soon as he should have received his reinforcements, which were already on the march, to repass the river, and show himself again upon the territory of the Carolinas. The recovery of those provinces was the fixed aim of all his thoughts.



Meanwhile, colonel Lee was by no means tardy in acting according to the instructions of his general. The troop assembled by colonel Pill was the first that fell in his way. These loyalists, totally unacquainted with the profession of arms, knew so little how to clear their march, that thinking they were going to meet Tarleton, they threw themselves headlong into the corps of Lee. The American enveloped and charged them with rapid vigor. The loyalists, still supposing their affair was with Tarleton, and that he mistook them for republicans, were eager to make themselves known by reiterated cries of 'long live the king.' The fury of the assailants did but rage the fiercer, and in a few instants all that survived were obliged to surrender. Thus, this inexpert troop were led to slaughter by a presumptuous chief, who had imagined that the spirit of party could fill the place of knowledge and talents! At the news of this event, which was rather an execution than a combat, Tarleton, who was not far off, put himself in motion with intent to encounter Lee; but an order of Cornwallis checked him, and drew him back to Hillsborough. The cause of this sudden resolution of the British general, was, that Greene, though even yet he had received only a small part of his reinforcements, had boldly repassed the Dan, and menaced again to overrun Carolina. Not, however, that his real intention was to give his adversary battle before having assembled his whole force; but he wished to show Cornwallis and the patriots of the province that he was in being, and able to keep the field. He chose a position upon the left of the Dan, and very high up, towards the sources of the Haw, in order to avoid the necessity of fighting. Cornwallis, on hearing that the American banners had reappeared in Carolina, quitted Hillsborough forthwith, and, crossing the Haw at a lower ford, proceeded to encamp near Allemande Creek, detaching Tarleton with his cavalry to scour the country as far as Deep river. Thus the two armies found themselves so near each other, as to be separated only by the river Haw. Hence frequent skirmishes ensued. In one of these rencounters, Tarleton did great mischief to the corps of Lee, which was joined by the mountaineers and militia, under the command of captain Preston. The two generals manœuvred a long time with uncommon ability; the American to avoid battle, the Englishman to force him to it. Greene had the good fortune, or the skill, to continue master of his movements. But towards the middle of March, he received reinforcements, which consisted principally of continental troops. He was joined, at the same time, by militia from Virginia, under the conduct of general Lawson, as also by some Carolinian militia, led by the generals Butler and Eaton. Having acquired more confidence in his strength, Greene took a resolution no longer to decline a decisive action, but, on the contrary, to march directly to the enemy. He accordingly pushed forward with all his troops, and took post at Guildford Court House. He had reflected

that being superior in number, and principally in cavalry, he could not experience a total and irreparable defeat. The worst consequence that could follow a loss of battle, was that of placing him under the necessity of retiring into Virginia, where he would have found the utmost facility in reestablishing his army. He had also to consider that the numerous militia assembled in his camp would soon disband, unless he availed himself immediately of their first ardor. On the other hand, if the English were beaten, far from their ships, entangled in a country where they were detested, and without means of retreat, how could their army escape a total destruction? They had therefore much more at risk than the Americans, in referring the decision of their fate to the chance of arms.

Lord Cornwallis saw distinctly, on his part, that it would be an inexcusable imprudence to remain longer in the midst of a population, which every thing taught him to distrust, while a formidable enemy menaced him in front. But retreat, in all respects so prejudicial to the interests of the king, was accompanied with so many dangers, that it became next to impracticable. In turning his eyes upon his camp, the British general beheld all soldiers nurtured in the toils of war, and trained to victory in a host of combats. Banishing then all hesitation, he embraced if not the least perilous, assuredly the most honorable course, and gave orders to advance upon Guildford. This resolution was undertaken irrevocably to put an end to uncertainties by striking a decisive blow. To relieve his march, and facilitate his retreat in case of a check, lord Cornwallis sent his carriages and baggage under strong escort to Bells Mills, a place situated upon the Deep river. Greene in like manner passed his wagons to Iron Works, ten miles in the rear of his position. The reconnoitring parties of the two armies went out in all directions for intelligence. The legion of Lee and that of Tarleton fell in with each other in one of these excursions, and a fierce conflict ensued. Lee at first had the advantage; but he was obliged to give way in his turn, when Tarleton had been reenforced. These skirmishes were but the prelude of the battle for which both parties were preparing themselves.

The Americans, on their side, numbered about six thousand men, the greater part militia of Virginia and North Carolina; the remainder consisted in regular troops from Virginia, Maryland and Delaware. The English, including the Hessians, amounted to upwards of twenty-four hundred soldiers. All the adjacent country was clothed with thick wood, interspersed, here and there, with spots of cultivation. A gentle and woody declivity traversed and extended far on both sides of the great road which leads from Salisbury to Guildford. This road itself runs through the centre of the forest. In front, and before coming to the foot of the hill, there was a field six hundred yards in breadth. Behind the forest, between its lower



edge and the houses of Guildford, lay another field still more open, and adapted to military evolutions. General Greene had thrown troops into the wood that covered the slope, and had likewise occupied the contiguous plain. In this position he purposed to receive the enemy. His order of battle consisted in three divisions; the first, composed of the militia of North Carolina, and commanded by the generals Butler and Eaton, was posted towards the foot of the hill, upon the fore edge of the forest, its front was covered by a thick hedge; two pieces of cannon defended the great road. The second division comprised the militia of Virginia, under the conduct of the generals Stevens and Lawson; it was formed in the wood parallel to the first, and about eight hundred yards behind it. The regular troops, under general Huger and colonel Williams, filled the plain which extends from the forest to Guildford, this ground permitted them to manœuvre, and to signalise their valor. Two other pieces of cannon, planted upon an eminence which covered their flank, commanded also the highway.

Colonel Washington, with his dragoons and Linch's riflemen, flanked the right wing, and colonel Lee, with a detachment of light infantry and the dragoons of Campbell, the left. The British general drew up on his part. General Leslie, with an English regiment and the Hessian regiment of Böse, occupied the right of the first line; and colonel Webster with two English regiments the left. A battalion of guards formed a sort of reserve to the first, and another under general O'Hara to the second. The artillery and grenadiers marched in close column upon the great road. Tarleton was posted there likewise with his legion; but his orders were not to move, except upon emergency, until the infantry, after having carried the forest, should have advanced into the plain behind it, where cavalry could operate with facility. The action was commenced on both sides by a brisk cannonade. The English, afterwards leaving their artillery behind, rushed forward through the fire of the enemy into the intermediate plain. The Carolinian militia suffered them to approach without flinching, then began to fire. The English made but one discharge, and immediately ran forward to charge with bayonets. The Carolinians showed no firmness. Without awaiting the shock of the enemy, notwithstanding the strength of their position, they recoiled, and took shamefully to flight. Their officers vainly endeavored to dissipate their terror, and to rally them. Thus the first line of the American army was totally routed. General Stevens, seeing the panic of the Carolinian militia, hastened to reassure those he commanded, by giving out that the others had orders to fall back, after the first discharges. He opened his ranks to let the fugitives pass, and reclosed them immediately. The English still advancing, attacked the militia of Virginia. These bravely withstood their shock, and disputed the ground with them for some time. At length, obliged

to give way, they also fell back, not without some disorder, upon the continental troops. Meanwhile, as well by the effect of the combat, as from the inequality of the ground, and thickness of the wood, the line of the British was likewise broken, and open in several places. Their commanders, to fill up these vacant spaces, pushed forward the two reserves. Then, all this division having passed the forest, formed in the plain that was behind it and fell upon the continental troops; but all the impetuosity of this attack was of no avail against the intrepidity of that division. Their resistance was so obstinate, that victory for a while appeared uncertain. General Leslie, finding he could make no impression upon the left of the Americans, and having suffered excessively in the attempt, was constrained to retire behind a ravine, in order to await the news of what might have passed in other parts. The action was supported in the centre with inexpressible fierceness. Colonel Stewart, with the second battalion of guards, and a company of grenadiers, had fallen so vigorously upon the troops of Delaware, that he had broken them, and taken from them two pieces of cannon; but the Marylanders came promptly to their assistance, and not only restored the battle, but even forced the English to recoil in disorder. At this moment colonel Washington came up with his cavalry, charging the royalists with impetuosity; he put them to flight, cut most of them down, and recovered the two pieces of cannon.

Colonel Stewart himself perished in the carnage. At this instant the fate of the day hung by a single thread. If the Americans had done all that was in their power, the whole British army was crushed. After the defeat of the British guards, and the death of Stewart, if the republicans had occupied the hill which rises on the side of the great road upon the hinder border of the wood, and furnished it with artillery, it cannot be doubted that victory would have declared for them. For then the English would not have had power to advance fresh troops into that part; their left wing would have been separated from the centre and right; and the battalions of guards would not have been able to recover from the confusion into which they had been thrown. But the Americans, content with the advantage they had already obtained, instead of taking possession of the height, repaired to the posts they occupied before the engagement. At sight of this error, lieutenant-colonel Macleod hastened to take advantage of it; he advanced the artillery, placed it upon the aforesaid eminence, and opened a destructive fire against the front of the continental troops. The grenadiers and another English regiment reappeared at the same instant upon the right of the plain, and made a vigorous charge upon their flank. Another English regiment fell at the same time upon their left, and Tarleton came up at full speed with his legion. General O'Hara, though dangerously wounded, had succeeded in rallying the British guards. All these succours



arrived so opportunely that the disorder of the centre and first line was promptly repaired.

The American regulars, who had to sustain unsupported the whole weight of the action, finding themselves assailed on so many parts, began to think of their retreat. They made it step by step, without breaking their ranks; and invariably preserving a menacing attitude. They were constrained, however, to abandon upon the field of battle not only the two field pieces which they had retaken, but two others besides. Colonel Webster, then rejoining the centre with his left wing, made a brisk charge upon the extremity of the right of Greene, and forced it to give way. Cornwallis abstained from sending the cavalry of Tarleton's legion in pursuit of the Americans; he had need of them in another part. His right was still engaged with the left of Greene. The Hessian regiment of Bose, commanded by colonel de Buy, who in this day displayed an undaunted valor, and the other British troops exerted the most desperate efforts to break the enemy, who defended himself with equal gallantry. The ground was rough, and incumbered with trees and bushes; the Americans availed themselves of it to combat as marksmen with their accustomed dexterity. If broken, they reformed, if forced to retire, they returned, if dispersed, they rallied, and charged anew. In the height of this engagement, or rather of this multitude of partial rencoures, Tarleton, who had defiled behind the right wing of the royalists, and who was covered by the smoke of their arms, as they had purposely fired altogether to this end, fell briskly upon the enemy, and in a moment swept them from the ground they occupied. The militia threw themselves into the wood, and the Hessians at last found themselves entirely disengaged from this long and obstinate conflict.

Thus terminated the stubborn and much varied battle of Guildford, which was fought on the fifteenth of March. The American loss in killed, wounded, prisoners, and missing, amounted to upwards of thirteen hundred men. The prisoners were few. Almost all the wounded belonged to the continental troops, and the fugitives dispersed, or returned to their homes, to the militia. The generals Huger and Stevens, were among the wounded. The loss of the British was, in proportion to their number, much more considerable. Their dead and wounded exceeded six hundred. Besides colonel Stewart, they had to lament colonel Webster. The generals Howard and O'Hara, the first in the army after lord Cornwallis, and colonel Tarleton, received very severe wounds.

After the action, Greene withdrew behind the Reedy Fork, where he remained some time to collect the fugitives and stragglers. Afterwards continuing his retreat, he went to encamp at Iron Works upon Troublesome Creek. Cornwallis remained master of the field of battle. But he was not merely unable to reap any of the

ordinary fruits of victory, he was even constrained to embrace those counsels, which are the usual resource of the vanquished. The fatigue of his soldiers, the multitude of his wounded, the strength of the new position which the American general had taken, and the superiority of the enemy in light troops, and particularly in cavalry, prevented him from pursuing his success. Moreover, the number and spirit of the partisans of Congress seemed to increase with the coldness of the loyalists. Far from rearing the crest after the battle of Guildford, they showed themselves quite deaf to the invocations of Cornwallis, who urged them to take arms and assemble under his banners. To crown his embarrassments, the scarcity of provision became continually more and more sensible. These motives united, determined the British general to fall back as far as Bells Mills, upon the Deep river; leaving at New Garden, those of his wounded that were least in condition to move. They fell into the power of the republicans.

After having given his troops a few days repose at Bells Mills, and collected some provision, he marched towards Cross Creek upon the road to Wilmington. Greene followed him briskly, and with a cloud of light infantry and horse continually infested his rear. He did not cease the pursuit till Cornwallis had arrived at Ramsays Mills. The British had destroyed the bridge at that place over the Deep river, and the country being excessively sterile, afforded no means of sustenance. Swayed, however, by his daring and enterprising character, the American general resolved to profit of the present condition of the royalists. He took the determination to march boldly upon South Carolina, which was then almost entirely stripped of troops. He accordingly defiled by forced marches towards Camden. Though worsted at Guildford, Greene thus showed himself in the field, with forces more formidable than ever. It was the victors who fled before the vanquished; the latter seemed to have gained new alacrity and new ardor by their reverses.

After a painful march, lord Cornwallis reached Wilmington, on the seventh of April. Here he held a council upon two operations, both of extreme importance. One was to repair forthwith to the relief of South Carolina; the other to march into Virginia, in order to make his junction with the troops of Arnold, and with those which had lately been sent thither under the conduct of general Philips. The British generals were much divided in opinion respecting the course to be adopted in a conjuncture which might decide the fate of the whole war. Some were inclined that the army should march immediately into Virginia. They alleged, 'that all the country between the Cape Fear river and Camden was poor, exhausted, and interrupted by frequent rivers and creeks; that the passage of the Pedee in the presence of so formidable an enemy, was a rash enterprise; that the road by Georgetown presented the same difficulties; that the transportation of the troops to Charleston by sea,



was an undertaking that would require too much time and toil ; that there was nothing to fear for the latter city ; that by attacking Virginia with an imposing force, Greene would be forced to abandon the Carolinas ; that it would be impossible to arrive in time to the relief of lord Rawdon, who was then at Cambden ; and, that if he was beaten before the arrival of reinforcements, these succours themselves would be exposed to the almost inevitable peril of being cut in pieces by an enemy incomparably superior in force.'

The partisans of the contrary opinion maintained, 'that the roads of Virginia were not less, and perhaps more difficult, than those of the Carolinas ; that the tediousness of embarkations proceeded always from cavalry, and that this might easily make its way good by land ; the cavalry officers had asserted it, and especially Tarleton, who had offered to execute it ; that consequently, with fair wind, nothing was easier than to arrive in season to the succour of the Carolinas ; that since it had not been possible to conquer Virginia, it was essential at least to retain those provinces ; that the invasion of Virginia involved the certain sacrifice of two provinces, already in possession, if not of three, from the dubious prospect of gaining one only ; that the people of the Carolinas, emboldened by the approach of Greene, and by the distance of the royal army, were already openly tending to a new order of things ; that the colonels Sumpter and Marion showed themselves audaciously in the open field ; that if there was nothing to fear for Charleston, there was assuredly equal reason for security with respect to Cambden, defended by a numerous garrison, and a general as skilful as valiant ; that so long as the places of Charleston and Cambden should remain in the power of his majesty, the Carolinas could not be wrested from his authority, without being immediately and easily replaced under the yoke ; that it was deeply to be regretted that the march upon Cambden had not been undertaken at the very moment when, the army being still upon Cross Creek, it was ascertained that thence to Wilmington the Cape Fear river no longer afforded an open and safe navigation ; that whatever uncertainty might have been thrown upon the success of this operation by the delays which had already taken place, it was nevertheless still possible, and that, consequently, it ought to be undertaken.'

The first opinion obtained. After having made some stay at Wilmington, for the refreshment of his troops and the collection of provision, Cornwallis directed his march upon Virginia. This resolution of the commander of the British forces had the most remarkable consequences ; it led to an event which may be considered as the principal cause of the prompt termination of this war, and the consequent acknowledgment of American independence.

## BOOK THIRTEENTH.

1781. After having pursued each other alternately, for a considerable length of time, Greene and Cornwallis diverged, as we have seen, the first upon South Carolina, the second upon Virginia. But while they were thus contending for American provinces, England and Holland were preparing for war, and had even already commenced reciprocal hostilities. The former, who appeared to have anticipated this war for some time back, and who, being already completely armed, could seize the occasion for making it with advantage, hoped, by a sudden and impetuous attack, to level a decisive blow at the power and wealth of her enemy. Such was the motive which had induced her to hasten her declaration of war. It was not doubted in England but that the success which would be gained over Holland, would afford ample compensation for the losses which had been sustained on the part of the French and Americans. The British cabinet expected thus to bring into the negotiations for peace, whenever they should take place, such an aggregate of advantages, as would be sufficient to procure it the most favorable conditions. The Hollanders, on the other hand, persuaded themselves that they saw in the simultaneous display of those formidable forces to which they were about to join their own, the sure means of resuscitating their ancient maritime glory. They were especially elated with the prospect of recovering the rich possessions which had been wrested from them in preceding wars, and of rescuing their commerce from the outrageous vexations of England. The ardor which animated all minds, manifested itself in the preparations that were made in the ports of the republic. The States-General ordered the equipment of ninety-four ships of war, of which, eleven of the line, fifteen of fifty guns, two of forty, and the rest of less force. Eighteen thousand seamen formed the crews of this fleet. Fast sailing vessels were despatched to the different Dutch possessions, to apprise the governors of the commencement of hostilities, and to recommend them the greatest vigilance. The king of France ordained that in all the ports of his dominions, any Dutch vessels found therein should receive prompt notice of the new danger they had to fear at sea, on the part of an alert and enterprising enemy. In taking this care of the interests of her new ally, France wished to manifest her gratitude for the warmth with which Holland had espoused her cause. But unfortunately all these precautions could not operate the beneficial effects which were expected from them. The English, who long before the rupture, had meditated the design of attacking Holland, profited with success of all the means which they had prepared for her annoyance, before she had time to put herself in a state of



defence. Some ships of war and several merchant vessels with valuable cargoes, fell into their power. In the number of the first was the Rotterdam, of fifty guns, which was taken by the Warwick ship of the line. But these losses were trivial, in comparison with those which the Dutch sustained in the East Indies. The British commanders in that part had received early instructions to make themselves masters of the possessions of the republic, whether insular or continental. The security of a long peace had occasioned in them a desuetude of all defensive precaution; and thus the riches therein amassed, might easily become the prey of the first enemy who should present himself.

Admiral Rodney, who towards the close of the preceding year had returned from New York to St. Lucia, and general Vaughan, concerted their operations forthwith. Herein they moved with the more alacrity, as the king, by a late order, had granted to his land and sea officers a considerable part of the booty that should be gained upon the Dutch. After a vain attempt to recapture the island of St. Vincent, and having, in order to mask the real design, alarmed the inhabitants of Martinico by a sudden appearance upon their coasts, Rodney and Vaughan presented themselves unexpectedly, the third of February, before the island of St. Eustatius, belonging to the Dutch. Their forces consisted of seventeen ships, and four thousand land forces. This island was as defenceless as the wealth it contained was prodigious. Although it is rough and mountainous, and affords one only landing place, and that easily defensible, yet the governor, with a handful of men for all garrison, could have no hope of being able to repulse an attack. The population itself comprised but a very small number of Dutch; the remainder was composed of men of divers countries and sentiments; French, Spaniards, Americans, English, all persons occupied exclusively with their commerce, and strangers to military service. The governor himself, almost without soldiers and without arms, would sooner have believed any thing else, than that he was menaced with an approaching attack.

The island of St. Eustatius, is by nature arid and steril. It produces not above six or seven hundred hogsheads of sugar a year. But it was become at this epoch the most frequented and richest emporium of the West Indies. Being a free port, it attracted a vast conflux of merchants from all parts of the world, assured of finding in it protection, facility of exchanges, and money in abundance. Its neutrality in the midst of belligerent powers, had brought it to this flourishing condition, and rendered it the mart of nations. Thither went the Spaniards and French to dispose of their commodities, and to procure the manufactures of England. Thither repaired the English to sell these merchandises, and to buy those of France and Spain.

But no people derived more profit than the Americans from the fortunate neutrality of St. Eustatius. They carried thither the produce of their soil, and to the incalculable utility of the cause they defended, they obtained in return, arms and military stores, with which the French, Spaniards, Dutch, and even the English themselves, kept that market well supplied. Hence, an orator of the House of Commons, hurried away by a blameable resentment, did not scruple to say ; ‘ that if St. Eustatius had been sunk to the bottom of the ocean, American independence would have been crushed in an instant.’ The facts which followed, were but too much in consonance with this inhuman language. All Europe resounded with complaints against British avarice.

Rodney and Vaughan sent a peremptory summons to the governor to surrender the island and its dependencies within an hour ; accompanied with a declaration or threat, that if any resistance was made, he must abide by the consequences. M. de Graaf, totally ignorant of the rupture, could scarcely believe the officer who delivered the summons to be serious. He, however, returned for answer, that being utterly incapable of making any defence against the force which invested the island, he must, of necessity, surrender it ; only recommending the town and inhabitants to the clemency and mercy of the British commanders. We are about to relate what were the effects of this recommendation. The wealth found in the place was so immense, as to excite the astonishment even of the conquerors, notwithstanding even their intimate previous knowledge of its nature and circumstances. All the storehouses were not only filled with the most precious merchandises, but the very streets and beach were covered with hogsheads of tobacco and sugar. The value of the commodities was estimated at a loose, but supposed moderate calculation, as being considerably above three millions sterling. All, without distinction, were seized, inventoried, and confiscated.

The loss of the Dutch was severe ; it fell principally upon their West India company, with the magistracy and citizens of Amsterdam, to whom a considerable part of the property belonged. The English observed it with no little gratification ; they were irritated against that city more than against any other part of the United Provinces, on account of the warmth it had manifested in favor of France. The greatest weight of the calamity, however, appears to have fallen upon the British merchants, who, confiding in the neutrality of the place, and in some acts of parliament, made to encourage the bringing of their property from the islands lately taken by the French, had accumulated a great quantity of West India produce, as well as of European goods, in this place. Nor was the loss of the Dutch confined to the seizure of the merchandise on shore ; above two hundred and fifty vessels of all denominations, and many of them richly loaded, were taken in the bay ; exclusive of a Dutch frigate of war, of thirty



eight guns, and five armed vessels of less force. But fortune showed herself still more adverse to the Hollanders. Rodney having information that a fleet of about thirty large ships, richly laden with sugar and other West India commodities, had just before his arrival, sailed from Eustatius for Holland, under convoy of a flag-ship of sixty guns, he, with his ordinary activity, immediately despatched two ships of the line, the *Monarch* and *Panther*, with the *Sybil* frigate, in pursuit of them. These soon overtook the convoy. The Dutch admiral, Krull, notwithstanding the great inferiority of his force, resolved to brave all the dangers of combat, rather than to surrender dishonourably. With his ship, the *Mars*, he engaged the *Monarch*, of seventy-four guns; but he was killed soon after the commencement of the action, and his successor immediately struck. The *Panther* and *Sybil* having in the mean time restrained the flight and separation of the merchantmen, the whole convoy was taken.

The Dutch colors were kept up for some time in the fort of St. Eustatius; this stratagem was fatal to a considerable number of French, Dutch, and American vessels, which were thus decoyed into the hands of their enemies. The violation of the property of private men, though enemies, a violation not sanctioned by the usages of civilised nations, excited energetic remonstrances on the part of the inhabitants of the British West India islands, and of Great Britain itself, so far as they were interested. They alleged, that their connections with St. Eustatius, and the property they had lodged in it, were all in pursuance to, and under the sanction of repeated acts of the British parliament; that in every age, all conquerors who have not chosen to be classed with barbarians, have respected, not only the private property of their fellow-citizens, but even that of their enemies; and that this example might have the most pernicious consequences. 'In effect,' said they, 'if, through the incalculable chances of war, our islands should fall into the power of the enemy, would he not be authorised by the right of reprisal, to violate the property of private Englishmen, and even to ruin them totally? Did the French give an example of this barbarous conduct when they became masters of Grenada? Did they lay hands upon the property of a single private individual, though they had taken the island by assault, and without any capitulation? If the count d'Estaing went so far as to sequester, until peace, the estates of absentees, the court of Versailles was not slow to condemn this resolution of its admiral, by ordering the removal of the sequestrations. St. Eustatius was a free port, and as such recognised by all the maritime powers of Europe, not excepting England herself. Our laws had not only permitted, but even encouraged a commerce with that island. The officers of the British customs delivered clearances for those very goods destined for St. Eustatius, which are now subjected to confiscation. Has not this trade furnished the means of subsistence to the islands of Anti-

gua and St. Christophers, whose inhabitants, but for this resource, must have perished by famine, or thrown themselves into the arms of the enemy? The colonists of St. Eustatius are indebted in large sums to British merchants; how will they be able to clear these balances if their effects remain confiscated?

‘In a word, it is to be presumed that the conquest of the Dutch islands by the arms of the king, has been undertaken with nobler views than that of pillaging and ruining their inhabitants.’

All these representations were of no avail. Rodney had acted in strict conformity to the instructions of his government. He answered the complainers, that he could not recover from his astonishment that British merchants, instead of sending their goods into the windward islands belonging to England, had sent them to a leeward island, whither they could only have been transported with intent to supply the wants of the enemies of their king and country. But it is to be observed, that if these British merchants were in fault, the commanders of the king’s vessels were still more blameable for having brought in and sold at this same port of St. Eustatius, the prizes they had captured at sea; some laden with provisions, others with arms and military stores; which thus found their way to the enemies of Great Britain, and served to recruit their resources for continuing the war. Rodney added, that the island of St. Eustatius was Dutch, every thing in it was Dutch, was under the protection of the Dutch flag, and as Dutch it should be treated. The vigor of these principles was applied likewise to the neighboring small islands of St. Martin and Saba, which fell at the same time into the power of the English. But the British commanders, not content with pillaging property, proceeded to wreak their cruelty on persons. All individuals not English, were not only banished from the island, but subjected to the most odious vexations. The Jews, who were numerous and wealthy, were the first to experience the brutality of the conqueror. They were all crowded into the custom house; searched from head to foot; then the skirts of their coats were docked to the waist. Their trunks and portmanteaux were forced open and ransacked. Stripped of their money and effects, they were, in that state of nakedness and wretchedness, transported as outlaws, and landed on the island of St. Christophers. A sea captain named Santon, was the superintendent and chief executioner of the barbarity of his chiefs. The Americans soon shared the fate of the Jews. After having undergone a total spoliation, these unhappy people were sent to St. Christophers, as a race devoted to misery and death. Among them, however, were many of those loyalists, who had been obliged to fly their native country through the part which they had taken in support of the British cause and government.

Thus expelled by their fellow-citizens as friends to the English, and expelled by the English as friends to the Americans, these ill fated refugees were punished as severely for having preserved their fidelity



towards the king, as if they had violated it. The assembly of St. Christophers manifested the most honorable compassion for these victims at once of rapine and of cruelty; they passed an immediate act for their relief and future provision, until they should have time to recover from their calamitous situation. The French and Dutch merchants were banished the last from St. Eustatius. This decree was executed with particular rigor towards those of Amsterdam. In the meantime, public sales were advertised, invitation given, and protection afforded, to purchasers of all nations and sorts; and the island of St. Eustatius became one of the greatest auctions that ever was opened in the universe. It was attended by an immense concourse of the merchants of friendly or neutral nations; they bought as well for their own account as on commission for the French and Spaniards, to whom their vicinity and the war rendered these goods more valuable. Thus, after having so cruelly treated the inhabitants of St. Eustatius, under the pretence that they had supplied the enemies of England, in the ordinary way of commerce, the British commanders undertook themselves to supply those enemies by opening a public market, and bidding buyers by proclamation. Never perhaps was a more considerable sale; the gains of Rodney and Vaughan were immense; but it was fated that they should not long enjoy them; heaven, as we shall soon see, had in reserve an exemplary chastisement for their avarice.

The loss of St. Eustatius was not the only misfortune which befell the Dutch in the West Indies. It seemed as if the English, in their zeal to reduce their new enemy, had forgotten that they had any other to encounter. Holland possessed on the continent of South America, in that vast country anciently called Guiana, the important colony of Surinam. The governor had made no preparations for defence; he was even ignorant of the declaration of war. But all of a sudden he was visited by a squadron of British privateers, mostly belonging to Bristol. In contempt of all danger, they entered the rivers of Demerary and Issequibo, and brought out from under the guns of the Dutch forts and batteries, almost all the vessels of any value in either river. The colonists of that part, seized with consternation at the approach of these audacious cruisers sent to make a tender of their submission to the governor of Barbadoes; requiring no other terms but a participation of those which had been granted to St. Eustatius, without knowing however, what they were. The governor readily consented to their wishes. When shortly after they were apprised of the fate of St. Eustatius, they began to tremble for their own. But Rodney showed himself more humane towards the colonists of Demerary, Issequibo, and Berbice, who had voluntarily put themselves under the British dominion, than he had been towards those of St. Eustatius. He guaranteed the safety of persons and property, and made no change in their existing laws and authorities.

Thus fortune every where smiled upon the English, in their first attempts against the Dutch possessions in the West Indies. They were less successful against the Spaniards, who had recently invaded, in considerable force, the confines of West Florida. Don Galvez, the governor of Louisiana, and admiral don Solano, after having been battered by a horrible tempest, had arrived before, and laid siege to Pensacola, the capital of that province. The place was strong; and general Campbell, the commandant, defended himself for a long time with great valor. But a bomb having fallen upon the powder magazine, it exploded, and demolished the principal redoubt. The Spaniards occupied it immediately, and made their dispositions for assaulting the body of the place. Campbell then thought it better to capitulate; he obtained the most honorable conditions. Thus all West Florida, which had been for the English one of the most precious fruits of the war of Canada, returned after a few years under the domination of the Spaniards.

The order of history requires that we should now turn our attention from fields of battle, upon the cabinets which directed the operations we have witnessed; and that we should endeavor to describe what was, at this period, the policy of the belligerent powers.

The Americans conceived they had grounds to complain bitterly of the French, their allies. They alleged that, saving some vain demonstrations from without, France had afforded them no efficacious assistance whatever; and that she left them to struggle by themselves against a powerful enemy. They affirmed, that 'the French troops disembarked at Rhode Island, had not been able to render them any service through defect of a sufficient naval force; that they must continue equally useless, so long as they were not supported by a respectable squadron; that no success could be hoped for, in that part, without being master at sea; that meanwhile, the English continued to possess Georgia, the greatest part of South Carolina, all New York, and, moreover, they had now invaded Virginia; that not a French battalion had been seen to move for the defence or recovery of any of these provinces; that while awaiting the cooperation of their allies, the United States were oppressed by the weight of an enterprise so much above their strength, that the war consumed their population, paralysed all industry, suspended all culture, and, consequently, drained the sources of public revenue; and that to crown so many calamities, there appeared no prospect of their termination.'

While the Americans thus vented their discontent, no little astonishment was excited in Europe, that so formidable a coalition should have proved so feeble in effect against the common enemy. Far from bending, the English seemed, on the contrary, to have acquired more elastic forces, and a more daring spirit. They pressed the Ameri-



cans with vigor, while they held the mastery of the West Indian seas, possessed themselves of the Dutch colonies, made conquests in the East Indies, and kept fortune in equilibrium in Europe. This state of things seemed to cloud the glory of the French and Spanish names. The court of Versailles, as the soul and principal mover of all this mass of forces, was itself the object of the heavy complaints of the Catholic king, who reproached it for not having promoted the execution of his favorite projects, the conquest of Jamaica, and the reduction of Gibraltar; the siege of which he had already commenced. The Hollanders, on their part, who already felt the anguish of so considerable losses, exclaimed that they were abandoned, without any appearance of sympathy, to perils which they should not have involved themselves in but for the counsels and instigations of France. Their complaints were the more dolorous, as they had just been informed that a formidable expedition was fitting out, in the ports of Great Britain, against the Cape of Good Hope, an establishment so vital for the preservation of their East India commerce. They saw themselves menaced, in the oriental hemisphere, with blows no less cruel than those which had so lately stunned them in the New World. They perceived but too clearly that before it would be possible for them to complete their preparations of defence, and to despatch succours into those remote regions, the English would have time to accomplish their long meditated designs.

Yielding to these various considerations and to the voice of his own interest, the king of France determined to exert twofold vigor and activity in the present campaign, in order to repair the time lost in the preceding year. Accordingly the labors of the arsenal at Brest were pushed with new ardor, while upon the different points of the kingdom, the land forces held themselves in readiness to act. Three principal objects were contemplated by the ministry. The first was, to send such a fleet to the West Indies, as when united to the squadron already in the ports of Martinico, should secure to France a maritime superiority in those seas. This fleet, the command of which was intrusted to the count de Grasse, was to carry out a strong body of land troops. By means of this reinforcement, the marquis de Bouille would find himself in a situation to undertake some important expedition against the British islands. After the accomplishment whereof, and before the season of hostilities should have elapsed, the count de Grasse was to repair to the coasts of America, in order to cooperate with the count de Rochambeau and general Washington. The second, was to send a squadron into the African seas, in order to shield the Cape of Good Hope from the danger that menaced it. After having provided for the security of that colony, the squadron was to proceed to the East Indies, where admiral Hughes had given a temporary superiority to the British flag. Finally, the ministers meditated a brilliant stroke, in the seas of

Europe, in favor of the allied courts, and principally of Spain. An expedition against Minorca was decided with unanimity. The English had penetrated, in great part, the plans of their enemies; and were preparing to oppose them with all those obstacles which they deemed the most likely to render them abortive. They exerted an extraordinary activity in equipping a fleet, which was to carry lord Cornwallis a reenforcement of several English regiments and three thousand Hessians. It was hoped that this addition of force would enable that general not only to maintain the conquests he had made, but also to extend still further the progress of his arms. The victories of Cambden and Guildford had inspired the British nation with new confidence; all promised themselves a speedy conclusion of the war, and the subjugation of America. The British ministers even flattered themselves that the fleet they sent to the West Indies, though it was not considerable, would nevertheless prove sufficient, by its junction with the naval force already stationed there, to uphold the present preponderance of England in those seas. The public attention was particularly attracted by an armament which consisted of one ship of seventy-four guns, one of fifty-four, three of fifty, with some frigates, cutters, fire-ships and other light vessels. This squadron was to serve as escort to a great number of transports loaded with an immense quantity of arms and military stores. General Meadows embarked in it with a body of three thousand picked soldiers. The fleet was under the orders of commodore Johnstone. Manifold were the conjectures in public circulation respecting the object of this expedition, which the government studied to cover with impenetrable secrecy. It was generally presumed to be destined for the East Indies, in order to reduce all the French possessions in that part. This supposition, so far as appeared from the events which followed, was not destitute of foundation. But it would seem also that the war which broke out against Holland, constrained the British ministry to change the destination of this armament, or at least to restrict it to the attack of the Cape of Good Hope, and the reenforcement of the troops which guarded the establishments in the hither peninsula of India. It was deemed essential to provide for their safety, even though it were not permitted by circumstances to think of conquering those of the enemy. But of all the cares which occupied the British cabinet at this epoch, it assuredly had none more urgent than that of revictualling Gibraltar. Herein, besides the importance of the place, the honor of the British nation was deeply interested. The Spaniards and English seemed to have set each other at defiance at the foot of this rock. The first relying upon the fleet which they had at Cadiz, expected to be able to intercept whatever succours should approach for the relief of the garrison. It already began to suffer excessively from the scarcity of provisions; the supplies which admiral Rodney had introduced the



preceding year, were almost entirely consumed, and what remained were so marred as scarcely to be edible. Already general Elliot had been constrained to lessen a fourth of his soldiers' ration. In order to give them the example of privations, the officers ceased to dress their hair with powder. But the inhabitants of the city suffered still more from the absolute want of the necessaries of life. Such was the vigilance, and such the industry of the Spaniards in their endeavors to cut off all relief by sea, that since the supplies of Rodney, scarcely a few vessels from the African shore and Minorca had been able to make good their entrance into the port of Gibraltar. But how far was these feeble succours from being in proportion to the exigency! Besides, the prices which the masters of these vessels demanded for their commodities were so exorbitant, as to exceed the faculties of the greater part of the inhabitants. The miserable remains of the old provisions, spoilt as they were, commanded extravagant rates.\*

The garrison supported all their sufferings with an heroic firmness; but without prompt succours it was impossible to prevent that formidable place, the key of the Mediterranean, from soon returning under the domination of its ancient masters. The general attention, in England, was directed towards this important point.

In Holland, meanwhile, the greatest industry was exerted in equipping a fleet that should be capable of maintaining the dignity of the republic, and of resuscitating its ancient glory. It was particularly intended to protect the commerce of the Baltic against the rapacity of England. These laudable intentions, however, were not attended with all that effect which was to have been wished. The government overruled the conflicting parties, but it could not prevent their fermenting covertly. Besides, a long peace had enervated minds, and caused the neglect of naval preparations.

Such were, about that time, the projects and dispositions of the powers engaged in this memorable contest. The preparatives of war were immense; the universe was in expectation of the most important events. The English were the first to put to sea. Their intent was to succour Gibraltar. On the thirteenth of March, a fleet of twenty-eight ships of the line set sail from Portsmouth. It was obliged to cruise some days upon the coasts of Ireland, to wait for the victualling ships and merchantmen which were assembled, in

\* Old sea biscuit, quite mouldy, brought a shilling sterling the pound; and difficult to be found. Sour flour, and damaged peas, were worth one shilling and four pence the pound. Black salt, the sweepings of warehouses, eight pence per pound; butter, three shillings per pound; a turkey, when to be had, thirty shillings; a sucking pig forty shillings; a duck, ten shillings and six pence; a lean fowl, nine shillings; a loin of veal at least a guinea; and the head of an ox was sold at a still greater price. Firewood was so scarce, that cold water was used for washing linen, and the flatiron was dispensed with; a thing which proved very prejudicial to the health of the troops, during the cold, humid season, which prevailed in the course of that winter.

very great number in the road of Cork. The convoys bound to the two Indies departed under the protection of the fleet. When conducted out of danger from the hostile fleets, they were to continue their voyage. The squadron of commodore Johnstone sailed in company with the great fleet; being destined upon the expedition against the Cape of Good Hope, it was to escort the East India convoy up to that point. The armament was commanded by the admirals Darby, Digby, and Lockhart Ross, each heading one of the three divisions of which it was composed. The necessity of re-victualling Gibraltar was notoriously evident, and the preparations made by Great Britain for its accomplishment, could no longer be concealed. The English themselves openly professed their intentions on that head. The Spaniards were consequently too well advised, not to have taken all the precautions in their power to confound the efforts of their enemies. They had armed in the port of Cadiz, a fleet of thirty sail of the line. The court had placed it under the conduct of don Lewis de Cordova, a seaman of high reputation. This was without doubt an imposing force, and the Spaniards had exaggerated it greatly beyond the truth, in order to deter the English, if possible, from executing their intended enterprise. Wishing to corroborate also by his audacity, any discouraging apprehensions which the enemy might have entertained, don Lewis often issued from the port of Cadiz to parade along the coasts of Portugal, and even upon the route which the English must keep in sailing towards Gibraltar. The Spaniards, moreover, gave out that they were about to be joined by strong divisions of the French squadrons then at anchor as well in the Atlantic ports as in that of Toulon. There was, in effect, in the single port of Brest, so formidable a fleet, that it would have sufficed alone to make a stand against the whole British armament, and even to engage it with good hope of victory. No less than twenty-six sail of the line were in that port in readiness to put to sea. If this fleet should have made its junction with that of Spain, the allies would have acquired such a preponderance in those seas, as to have rendered the re-victualling of Gibraltar an extremely difficult enterprise for the English. The Spaniards confidently depended upon the cooperation of the French. But the latter had it too much at heart to prosecute their designs in the West Indies, and upon the American continent, as likewise to reestablish their affairs in the east, to be willing to direct all their efforts singly towards an object which had no real and direct utility but for Spain alone. Accordingly, the count de Grasse put to sea, the twenty-second of March, from the port of Brest, shaping his course towards the West Indies. M. de Suffren sailed in company with him, having under his orders a squadron consisting of five ships of the line, several frigates, and a strong body of land forces. He had instructions to separate from the great fleet off Madeira, and to steer to the south,



towards the point of Africa; to preserve the Cape of Good Hope, and afterwards proceed to the East Indies. Thus all these naval forces, charged by their respective governments with the most important operations, got under sail almost at the same time. Without the delay which detained the English upon the coasts of Ireland, it is altogether probable that the French would have fallen in with them, and that they would have settled by a decisive battle in the seas of Europe, that quarrel for which they were going to fight in the two Indies.

Admiral Darby, sped by a favorable wind, stood for Cape St. Vincent, which having made, he proceeded with the greatest circumspection, on account of the proximity of the Spanish armament. But don Lewis de Cordova, who for several days had been cruising in the bay of Cadiz, was no sooner apprised of the approach of the English, than he lost all confidence in his own force. Forgetting the importance of the post he had to defend, instead of awaiting the enemy, he returned with precipitation to Cadiz, leaving him the ways free to Gibraltar.

Admiral Darby reconnoitred Cadiz, and finding the Spaniards were in no disposition to come forth, he immediately pushed forward his convoy, consisting of about a hundred sail, under the guard of a certain number of ships of war. A part of this squadron was to take post in the bay of Gibraltar itself, to cover the transports against the attempts of the Spanish gunboats; the rest was destined to cruise at the entrance of the strait, towards the Mediterranean, in order to oppose any hostile force that might present itself on that side. The admiral himself remained before Cadiz to observe the motions of the Spaniards with due diligence. The event justified his dispositions. The gunboats, it is true, made frequent attacks upon the transports, and that with the more audacity, as their inconsiderable size screened them in a manner from the effects of the enemy's artillery. The annoyance of this musquito fleet, put the English out of all patience; but still it had no result of any importance. They succeeded in getting ashore all their munitions of war, and all their provisions; their exultation equalled the consternation of the Spaniards; all Europe was in astonishment. The king of Spain, who had set his heart upon the conquest of Gibraltar, and who had already expended so much treasure in the prosecution of this enterprise, persuaded himself that he was on the point of reaping the fruit of his efforts. When apprised of the event which still retarded the attainment of his hopes, he flattered himself that his land troops would prove, perhaps, more fortunate than his naval forces. His ardor was also stimulated by an eager desire to wipe off the stain which he was apprehensive would attach to his arms from the relief of Gibraltar. The labors of the camp of St. Roch were resumed with increase of activity; the trenches and works which beset the fortress, were fur-

nished with an immense quantity of artillery. The batteries mounted no less than one hundred and sixty pieces of heavy cannon, with eighty mortars of the largest caliber. On the twelfth of April, the British fleet being still at anchor in the port of Gibraltar, the whole of this train began to shower upon the place its tremendous volleys of balls and bombs. The narrow extent of the spot upon which they fell, left no other refuge to the besieged but the casemates and vaulted places. General Elliot, the governor, did not remain a peaceable spectator of this tempest; he answered it bolt for bolt, thunder for thunder. The whole mountain, enveloped in flame and smoke from its base to its summit, resembled a volcano in the height of the most terrible eruption. The two neighboring shores of Europe and Africa were lined with people, who had thronged thither to contemplate this dreadful spectacle. But the inhabitants of the unhappy town were more exposed even than the soldiers themselves. Their terror was great, but their dangers were still greater. The limbs of the dead and dying were scattered upon the ground; women, with children in their arms, ran distractedly imploring a shelter which could not be offered them. Some were seen crushed at the same time with their precious burthen; and torn in a thousand pieces by the bursting bombs. Others, with trembling hands, let themselves down precipices in order to retire the farthest possible from the seat of danger; many threw themselves into the casemates, where, breathing an infected air, and deprived of repose by the dismal cries of the wounded who expired around them, they thought themselves happy in having escaped an inevitable death. The town, situated upon the declivity of the rock, and next the sea towards the west, was demolished to its foundations. The Spanish gunboats contributed especially to this disaster. Under cover of night, they slipped between the British vessels, and after having effected their purpose, profited of a wind, which commonly springs up in the morning, to return to the port of Algesiras. Their destructive fire often reached those unhappy persons who had sought, upon the flank of the mountain, a refuge against the artillery of the Spanish lines. It continued to batter the place for upwards of three weeks with hardly any intermission, and was answered with equal vigor. The firing was then relaxed on both sides; the besiegers became sensible that their efforts resulted in little more than a vain noise, and the besieged thought it imprudent to expend their ammunition without necessity. Scarcely a few shot, discharged by intervals from the fortress, attested that the garrison were upon the alert; the greater part of the time, general Elliot observed, in apparent tranquillity, the fruitless toils of his enemy. It was calculated that in this short space of time, the Spaniards consumed fifty tons of gunpowder; they had fired seventy-five thousand volleys of cannon balls, and twenty-five thousand of bombs. Notwithstanding the narrowness of the place in which the



English were immured, they had lost but few men by the fire of this immense artillery; their wounded did not exceed two hundred and fifty. As to the inhabitants, seeing their houses destroyed, and in continual dread of new disasters, they demanded permission to retire. General Elliot acquiesced in their desires, after having furnished them with all the assistance in his power. The greater part embarked in the fleet which had victualled the place, and repaired to England.

Before it had arrived there, fortune, propitious to the French, inflicted a heavy stroke upon their enemies; which was considered as a just chastisement for the robberies committed at St. Eustatius. Intelligence had been received in France, that a numerous convoy of ships laden with the rich spoils of that island, had left it about the last of March, and were on their way for the ports of Great Britain. It was also known, that this convoy was to be followed by another not less valuable, which was freighted with the produce of Jamaica. The first was guarded by four ships of war under admiral Hotham. The moment could not have been more favorable to the French, since the great English fleet was employed in succouring Gibraltar. The court of Versailles knew very well how to profit of so fair an occasion; it had equipped with great celerity in the port of Brest, a squadron destined to intercept the expected convoys. The chevalier de la Motte Piquet put to sea the fifteenth of April, at the head of eight ships of the line, all excellent sailers. He struck into the middle of the convoy of St. Eustatius, and dispersed it entirely. Twenty-two ships fell into his power, two others were taken by privateers. Some few, with the ships of war that had escorted them, made their way good into the ports of Ireland. The British merchants who had insured the captured ships, lost by this stroke upwards of seven hundred thousand pounds sterling. Admiral Darby, during his homeward passage, was very early informed of the disaster. He instantly made his dispositions for cutting off the retreat of la Motte Piquet. But the French admiral, attentive to all the movements of the enemy, and content with the brilliant advantages which he had just obtained, left the convoy of Jamaica to pursue its voyage in tranquillity, and returned without accident to Brest. So rich a capture created no little festivity in France.

Those who had projected this expedition, and those who had executed it, were loaded with just praises. The fleet of admiral Darby recovered the ports of England. In the meantime, the two fleets of Johnstone and Suffren had put to sea for the Cape of Good Hope. These two admirals had the most exact information respecting each other's departure, intended route, and ulterior destination. But the Englishman was obliged to touch at the bay of Praya, in St. Jago, the most considerable of the Cape de Verd islands. He was occupied in recruiting his water and provision for the long voyage

he was about to undertake, and a great part of his crews were on shore. M. de Suffren was soon apprised of it, and immediately shaped his course with press of sail for the bay of Praya, where he hoped to surprise the enemy. He kept so close along under a tongue of land which covers the port towards the east, that he was already on the point of entering it without being discovered. But the British ship *Isis*, which lay near the mouth of the bay, perceived beyond the eastern point the tops of several masts. Afterwards, by the mode of manœuvring, it was known that they were French, and the signal of enemy sails was given immediately. The commodore recalled his crews from the shore, and made all his dispositions for battle. Meanwhile, the French squadron doubled the point, and appeared all at once at the entrance of the bay. The attack commenced forthwith. The English had one ship of seventy-four guns, four others of inferior force, three frigates, with several East India Company ships, armed for war. The French had two ships of seventy-four, and three of sixty-four guns. After having cannonaded the *Isis*, which presented herself the first, they forced the entrance of the harbor, passing into the midst of the British squadron, and firing double broadsides, M. de Tremignon, with his ship the *Hannibal*, which was ahead of the rest, advanced as far as possible, and with admirable intrepidity cast anchor in the midst of the British line, which assailed him from right and left. He was followed by M. de Suffren, in the *Hero*, and afterwards the chevalier de Car-dailiac joined them with the *Artesien*. The two other ships could not approach near enough to support them, and having fallen to leeward, after having discharged a few broadsides, they stood out to sea. Two British ships, the *Isis* and the *Romney*, were unable to take any considerable part in the action; the first having suffered severely from the fire of the French, at the time of their entrance into the bay, the second finding herself advanced too far within it. The engagement was therefore reduced to that of three ships of the line on either side; the French fired both starboard and larboard guns, as they had placed themselves in the centre of the English. But at length, the British frigates, with the armed ships of the India Company, having rallied, came up to the support of the commodore. After the action had lasted an hour and a half, the *Artesien* having lost her captain, and being no longer able to sustain so fierce a fire, cut her cables and drew off. M. de Suffren, finding himself deprived of his rear guard, and exposed to be cannonaded at once on both sides as well as in front and rear, took a similar resolution to withdraw from the harbor. The retreat of the *Hero* and *Artesien* left the *Hannibal* alone to sustain the whole weight of the enemy's fire, and of course, she suffered excessively; she lost first her mizen-mast, then her mainmast, and at last her rudder. Nevertheless, by incredible exertions she made her way good to the mouth of the



bay, where she was taken in tow by the ship *Sphynx*. Her masts being refitted as well as it was possible, she rejoined the rest of the squadron. The English would fain have followed the French, in order to recommence the engagement; but the wind, the currents, the approach of night, and the disabled state of the *Isis*, prevented them from doing it. Such was the combat of Praya, which gave occasion to several observations upon the conduct of the two admirals. The British commander was censured for having anchored so imprudently in an open and defenceless bay, when he must have known that the enemy could not be far off. Vainly would he have alleged, that he believed himself protected by the neutrality of the place, the island of St. Jago belonging to the crown of Portugal; for he affirmed himself, that when the French see an opportunity for seizing their advantage they are not wont to respect these neutralities; an accusation which, though it were founded, appears not the less extraordinary from the mouth of an Englishman. Commodore Johnstone, committed, besides, great errors, in landing so great a part of his crews, in placing his weakest ships at the entrance of the bay, and in letting the *Hannibal* escape notwithstanding her crippled condition. M. de Suffren, it was said on the other hand, ought not to have attempted to combat at anchor. Every probability assured him a complete victory, if, instead of losing time in coming to anchor, he had immediately resorted to boarding, or even if he had fought under sail an enemy that was in a good degree surprised and unprepared for action.

As soon as the British squadron was refitted, it put to sea in pursuit of the French; but finding them drawn up in order of battle, it avoided a second engagement; night, which soon came on, separated the two squadrons. Commodore Johnstone returned to the bay of Praya. M. de Suffren, continuing his voyage to the south, and towing the *Hannibal*, repaired to *False Bay* at the Cape of Good Hope. He was rejoined there by his convoy, which, during his attack of Praya, he had left at sea, under the escort of the corvette *la Fortune*. Thus was frustrated the design which the English had meditated against the Cape. Constrained to relinquish all hope of conquest, they directed their force against the commerce of their enemies. Commodore Johnstone was advised by his light vessels, that several ships of the Dutch East India Company, very richly laden, lay at anchor in the bay of Saldana, not far from the Cape itself. Upon making the coasts of Africa, acting himself as pilot to his squadron in the midst of shoals and reefs, crowding all sail by night, concealing himself by day, he manœuvred with such dexterity, that he arrived unexpectedly before the bay. He captured five of the most valuable ships; the others were burnt. After having obtained this advantage, which preserved him at least from the reproach of having undertaken an expedition without utility, he detached a part

of his force to India, under general Meadows, and returned himself with the *Romney*, his frigates and rich prizes, to England. M. de Suffren having thrown a strong garrison into the Cape of Good Hope, continued his voyage for the East Indies. Thus the war which raged already in Europe, America, and Africa, was about to redouble its violence upon the distant banks of the Ganges.

Meanwhile, Gibraltar continued to hold out; to the furious attack given that place, had succeeded an almost total calm. The gunboats, alone, profited of the obscurity of night, to keep the garrison in continual alarms. In order to restrain them, the governor caused his advanced batteries to be armed with guns and mortar pieces, peculiarly calculated to throw their shot to a great distance. As they could now reach the camp of St. Roch, every time the gunboats made their attacks, the Spanish lines were assailed by the most violent fire. Don Mendoza having perceived that general Elliot did thus by way of reprisal for the assaults of the gunboats, ordered the commanders of the flotilla to desist from all further insult against the place, and to keep their station quietly in the port of Algeiras. He enjoined them, however, to exert the greatest vigilance to prevent the entrance of supplies into the place. The Spaniards were indefatigable in pushing forward their trenches. They had now brought them quite to the foot of the rock, so that the circumvallation extended from right to left across the whole breadth of the isthmus by which the rock itself connects with the main land. They had excavated upon their left the mine of communication between their outer circumvallation and the parallels. General Elliot, full of security upon the summit of the rock he defended, unwilling to lavish his ammunition, without utility, had not disturbed the workmen. But when he saw that their works were completed, he resolved to destroy them by the most unexpected and vigorous sally. The twenty-seventh of November, towards midnight, he issued from the place at the head of three brigades of infantry, commanded by general Ross. These troops were followed by a great number of pioneers, miners and engineers. The sally was conducted with suitable order and silence. The English appeared all of a sudden before the advanced guards, and routed them in a few instants; they found themselves masters of the first parallel and proceeded to destroy it. The engineers, furnished with combustible materials, set fire to every thing that was capable of receiving it. The carriages of the cannon were rendered unserviceable, and the pieces, including the mortars, were spiked with admirable promptitude. The workmen tore up the platforms and traverses, and levelled the breastworks with the ground. All the magazines were successively consigned to the flames. A single half hour witnessed the destruction of those works which had been erected at so vast an expense of toil and treasure. The Spaniards, whether from the stupor of consternation, or supposing the enemy to



be much stronger than he was in reality, were afraid to go out of their camp to repulse him. They contented themselves with keeping up an incessant, though harmless, fire with balls and grape-shot. The English, after having accomplished their purpose, returned sound and safe into the fortress.

In the meantime, a project was conceived in Europe, the execution of which could not fail to give a severe shock to the British power in the Mediterranean. The Spaniards remained very ill satisfied with France; they believed themselves authorised to reproach her with having hitherto consulted exclusively her own interests, to the prejudice of her allies. They complained, with peculiar bitterness, that she had in no shape promoted the expeditions of Jamaica and Gibraltar, as if she were loath to see the prosperity of the Spanish arms in the seas of America and upon the European continent. The revictualling of Gibraltar, on the part of the English, by dint of force, without a single movement of any sort being made by the French to prevent it, and the despair experienced by the Spaniards at having consumed themselves in vain efforts for the reduction of that place, had prodigiously increased their ill humor, and caused it to degenerate into an open discontent. The Spanish people murmured in bold language; the court was become the object of the most vehement animadversion. It was accused of having undertaken this expedition merely in subservience to the ambitious views of France, and not at all for the interests of the Spanish nation; the Spaniards called it *a court war, a family war*. Stimulated by the vivacity of these complaints, and reflecting moreover that the reduction, in whatever mode, of the British power, was the augmentation of her own, France took the resolution to give into some enterprise whose immediate fruit should be gathered by Spain. An expedition against Jamaica necessarily involving long delays, and a fresh attack upon Gibraltar promising no better than dubious results, it was determined to attempt an operation, the success of which appeared the more probable, as the English were far from expecting it; and that was, the conquest of the island of Minorca. If France had motives for wishing it with eagerness, it must have been still more desirable for the Spaniards. Minorca is so favorably situated for cruising, that it was become the habitual resort of an immense number of privateers. Their audacity was not confined to infesting the seas, and disturbing the navigation and commerce of the Spaniards and French; they even intercepted neutral vessels employed in trafficking with these two nations; this island also served as a place of arms for the English. They deposited in it the munitions of war and provisions which they drew from the neighboring coasts of Africa, whether for the use of their shipping or for the consumption of Gibraltar. The facility of the enterprise was another persuasive invitation to attempt it. In effect, however imposing was Fort St. Philip, from its position and works, the garrison which

guarded it was far from corresponding to the strength and importance of the place ; it consisted of only four regiments, two of them British and two Hanoverians, who all together did not exceed two thousand men. Notwithstanding the salubrity of the air, and the abundance of fresh provisions, these troops were infected with the scurvy. They were commanded by the generals Murray and Draper.

In pursuance of the plan concerted between the courts of Versailles and Madrid, the count de Guichen departed from Brest, towards the last of June, with eighteen sail of the line, and repaired to the port of Cadiz, in order to join the Spanish fleet which awaited him there. He had under him two general officers of great reputation, M. de la Motte Piquet, and M. de Beausset. The Spanish fleet, commanded by don Lewis de Cordova, and by the two vice-admirals, don Gaston and don Vincent Droz, was composed of thirty ships of the line. A corps of ten thousand selected troops was embarked without any delay on board of this armament. It set sail the twenty-second of July, and after having been much thwarted by the winds, appeared in sight of Minorca the twentieth of August. The debarkation was effected in Musquito bay. The whole island was occupied without obstacle, including the city of Mahon, its capital. The garrison, too feeble to defend all these posts, had evacuated them, and thrown itself into Fort St. Philip. A little after, four French regiments arrived from Toulon, under the conduct of the baron de Falkenhayn. The two courts had confided the general command of all the forces employed upon this expedition to the duke de Crillon, distinguished as well for his military knowledge, as for his courage and thirst of glory. He had entered into the service of Spain, and, as a Frenchman of illustrious birth, he was thought the most suitable personage to head the common enterprise.

But the siege of Fort St. Philip presented difficulties of no ordinary magnitude. The works are cut in the solid rock, and mined in all their parts. The glacis, and covered way, likewise cut in the rock, are mined, countermined, palisaded, and furnished with batteries which defend their approaches. Around the fosse, which is twenty feet in depth, runs a covered and looped gallery, which affords a secure shelter to the garrison. Subterraneous communications are excavated between the outer works and the body of the place. In the latter, which forms a sort of labyrinth, are sunk deep wells with drawn covers, and barbicans pierce the walls in all directions. The castle itself, also surrounded by a countermined covered way, is defended not only by counterscarps and half moons, but also by a wall sixty feet high, and a fosse thirty-six feet deep. Finally, the nucleus, which is a square tower flanked by four bastions, presents walls eighty feet high, and a ditch forty feet deep, and cut in the rock. This ditch has also its corridor and lodges. In the centre of all is an esplanade for marshalling the garrison. Around it are con-



structed the soldiers' barracks, and magazines for the munitions, both bomb proof, and all wrought in the hard rock. To add to their safety, the English had totally rased the neighboring city of St. Philip.

The allies approached the citadel with circumspection; its lofty position overlooking all the adjacent country, it was not by scooping trenches, but by transporting and heaping earth, that they formed their parallels. They raised a wall of about two hundred feet in length, five in height, and six in thickness. This laborious construction was finished, without the besiegers having experienced any loss, as Murray did not attempt a single sally, whether in consequence of the weakness of the garrison, or from excess of confidence in the strength of the place. He contented himself with keeping up a fire of cannon and mortars, which produced no effect. The parallels being completed, the duke de Crillon unmasked his batteries, and fulminated the fortress with one hundred and eleven twenty-four pounders, and thirty-three mortar pieces opening thirteen inches of diameter.

During the siege of Fort St. Philip, the combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to near fifty sail of the line, under the count de Guichen, bent their course towards the coasts of England. The intention of the French admiral was to throw himself in the way of the British fleet, and to attack it. The great inferiority of the British rendered their defeat almost inevitable. The count de Guichen also designed by this movement, to prevent the enemy from passing succours from England to Minorca. He even hoped to cut off and capture the convoys that were then on their passage from the two Indies, bound for the ports of Great Britain. His views were likewise directed upon another convoy, which was assembled at the port of Cork, in Ireland, in order to watch its opportunity to make sail for the East and West Indies. Perhaps the French admiral was not without hopes that the sudden appearance of so formidable an armament upon the coasts of the British islands, might afford him an occasion to reach them with a stroke of the last importance. He hastened therefore to occupy the entrance of the channel in all its breadth, by extending his line from the isle of Ushant to those of Scilly. Admiral Darby was then at sea with twenty-one ships of the line, and on the way to meet his convoy. He had the good fortune to fall in with a neutral vessel, which apprised him of the approach of the combined squadrons. But for this intelligence, he must inevitably have fallen headlong into the midst of forces so superior to his own, that he could hardly have retained the smallest hope of safety. He instantly retired with all sails upon Torbay. He was there soon reenforced by several ships of the first rank, which carried his fleet to thirty sail of the line. He disposed his order of battle in the form of a crescent within the bay itself, although it is open, and little susceptible of defence. These dispositions, however, appeared to him

sufficient to repulse the enemy, in case they should present themselves. But the peril was really extreme; they menaced at once the fleet and the maritime cities. None was more exposed than Cork, an unfortified place, and containing immense magazines of every denomination. All England was thrown into a state of the most anxious alarm. The allied armament at length appeared in sight of Torbay. The count de Guichen immediately held a council of war, to deliberate upon the course to be pursued in the present conjuncture. His own opinion was in favor of attacking the British fleet in the position it now occupied. He alleged, that it might be considered as if caught in a net, and that a more auspicious occasion could never present itself for wresting from Great Britain the dominion of the sea. He represented what disgrace, what eternal regrets, would be incurred by allowing it to escape them. He maintained that the enemy, cramped in his movements within a bay, from which there was no outlet, must inevitably become the prey of the innumerable fire-ships with which the combined fleets might support their attack. Finally, he declared that the honor of the arms of the two allied sovereigns was staked upon the issue of this expedition. Don Vincent Droz not only concurred in the opinion of the admiral, but even offered to lead the attempt at the head of the vanguard. But M. de Beausset, the second in command, a seaman of high reputation, manifested a contrary opinion. He contended that the situation of the English squadron would enable it to fight them at their great disadvantage; they could not attack it in a body, but must form their line ahead, and fall down singly upon the enemy. This would expose every ship to the collected fire of the whole British fleet, lying fast at anchor, and drawn up in such a manner as to point all its guns at any object within its reach. He concluded with observing, that since an attack under such circumstances could by no means be justified, it became expedient to bend their attention exclusively upon an expedition, which, though less brilliant, was certainly of great moment, the capture of the West India convoy, probably at that instant, not very far from the shores of Europe. Don Lewis de Cordova, and all the other Spanish officers, with the exception of don Vincent Droz, adopted the sentiment of M. de Beausset. The project of attacking the British fleet was therefore rejected by a majority of votes. But if the allies would not, or knew not how to, profit of the occasion which fortune had provided them, she seemed to take her revenge in baffling the designs to which they had given the preference. Contagious maladies began to rage on board their fleet, and especially on board the Spanish ships. The weather became shortly after so tempestuous, that the two admirals were obliged to think of their safety. The count de Guichen returned to Brest, and don Lewis de Cordova to Cadiz. The British convoys reached their ports without obstacles. Thus this second appearance of the allies upon the coasts of England proved as vain



as the first. Its only fruit was that of having impeded the succours destined for Minorca. But if this campaign between France, Spain and England passed, in the seas of Europe, without any great effusion of blood, and almost entirely in demonstrations of little avail, it was at least remarkable for the reciprocal animosity manifested between the English and Dutch. It brought to mind those fierce and sanguinary battles which had procured so much celebrity for these two nations in the seventeenth century. The Dutch carried on a very lucrative commerce with the produce of their colonies in the Baltic sea. Having become, as it were, the general factors of the nations of the north and of the south of Europe, their gains were immense. They were drawn, besides, towards the countries of the north, by the necessity of procuring from that part all the articles employed in the construction of shipping. This intercourse was become still more essential to them since their rupture with Great Britain, in order to be able to put their navy in a condition to defend the possessions and commerce of the republic, and to maintain the honor of its flag. Their arsenals, however, were far from being supplied with all the stores and materials requisite to the present emergency. The English perceived of what importance it was for them to impede the supplies of their enemies. With this intent, so early as the month of June, they had put to sea four ships of the line and one of fifty guns, under the command of admiral Hyde Parker, a very expert seaman, and father of him who served at that time upon the coasts of America. His instructions were, to scour the northern seas, and do all the harm possible to the Dutch trade, and, at his return, to take under his protection a rich convoy which was assembled in the port of Elsineur.

Admiral Hyde Parker accomplished his mission with diligence; and already, being returned from the Baltic, he was conducting the convoy through the German ocean, on his way home. Since his departure from Portsmouth, he had been joined by other ships, among which one of seventy-four guns, called the Berwick, one of forty-four, named the Dolphin, and several smaller vessels; so that his squadron was composed of six sail of the line, exclusive of the rest. The Dutch, during this time, had not neglected their preparatives. They had succeeded in fitting out a squadron of seven ships of the line, with several frigates or corvettes. They had given the command of it to admiral Zoutman. He set sail, towards the middle of July, with a convoy of merchantmen, which he purposed to escort into the Baltic. The Dutch squadron was joined soon after by a stout American frigate called the Charlestown; and, on the fifth of August, it fell in with admiral Hyde Parker upon the Dogger Bank. The British squadron was to windward; at sight of the imposing force of the enemy, it sent its convoy homeward, under the guard of frigates, and bore down upon the Dutch. The latter, as

soon as they discovered the English, likewise despatched their convoy towards their own ports, and prepared themselves for battle. They appeared to desire it with no less ardor than their adversaries. The English formed their line with seven ships, of which one of eighty guns, but old and in bad condition, two of seventy-four, excellent, one of sixty-four, one of sixty, one of fifty, and lastly, a frigate of forty-four. The line of the Dutch was formed in like manner with seven ships, one of seventy-six, two of sixty-eight, three of fifty-four, and one frigate of forty-four. The light vessels kept themselves aside of the line, ready to carry succour wherever it might be required. The English came down upon the Dutch with full sails, and before the wind; the latter awaited them, firm at their posts. A profound silence, the ordinary sign of pertinacious resolution, reigned on board of both squadrons. No other sound was heard but that of the creaking of pulleys, the whistling of the wind, and the dashing of waves. The soldiers were formed upon the deck, the cannoniers stood by their pieces, awaiting the signal to commence the fire. It was not given until the squadrons were within half musket shot distance of each other. The two admiral ships, namely, the *Fortitude*, which carried Parker, and the admiral de Ruyter, mounting Zoutman, attacked each other close along side with extreme impetuosity. The other ships imitated them, and soon the action became general. The Dutch had the superiority in weight of metal, and in the aid of frigates, particularly in that of the *Charlestown*. The rapidity of their evolutions enabled them to act against the whole line, assailing the ships of the enemy in flank. The English, on the other hand, were advantaged by the agility of manœuvres and a better supported fire. During near four hours, the action was kept up with an equal spirit, and a balanced success. The Dutch stood firm upon every point of their line, and the English redoubled efforts to carry a victory which they deemed it beneath them to relinquish. But the rage of men was constrained to yield to the force of elements. The ships, on the one part as well as on the other, were so terribly shattered that they were no longer manageable. They floated upon the water, like wrecks, at the discretion of the wind, and their relative distance became at length so great, that it was impossible to renew the engagement. The English received incalculable damage in their masts and rigging.

After some hasty repairs, Hyde Parker endeavored to reform his line, in order to recommence the battle, provided Zoutman did not decline it. He attempted to follow him, on seeing him stand for the *Texel*. But all his efforts were vain. The Dutch ships, however, were in no better condition. During the passage they had now before them, their masts fell one after another; the leaks were so considerable, that the work of pumps became fruitless. All the captains successively made their admiral signals of distress. The



Holland, of sixty-eight guns, went to the bottom, within thirty leagues of the Texel; the crew had but just time to save themselves, leaving in their precipitation the unhappy wounded to a certain death. The frigates were obliged to take the other ships in tow to enable them to gain the port.

The loss of the English in killed and wounded amounted to four hundred and fifty, among whom were several distinguished officers. In the number of the slain was captain Macartney, who commanded the Princess Amelia, of eighty guns. The valor he signalised in the combat honored his last moments; but it was still less astonishing than the intrepidity of his young son. This child, yet but seven years old, remained constantly at the side of his father in the very height of the action; the unfortunate but heroic witness of the stroke which snatched him from his fond affection. Lord Sandwich, first lord of the admiralty, knowing that captain Macartney had left a numerous family, and little fortune, adopted this courageous infant. In England, unanimous praises were lavished upon all those who had combated at the Dogger Bank. King George himself, as soon as he knew that admiral Hyde Parker was arrived at the Nore, went to pay him a visit on board of his ship, and expressed to him as well as to all his officers, the high sense he entertained of their valiant conduct in this bloody rencounter. But the old seaman, irritated against the board of admiralty, who, in giving him so inadequate a force, had frustrated him of an occasion for signalising himself by a great victory, told the king, with the blunt freedom of his profession, that he wished him younger officers and better ships; that for his own part, he was become too old to serve any longer. In defiance of the solicitations of the sovereign, of the courtiers and of the ministers, he persisted in his resolution, and immediately tendered his resignation.

The government and public were no less forward, in Holland, to acknowledge the services of the officers and men who, in the action of the fifth of August, had sustained the ancient renown of the flag of the United Provinces. The stadtholder, in the name of the States-General, addressed public thanks to rear-admiral Zoutman, apprising him at the same time of his promotion to the rank of vice-admiral. The captains Dedel, Van Braam, and Kindsburghen, were created rear-admirals. The same honor, and particular regrets were conferred upon the count de Bentinck, who was put ashore mortally wounded. He had displayed equal skill and gallantry in the command of the Batavia. The loss of the Dutch in killed and wounded was greater than that of the English. Such was the issue of the naval battle of Doggers Bank, the best conducted, and the best fought of all this war. It would be impossible to decide who came off with the advantage; but it is certain that the Dutch, having been constrained to regain their ports for the purpose of refitting, found

themselves under the necessity of abandoning their design, which had been to repair to the Baltic. This disappointment, however, did not prevent the nation from cherishing new hopes; the glorious recollection of past times revived in every breast.

As soon as the count de Guichen had reentered the port of Brest, the French government began to frame new designs. It was not ignorant that the count de Grasse, who commanded the West India fleet, must soon stand in need of supplies and reinforcements, both of ships and troops. Naval stores are extremely scarce in that quarter, and the nature of the climate and of the waters is singularly prejudicial to ships, which get out of condition there with an incredible rapidity. The forces which had been sent thither in this and the preceding campaign might appear sufficient to execute the plans which had been formed in favor of the United States, and against the more feeble of the British islands. But in order to attempt the expedition of Jamaica, to which Spain was continually stimulating her ally, it was requisite to have recourse to more formidable armaments, as well by land as by sea. The court of Versailles was also aware that the state of affairs in the East Indies required that fresh forces should be sent thither, and moreover that the want of arms and munitions of war began to be felt with urgency. Orders were therefore given for the immediate equipment, at Brest, of a convoy laden with all the necessary articles. Reinforcements of troops were prepared for embarkation, and the armament was pushed with extraordinary activity. As soon as it was in readiness, the count de Guichen put to sea at the head of the great fleet, and the marquis de Vaudreuil with a particular squadron. The convoys destined for the two Indies sailed under their protection. After having escorted them till they were out of danger from the fleets upon the watch in the ports of England, the count de Guichen was to stand to the south, in order to join the Spanish squadron in the port of Cadiz. The object of their combined action was to intercept the succours which the English might attempt to send to Minorca. As to the marquis de Vaudreuil, his destination was to conduct the reinforcements of troops to the West Indies, and to unite with the count de Grasse, who was making dispositions in concert with the Spaniards for the attack of Jamaica.

For a long time there had not issued from the ports of France convoys so numerous and so richly laden with stores of every denomination. The news of these immense preparations soon found its way to England; but strange as it must seem, the ministers were not informed of the force of the formidable squadrons that were to escort the transports. They consequently directed admiral Kempensfeldt to put to sea with twelve ships of the line, one of fifty guns, and four frigates, in order to cut off the French convoys. But the count de Guichen had nineteen sail of the line; and Kempensfeldt, instead of taking, ran great risk of being taken.



In defiance of all probabilities, chance did that which human prudence could not have brought to pass. The twelfth of December, the weather being stormy, and the sea rough, the British admiral fell in with a French convoy. He had the good fortune to be to windward of the fleet of escort, which for that reason could not act. The Englishman profited with great dexterity of so favorable an occasion, he captured twenty vessels, sunk several, and dispersed the rest. He would have taken more of them if the weather had been less thick, the sea more tranquil, and the number of his frigates greater. Night came on; the two admirals had rallied their ships. Kempenfeldt sailed in company during the whole night, with intent to engage the enemy at break of day. He knew not, however, what was his force. When the morning came, he discovered it to leeward, and finding it so superior to his own, he changed his plan. Not willing to lose by imprudence what he had acquired by ability, or a benign glance of fortune, he made the best of his way towards the ports of England, where he arrived in safety with all his prizes. The number of his prisoners amounted to eleven hundred regular troops, and six or seven hundred seamen. The transports were laden with a considerable quantity of artillery, arms and military stores. The provisions, such as wine, oil, brandy, flour, biscuit, salt meats, &c. were not in less abundance. But this loss was still but the commencement of the disasters of the French fleet. It was assailed, the following day, by a furious tempest accompanied with continual thunder and lightning, and a most impetuous wind from the southwest. The greater part of the ships were obliged to recover the port of Brest, in the most deplorable condition. Only two ships of the line, the *Triumphant* and the *Brave*, with five or six transports, were able to continue their voyage. This event had the most afflicting consequences for France; she had not only to regret armaments and munitions of immense value, but also the precious time consumed in the reparation of the ships of war. Six whole weeks elapsed before it was possible for them to make sail anew for the West Indies. This delay, as we shall see, was extremely prejudicial to the French arms in that part.

Whilst the war was thus prosecuted in Europe with varied success, the count de Grasse sailed prosperously towards Martinico. To accelerate his voyage, he had caused his ships of war to tow the transports. Such was his diligence that he appeared in sight of that island with an hundred and fifty sail, thirty days only after his departure from Brest. Admiral Rodney was promptly informed of the approach of the French admiral. He saw very clearly the importance of preventing the junction of this new fleet with the squadrons already existing in the ports of Martinico and of St. Domingo. The count de Grasse brought with him twenty ships of the line, with one of fifty guns, and seven or eight others awaited him in the ports

above mentioned. Rodney had only twenty-one ships of the line. It is true, that Hyde Parker had four others at Jamaica. But besides their being thought necessary to the defence of the island, they were to leeward of the principal fleet, and consequently it would have been next to impracticable for them to join it. Under these considerations Rodney sent the two admirals Hood and Drake with seventeen ships to cruise before the entrance of Fort Royal harbor, in Martinico, whither he knew the count de Grasse had bent the course of his voyage.

It is quite difficult to explain the motives which induced the British admiral to establish this cruise under Fort Royal; his fleet was there liable to fall to leeward, and thus to be compelled to leave between itself and the land a free passage for the French fleet into the port. A station more to windward, off the point of Salines, seemed proper to obviate these inconveniences. It was written, that Hood, who was a man of great skill in naval affairs, had made remonstrances on the subject of these dispositions; but that Rodney, whose character was headstrong, had dismissed him with an order to obey punctually. The event soon demonstrated that the station of the point of Salines would have been more suitable than that of Fort Royal. The twenty-eighth of April, at evening, the count de Grasse appeared off that point, with the most magnificent display of force. Admiral Hood was immediately apprised by his frigates of the appearance of the French. He instantly formed his line of battle and bore down upon the enemy. His intention was to press to windward in order afterwards to approach so near the coasts of Martinico as to prevent the French from passing between his ships and the land. Night came on during this manœuvre. At daybreak the English discovered the fleet of the count de Grasse, standing along the coast in the best order. His convoy of transports defiled behind the line of battle which he presented to the enemy. All his efforts were exerted to double the Diamond Rock, which once past, nothing could prevent his entrance into the port. The English being to leeward, were not able to prevent the four ships of the line, with that of fifty guns, in Fort Royal harbor, from coming out to join the great fleet. This junction carried the forces of the count de Grasse to twenty-six sail of the line; and gave him a decided superiority over Hood, although that admiral was joined, at the same time, by a ship of seventy-four guns, which came from St. Lucia. The English, however, persuading themselves that a part of the French ships were merely armed in flute, took confidence and again bore down upon their adversaries. The French admiral, mindful to save his convoy, and reposing on his force, neither sought nor shunned an engagement. As soon as the English were within long shot of the French, the fire commenced on both sides. It was supported thus, at a great distance, for about three hours, with heavy damage to the first, and very little to the second. During the



action the convoy entered the bay of Fort Royal. Disengaged from this care, the French advanced in order to engage the enemy in close fight. The English, on the contrary, began to retire, but in good order. Their ships being coppered, had such a superiority in point of sailing, that it became impossible for the count de Grasse to come up with them. Besides, the French rear guard not having crowded all sail, there had resulted such an opening between it and the remainder of the fleet, that admiral Hood was near profiting of it to cut the line. The count de Grasse perceived it in time, and filled up so dangerous a void. He continued to pursue the English for two days, and afterwards came to anchor in Fort Royal. Admiral Hood had gained Antigua; his ships, the Centaur, the Russell, the Torbay and the Intrepid, were excessively damaged in this engagement. Admiral Rodney was still at St. Eustatius, much occupied with the sale of the immense booty he had made, when he learned that the count de Grasse, after having obtained an advantage over sir Samuel Hood, was safely moored at Fort Royal. He perceived that it was time to think of something besides his mercantile interests, and that the exertion of all his force was required of him if he wished to maintain himself in the West Indies. He accordingly directed the promptest dispositions, and hastened with three ships and a body of troops to rejoin admiral Hood at Antigua. His plan was, to put to sea again immediately, in order to oppose the designs of the enemy, who, not content with his first successes, appeared to meditate others, and more considerable. The French, in effect, lost no time; they were disposed to profit of the advantages which they had now secured themselves.

After having attempted, though without effect, to surprise St. Lucia, they proceeded with all expedition to attack the island of Tobago. M. de Blanchelande debarked the first, at the head of sixteen hundred men. He seized Scarborough and the fort which defended it; general Ferguson, the governor, had little over four hundred regular troops; but they were supported by a greater number of militia, well trained, and much attached to England. These sentiments were common to all the inhabitants of Tobago. The governor, finding himself too weak to defend the coasts, withdrew into the interior of the island, to a post called Concordia. From this lofty situation, the sea is discovered on the right and on the left; an important advantage for being promptly apprised of the approach of succours. The marquis de Bouille disembarked soon after, with a reenforcement of three thousand men. He made his junction with M. de Blanchelande under the walls of Concordia, which was then closely invested. At the same time, the count de Grasse appeared in sight of the island with twenty-four ships of the line, to prevent its being relieved. Governor Ferguson, as soon as he found himself attacked, had despatched a swift sailing vessel to Rodney

with the intelligence, and a request for prompt assistance. Rodney had already passed from Antigua to Barbadoes. Whether he believed the assailants more feeble, and the besieged more strong, than they really were, or that he was not apprised of the sailing of the French admiral with all his fleet for Tobago, instead of repairing with all his own to the relief of that island, he contented himself with sending admiral Drake thither with six sail of the line, some frigates, and a body of about six hundred troops. Drake approached Tobago; but seeing the enemy in such force, he relinquished the enterprise and hastened to regain Barbadoes. The count de Grasse pursued him, but could not prevent his reaching that island in safety, and advising admiral Rodney of the critical state of affairs. Meanwhile, the governor of Tobago was hard pressed. The French having taken possession of different heights which overlooked Concordia, he determined to retreat to a post on the Main Ridge, where a few huts had been built, and some provisions and ammunition previously lodged for the purpose. The garrison was already arrived at Caledonia, and thus occupied the road or path which leads to the post which they had in view. This road is so narrow and difficult that a few men might defend it against a whole army. The marquis de Bouille had reflected, that time and the nature of his enterprise did not admit of the lingering process of a regular siege. It was evident, however, that if the British governor should intrench himself in those inaccessible positions, the reduction of the island would require a series of operations as protracted as perilous. It would moreover prove an obstacle to the execution of ulterior designs. Finally, it was to be presumed that Rodney could not long delay to appear. Under these considerations, the marquis de Bouille thought proper to resort to more expeditious means than are usually employed in war. Departing from the accustomed lenity of his character, perhaps through irritation at the obstinacy of the islanders, and perhaps, also, from resentment for the late transactions at St. Eustatius, he sent to apprise the governor that he should begin with burning two habitations and two sugar plantations. His menaces were immediately accomplished. They were followed by that of consigning twice as many to the same fate, at the commencement of every four hours, until the island was laid waste or that a surrender should be made.

The inhabitants, convinced that perseverance was total ruin, were in no disposition to wait the slow approach of succours which the precipitate retreat of Drake rendered hourly more uncertain. They began to murmur; and very soon, to negotiate for conditions with the French general. Governor Ferguson at length perceived the impossibility of controlling events. He observed a manifest discouragement in his regular troops themselves, and felt that the moment of capitulation was come. He obtained honorable terms,



and similar to those which the marquis de Bouille, naturally generous towards his vanquished enemies, had granted to the inhabitants of Dominica. These transactions took place in the early part of June. Admiral Rodney appeared shortly after in view of the island with all his armament. But, on intelligence of its surrender, and at sight of the imposing force of the count de Grasse, he avoided an engagement, and returned to Barbadoes. In this manner, the French availing themselves with equal sagacity and promptitude of their naval superiority in the West Indies, both galled their enemies at sea, and deprived them of a rich and well fortified island.

These operations, however, were still but a part of the plan formed by the French government, and committed to the care of the count de Grasse. The instructions of that admiral enjoined him, after having attempted all those enterprises which the season should admit of in the West Indies, to repair with all his force to the coasts of America, and there to cooperate with the French troops and those of Congress, to the entire extirpation of the British power in those regions. Washington and Rochambeau awaited his arrival, in order to commence the work. Already, by means of swift sailing vessels, they had concerted the plan of their combined action, after their junction should have taken place. It was hoped by the republicans that besides his fleet, the French admiral would furnish five or six thousand land troops, munitions of war and provisions, and especially money, of which the Americans, and the French themselves, experienced the greatest penury. Finally, they pressed him to show himself promptly, as well to support their efforts as to prevent the arrival of British reinforcements. The count de Grasse was personally stimulated by these important considerations. His imagination offered him a vivid perspective of the glory to be acquired by achieving what the count d'Estaing had attempted in vain, namely, the finishing of the American war by a decisive stroke. He accordingly made sail from Martinico for Cape Francois, in the island of St. Domingo. He was constrained to tarry there some time, to take on board the troops and military stores destined for the continent. But he exerted himself in vain to procure the needed funds. He was joined, in that anchorage, by five ships of the line. All his preparations being completed, he sailed, the fifth of August, and commenced with escorting his numerous convoy till out of danger. Afterwards, having touched at the Havannah for money, which the Spaniards readily furnished him, he directed his course with a favorable wind for the Chesapeake. His fleet, composed of twenty-eight sail of the line and several frigates, carried three thousand regular troops, with every kind of succour; and might be considered as the great hinge upon which the fortune of the war, at least in America, was to turn.

On the other hand, admiral Rodney, who followed with an attentive eye the movements of the count de Grasse, saw the importance of taking a decisive resolution. He instantly detached admiral Hood to the coast of America with fourteen sail of the line to join admiral Graves, and counteract the designs of the enemy. Being himself in feeble health, he set sail for England with some ships, much out of condition, and a large convoy. Rodney was censured with extreme asperity for the counsels taken by him about that time; and some even made him responsible for the sinister events which ensued shortly after. His adversaries contended, that if he had sailed with all his force, and without delay, in quest of the French admiral, had touched at Jamaica, in order to make his junction with the squadron of Hyde Parker, and then had proceeded to the coasts of North America, the count de Grasse would at least have found himself compelled to relinquish his projects, if not exposed to a defeat. 'Instead of adopting this measure,' said they, 'the only one that suited the occasion, Rodney, by returning to England with a part of the heaviest ships of his fleet, has reduced it to an alarming state of weakness, and abandoned the field of battle to the enemy.'

'It is a capital error thus to have divided the armament into several little squadrons, as leaving some ships at the leeward islands, where the French have not left one, and detaching three others to Jamaica, which nobody thought of attacking, and, finally, sending sir Samuel Hood with an unequal and insufficient force to America. Is it possible to be too much astonished that our admiral has chosen to fritter away his force into small parts, at the very moment when the French assembled all theirs upon a single point? The world may see what are the effects of this fatal resolution, it has already cost but too many of England's tears.' Rodney nevertheless found defenders. 'The admiral's return to Europe,' they answered, 'was rather constrained by the state of his health, than decided by his choice. The ships he has brought with him are in such a worn out state, that they could not have been repaired in the West Indies. The French admiral having under his protection a rich and numerous convoy, it was fairly to be presumed that he would not have left it to pursue its homeward voyage without a respectable escort. It was even to be supposed that he would have sent the greater part of his fleet along with the merchantmen to France, and that he would only have retained those ships which were in condition to undergo the American service. But independent of that circumstance, the force sent to America under sir Samuel Hood, when combined with that of admiral Graves, would have been perfectly adequate to sustain the brunt of the whole French fleet. But what has Graves done? Instead of keeping his squadron entire and together in the port of New York, he preferred to fatigue himself in a fruitless cruise before Boston, until the bad weather which he met had disabled the greater



part of his ships. Hence it followed of necessity that even after the arrival of admiral Hood at New York our force was still inferior to that of the French. It indeed now appears that no timely notice had been received by admiral Graves either of the count de Grasse's motions, or of Hood's destination to the coasts of America. But if the expresses which sir George Rodney had despatched for that purpose were taken by the enemy, or otherwise detained, it is no fault on his side; it is a misfortune to be regretted; but which could neither have been absolutely foreseen, nor prevented if it could. Finally, the commander-in-chief cannot be reproached for having detached sir Samuel Hood to America, instead of repairing thither himself; for what naval officer is more worthy of all our confidence than Hood?'

Without undertaking to decide between these opposite opinions, we shall content ourselves with remarking, that though, in military facts, it is not allowable to judge by the event, it is nevertheless just to consider the causes which have produced it; and nothing is more certain than that the conduct of admiral Rodney, in the present conjuncture, had an influence upon the chances of the continental struggle, upon the fortune of America herself, and even upon the issue of all this war.

Having sketched the events which signalled the present year, as well in Europe as in the West Indies, we are now to record those which occupied the scene upon the continent of America. It was the theatre of the principal efforts of the two parties that contended, arms in hand, for its possession. Every where else the contest had in view the success of the campaign, and to obtain a better peace; there, its object was existence itself. But before undertaking the portraiture of military operations, it is necessary to apply the attention to objects which, though less brilliant and glorious, are however the first source, and the firmest foundation of warlike exploits. Such, doubtless, is the internal administration of the state. The situation of the United States at the commencement of the year 1781, presented, in general, only objects of affliction and disquietude. The efforts which the Americans had made the preceding year, and the events which had passed in the Carolinas, had revived public spirit and produced happy effects. But these effects being founded only upon the fugitive ardor of particular men, and not upon a settled and permanent order of things, it followed that discouragement and distress reappeared with more alarming symptoms than ever. The public treasury was empty, or only filled with bills of credit, no longer of any worth. The army supplies totally failed, or were only procured by compulsion, accompanied with certificates of receipt, which had lost all sort of credit. The inhabitants became disgusted, and concealed their commodities. If by dint of effort some scanty recruit of provision was at length collected, it could not be transported to

the place of its destination, for want of money to pay the wagoners. In some districts, where it was attempted to impress them, there arose violent murmurs; which even degenerated into more strenuous collisions. No where had it been possible to form magazines; scarcely did there exist here and there some repositories, which often contained neither food nor clothing of any denomination; even the arsenals were without arms. The soldiers, covered with tatters, or half naked, destitute of all comforts, implored in vain the compassion of the country they defended. The veterans deserted; the recruits refused to join the army. The Congress had decreed that by the first of January, there should be thirty-seven thousand men under arms; it would have been difficult to have mustered the eighth part of that number in the month of May. In a word, it seemed as if America, at the very crisis of her fate, was about to prove wanting to herself, and that after having gained the better part of her career, she was more than half inclined to retrace her steps. Far from the Americans being thought capable of waging an offensive war, it was scarcely believed that they could defend their firesides. Already, it began to be feared that instead of assisting the French to drive out the soldiers of king George, they would prove unable to prevent the latter from expelling the troops of Lewis XVI. So disastrous was the change of fortune occasioned by the exhaustion of the finances, and, still more, by the want of a system of administration proper to reestablish them. This state of things was not overlooked by the American government, and it exerted every utmost effort to apply a remedy. But its power was far from corresponding to its intentions. The only means that Congress had for administering to the wants of the state, consisted in a new emission of bills of credit, or an increase of taxes. But the paper money had lost all sort of value. The Congress itself had been constrained to request the different states to repeal the laws by which they had made the bills of credit a tender in all payments. It had even ordained that in all future contracts for the supplies of the army, the prices should be stipulated in specie. This was the same as declaring formally that the state itself would no longer acknowledge its own bills for current money, and that this paper not only no longer had, but no longer could have, the least value. As to taxes, the Congress had not the right to impose them; it belonged exclusively to the provincial assemblies. But these exercised it with more backwardness than could comport with the public interests. This coldness proceeded from several causes. The rulers of the particular states were, for the most part, men who owed their places to popular favor. They apprehended losing it, if they subjected to contributions of any importance, the inhabitants of a country where from the happy, shall I call it, or baleful facility of issuing paper money, to answer the public exigencies, they were accustomed to pay no taxes, or next to none. Moreover, although



the bills of Congress were entirely discredited, the particular states still had theirs, which though much depreciated were still current at a certain rate; and the provincial legislatures apprehended, and not without reason, that taxes *payable in specie*, would cause them to fall still lower. Nor should it be passed over in silence, that no general regulation having established the quota of contribution to be paid by each province according to its particular faculties, all through mutual jealousy were reluctant to vote taxes for fear of loading themselves more than their neighbors. Such was the spirit of distrust and selfishness which made its appearance every where, whenever it was necessary to require of the citizens the smallest pecuniary sacrifice. While they were looking at one another with a jealous eye, and none would give the example, the finances of the state were entirely exhausted, and the republic itself was menaced with a total dissolution. It could not be hoped, on the other hand, that the particular states would consent to invest the Congress with authority to impose taxes, as well because men with authority in hand are little disposed to part with it, as because the opinions then entertained by the Americans on the subject of liberty, led them to view with disquietude any increase of the power of Congress. Finally, it should be observed, that at this epoch, the Americans cherished an extreme confidence in the pecuniary succours of friendly powers, and especially of France. They were persuaded that no more was necessary than that a minister of Congress should present his requisition to any European court, in order to obtain immediately whatever sums of money it might please him to specify. As if foreigners were bound to have more at heart than the Americans themselves, the interests and prosperity of America. In a word, the resource of paper money was no more, and that of taxes was yet to be created. Nor could it be dissembled, that even upon the hypothesis of a system of taxation in full operation, and as productive as possible, the produce would still fall infinitely short of supplying the gulf of war, and, by consequence, that the revenue would continue enormously below the expense. Indeed, so ruinous were the charges of this war, that they amounted to no less than twenty millions of dollars a year; and not more than eight could have been counted upon, from the heaviest taxes which, under these circumstances, the United States would have been able to bear. A better administration of the public treasure might doubtless have diminished the exorbitant expenses of the military department; but it is nevertheless clear that they would always have greatly exceeded the revenue. Actuated by these different reflections, the Congress had hastened to instruct doctor Franklin to use the most pressing instances with the count de Vergennes, who at that time had the principal direction of affairs relating to America, in order to obtain from France a loan of some millions of livres, towards defraying the expense of the war. Franklin was also directed to

solicit permission of the court of Versailles to open another loan for account of the United States, with the French capitalists that were inclined to favor the cause of America. The same instructions were sent, with a view of effecting similar loans, to John Adams, and John Jay; the first, minister plenipotentiary of the United States, near the republic of Holland; the second, at the court of Madrid. The latter was to insinuate to Spain, so great was the discouragement which prevailed at that time in America, that the United States would renounce the navigation of the Mississippi, and even the possession of a port upon that river; the other was to persuade the Dutch that important commercial advantages would be granted them. Franklin, especially, was to represent to France, that without money the affairs of America were desperate. It was recommended to these different envoys to set forth all the resources which America offered as guarantee of her fidelity in fulfilling her engagements. The Congress attached so much importance to the success of these negotiations, that not content with having sent these new instructions to their ministers, they also despatched colonel Laurens to France, with orders to support by the most urgent solicitations the instances of Franklin at the court of Versailles.

The court of Madrid was inflexible, because Jay would not agree to the renunciation above mentioned. Holland showed herself no better disposed, because she doubted the responsibility of the new state. France alone, who judiciously considered that aiding the victory of the United States, and preserving their existence, was of more worth to her than the money they demanded, granted six millions of livres, not as a loan, but as a gift. She seized this occasion to express her dissatisfaction at the coldness with which the Americans themselves contemplated the distress of their country. She exhorted them to reflect, that when it is desired to accomplish honorable enterprises, it is requisite not to be avaricious in the means of success. The court of Versailles did not omit to make the most of its munificence, by setting forth all the weight of its own burdens. But the sum it gave being too far short of the wants, it consented to become security in Holland, for a loan of ten millions of livres, to be negotiated there by the United States. Notwithstanding this guarantee, the loan progressing but slowly, the king of France consented to make an advance of the sum total, which he drew from his own treasury. He would not, however, authorise the loan proposed to be opened with his subjects. The Americans had thus succeeded in procuring from the court of France a subsidy of sixteen millions of livres. A part of this sum, however, was already absorbed by the payment of preceding draughts of the Congress upon Franklin, for particular exigencies of the state. The remainder was embarked for America in specie, or employed by colonel Laurens in purchases of clothing, arms, and munitions of war. The intention of the giver of the six



millions was, that this sum, being specially destined for the use of the American army, should be kept in reserve, at the disposal of general Washington, or placed in his hands, to the end that it might not fall into those of other authorities, who might perhaps apply it to other branches of the public service. This condition was far from being agreeable to the Congress; on the contrary, it displeased that body particularly, under the impression that its soldiers would thus become, as it were, stipendiaries of France; and it feared lest they might abate much of their dependence on itself. It therefore decreed, that the articles bought with the money given by France, should be consigned, on their arrival in America, to the department of war; but that all the ready money should be placed in the hands of the treasurer, to remain under his charge, and to be expended agreeably to the orders of Congress, and for the service of the state. This succour on the part of France, was of great utility to the United States; it increased exceedingly their obligations towards Lewis XVI. But before the negotiations which led to it were terminated, and the money or supplies were arrived in America, a long time had elapsed; and the evil was grown to such a head, that the remedy had well nigh come too late. The subsidy in itself was by no means adequate to the necessity. But even had it been sufficient to answer the present exigencies, it could not be considered as having accomplished its object, so long as the same disorder continued to reign in the public expenses. The treasury suffered still less from the poverty of revenues than from the prodigalities it had to supply. It had not escaped the Congress that this primordial defect in the administration of the finances was the source of those perpetual embarrassments which had beset them since the origin of the revolution. Firmly resolved to introduce into that department a rigorous system of order and economy, they appointed for treasurer Robert Morris, one of the deputies of the state of Pennsylvania; a man of high reputation, and possessed of extensive knowledge and experience in commercial and financial affairs. His mind was active, his manners pure, his fortune ample, and his zeal for independence extremely ardent. He was authorised to oversee and direct the receipt and disbursement of the public money, to investigate the state of the public debt, and to digest and report a new plan of administration. If the charge imposed on Morris was ponderous, the talent and firmness with which he sustained it, were not less astonishing. He was not slow in substituting regularity for disorder, and good faith in the room of fraud.

The first, the most essential of the qualities of an administrator, being exactness in the fulfilment of his obligations, the new treasurer adhered with rigor to an invariable punctuality. He soon gathered the fruits of it; instead of a general distrust, there sprung up, by little and little, an universal confidence. *One of the first operations of the treasurer was to lay before Congress an outline of a national bank,*

for all the United States of America. He assigned to this bank a capital of four hundred thousand dollars, divided in shares of four hundred dollars each, in money of gold or silver, to be procured by means of subscriptions; by the same means this capital might be increased, when expedient, and according to certain restrictions. Twelve directors were to manage the bank; it was recognised by Congress under the name of the president, directors and company of the bank of North America. All its operations were to be subject to the inspection of the treasurer. Such were the bases and principal features of this establishment. The utility to be derived from it was, that the bills of the bank, payable on demand, should be declared legal money for the payment of all excises and taxes in each of the United States, and receivable into the chests of the public treasury as gold or silver. The Congress adopted this plan by a special decree. Subscribers presented themselves in throng, and all the shares were soon taken. The States realised an extraordinary benefit from this institution. The treasurer, by means of exchequer notes, was enabled to anticipate the produce of imposts and taxes. Not content with having brought, by means of the bank, the capitals and credit of the stockholders to the support of public credit, he was disposed to operate the same effect in his own name, and with his private credit. He accordingly threw into circulation no small sum of obligations signed by himself, and payable at different terms out of foreign subsidies, or even out of the revenues of the United States. And although with time these obligations had amounted to upwards of five hundred and eighty-one thousand dollars, they still never depreciated, excepting, perhaps, a little towards the end of the war; so great was the confidence of the public in the good faith and punctuality of the treasurer. Thus, at that very epoch in which the credit of the state was almost entirely annihilated, and its bills nearly without value, that of a single individual was stable and universal. It is impossible to overrate the advantages which resulted to the government from having, in these obligations of the treasurer, the means of anticipating the produce of taxes, at a time when such anticipation was not only necessary, but indispensable. By this aid it was enabled to provide for the wants of the army, no longer by way of requisitions, but by regular contracts. This new mode had the most happy effects; it produced economy in purchases, exactness in supplies, and a cordial satisfaction among the people, who had always manifested an extreme disgust at the compulsory requisitions. It cannot be advanced, assuredly, that this anticipated employment of the produce of taxes is an example to be imitated; nor even can it be denied, on the contrary, that it has dangers. But Robert Morris had the faculty of using this resource with so much discretion, and of introducing so admirable an order and economy into all parts of the public expense, that no manner of inconvenience resulted from it.



But a foundation was necessary to all these new dispositions of the treasurer; and this foundation consisted in taxes. The Congress therefore decreed that the states should be required to furnish the treasury, by way of assessments, with the sum of eight millions of dollars; and at the same time determined what should be, in this sum, the contingent of each state. Such was the urgency of the affairs of the republic, and the confidence that all had placed in the treasurer, that the states conformed willingly to this new decree of Congress; and thus an efficacious remedy was at length applied to the penury of the treasury. The solicitude of Robert Morris for the prosperity of the state did not end here.

The province of Pennsylvania, as a country abounding in wheat, was that from which was drawn the greater part of the supplies of flour for the use of the army. The want of money had occasioned, towards the beginning of the year, an extreme slowness in the delivery of these supplies. But Morris was no sooner in place, than he employed his private credit in the purchase of flour for the soldiers. He afterwards undertook, with the approbation of government, to furnish the requisitions for similar supplies that might be made upon Pennsylvania during the present year, on condition, however, of being authorised to reimburse himself from the produce of the apportioned contribution of that province. It amounted to upwards of eleven hundred and twenty thousand dollars. In this manner, by the cares of the treasurer, public credit was resuscitated, and the exhausted treasury was sufficiently replenished to meet expenses. To him it was principally owing that the armies of America did not disband; and that the Congress, instead of yielding to an inevitable necessity, recovered the means not only of sustaining the efforts of the enemy, but even of resuming the offensive with vigor and success. Certainly, the Americans owed, and still owe, as much acknowledgment to the financial operations of Robert Morris, as to the negotiations of Benjamin Franklin, or even to the arms of George Washington.

Before the salutary effect of this new system had braced the tottering state, a sinister event had given room to fear that the present year would prove the last of the republic. The terror it occasioned was the first cause, or at least the most powerful incitement, of the introduction of a better method. At this time, as we have already remarked, the soldiers experienced the most intolerable destitution, not only of all the parts of military equipment, but even of articles the most necessary to life. Their discontent was extreme. A particular motive still aggravated the ill humor of the regular troops of Pennsylvania. They had enlisted for three years, or during all the war. The ambiguity of the terms of their engagement led them to think it had expired with the year 1780. They claimed therefore the right to return to their homes, while the government contended that they were bound to serve till the end of the war. These two causes combined,

also heated all heads, that a violent tumult broke out in the night of the first of January. The mutineers declared that they would march under arms, to the very place where Congress was in session, in order to obtain the redress of their grievances. Their number amounted to near fifteen hundred men. The officers endeavored to quell the insurrection, but it was in vain; and in the riot that ensued, several of the seditious and one officer were killed. General Wayne presented himself, a man by his valor of great authority with the soldiers; he advanced against the mutineers pistol in hand; but he was told to take care what he was about to do, or that even he would be cut to pieces. Already their bayonets were directed against his breast. Immediately after, collecting the artillery, baggage and wagons, which belonged to their division, they put themselves on the march, in the best order, upon Middlebrook. At night they intrenched themselves with the same caution as if they had been in an enemy's country. They had elected for their chief a certain Williams, a British deserter, and had given him a sort of council of war, composed of all the sergeants of the companies. From Middlebrook they marched upon Princeton, and encamped there. They would not suffer officers among them. The marquis de la Fayette, general St. Clair, and colonel Laurens, who had hastened to Princeton to endeavor to allay the ferment, were constrained to leave the town.

The news of the insurrection reached Philadelphia. The Congress viewed the affair in that serious light which its importance demanded. They immediately despatched commissioners, among whom were generals Reed and Sullivan, to investigate facts and ordain measures calculated to reestablish tranquillity. Arrived in the vicinity of Princeton, they sent to demand of the mutineers what was the motive of their conduct, and what would content them? They answered with arrogance, that they were determined to be put off no longer with empty promises; and their intention was, that all the soldiers who had served three years should have their discharge; that those who should be discharged, and those who should remain in service, should receive immediately the full arrears of their pay, clothing and provisions; and moreover, that they insisted on being paid punctually for the future, without even the delay of twenty-four hours.

General Clinton, who was at New York, being soon informed of this defection in the American army, resolved to leave no means untried that could turn it to advantage. He hastened to despatch to the insurgents, three American loyalists, commissioned to make the following proposals to them in his name; to be taken under the protection of the British government; to have a free pardon for all past offences; to have the pay due to them from Congress faithfully paid, without any expectation of military service in return, although it would be received if voluntarily offered; and the only conditions



required on their side, were to lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance. The inability of Congress to satisfy their just demands, and the severity with which they would be treated if they returned to their former servitude, were points to be strongly urged by the agents; and the insurgents were invited to send persons to Amboy, to meet others who would be appointed by Clinton, in order to discuss and settle the treaty, and bring matters to a final conclusion. But the British general thought proper to do yet more; in order to imbolden the insurgents by his proximity, he passed over to Staten Island with no small part of his troops. He would not however proceed still farther, and venture to set foot in New Jersey, for fear of exciting a general alarm, and throwing the mutineers directly back into the arms of Congress. The insurgents made no positive answer to Clinton; and they detained his emissaries. In the meantime, the committee of Congress and the delegates of the rebels had opened a negotiation; but such was the exasperation of minds on both sides, that it seemed next to impossible that the differences should be settled by an amicable adjustment. They first offered to grant discharges to those who had taken arms indeterminate, for three years, or for the term of the war. In cases where the written engagements could not be produced, the soldiers should be admitted to make oath. They were promised certificates in reimbursement of the sums they had lost by the depreciation of paper money; they were assured of the earliest possible payment of arrears; of the immediate delivery of such articles of clothing as they stood in the most urgent need of; and of a total oblivion with respect to their past conduct. These propositions were not fruitless; the mutineers accepted them, and the disturbance was appeased. They afterwards marched to Trenton, where the promises which had been made them were realised. They delivered into the hands of the commissioners the emissaries of Clinton, who were accordingly hanged without ceremony or delay.

Thus terminated a tumult which had occasioned the most anxious apprehensions to the American government, and inspired the British general with the most flattering hopes. It is true that many excellent soldiers solicited their discharge, and abandoned the army to rejoin their families. Washington, during the mutiny, made no movement whatever. He remained tranquil in his head-quarters at New Windsor, on the banks of the Hudson. His conduct is to be attributed to several motives. He apprehended lest his own soldiers might take part in the insurrection, or lest their inconsiderable number might not be capable of overawing the mutineers. In retiring from the borders of the Hudson, he must have left exposed to the enterprises of the British general those passages which already had been so often contested. His principal fear, however, was that of lessening his authority over the troops, if he exerted it without suc-

cess, and it must be admitted that it might have had the most disastrous consequences. Perhaps also, within his own breast, he was not sorry that the Congress as well as the governments of the several states, should have been roused by such a spur; that being struck with the difficulty of collecting the funds necessary to the support of the army, they might for the future redouble activity in that vital part of the public service. A few days after this event, the regular troops of New Jersey, excited by the example of the insurrection of the Pennsylvanians, and encouraged by the success that attended it, erected in like manner the standard of revolt. But Washington marched against them a strong corps of soldiers whose fidelity had been proved in the late sedition; the mutineers were soon brought to a sense of duty; and their ringleaders chastised with exemplary severity. This act of rigor put an end to all mutinies. They were followed at least by this salutary consequence, that the government, more clearsighted with respect to its interests, made useful efforts to remedy the origin of the evil. It sent to camp a sufficient quantity of money, in gold and silver, to discharge the pay of three months. The soldiers, consoled by this relief, resumed patience to wait till the operations of finance, which we have mentioned above, had produced the happy effects that were to be expected from them.

During the time in which the Congress, supported by the opinion of Washington and of the most influential individuals of the confederation, labored to reestablish order in the internal administration, the first source of military successes, the war was carried on with spirit in the provinces of the south. General Greene marched at the head of formidable forces to the deliverance of South Carolina. Lord Cornwallis, considering it as a prey that could not escape him, had left it almost without defence, in order to prosecute his designs against Virginia. After his departure, the command of that province devolved upon lord Rawdon, a young man full of ardor and talents. He had established his head-quarters at Cambden, a place fortified with much diligence. Its garrison, however, was feeble, and, if it sufficed for the defence of the town, it was by no means in a condition to keep the field. The same weakness existed in all the other posts of the province, that were still occupied by the English. As the public sentiment was every where hostile to their domination, they were compelled to divide their troops into a great number of petty detachments in order to maintain themselves in positions necessary to their safety and subsistence. The principal of these points were, the city of Charleston itself, and those of Cambden, Ninety Six, and Augusta.

Upon the first rumor of the retreat of Cornwallis towards Virginia, the Carolinians had conceived hopes of a new order of things. Already, in many places, they had broken out with violence against the British authorities. Sumpter and Marion, both very enterprising



men, fanned the fire of insurrection. They organised in regular companies all those of their party who rallied under their banners. They held in check the frontiers of lower Carolina, while Greene with the main body of his army marched upon Cambden. His approach was already felt in that city by a secret movement in his favor. To animate the minds still more, he had detached colonel Lee, with his light horse, to join Marion and Sumpter. Thus lord Rawdon found himself all of a sudden assailed not only in front by the army of Greene, but also in jeopardy of having the way intercepted to his retreat upon Charleston. He was slow, however, in believing the accounts which reached him respecting the movements of the enemy. Lord Cornwallis had not neglected to notify him in an authentic manner, that he evacuated Carolina to march against Virginia; but the inhabitants were so adverse to the British cause, that none of his couriers had been able to traverse the country without falling into their hands. And how was Rawdon to conceive that the fruit of the victory of Guildford should be to constrain lord Cornwallis to retire before the enemy he had beaten? Rawdon, however, did not allow himself to be intimidated by the peril of his position; he set himself, on the contrary, to devise means for eluding it by his courage and prudence. He would have wished to approach Charleston, but seeing the country infested by the light troops of Sumpter and Greene, he soon relinquished the idea. He was also determined by the consideration that Cambden was a strong place, and capable of sustaining the first efforts of the enemy. He hastened, however, to reenforce the garrison with all those which he withdrew from posts unsusceptible of defence; only leaving troops in fortified places. Greene, at the head of his army, appeared in view of the ramparts of Cambden; but he found them too well guarded to afford any prospect of success from an attack, which he could only undertake with insufficient forces. He accordingly merely occupied the heights, and intrenched himself upon an eminence, called Hobkirk Hill, about a mile from the place. He was not without hopes of being able to entice the British to combat; for, though not in a situation to force them behind their walls, he felt strong enough to fight them in the open field. His position was formidably strong. His front between the hill and Cambden was covered by thick brushwood, and his left by a deep and impracticable swamp. The Americans guarded themselves with little care in this encampment; they placed too much confidence in the strength of the place, or in the weakness of the enemy, or perhaps they did but abandon themselves to that natural negligence which so many disasters had not yet been able to cure them of. Lord Rawdon caused them to be watched attentively; he knew that they had sent their artillery to some distance in their rear, and immediately took a daring resolution, but urged by circumstances, that of attacking. After having armed the

musicians, drummers, and every being in his army that was able to carry a firelock, he left the city to the custody of the convalescents, and marched towards Hobkirk.

Not being able to cross the brushwood, nor yet the swamps, which he had before him, he drew off to the right, and by taking an extensive circuit, turned the morass, and came down by surprise upon the left flank of the American line. At the appearance of so pressing a danger, Greene endeavored to repair, by the promptitude of his dispositions, the negligence of which he felt himself culpable. Having observed that the English marched very compact in a single column, he conceived hopes of being able to fall upon their two flanks. He accordingly ordered colonel Ford to attack the enemy's left with a Maryland regiment, while colonel Campbell should assail them on the right. He then directed a charge in front, to be led by colonel Gunby, while colonel Washington with his cavalry should turn their right, and assault them in rear. The combat soon became general, and was pushed with equal resolution on both sides. The royal troops began at first to give way; the ranks of their infantry and cavalry were broken. Their disorder was still increased by a violent fire of grape-shot, with which they were taken in rear by an American battery which had just arrived upon the field of battle. In this critical moment, lord Rawdon pushed forward a battalion of Irish volunteers and some other companies, of which he had formed a reserve. These fresh troops restored the fortune of the day. The action was grown excessively hot, and alternate undulations equalised the success. But at length a Maryland regiment, vigorously charged by the enemy, fell into confusion and took flight. This struck a damp into the whole line, and the rout was shortly general. The Americans attempted several times to rally, but always in vain; the English pushed them too fiercely. They entered almost at the same time with them into the intrenchments upon the ridge.

Meanwhile, colonel Washington, agreeably to the orders of his general, had arrived with his corps of cavalry upon the rear of the British army, before it had recovered from the disorder into which it had been thrown by the first shock. He took advantage of it to make a great number of prisoners. But when he saw that the position of Greene was forced, he thought proper to retreat. A part of the prisoners escaped; the remainder he conducted to camp, where he rejoined the main body of the army.

General Greene, after this check, had fallen back upon Gun Swamp, five miles from Hobkirk, where he remained several days to collect the fugitives and reorganise the army. This affair, which was called the battle of Hobkirk, was fought the twenty-fifth of April. Lord Rawdon, being inferior in cavalry, and enfeebled by a great loss of men, instead of pursuing Greene, had reentered within



the walls of Cambden. He was desirous to make that place the centre of his operations, and this he was the more inclined to do, since he had just received a reenforcement of troops under the conduct of colonel Watson. But he was informed that the inhabitants of the whole interior country at his back, had revolted with one consent, that already Fort Watson had capitulated, and that those of Granby, Orangeburgh and Motte, were closely invested. The last, situated near the junction of the Congaree with the Santee, and containing extensive magazines, was of no little importance. Lord Rawdon, reflecting that all these forts were upon his rear, judged his situation imminently hazardous. He therefore resolved to evacuate Cambden, and retire lower down towards Charleston; this resolution he executed the ninth of May. He rased the fortifications, put in safety all the artillery and baggage, and brought off the families of the loyalists, who by their zeal for the royal cause had rendered themselves odious to the republicans. The whole army arrived on the thirteenth at Nelsons Ferry, upon the banks of the Santee river. Here, having received the unwelcome tidings that all the forts mentioned above were fallen into the hands of the Americans, the British general raised his camp, and carried it still farther back to Eutaw Springs.

General Greene, perceiving that Rawdon, by retreating into the lower parts of Carolina, had abandoned all thoughts of maintaining himself in the upper country, formed a design to reduce Ninety Six and Augusta, the only posts that still held out for the king. These two forts were already invested by the militia headed by colonels Pickens and Clarke. Greene appeared with his army before the walls of Ninety Six, and proceeded to push the siege by regular approaches. One of the officers who distinguished themselves the most in that operation was colonel Kosciusko, a young Pole, full of enthusiasm for the cause of the Americans. The defence of the place was directed by lieutenant-colonel Cruger. During this time, colonel Pickens vigorously pushed his operations against the town of Augusta, which was defended with equal bravery and ability by colonel Brown. These two places were very strong, and could not be reduced but by a long siege.

Meanwhile, lord Rawdon saw with extreme solicitude that in losing these posts, whose value he justly appreciated, he must also lose the garrisons which defended them. A reenforcement of three regiments newly arrived at Charleston from Ireland, gave him hopes of being able to relieve these fortresses, and principally Ninety Six. Every course which presented itself to his mind being equally difficult and dangerous, he preferred without hesitation that which appeared the most magnanimous. He received intelligence on his march of the loss of Augusta. Pressed with great industry by colonel Pickens, and without hope of relief, that place had just surren-

dered to the arms of Congress. This disaster operated with the British general as a new motive for endeavoring to preserve Ninety Six. Upon the rumor of the approach of Rawdon, Greene reflected that the number and discipline of his soldiers was not such as to afford a hope that he would be able to resist, at the same time, the garrison of Ninety Six, and the fresh and warlike troops that were advancing against him. On the other hand, to raise the siege before having attempted some vigorous stroke against the place, appeared to him too disgraceful a step. Accordingly, however imperfect were the works of attack, he resolved to hazard an assault. He had already reached the ditch, it is true, and had pushed a sap to the foot of a bastion, but the fortifications were yet in a great measure entire. The body of the place was therefore to be considered as being proof against insult. But general Greene was desirous at least to save in his retreat the honor of the American arms. A general assault was therefore given with extreme impetuosity, which the English sustained with no less valor. Greene, seeing the terrible carnage which the artillery made among his soldiers, in the ditch not yet filled up with the ruins of the breach, determined at length to retire. Soon after this check, lord Rawdon being now but a small distance from his camp, he raised it all at once, and withdrew beyond the Tiger and the Broad rivers. The royalists followed him, but in vain. The British general having entered into Ninety Six, examined the state of the place, and was of opinion that it could not hold out against a regular attack. He therefore put himself again on the march, directing it towards the lower parts of Carolina, and proceeded to establish his head-quarters at Orangeburgh. Imboldened by his retreat, Greene soon showed himself before this last place. But a sight of the British forces, and of their excellent position, covered by the windings of the river, he paused, and bent his march towards the heights which border the Santee.

The hot and sickly season being arrived, it effected that which could not have been expected from the rage of men; hostilities ceased. It would seem that during this suspension of arms, civil hatreds were rekindled with increase of fury. The English especially, as if to revenge their defeats showed themselves more exasperated than the Americans. It was at this epoch that there passed a lamentable event, which excited to the highest degree the indignation of all America, and particularly of the Carolinas. Colonel Isaac Hayne had warmly espoused the cause of American Independence. During the siege of Charleston he had served in a volunteer corps of light horse. After the surrender of that city, Hayne, who was tenderly attached to his family, could not find in his heart to part with it, in order to seek refuge in distant places against the tyranny of the victors. He knew that other American officers had obtained



permission to return peaceably to their habitations, on giving their parole not to act against the interests of the king. He repaired therefore to Charleston, went to the British generals and constituted himself their prisoner of war. But knowing all the resources of his mind, and the authority he possessed among the inhabitants, they wished to have him entirely in their power, and refused to receive him in the character he was come to claim. They signified to him that he must acknowledge himself for a British subject, or submit to be detained in a rigorous captivity. This idea would not have intimidated colonel Hayne; but he could not endure that of being so long separated from his wife and children. He knew also that they were under the attack of smallpox; and soon after, in effect, the mother and two of the children became the victims of that cruel malady. Neither could he overlook, that if he did not accede to what was exacted of him, an unbridled soldiery waited only the signal to sack and devastate his plantations.

In this distressing alternative the father, the husband triumphed in his breast; he consented to invest himself with the condition of British subject. The only favor he demanded was, that he might not be constrained to bear arms against his party. This was solemnly promised him by the British general Patterson, and by Simcoe, superintendent of police at Charleston. But before taking this perilous resolution he had waited upon doctor Ramsay, the same who afterwards wrote the history of the American revolution, praying him to bear witness to the future that he by no means intended to abandon the cause of independence. As soon as he had signed the oath of allegiance, he had permission to return to his residence.

Meanwhile, the war rekindled with new violence; and the Americans, hitherto beaten and dispersed, resumed the offensive with such vigor that the British generals were alarmed at their progress. Then, no longer regarding the promises which they had made to colonel Hayne, they intimated to him an order to take arms and march with them against the revolted republicans. He refused. The troops of Congress afterwards penetrated into the country; the inhabitants of his district rose and elected him for their chief. No longer considering himself bound to keep that faith which it appeared that others were not disposed to keep towards him, he yielded to the wish of his countrymen, and again took up those arms which he had laid down through necessity. He scoured the country in the vicinity of Charleston at the head of a corps of dragoons. But it was not long before he fell into an ambuscade laid for him by the British commanders. He was immediately conducted to the city, and thrust into a deep dungeon. Without form of trial, lord Rawdon and colonel Balfour, the commandant of Charleston, condemned him to death. This sentence appeared to every one, as it was in reality, an act of barbarity. Even deserters are indulged with a regular trial,

and find defenders; spies only are deprived of this privilege by the laws of war. Royalists and republicans all equally pitied the colonel, whose virtues they esteemed; they would fain have saved his life. They did not restrict themselves to mere wishes; a deputation of loyalists, having the governor in behalf of the king at their head, waited upon lord Rawdon, and earnestly solicited him in favor of the condemned. The most distinguished ladies of Charleston united their prayers to the general recommendation that his pardon might be granted. His children, still of tender age, accompanied by their nearest relations, and wearing mourning for their mother, whom they had so recently lost, threw themselves at the feet of Rawdon, demanding with the most touching cries the life of their unhappy father. All the bystanders seconded with floods of tears the petition of these hapless orphans. Rawdon and Balfour obstinately refused to mitigate the rigor of their decision.

When about to be conducted to death, colonel Hayne called into his presence his eldest son, then thirteen years of age. He delivered him papers addressed to the Congress, then said to him; 'Thou wilt come to the place of my execution; thou wilt receive my body, and cause it to be deposited in the tomb of our ancestors.' Being arrived at the foot of the gibbet, he took leave in the most affecting manner of the friends who surrounded him, and armed himself to his last moment with the firmness which had honored his life. He was in the same degree, a man of worth, a tender father, a zealous patriot, and an intrepid soldier. If the tyranny of the prince, or the impatience of the people, render political revolutions sometimes inevitable, it is certainly much to be deplored that the first and principal victims of this scourge, should be, almost always, citizens the most worthy of general esteem and affection. After having taken this cruel vengeance of a man so universally respected, lord Rawdon left the capital of Carolina clouded with melancholy, and brooding terrible reprisals; he made sail for England. To this act of rigor on the part of the English generals, without doubt, may be applied the ancient adage; 'An extreme justice is an extreme injury.' But whatever may be thought of its justice, it must be admitted, that the English, in showing themselves so ruthless at a moment when their affairs were already in such declension, appeared much more eager to satiate the fury of a vanquished enemy than to accomplish an equitable law. The aversion of the Americans for their barbarous foes, acquired a new character of implacable animosity. The officers of the army of general Greene solicited him to use reprisals, declaring that they were ready to run all the risks that might ensue from it. He issued, in effect, a proclamation by which he threatened to retaliate the death of colonel Hayne upon the persons of the British officers that might fall into his hands. Thus to the evils inseparable from war, were joined the excesses produced by hatred and vengeance.



General Greene during this interval had not remained idle in his camp upon the heights of the Santee. He had occupied himself without relaxation in strengthening his army, in perfecting the old troops by frequent manœuvres, and in disciplining the new corps. His diligence had not failed of success. Reenforced by the militia of the neighboring districts, he saw under his banners soldiers no less formidable to the English by their warlike ardor than by their number. The temperature of the season being become less burning, at the commencement of September, he resolved to employ his forces in expelling the British troops from the few towns which they still occupied in South Carolina, besides the city of Charleston. Having taken a circuitous march towards the upper Congaree, he passed it, and descended rapidly along the right bank with all his army, in order to attack the English, who, under the command of colonel Stewart, occupied the post of Macords Ferry, near the confluence of that river with the Santee. The royalists, on seeing the approach of an enemy so superior in force, and especially in cavalry, reflected that they were too remote from Charleston, whence they drew their subsistence. They hastened therefore to quit Macords Ferry, and fell back upon Eutaw Springs, where they labored to intrench themselves. Greene pursued them thither, and the eighth of September witnessed the battle of Eutaw Springs. According to the dispositions of the American general, the vanguard was composed of the militia of the two Carolinas, and the centre of the regular troops of those provinces, of Virginia, and of Maryland. Colonel Lee with his legion covered the right flank, and colonel Henderson the left. The rear-guard consisted of the dragoons of colonel Washington and the militia of Delaware. It was a corps of reserve destined to support the first lines. The artillery advanced upon their front.

The British commander formed his troops in two lines, the first was defended on the right by the little river Eutaw, and on the left by a thick wood. The second, forming a reserve, crowned the heights which command the Charleston road. After some skirmishing between the marksmen of the one and other army, they fell back behind the ranks, and the engagement became general. It was supported for a considerable time with balanced success; but at length, the militia of Carolina were broken, and retired in disorder. The British division which formed the left of the first line, quitted its position to pursue them. In this movement it lost its distances, and could no longer combat in company with the other part of the line. The Americans observed this opening, and profited of it immediately. Greene pushed forward his second line; it charged so vigorously, that the English, in their turn, were shaken, and began to recoil in confusion. To complete their rout, colonel Lee with his cavalry turned their left, and fell upon their rear. This manœuvre precipitated the flight of all that wing of the British army. The right alone

still held firm. But Greene caused it to be attacked briskly in front by the regular troops of Maryland and Virginia, while the cavalry of colonel Washington took it in flank. The trepidation then became general; all the corps of the British army tumbled one over another, through haste to recover their intrenchments. Already the Americans had taken several pieces of artillery, and a great number of prisoners. Victory seemed completely in their hands. But how often has it been remarked, that the events of war depend upon the caprices of chance. Troops accustomed to a rigid discipline, are frequently able to rally in the midst of disorder, and recover, in an instant, what they appeared to have lost irreparably. The battle we describe affords a memorable example of it. The English, in their flight, threw themselves into a large and very strong house, where they resolved to make a desperate defence. Others took shelter in a thick and almost impenetrable brushwood; and others in a garden fenced with palisades. Here the action recommenced with more obstinacy than at first. The republicans did all that was to be expected of valiant soldiers, to dislodge their enemies from these new posts. The house was battered by four pieces of artillery. Colonel Washington, on the right, endeavored to penetrate into the wood, and colonel Lee to force the garden. Their efforts were vain; the English defended themselves so strenuously, that they repulsed the assailants with heavy loss. Colonel Washington himself was wounded and taken. The conflict was fierce, the carnage dreadful; but no where more than about the house. Meanwhile, colonel Stewart, having rallied his right wing, pushed it forward, by a circuitous movement, against the left flank of the Americans. This bold manœuvre convinced the American general that he would but vainly waste torrents of blood in further attempts to drive the enemy from their posts, and he ordered a retreat. He returned to his first encampment, some miles distant from the field of battle. This retrograde march was attributed to want of water. He brought off about five hundred prisoners, and all his wounded, with the exception of those who were too near the walls of the house. He lost two pieces of cannon. The English passed the rest of the day in their intrenchments. At night, they abandoned them, and descended to Monks Corner. The Americans write that the royalists, in their hurry, had staved the casks containing spirituous liquors, and broken, or thrown into the Eutaw, a great quantity of arms. The loss of Greene in this action was estimated at upwards of six hundred men in killed, wounded and prisoners; that of Stewart, inclusive of the missing, was much more considerable. The American soldiers exhibited in this combat an extraordinary valor. Impatient to close with their enemies, they promptly resorted to the bayonet, a weapon which they seemed to dread in the commencement of hostilities, and which was now become so formidable in their war-trained hands. The



Congress voted public thanks to those who had taken part in the battle of Eutaw Springs. They presented general Greene with a conquered standard, and a medal of gold.

A short time after, having received some reenforcements, he resolved to make another trial of fortune, and marched against the English in lower Carolina. His appearance in the environs of Monks Corner, and of Dorchester, decided them to evacuate the open country, and shut themselves up entirely within Charleston. They contented themselves with sending out scouts, and foraging parties, who durst not venture far from the place. Greene, from his great superiority in light troops, repulsed them upon all points, and intercepted their convoys. In this manner the American general put an end to the campaign of the South. After a long and sanguinary struggle, his masterly manœuvres recovered to the confederation the two Carolinas and Georgia, excepting only the two capitals of the one and other province, which still obeyed the English, with a slender portion of territory in their immediate vicinity; such were the fruits of the resolution taken by lord Cornwallis, at Wilmington, of carrying his arms against Virginia. But to Greene great eulogies are due for the talents he signalised in this conjuncture. When he came to relieve general Gates in the command of the southern army, the state of things was not only calamitous, but almost desperate. By his genius, activity and boldness, the evil was remedied so promptly, that from vanquished, his soldiers became soon victorious; from despondency, the people passed to a confidence without bounds; and the English, but now so arrogant, were forced to seek their only safety behind the walls of Charleston.

The social qualities, ingenuousness and affability of manners, set off in Greene the glory of the warrior. His virtues triumphed over envy itself; illustrious for the eminent services which he rendered his country, and uniformly modest and unaffected, he merited that his name should be transmitted immaculate to posterity. Virginia was less fortunate than Carolina; Arnold, as if he had coveted to couple the name of bandit with that of traitor, carried fire and sword into that province. Private property he respected as little as that of the state. This horrible expedition, as we have already remarked, had been ordained by the British generals with no other view but that of seconding the efforts of Cornwallis in the Carolinas, by diverting the attention and dividing the forces of the enemy. In effect, the reduction of Virginia to the power of the king with means so inadequate, was a thing impossible to be executed, or even to be expected. This was soon demonstrated. The disastrous consequences of the plan adopted by Cornwallis, were equally fatal for Arnold. Already, the rising of the militia of all the adjacent parts had forced him to abandon the open country, and fall back with precipitation upon Portsmouth, where he fortified himself with

extreme diligence. On the other hand, Washington, attentive to all his movements, and wishing to gratify the just resentment of the American nation towards its betrayer, formed a design to environ him so effectually, by land and sea, as to render his escape impossible. With this intent, he had detached the marquis de la Fayette towards Virginia, at the head of twelve hundred light infantry; and had also induced the commander of the French fleet at Rhode Island to despatch a squadron of eight sail of the line, under the chevalier Destouches, to cut off the retreat of Arnold from the Chesapeake. But the English being early apprised of it, admiral Arbuthnot made sail from New York with a squadron of equal force, and fell in with the French off Cape Henry. A warm engagement ensued, in which the loss of the two fleets was nearly balanced. The French, however, found themselves constrained to relinquish their designs, and returned to Rhode Island. Upon this intelligence, M. de la Fayette, who was already arrived at Annapolis, in Maryland, marched thence to the head of Elk. Thus Arnold escaped from, probably, the most imminent danger in which he had ever been involved. The Americans had afterwards occasion to send a flag to his headquarters. It is related, that the traitor general asked the person who bore it, what they would have done with him if they had taken him? The American answered without hesitation; 'If we had taken thee, we should have buried, with every mark of honor, that of thy legs, which was wounded when thou wast in our service; the rest of thy body we should have hanged.'

On hearing of the danger which had menaced Arnold, general Clinton doubted the generals of Congress might be more happy in a second attempt. He therefore immediately despatched a reenforcement of two thousand men, under the conduct of general Phillips. His junction with Arnold put them in condition to resume the offensive; and their inroads into Virginia were again signalled by devastation and pillage. At Osborn, they destroyed a great number of vessels, rich magazines of merchandise and principally of tobacco. The baron Steuben, who commanded the republicans, found himself too weak to resist. Fortunately, the marquis de la Fayette arrived in time to save the opulent city of Richmond. There, however, he was forced to witness the conflagration of Manchester, a town situated opposite to Richmond, upon the right bank of the James River. The English were pleased to burn it without any necessity. But soon this partisan war was directed towards a single and determinate object. General Phillips had received intelligence that lord Cornwallis approached, and that he was already on the point of arriving at Petersburg. M. de la Fayette was advised of it likewise. Both, accordingly, exerted themselves to reach Petersburg before the troops that were advancing from Carolina; the one to join Cornwallis, the other to prevent this junction. The English outstripped



their adversaries, and occupied that little city. There general Phillips was carried off by a malignant fever; his military talents rendered his loss peculiarly painful to his party.

After a march of three hundred miles, in the midst of difficulties of every sort, lord Cornwallis at length arrived at Petersburg, where he took the general command of all the British forces. The establishment of the seat of war in Virginia, coincided perfectly with the designs which the British ministers had formed upon this province. As soon as they were informed of the victory of Guildford, they had persuaded themselves that the two Carolinas were entirely reduced under the authority of the king, and that little else remained to be done besides reorganising in them the accustomed civil administration. They had not the least doubt that wise regulations would consummate the work, which the arms of Cornwallis had so happily commenced. They built, with particular confidence, on the support of the loyalists. Notwithstanding so many fatal experiments, so many abortive hopes, they still eagerly listened to all the illusions, and to all the news spread by the refugees, so unavoidably impelled by their position to cherish the wildest chimeras. The British government therefore expected that the cooperation of the loyalists, a few garrisons left in the most important posts, together with the terror of the arms of Cornwallis, would suffice to curb the patriots, and to confirm the submission of these provinces. As to Virginia, intersected by a great number of broad and deep rivers, whose mouths form upon its coasts several gulfs or bays suitable for anchorage, the naval forces sent thither by Rodney from the West Indies, seemed to guaranty the naval superiority of England in those waters. Accordingly, the ministers never allowed themselves to doubt, that if this province could not be entirely reduced, it would at least be very easy to press it, and waste it to such a degree that its utility should cease for the American union. They had therefore decided that the commanders of the land forces should make choice of an advantageous position upon the coasts of Virginia, and that they should secure the possession of it by fortifications capable of repelling all attacks of the enemy. This measure and the presumed superiority of the British marine, appeared to the cabinet of St. James, a sure pledge of the entire subjugation of Virginia; and for the reasons already stated, it felt perfectly assured of the possession of the two Carolinas, as also of Georgia. It was deemed the more certain that nothing was to be feared from the French squadrons, as the coasts of these vast provinces are nearly without ports, and since the few they offer were in the power of the royal troops. Finding themselves thus already masters of four rich provinces in the south, as well as of that of New York, inestimable alike for its resources, and for its ports, the ministers persuaded themselves that the moment could not be distant when the Americans would yield.

through weariness and exhaustion. They felicitated themselves that, at all events, they were able to resume the offensive.

Such were the reasonings at London; but it was not known there that the British fleets, instead of having the advantage in point of force, were decidedly inferior in the American seas; that the Carolinas, instead of being in the power of the king, were returned almost totally under that of the Congress; and that although Cornwallis was indeed arrived in Virginia, he had shown himself there, notwithstanding his success at Guildford, rather as vanquished than victor.

Meanwhile, Cornwallis, after having staid a few days at Petersburg, where he was reenforced by some hundred soldiers, sent him from New York by Clinton, took a resolution to cross the river James, and penetrate into the interior of Virginia. He had little apprehension of meeting American troops; supposing them both too weak, and too much dispersed to attempt resistance. In effect, the baron Steuben occupied the upper parts of the province, the marquis de la Fayette the maritime districts, and general Wayne, who was on the march with the regular troops of Pennsylvania, was still at a great distance. The British general therefore crossed the river without opposition at Westover; the marquis de la Fayette had retired behind the Chickahominy. Thence, Cornwallis detached a corps which occupied Portsmouth. The loyalists, or those who wished to appear such, repaired to that city in order to give in their paroles and receive protections. The county of Hanover was entirely overrun by the foragers of the British army. Lord Cornwallis was informed, about this time, that many of the most considerable men of the country were assembled in convention at Charlotteville, to regulate the affairs of the province; and that the baron Steuben was posted at the Point of Fork, situated at the junction of the rivers James and Rivana. The Americans had established at this place magazines of arms and munitions of war. These advices, added to the consideration that this part of the territory not having yet been the theatre of war was likely to abound in every kind of supplies, determined lord Cornwallis to attempt, first of all, the expeditions of Charlotteville and the Point of Fork. He committed the first to Tarleton, the second to Semcoe. Both were crowned with success. The first, by the rapidity of his march, arrived so unexpectedly upon the city that he seized a great number of deputies, and made himself master of a considerable quantity of warlike stores and provision. But the personage, whom he had it most at heart to secure, was one of those who escaped him, and that was Thomas Jefferson, since president of the United States; having had the good fortune to be timely apprised of the approach of the British troops, he put himself out of their reach; not however without having first, with extreme pains and the assistance of his neighbors, provided for the safety of



no small quantity of arms and ammunition. If Tarleton had sometimes complained of the two great benignity of his comrades, no one, assuredly, could make him the same reproach. His rapacity and imprudence no longer observed any bounds; nothing was sacred in his sight, nothing escaped his barbarous hands. Simcoe, on his part, had moved with equal celerity against the baron Steuben. That general might have made a vigorous resistance; it is not known what motive could have decided him to a precipitate retreat; and yet he was not able to protect his rear guard against the pursuit of the British, who reached it, and cut a part of it in pieces. When the colonels Tarleton and Semcoe were returned to camp, lord Cornwallis, traversing a rich and fertile country, marched upon Richmond, and, a little after, upon Williamsburgh, the capital of Virginia. His light troops, however, could no longer forage at large; the marquis de la Fayette had joined the baron Steuben, and having been reenforced by the Pennsylvania regiments of general Wayne, he found himself in a situation to watch all the movements of the British army, and to cut off the parties that ventured to stray from it. Cornwallis received at this same time orders from general Clinton, requiring him to reembark a part of his troops for New York. Not that Clinton meditated any important stroke; but he had been advised of the approach of the allies, and he expected to see the storm burst upon his head. He feared at the same time for New York, Staten Island, and Long Island; his force was not sufficient for their defence. In order to obey, Cornwallis marched his troops towards the banks of the James river. He intended, after having passed it, to repair to Portsmouth, where he would have embarked the corps destined for New York. But as M. de la Fayette followed him extremely close, he found himself constrained to make a halt upon the left bank of the river, and to take possession of a strong position, in order to repress the impetuosity of his adversary, and give time to his troops for passing the artillery, munitions and baggage to the other side. He encamped therefore along the river, having his right covered by a pond, and the centre and left by swamps.

Meanwhile, the American vanguard, commanded by general Wayne, had advanced very near. The English despatched spies among the Americans, in order to make them believe that the bulk of the royal army had already passed to the right bank, and that only a feeble rear guard remained upon the left, consisting of the British legion and some detachments of infantry. Whether the republicans allowed themselves to be caught in this snare, or that they were hurried away by an inconsiderate valor, they fell with great fury upon the royal troops. Already the regular regiments of Pennsylvania, led by general Wayne, had passed the swamp, and fiercely assailed the left wing of the royalists; and notwithstanding

the great superiority of the enemy, the assailants appeared nowise daunted. But the English having passed the pond, advanced against the left wing, which consisted entirely of militia. Having dispersed it without difficulty, they showed themselves upon the left flank of Wayne. At the same time, extending their own left beyond the swamp, they had turned his right, and manifested an intention of surrounding him on every side. The marquis de la Fayette perceived this manœuvre, and immediately directed Wayne to fall back. He was unable to execute this movement without leaving two pieces of cannon in the power of the enemy. M. de la Fayette remained some time at Green Springs, in order to collect the scattered soldiers. Cornwallis reentered his intrenchments. The approach of night, and the nature of the country, broken with woods and marshes, prevented him from pursuing the Americans. The next morning, before sunrise, he detached his cavalry upon the route taken by the marquis de la Fayette, with orders to hang upon his rear, and harass him as much as possible. All the harm it did him, consisted in the taking of a few soldiers who had lagged behind. It is presumable, that if Cornwallis had advanced the following day with all his force, he might have cut off the republicans entirely. But all his views were directed towards Portsmouth, in order to embark the troops there which Clinton expected at New York. When he had passed the river James with his whole army, he accordingly hastened to Portsmouth; but upon a strict examination of places, he was convinced that they did not offer him a position suitable by its strength and other advantages to favor the ulterior designs of Clinton. He proceeded, however, with diligence to embark the troops. In the meantime, he received new instructions from Clinton, directing him to return to Williamsburgh, to retain all the troops he had with him, and instead of Portsmouth, to make his place of arms of Point Comfort, in order to have, in any event, a secure retreat.

Two principal causes had determined general Clinton to embrace this new resolution; he had received from Europe a reenforcement of three thousand Germans; and he was influenced, besides, by a desire to open himself a passage by way of Hampton and the James river, towards that fertile and populous part of Virginia which lies between the James and York rivers. But Point Comfort, on attentive examination, was found an equally unfavorable and defective position for an intrenched camp, and no less incompetent than Portsmouth for the purposes in view. It was therefore determined to relinquish the design of fortifying it. The plan of future operations requiring, however, the occupation of a fixed point in the country comprehended by the above mentioned rivers, lord Cornwallis resolved to repass the river James with all his army, and take up his head-quarters at Yorktown. The marquis de la Fayette was desirous to oppose his passage; but the Americans that were in his camp would not consent to march lower down towards Portsmouth.



Yorktown is a village situated upon the right bank of the river York, and opposite to another smaller town called Gloucester. The latter is built upon a point of land which projects into the river from the left side, and which considerably diminishes the breadth of its channel. The water is deep there, and capable of receiving the largest ships of war. On the right of Yorktown flows a marshy stream; in front of the place, for the distance of a mile, the ground is open and level. In advance of this plain is a wood, whose left extends to the river, and whose right is bordered by a creek. Beyond the wood the country is champaign and cultivated. Cornwallis applied his attention to intrench himself in the strongest possible manner upon this ground.

After the affair of Jamestown, the marquis de la Fayette had retired between the rivers Mattapony and Pamunkey, the waters of which united, compose the York river. Upon intelligence of the new position taken by Cornwallis, he recrossed the Pamunkey, and took post in the county of New Kent; not that he intended to attack the English; his force did not admit of it; but he was disposed, at least, to harass them, to repress their excursions, and to prevent their foraging in the country. Washington had intrusted M. de la Fayette with the charge of defending Virginia; he acquitted himself of it in the most satisfactory manner; sometimes by his manœuvres holding Cornwallis in check, and sometimes combating him with vigor, he at length conducted him to a place, where he might hope to be seconded by the powerful French fleet that was expected upon the American coast.

Hitherto the campaign of Virginia had presented no inconsiderable vicissitude of events; but all equally destitute of importance. The scene was changed; and the plan which tended, by a decisive stroke, to put an end to the whole American war, drew day by day more near to its accomplishment. The American government was informed that the count de Grasse, with his fleet and a body of land troops, was about to arrive. It therefore neglected no dispositions that were demanded by the occasion, in order to be in a situation to profit of the great superiority which the allies were soon to have, as well by land, as by sea. To this end, Washington and Rochambeau had an interview at Wethersfield. The count de Barras, who commanded the French squadron at anchor in Rhode Island, was likewise to have been present at the conference, but was detained by other duties. The siege of New York was resolved upon between the two generals. They agreed, that it was necessary to wrest from the English that shelter, which from the commencement of hostilities to the present hour, had been so favorable to their enterprises. From that day, all the movements of the French and Americans were directed towards this object. They had calculated them in such a manner as that the appearance of the count de Grasse upon

the American coasts, should be the signal for commencing the siege. Clinton so dreaded the blow, that solely on this account he had determined, as we have seen, to recall a part of the troops of Cornwallis, prior to the arrival of the German corps. Washington cherished good hope of success in the expedition of New York; he felt assured that the states of the Union, particularly those of the north, would promptly satisfy the requisitions which had been made them, to furnish each a determinate number of soldiers. But they had accomplished only in part the desires of the commander-in-chief. Instead of twelve or fifteen thousand continental troops that he had hoped to assemble for an operation of this importance, he found himself at the head of only four or five thousand regulars, and about an equal number of militia. It was however to be considered, that the conquest of New York would require great efforts, since general Clinton had a garrison there of more than ten thousand men. The enterprise could not reasonably be undertaken with so inadequate a force. Moreover, the count de Grasse had declared that in consequence of the orders of his sovereign, and of the convention he had made with the Spaniards in the West Indies, it would not be possible for him to remain upon the coasts of America later than the middle of October; and assuredly so short a space of time would not have sufficed for the reduction of New York. Finally, it was known that sea officers in general, and especially the French, had no little repugnance to crossing the bar which lies at the entrance of the harbor of that city. All these considerations diverted Washington from his purpose of besieging New York. He reflected, that although his army was too weak for that enterprise, it was nevertheless sufficient to act with great probability of success against Cornwallis in Virginia; and he accordingly decided for the more attainable object. But the movements he had already made, having given jealousy to Clinton for New York, he resolved, notwithstanding that he had changed his plan, to nourish the suspicions of his adversary by a series of the most spirited demonstrations; to the end that he might not penetrate his real design, and throw obstacles in its way. In order to lead him more speciously into the snare, he wrote letters to the southern commanders and to members of the government, informing them of his determination to attack New York. He sent these despatches by such ways as he knew would expose them to be intercepted by the enemy. The stratagem succeeded perfectly. Clinton, full of apprehension for a city which had become his place of arms, was indefatigable in multiplying its defences. In the meantime, the count de Rochambeau, had set out from Rhode Island, at the head of five thousand French, and was already advanced near the borders of the Hudson. Washington broke up his camp at New Windsor, and went to meet him upon the eastern bank. After their junction, the combined armies encamped at Philipsburgh, in a



situation to overawe Kingsbridge and the adjoining posts, and even to alarm the island of New York. They afterwards actually took post at Kingsbridge, and continued to insult the British outposts on all sides. Not content with these demonstrations, the principal officers of both armies attended by the engineers, reconnoitred the island of New York closely on both sides from the opposite shores; and to render appearances the more serious, took plans of all the works under the fire of their batteries. At the same time, a report of the expected daily arrival of the count de Grasse was sedulously propagated; and to give it full confirmation, when they had received advices from that commander of the time at which he hoped to arrive at the Chesapeake, the French troops advanced towards Sandy Hook, and the coasts opposite Staten Island, with an apparent view of seconding the operations of the fleet, in forcing the one and seizing upon the other. This deception was carried so far, as to the establishment of a bakery near the mouth of the Rariton, and just within the Hook.

According to these different movements of the combined army, general Clinton no longer doubted but that New York was menaced with an immediate attack. But the time was now at hand, when this bandage, which had been drawn with so much address over the eyes of the British commander, was ready to fall, and admit him to a clear view of the truth. When Washington had authentic intelligence that the count de Grasse was no longer far from the Chesapeake, he suddenly passed the Croton, then the Hudson; and proceeded by forced marches through New Jersey to Trenton upon the Delaware. He gave out, however, and even persuaded the British general by his demonstrations, that his only object was to draw him out of New York, in order to fight him in the open field with superior forces. Clinton, thinking to defeat one shrewd turn by another, remained behind his walls; but the American generalissimo having at length received advice that the French fleet was in sight of the coasts, no longer delayed to cross the Delaware. He marched with extreme celerity across Pennsylvania, and appeared all of a sudden at the head of Elk, upon the northern extremity of the Chesapeake bay. An hour after, so admirably had the operations been concerted, or rather by the most fortunate accident, the count de Grasse entered into the bay the twenty-eighth of August, with twenty-five sail of the line; and no sooner was he arrived than he set himself to execute the plan agreed upon. He blocked up the mouths of the two rivers of York and James. By making himself master of the first, he cut off all maritime correspondence between Cornwallis and New York; by the occupation of the second, he opened a communication with the marquis de la Fayette, who had already descended as far as Williamsburgh. His position had occasioned at first some disquietude. It was feared lest Cornwallis,

perceiving at length the circle that was traced around him, might profit of the superiority that he still had over the marquis, to fall upon him, overwhelm him, and thus escape into the Carolinas. Not a moment was lost in preventing so fatal a stroke; three thousand French troops embarked in light boats, and commanded by the marquis de St. Simon, ascended the James river, and made their junction with the marquis de la Fayette; he had established his head-quarters at Williamsburgh. The English had already much increased the fortifications of Yorktown, and were still at work on them with indefatigable industry. The allies had therefore to expect a siege in form; and a powerful train of heavy artillery was indispensably necessary. Three days before the arrival of M. de Grasse in the Chesapeake, the count de Barras had made sail from Rhode Island with four ships of the line and some frigates or corvettes; he had embarked whatever implements of siege he had been able to collect. But he was not ignorant that a numerous British squadron lay in the port of New York, and he was sensible that the succour with which he was charged could not be intercepted without destroying all hope of success. He had therefore stood far out to sea, and after reaching the waters of the Bahama islands, had shaped his course for the Chesapeake. Admiral Hood had appeared at the entrance of that bay, with fourteen sail of the line, the very day on which the count de Grasse had arrived there; disappointed at not finding admiral Graves, whom he had counted upon meeting in those waters, he immediately despatched a swift sailing frigate to apprise him of his arrival, and proceeded, without loss of time, to join him with all his fleet at Sandy Hook. Admiral Graves, as we have already seen, had received no previous notice whatever of the intended approach of Hood. His ships also had suffered extremely by violent gales of wind during his cruise in the waters of Boston, and were entirely out of condition to put to sea. The chief command having devolved on him, as senior officer, the moment he was informed that the count de Barras had set sail from Rhode Island, he had pushed the reparation of his fleet with so much activity, that by the last day of August it was again fitted for sea. At the head of nineteen sail of the line, he set sail for the Chesapeake, which he hoped to gain before the count de Barras. It appears, that he was still in total ignorance of the arrival of the count de Grasse in that bay. As soon as the British admiral had made Cape Henry, he discovered the French fleet, which consisted at that moment of twenty-four sail of the line. It extended from the Cape to the bay called the Middle Ground. Notwithstanding he had five ships less than his adversary, Graves prepared himself instantly for action. On the other hand, the count de Grasse, at sight of the British fleet slipped his cables with admirable promptitude, and, full of confidence in victory, advanced with press of sail to encounter the enemy.



The intention of the English was to engage as close an action as possible. They perceived how fatal an influence the loss of so important an occasion might have upon the success of the British arms, and even upon the issue of the war. A total defeat would scarcely have been more prejudicial to the interests of England than a loose and indecisive battle. It left the French masters of the Chesapeake, and lord Cornwallis still exposed to the same perils. But the count de Grasse, sensible of his advantages, would not commit to the caprices of fortune the decision of events, which he considered himself as already certain of controlling. This prudent course seemed also to be prescribed him by the absence of fifteen hundred of his seamen, who were then employed in conveying M. de St. Simon's troops up the river James; and the British fleet made its appearance so suddenly, that there was no time for recalling them. The count de Grasse wished only to arrest the enemy by partial and distant collisions, long enough to cover the arrival of the count de Barras.

With these opposite intentions the two admirals advanced the one against the other. The engagement soon became extremely warm between their vans; some ships of the centre also took part in it. The French, who were not willing that the action should become too general, drew off their vanguard, which had already suffered severely. The approach of night, and the nearness of hostile shores, dissuaded the British admiral from the resolution of renewing the engagement. His own van had likewise been very roughly treated. The ships most damaged were the Shrewsbury, the Montague, the Ajax, the Intrepid, and the Terrible. The latter was so shattered and torn, that the water gaining upon all the efforts of her pumps, she was burnt by order of admiral Graves. The English lost in this action in killed and wounded, three hundred and thirty-six sailors and marines; the French little more than two hundred.

The hostile fleets continued for four successive days, partly repairing their damages, and partly manœuvring in sight of each other; but the French having generally maintained the wind, and their motives for not engaging a general affair remaining always the same, the battle was not renewed. When at length the count de Grasse had advice that the count de Barras was entered sound and safe into the Chesapeake, with his squadron and convoy, he retired from the open sea and came to anchor in the interior of the bay. Fortune showed herself in every thing adverse to the English. They had endeavored to profit of the absence of the count de Grasse to transmit despatches to lord Cornwallis, by the frigates Isis and Richmond; they could not accomplish their mission, and both fell into the power of the French.

Admiral Graves, seeing the disastrous condition of his fleet, the sea becoming daily more tempestuous, and his hopes of intercepting the

convoy of M. de Barras entirely foiled, had, a few days after, returned to New York. The French, becoming thus entirely masters of the bay, disembarked, in the first place, the artillery and munitions of war which they had brought from Rhode Island, and then employed the transports with the frigates and light vessels of the fleet, in conveying the army of Washington from Annapolis to the mouth of James river, and thence to Williamsburgh. At the head of Elk, the combined army had not been able to collect shipping enough for this passage.

Thus Cornwallis found himself restricted to the place he occupied. By an admirable concurrence of well concerted operations, and of circumstances the most auspicious to his adversaries, his troops, still seven thousand strong, were surrounded on every side. An army of twenty thousand combatants, of which only a fifth part were militia, invested Yorktown upon every point on the side of the land, while a fleet of near thirty sail of the line, and a multitude of light vessels, stationed at the mouths of the rivers James and York, rendered the blockade of the place as complete as possible. The head-quarters of the combined army had been established at first in Williamsburgh, a city which is only a few miles distant from Yorktown. Care had been taken, however, to detach a considerable corps, consisting mostly of cavalry, under the conduct of M. de Choisy and general Wieden, to encamp on the left bank of the York, before the village of Gloucester, in order to prevent the English from issuing thence to forage. The French had taken post before Yorktown, on the left of the camp, extending from the river above the town to the morass in the centre, where they were met by the Americans, who occupied the right from the river to that spot.

General Clinton had it very much at heart to extricate Cornwallis; and in consequence, while admiral Graves was under sail for the Chesapeake, had meditated a diversion in Connecticut. He hoped by insulting that province, to draw thither a part of the American forces; knowing but too well that if they were left at liberty to push the siege of Yorktown, the blockaded army must inevitably surrender. The principal object of this expedition was to seize New London, a rich and flourishing town, situated upon the New Thames. The command of it was given to Arnold, who had just returned to New York from his inroad into Virginia.

The access of the port of New London was rendered difficult by two forts erected upon the opposite banks; one called Fort Trumbull, the other Griswold. The royalists having disembarked unexpectedly, at daybreak, carried the first without much effort; but the second made a vigorous resistance. Colonel Ladyard had promptly thrown himself into it with a body of militia, and the work itself was very strong, consisting in a walled square with flanks. The royal troops nevertheless attacked with extreme vigor and gallantry; they



were received with no less bravery and resolution. After a very heavy fire on both sides, the English, with the utmost difficulty and severe loss, effected a lodgment upon the fraizing, and at length made their way good with fixed bayonets, through the embrasures, notwithstanding the fierce defence made by the garrison, who now changing their weapons, fought desperately hand to hand with long spears. The assailants, when finally masters of the place, massacred as well those who surrendered as those who resisted. The town of New London itself was laid in ashes; it is not known whether by design or chance. A great number of vessels, richly laden, fell into the power of Arnold. This first success obtained, the English, seeing no movement made in their favor, and observing, on the contrary, the most menacing dispositions among the inhabitants, decided for retreat. It was signalled by the most horrible devastations. This expedition was, on their part, but a piratical inroad, absolutely without utility. In vain did they endeavor to make a great noise with their march, and their bloody executions in Connecticut, Washington scarcely deigned to notice it. Unshaken in his prior designs, he knew perfectly that whoever should triumph at Yorktown would have decided the whole of this campaign in his favor. Instead, therefore, of sending troops into Connecticut, he drew them all into Virginia.

Of the two attempts made to succour Cornwallis, the naval battle, and the diversion against New London, neither had obtained its object. Clinton assembled all the principal officers of his army in council, in order to take their opinion upon the most prudent course to be pursued in the present circumstances. Admiral Digby had just arrived from Europe at New York, with three ships of the line, another ship of the same force, and several frigates had also repaired thither from the West Indies. And although, notwithstanding these different reinforcements, the British fleet was still inferior to that of France, yet the pressure of the peril, and the importance of the conjuncture, determined the British commanders to put to sea, and hasten to the relief of the besieged army. They would have wished not to defer an instant, the execution of their resolution; but the refitting of the ships damaged in the late engagement, constrained them to wait. They hoped, however, that nothing would detain them later than the fifth of October. This is what Clinton announced to Cornwallis in a despatch written in cyphers, which, notwithstanding the extreme vigilance of the besiegers, reached him the twenty-ninth of September. This letter made such an impression upon the mind of Cornwallis, that he abandoned all his outposts and defences, and withdrew entirely within the works of the place. This resolution has been much censured by experienced military men; and some even of the superior officers of the garrison, opposed it openly. Though the general-in-chief wrote that he had every reason to hope his reinforcements would set sail from New York the fifth of Octo-

ber, should not Cornwallis have reflected that a multitude of unforeseen causes might derange this plan; in a word, that of all human enterprises, maritime expeditions are the most exposed to the accidents of fortune? All his cares, all his efforts, should therefore have tended to prolong his defence; and the outer works afforded him the means for it. They were sufficiently strong, nothing had been neglected in that respect, and the troops were numerous enough to man them suitably. Is it possible, therefore, not to disapprove the determination taken by Cornwallis to crowd his army into a town, or rather, into an intrenched camp, the works of which were still imperfect? Except, perhaps, upon the declivity of the hill towards the river, the British troops were exposed on all sides to be raked by the artillery of the enemy.

It may be presumed that in contracting his defences, the British general flattered himself this apparent indication of fear would redouble the temerity of the French, and that by rushing immediately to the assault, they would place in his hands a certain and decisive victory. But Washington was as prudent as intrepid; and the French generals in those distant regions, showed themselves with reason extremely sparing of the blood of their soldiers. An unanimous sentiment, moreover, repulsed every measure that could render doubtful an enterprise having such fair pretensions to be considered as certain. It was therefore resolved to open trenches, and to carry on the siege in form, before attempting any attack with open force against the body of the place.

Yorktown, as we have already said, is situated upon the right bank of the river York. Its narrow circuit now comprised the definitive fate of all the war. The English had surrounded it with fortifications of different kinds. On the right, or upper part, they had walled it with a chain of redoubts, curtained one to another by a parapet and palisade. The redoubts were fraized and palisaded, and were covered besides by abattis and breastworks. A morassy ravine extended along the front of these works. The besieged had erected upon it another large redoubt with palisades and ditch; this was the strongest side of the place. In front, that is in the centre of the circuit of the place, before which the morass became inundated, the defences consisted in a line of strong palisades, and in batteries which commanded the dikes over which it was necessary to cross the ravine. Upon the left flank of this front had been constructed a horn work, in like manner defended by a ditch and palisade; and although not yet entirely completed, it was in such forwardness as already to have opened several embrasures. As to the left, or lower part, it was likewise fortified with redoubts and batteries interlinked by an earthen parapet. Two other smaller, and not yet finished redoubts, had been erected at a certain distance without towards the country, in order the more effectually to cover this side, against which it was



presumed the principal attack would be directed. The adjacent ground was flat, or furrowed by ravines, and consequently favorable to the besiegers. The space comprised within the fortifications was extremely circumscribed, and afforded no safety to the garrison. Upon the opposite side of the river, the village of Gloucester had been surrounded with earthen works, furnished with artillery where the position admitted; but these works were of little importance. The trenches were opened by the allied armies in the night, between the sixth and seventh of October. Notwithstanding the violent fire of the besieged, they pushed their works with so much perseverance, that soon they had completed their first parallel, erected the batteries, and covered them with little less than a hundred pieces of heavy ordnance. The thickest walls could not have withstood the shock of so heavy a fire, much less those of Yorktown, which were not completed. So far were they from that state, that the British troops were not less employed in their construction under the fire of the enemy, than they were in their defence. In a few days, most of their guns were silenced, their defences in many places ruined, and the shells reached even the ships in the harbor, where the *Charon* of forty-four guns, with some of the transports, were burnt. It was manifest that valor was impotent against so formidable means of attack, and consequently, that the defence could not be of long duration. The artillery of the Americans was commanded by general Knox, who in this siege as in all the other actions of the war, displayed the talents of a consummate engineer. He had formed his cannoniers with such success, that the French themselves were astonished at the precision of their manœuvres.

In the midst of so many perils, Cornwallis received a despatch from Clinton, which held out the hope that if the winds and unforeseen accidents did not prevent, the relief would sail from New York the twelfth of October. He reminded him, however, that a plan of this nature was subject to a thousand unlucky casualties; that he wished therefore, to be informed if it was deemed possible to hold out till the middle of November; his intention, in the contrary case, being to march himself by way of the land, and to fall upon Philadelphia. He could not, doubtless, have undertaken a more efficacious diversion in favor of the besieged. Such were the formal promises of general Clinton to lord Cornwallis. How, it may be asked, could the English have deceived themselves so grossly with respect to the time necessary for the reparation of their ships, that instead of departing from New York the fifth of October, as they had announced, they did not make sail until the nineteenth? This miscalculation seems difficult to be accounted for. It is certain only that the promise of succours and their unexpected delay, occasioned the loss of the army. In the firm expectation of being soon relieved, Cornwallis persisted in his defence, and thus abstained from resorting to

the means of safety that were in his power. If it be just to acknowledge a motive of excuse for his conduct in the first letter, by which Clinton assured him that the fleet would set sail the fifth of October, it will still remain very difficult to justify the resolution to which he adhered, when he had been apprised by a second despatch, that the squadron could not put to sea until the twelfth, a despatch which left room for doubts even with respect to that. Among the principal officers of the garrison commanded by lord Cornwallis, there were not wanting those who advised him to evacuate a place so little susceptible of a long defence, and to transport his army suddenly to the left side of the river, where there was still left him a way to escape from the fate that menaced him. They urged him to withdraw in the night to Gloucester with the greater part of his army. This passage might be effected easily with the shipping that lay in the harbor. The superiority of force, and the surprise of an unexpected attack, precluded all doubt of their being able to disperse the corps of M. de Choisy, who invested Gloucester. The British army would thus find itself in that fertile country which is situated between the York and the Rappahanock. Not having yet been made the seat of war, it was sure to afford horses and provision in abundance. By forced marches it would be possible to gain an hundred miles upon the enemy, and to protect the retreat by a rear-guard of three thousand picked men, both infantry and cavalry. Once masters of the country beyond the York, they would be at liberty to march upon Philadelphia, and there join general Clinton, who would have repaired thither through New Jersey, or to bend their course towards the Carolinas, keeping the upper route, in order to pass the rivers above the points where they divide into several branches. Either of these ways offered some hope of safety, since Washington, for want of shipping, would not be able to cross the river soon enough to follow the British army; and not knowing the direction it would have taken, he would be obliged to divide his troops into several detachments. And even in the supposition that he was apprised in time of their march, his pursuit would not be prompt enough to come up with them; since lodgings and subsistence for so numerous an army must necessarily fail him. 'By remaining here,' added the partisans of this opinion, 'we devote ourselves to certain destruction; by opening ourselves a passage, we may yet find safety. We shall, in any event, have the consolation of thinking that so magnanimous an attempt will shed new lustre upon the arms of the king. If it is fated that so gallant an army cannot escape captivity, let this not be till after it has exerted its utmost force to avert it, and after having acquired an honored name and bright fame among the brave!'

Lord Cornwallis, whatever might have been his motives, would never listen to these salutary counsels; he persisted in his deter-



mination to defend himself behind walls that were indefensible. Perhaps he persuaded himself that he could prolong his resistance until the arrival of relief, and thus escape the blame to which he exposed himself on the part of his sovereign, in hazarding his army by an attempt to retreat. Perhaps, also, the uncertainty of saving it by this resource, appeared to him as great as that of the arrival of succours. But whatever was the private opinion of the British general, it could have no influence upon that fatal issue which was rapidly approaching. The besiegers had already commenced the labors of the second parallel, and their activity seemed to increase every day. They were now but three hundred yards from the place. The English endeavored to arrest them by a deluge of bombs and balls. But the artillery of the first parallel kept up so heavy a fire, that the besieged, far from being able to interrupt the labors of the second, soon beheld all their batteries upon their left flank dismounted. This event was the more prejudicial to them, as it was against that very part that the allies directed their principal attack. In order to complete their trenches, it remained for them to dislodge the English from the two advanced redoubts of which we have made mention above. Washington gave orders that they should be carried by assault. With a view of exciting emulation between the two nations, the attack on the redoubt upon the right was committed to the Americans, and of the other to the French. The American detachment was commanded by the marquis de la Fayette and by colonel Hamilton, aid-de-camp of the commander-in-chief, a young man of the highest expectation. They were accompanied by colonel Laurens, son of the former president of Congress, who was at that time confined in the tower of London. He was also a youth of the fairest hope, and would infallibly have furnished a brilliant career if an untimely death had not snatched him from his family, and from his country. The baron de Viomesnil, the count Charles de Damas, and the count de Deux Ponts, commanded the French. The commanders addressed their soldiers a short exhortation to inflame their courage; they represented that this last effort would bring them to the term of their glorious toils. The attack was extremely impetuous. On its success depended in a great measure that of the siege. Relying entirely upon their bayonets, the Americans advanced with unloaded arms; they passed the abattis and palisades without waiting to remove them. The English, astonished at so much audacity, attempted in vain to put themselves upon defence. The humanity of the conquerors equalled their courage. They granted life to all those who demanded it, notwithstanding the cruelties recently committed at New London. Young Laurens gained great credit upon this occasion, and personally took the commanding officer prisoner. The loss was very moderate on both sides. The redoubt upon the left cost more efforts; but at

length, the French chasseurs and grenadiers, animated by the example of their chiefs, carried it with the bayonet. This double conquest was no less useful to the allies than it was honorable for their arms. Washington presented the two regiments of Gatinois and Deux Ponts, who had contributed to it, with the two pieces of cannon which they had taken. The besieged made no attempt to recover the two redoubts. The besiegers hastened to include them in the second parallel, which before the next morning was entirely completed. The situation of the garrison was become so critical, that it could no longer hope for safety. Cornwallis foresaw perfectly, that when the besiegers should have opened the fire of the batteries of their second parallel, all means of resistance would fail him. The greater part of his artillery was dismounted, broken, or otherwise disabled; the walls were crumbled into the ditches; in a word, almost all the defences were rased. Having lost the use of his heavy artillery, the British commander gave with difficulty some sign of resistance by firing at intervals with his howitzers and small mortars.

In this state of things Cornwallis, in order to retard as much as was in his power the completion of the batteries upon the second parallel, resolved to reach them by a vigorous sortie. He did not flatter himself, however, that even by this expedient he should be able to extricate himself from the alarming position he was in, nor yet to protract his defence for any considerable space of time. He wrote to general Clinton that being exposed every moment to an assault in ruined works, and an almost open town, with a garrison weakened by sickness, the distress of Yorktown was such that he could not recommend to the fleet and army to run any great risk in endeavoring to save it.

Meanwhile, a detachment sallied from the place, on the night of the sixteenth of October, under the conduct of colonel Abercrombie. They deceived the enemy by answering as Americans; and, having penetrated to the second parallel, made themselves masters of two batteries, the one French and the other American. The French who had the guard of that part of the intrenchment, suffered considerably. The English spiked eleven pieces of cannon, and would have done much more mischief, if the viscount de Noailles had not charged them furiously, and driven them before him into the town. This sortie was not of the least advantage to the besieged. The cannon which were hastily spiked, were soon again rendered fit for service.

The fire of the place was entirely extinct. Scarcely did it throw from time to time a cohorn shell into the camp of the besiegers; and this last source of defence was nearly expended. The garrison was sensibly enfeebled by disease; fatigue and discouragement overwhelmed even the soldiers who remained for service. All hope was vanished; an assault must prove irremediable. Straitened



on all sides, Cornwallis was constrained to resort to new expedients. He had recourse to a measure which he ought to have embraced before it was too late; and that was, to pass the river suddenly with his garrison, and to try fortune upon the opposite bank. He reflected, that even if it was not in his power to escape the enemy entirely, he had at least the hope of retarding the moment of his surrender; and that, in any event, the allies occupied in pursuing him, would not so soon have it in their power to turn their thoughts and arms upon new enterprises. The boats are prepared; the troops embark; they leave behind the baggage, the sick and wounded, and a feeble detachment, in order to capitulate for the town's people, with a letter from Cornwallis to Washington, recommending to the generosity of the conqueror the persons not in a condition to be removed. Already a part of the troops is landed at Gloucester Point; another embarks; the third division only is waited for; a perfect calm prevails in the air and upon the waters; every thing seemed to favor the design of the British commander. But all of a sudden, at that critical moment of hope, apprehension and danger, arose a violent storm of wind and rain, and all was lost. The boats were all driven down the river, and the army thus weakened and divided was involved in a state of the most imminent danger. The day began to appear. The besiegers opened a tremendous fire from all their batteries; the bombs showered copiously even into the river. But the tempest, in the meantime, had abated; the boats were able to return, and the English finding this last way of safety interdicted them by inexorable fortune, came back, not without new perils, to that shore, where a certain death or an inevitable captivity awaited them. Again in Yorktown, Cornwallis being sensible that his position was now past all remedy, and preferring the life of his brave troops to the honor they might have acquired in a murderous and desperate assault, sent a flag to Washington, proposing a cessation of arms for twenty-four hours, and that commissioners might be appointed on both sides for settling the terms of capitulation. The American general was not disposed to grant so long a time, on account of the possible arrival of British succours. He answered, that he could only grant a truce of two hours; and that during this interval he should expect the propositions of the British commander. Cornwallis was desirous that his troops might obtain the liberty of returning to their respective countries, the English to England, the Germans into Germany, upon giving their parole not to bear arms against France or America until exchanged. He demanded, besides, the regulation of the interests of those Americans, who having followed the British army, found themselves involved in its fate. Both of these conditions were alike refused; the first, because it was not intended to leave the king of England at liberty to employ his captive regiments in the home garrisons; the second, because it was a civil

affair, and not within the competence of the military commanders. As to this last article, Cornwallis prosecuted the negotiation of it with so much ardor, that he at length obtained permission to despatch the sloop *Bonetta* to New York, with the privilege of passing without search or visit, he being only answerable that the number of persons she conveyed should be accounted for as prisoners of war upon exchange. After various discussions, the two hostile generals having agreed upon the terms of capitulation, the commissioners charged with drawing it up convened in a habitation near the river, called Moore's house; they were, on the part of the English, the colonels Dundas and Ross; on the part of the allies, the viscount de Noailles and colonel Laurens. The posts of York and Gloucester were surrendered on the nineteenth of October. The land forces became prisoners to America, and the seamen to France. The officers retained their arms and baggage. The soldiers were to be kept together as much as possible in regiments, and to be cantoned in Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania; a part of the officers engaged to accompany the corps into the interior of the country; the others were at liberty to go upon parole either to England or New York. The *Bonetta*, on her return from that city, was to be delivered to the count de Grasse. All the shipping and naval munitions were put into the hands of the French. The British flotilla consisted of two frigates, the *Guadaloupe* and *Fowey*, besides about twenty transports; twenty others had been burnt during the siege. The Americans had for their portion the field artillery. They found in Yorktown and Gloucester an hundred and sixty pieces of cannon, the greater part brass, and eight mortars. The number of prisoners, exclusive of seamen, amounted to upwards of seven thousand. Out of this number, more than two thousand were wounded or sick. The besieged had about five hundred and fifty slain; but they lost no officer of note except major Cochrane. On the side of the besiegers, about four hundred and fifty were killed or wounded.

When the garrison had deposited their arms, they were conducted to the places of their destination. The talents and bravery displayed in this siege by the allies, won them an immortal glory; and they still enhanced it by the humanity and generosity with which they treated their prisoners. The French officers, in particular, honored themselves by the most delicate behavior. They seemed to have no other cares but that of consoling the vanquished by every mark of the most sympathising interest. Not content with professions, they made the English the most pressing offers of money, both public and private. Lord Cornwallis in his public letters acknowledged in warm terms the magnanimity of this conduct.

The fate of Yorktown and its defenders was thus decided, when, the twenty-fourth of October, the British fleet, consisting of twenty-five sail of the line, with two of fifty guns and several frigates, ap-



peared at the entrance of the Chesapeake. It had made sail from New York the nineteenth, the day of the capitulation; it brought a corps of seven thousand men to the succour of Cornwallis. Upon positive intelligence of the catastrophe of Yorktown, the British commanders, filled with grief and consternation, reconducted their forces to New York.

At the news of so glorious, so important a victory, transports of exultation broke out from one extremity of America to the other. The remembrance of past evils gave place, in all minds, to the most brilliant hopes. Nobody dared longer to doubt of independence. If the victory of Saratoga had produced the alliance with France, that of Yorktown was to have the effect of establishing on an unshaken basis, the liberty of the American people. If the one had been the cause of the successes of the war, the other was about to create the blessings of an honorable peace. In all parts of the United States, solemn festivals and rejoicings celebrated the triumph of American fortune, and the downfall of that of the enemy. The names of Washington, of Rochambeau, de Grasse, la Fayette, resounded every where. To the unanimous acclaim of the people, the Congress joined the authority of its decrees. It addressed thanks to the generals as well as to the officers and soldiers of the victorious army. It ordained, that there should be erected at Yorktown of Virginia, a marble column, adorned with emblems of the alliance between the United States and the king of France, and inscribed with a succinct narrative of the surrender of earl Cornwallis. It decreed, that Washington should be presented with two stands of British colors; the count de Rochambeau with two pieces of cannon, and that his most christian majesty should be requested to permit the count de Grasse to accept a like present. The Congress repaired in body to the principal church of Philadelphia, to render their joyful thanksgivings to the most high God for the recent victory. By a special decree, the thirteenth of December was appointed to be observed as a day of prayer and acknowledgment for so signal an evidence of the divine protection.

The demonstrations of public gratitude towards the captain-general, were not confined to these honors. The provincial assemblies, the universities, the literary societies, addressed him the sincere homage of their felicitations and admiration. He answered with exemplary modesty, that he had done no more than what his duty required of him; he was eloquent in extolling the valor of the army, and the efficacious assistance of an ally no less generous than powerful.

Washington would have wished so to profit of the conjuncture as to expel the British entirely from the American continent. He meditated in particular the recovery of Charleston. His design might have been put in execution, if the count de Grasse had been at liberty to remain longer upon the American coasts; but the express

orders of his government recalled him to the West Indies. He made sail for those islands, the fifth of November, taking with him the corps which had served under the marquis de St. Simon. The troops which had reduced Yorktown were marched in part upon the banks of the Hudson, to watch the motions of Clinton, who had still a great force at New York. The rest were sent to the Carolinas, to reinforce general Greene, and confirm the authority of Congress in those provinces. The English totally evacuated the open country, and withdrew behind the walls of Charleston and Savannah. The marquis de la Fayette embarked about the same time for Europe, bearing with him the affection and the regrets of the Americans. The Congress, whilst testifying their high satisfaction with his services, prayed him to advocate the interests of the United States with the French ministry, and to recommend them especially to the benevolence of his most christian majesty. Washington repaired to Philadelphia, where he had frequent conferences with the Congress upon military operations, and the business of the state. Thanks to his cares and activity, the service of the war department was secured for the following year much earlier than it had ever been before.

Such was the termination of the campaign of Virginia, which was well nigh being that of all the American war. The disaster of Yorktown so prostrated the British power upon that continent, that thenceforth the English, utterly despairing of being able to reestablish it, abandoned all idea of acting offensively, and thought only of defending themselves. With the exception of strong places, or countries accessible to their powerful navy, such as the province of New York, the contiguous islands, and the cities of Charleston and Savannah, all the territory was recovered into the power of Congress. Thus, by a sudden reverse of fortune, the victors became vanquished; thus those, who in the course of a cruel war, had learned from their enemies themselves how to wage it, made such proficiency in the art as in their turn to give lessons to their masters.

The arms of England were not more fortunate in the West Indies than they had been upon the American continent. The marquis de Bouille was informed that the governor of St. Eustatius relying upon the strength of the island, or upon the absence of the fleet of the count de Grasse, kept a very negligent guard. Without loss of time, he embarked, at Martinico, twelve hundred regular troops with some militia in three frigates, one corvette and four smaller armed vessels. He sailed immediately for St. Eustatius. To confirm the enemy in that profound security to which he abandoned himself, he gave out that he was going to meet the French armament on its return from America. He appeared in sight of the island the twenty-fifth of November. But formidable obstacles awaited him there; an unusually rough sea not only prevented him from landing all his troops, but even rendered it impracticable for the frigates to approach



the shore, and the boats were dashed in pieces against the rocks. The activity of the marquis de Bouille enabled him, after unprecedented efforts, to put ashore four hundred soldiers of the Irish legion with the chasseurs of two French regiments. This detachment, separated from the rest of the troops by the fury of the sea, was exposed to the most imminent danger; it was about to encounter a garrison consisting of seven hundred veteran soldiers. But the marquis de Bouille, with the presence of mind that characterised him, immediately took the only determination that could lead him to success; and that was to push rapidly forward, and seize by surprise what he was in no condition to carry by force. He appeared unexpectedly under the walls of the fortress; such was his celerity, and such the negligence of the enemy, that he found a part of the garrison exercising in full security upon the esplanade. The day had but just commenced. The rest of the soldiers were dispersed in the barracks and houses. Deceived by the red coats of the Irish, the garrison took them at first for English; they were first made sensible of their error by a discharge of musketry, at half portice, which killed several, and wounded a greater number. They were thrown into confusion; governor Cockburne, who returned at this moment from a promenade on horseback, came up, on bearing the strange noise, and was made prisoner. Meanwhile, the French chasseurs had pushed rapidly behind the English, and had already reached the gate of the fortress. The English rushed into it tumultuously, and attempted to raise the drawbridge; but the French, still more prompt, threw themselves in pell mell with them. Surprised upon all points, and unable to rally, the garrison laid down arms and surrendered. Thus the island of St. Eustatius fell into the power of the French. The booty they made was immense; twenty pieces of cannon were the fruit of victory. A million of livres which had been put in sequestration by the English, was forthwith restored by the generous victor to the Dutch, from whom it had been wrested. Governor Cockburne claimed a sum of two hundred and sixty-four thousand livres as belonging to him personally; it was assigned him with the same liberality. But the marquis de Bouille thought he had right to distribute among his troops sixteen hundred thousand livres appertaining to admiral Rodney, general Vaughan and other British officers; as being the produce of the sales they had made at St. Eustatius. Thus M. de la Motte Piquet, at first, then the marquis de Bouille stripped the plunderers of this island of the riches they had amassed in it; they had scarcely any thing left of all their spoils. The neighboring islands of Saba and St. Martin came likewise the next day into the power of the French.

1782. In the commencement of the following month of February, a squadron of seven light vessels armed for war, under the command of the count de Kersaint, recovered to Holland the colonies of Deme-

rary, Issequibo and Berbice; so that all the conquests of admiral Rodney, on which the British nation had founded the most brilliant hopes of mercantile advantage, were wrested from it with as much promptitude and facility as they had been made. As to France, the preservation of the Cape of Good Hope, and the retaking of the Dutch colonies in America, acquired her the reputation of a faithful and disinterested ally, and thus considerably increased the number of her partisans in Holland. After the conquest of St. Eustatius, the return of the count de Grasse decided the French to follow up their victories. Their superiority both in land and naval forces, authorised them, in effect, to entertain hopes of the most important successes. They directed their views at first towards the opulent island of Barbadoes. Its position, to windward of all the others, renders it very proper for securing the domination of them. Twice they embarked upon this expedition with all the means fitted to ensure its success, and twice they were driven back by contrary winds. It was necessary that the efforts of human valor should yield to the power of the elements. The French commanders then determined to attack the island of St. Christophers situated to leeward of Martinico. The count de Grasse arrived there the eleventh of January, with thirty-two sail of the line, and six thousand men under the marquis de Bouille. The fleet anchored in the road of Basse Terre, and the troops were disembarked. The inhabitants of the island were discontented with the British government; they had always condemned the American war, and they considered themselves, besides, aggrieved by certain acts of parliament. Their indignation was extreme, moreover, that the merchandise which they deposited in the warehouses of St. Eustatius, had been so shamefully pillaged by Rodney and Vaughan. Consequently, instead of taking arms against the French, they remained tranquil spectators of events.


The British retired from Basse Terre upon Brimstone Hill. Their force consisted of seven hundred regulars, who were afterwards joined by about three hundred militia. The governor of the island was general Frazer, a very aged officer. The militia were commanded by general Shirley, governor of Antigua. Brimstone Hill is a steep and almost inaccessible rock. It rises upon the seashore, not far from the little town of Sandy Hill, which is considered the second of the island, and situated about ten miles from Basse Terre, which is the capital. The fortifications constructed upon the summit of Brimstone Hill, were by no means correspondent to its natural strength. They were, besides, too extensive to be susceptible of an efficient defence by so feeble a garrison. No sooner were the French disembarked, than they marched in four columns to invest the hill on all its faces at once. As the artillery of the place incommoded them exceedingly, they found themselves necessitated to proceed with much regularity and caution. They opened trenches, and covered themselves by



breastworks. They were almost entirely destitute of heavy artillery, the ship that bore it having foundered near Sandy Point. Their industry and patience, however, succeeded in recovering from the bottom of the sea the greater part of the pieces. They hastened also to procure them from the neighboring islands. They likewise made themselves masters of some heavy cannon at the foot of the mountain, which had been sent from England a long time before, and which through the negligence of the governor had not been carried into the fortress. Independent of this artillery, a considerable quantity of bombs and cannon-ball fell into the power of the French. Thus the arms and ammunition sent by the British government for the defence of the island, were left to be employed for its reduction. The late surprise of St. Eustatius ought, however, to have put the commandant of St. Christophers upon the alert.

The French, thus finding themselves provided with the apparatus necessary for their operations, established themselves upon the most commanding of the neighboring heights, and began to batter the fortress. The garrison defended themselves valiantly, and with more effect than could have been expected from their small number.

In the meantime, admiral Hood returned from the coasts of America to Carlisle Bay, in the island of Barbadoes, with twenty-two sail of the line. Upon intelligence of the peril of St. Christophers notwithstanding the great inferiority of his force to that of the count de Grasse, he put to sea again immediately for the relief of the island attacked. He first touched at Antigua to take on board general Prescott with a corps of about two thousand men, and then sailed without delay for the road of Basse Terre, in St. Christophers. At the unexpected appearance of the British fleet, the count de Grasse instantly took his resolution; he weighed anchor, and sailed forthwith to meet the enemy. His intention, in standing out of the harbor, was to put himself in condition to take advantage of the superiority of his force, and to prevent Hood from anchoring off Sandy Point, whence he might easily have thrown succours into the fort on Brimstone Hill. The British admiral, who observed the movements of his adversary, made a feint of intending to await the battle; then, all at once fell back, in order to draw the count de Grasse more and more distant from the fort. As soon as he had effected this object, availing himself of the swiftness of his ships and the advantage of wind, he stood into the bay of Basse Terre and came to anchor in the same spot whence the French admiral had departed. This able manœuvre was admired by the French themselves. They followed, however, and with their van engaged that of the English, but to little effect. The count de Grasse afterwards presented himself with all his fleet at the entrance of the bay. The attack was extremely vigorous; but the British ships, lying fast at anchor in a line across the mouth of the harbor, afforded no



assailable point. The French were unable to make the least effective impression, and lost not a few men in the attempt. It was followed, however, by a second, which had no better success. The count de Grasse then renounced open force, and contented himself with cruising near enough to block up the British fleet in the bay, and protect the convoys of munitions which were on the way to him from Martinico and Guadaloupe.

Admiral Hood, on finding that the French had given up all thoughts of disturbing him in his anchorage, put ashore general Prescott, with a corps of thirteen hundred men; that general having driven in a French post stationed in that part, encamped in a strong position upon the heights. He hoped to find some favorable occasion to succour the fortress. The strength of the place seemed to promise him that general Frazer would be able to hold out still for a long time. Admiral Hood, moreover, had received positive advice, that Rodney was not far off, and that he had brought from Europe a reinforcement of twelve sail of the line. It appeared to him impossible that after the junction of all the British forces, the count de Grasse, and still less the marquis de Bouille, should be able to keep the field.

The capture of all the French troops then on shore was in his opinion an infallible event. But, in spite of all calculations, already the marquis de Bouille having marched two thousand men against general Prescott, had compelled him to evacuate the island and reembark precipitately. On the other hand, the French artillery kept up so terrible a fire against Brimstone Hill, that a number of breaches began to open in the walls, one of them in the part fronting the French camp was already practicable. A general assault would inevitably carry the place. The governor did not think proper to await this terrible extremity. All hope being now extinct, he demanded to capitulate. The conditions granted him were honorable for the soldiers, and advantageous for the inhabitants of the island. In consideration of their gallant defence, the generals Frazer and Shirley were left in perfect liberty upon their parole. The surrender of Brimstone Hill, placed the whole island of St. Christophers in the power of the French. Admiral Hood, therefore, had no longer a motive for maintaining his anchorage in the bay of Basse Terre; and moreover his fleet was in some degree exposed there to the fire of the batteries which the French might have established upon the shore. Nor could he overlook the importance of effecting his junction with admiral Rodney, who was daily expected, and who perhaps was already arrived at Barbadoes. Retreat, however, was perilous in the presence of so formidable a force as the French fleet. But the conjuncture admitted of no hesitation. Accordingly, in the night that followed the capitulation, the French being four leagues off, the English cut their cables in order to get under way at the same



time, and thus keep their ships more collected and together. This manœuvre succeeded perfectly; they gained Barbadoes without opposition. Great was their joy at meeting Rodney in that island, who had just arrived there with twelve sail of the line. The count de Grasse incurred on this head, the most violent reproaches of negligence and excessive circumspection. It was maintained, that he should have closely blockaded the British fleet in its anchorage, or attacked it at its departure, or else pursued it in its retreat. His partisans defended him, by alleging that he experienced an extreme scarcity of provisions; that his ships were by no means so good sailers as those of the enemy, and finally, that he was under an absolute necessity of returning promptly to Martinico in order to cover the arrival of convoys which were expected there from Europe. However these things might be, it remains demonstrated that the junction of the two British admirals, produced in the issue, an incalculable prejudice to the interests of France; as the sequel of this history will sufficiently evince. About the same time, the island of Montserrat surrendered to the arms of the counts de Barras and de Flechin. A few days after, the count de Grasse came to anchor at Martinico.

We have just seen the fortune of Great Britain depressed alike upon the American continent, and in the West Indies. The arms of king George were not more successful in Europe than in the New World. His enemies had there also the gratification of witnessing the declension of his power. It was especially agreeable to Spain, who first gathered its fruits. The duke de Crillon, knowing with what ardor the Catholic king desired to have in his power the island of Minorca, applied himself with the utmost zeal to the siege of Fort St. Philip. All the resources of the art of war had been employed to reduce it; a more formidable artillery had never been levelled against a place. But its natural strength, the immense works which covered it, and the perseverance of the besieged, creating apprehensions that the defence might be protracted still for a long time, the Spanish general had recourse to an expedient too little worthy of him. He attempted to seduce governor Murray, and to obtain by corruption what he despaired of carrying by force. He had, it is true, for this degrading step, the positive instructions of his government. General Murray repulsed the offers of his adversary with as much dignity as disdain. He reminded the duke de Crillon, that when one of his valiant ancestors had been requested by his king to assassinate the duke de Guise, he had made him the answer that his descendant should also have made to those who had presumed to commission him to attempt the honor of a man sprung from a blood as illustrious as his own, or that of the Guises. He ended his letter with praying him to cease to write or offer parley, his resolution

being to communicate with him no more, except at the point of the sword.\*

The duke de Crillon gave general Murray to understand, that he could not but honor him for his conduct; that he rejoiced it had placed them both in that position which befitted them alike; and that it had greatly increased the high esteem in which he had always held the governor. Meanwhile, the situation of the besieged was become painful in the extreme. Notwithstanding the success of a vigorous sortie, in which they had dislodged the duke de Crillon from Cape Mola, where he had established his head-quarters, their weakness rendered this transitory triumph more hurtful to them than beneficial. The garrison would by no means have sufficed for the defence of so extensive fortifications, even if they had been free from sickness. But very far from that was their condition. The seeds of the scurvy, with which they were infected, even before the opening of the siege, had developed themselves with a fury which increased from day to day. All who were seized with it either died, or became totally useless for the defence of the place. The causes of this mortal disease were principally the scarcity, or rather absolute want, of vegetables, the amassment of soldiers in the casemates, the horrible fetor which resulted from it, and the excessive fatigues of a service almost without remission. To the scurvy, as if not sufficient of itself to exterminate the unhappy garrison, putrid fevers and the dysentery united their destructive rage. Overwhelmed by so many evils, these intrepid warriors piqued themselves upon braving them. Those who were already attacked with pestilential maladies, dissembled their sufferings, for fear of not being admitted to share the perils of their comrades. Their ardor had survived their bodily strength; some of them were seen to expire under arms.

Nature at length triumphed over the firmness of these generous spirits. In the beginning of February, the garrison found itself so diminished, that there remained only six hundred and sixty men capable of any sort of service; and, even of this number, the most part were tainted with the scurvy. It was to be feared lest the enemy, apprised of this disastrous state of things, might precipitate his attacks, and carry the place by storm. There was the more foundation for such an apprehension, as the artillery had already ruined the greater part of the upper defences. Scarcely did there remain a

\* Henry III. despairing of being able to reduce the duke of Guise, consulted the Mareschals d' Aumont, de Rambouillet and de Beauvais Nangis, who decided that, considering the impossibility of bringing that illustrious rebel to trial, it was necessary to take him off by surprise. The king proposed to the celebrated Crillon to undertake the execution of this murder; 'I will not assassinate him, answered *the bravest of the brave*, but I will fight him. When a man is ready to give his life, he is master of that of another.'

The affectation of general Murray in vaunting in his answer the nobility of his origin, grew out of his pretending to have descended from the earl of Murray, natural son of James V. and brother of Mary Stuart.



few pieces of cannon in a serviceable state, and the fire of the enemy was still unremitting.

In a situation so utterly hopeless, to resist any longer would have been rather the delirium of a senseless obstinacy, than the effect of a generous constancy. Murray accepted a capitulation, the tenor of which was honorable for his garrison. He was allowed all the honors of war; the British troops were to be sent to England as prisoners upon parole; all the foreigners had permission to return to their countries with their effects; the Minorcans who had adhered to the British party, were left at liberty to remain in the island in the undisturbed enjoyment of their possessions. When the remains of this valiant garrison evacuated Fort St. Philip, they had more the appearance of spectres than of men.

They marched through the French and Spanish armies, which were drawn up fronting each other, and formed a lane for their passage. They consisted of no more than six hundred old decrepid soldiers, one hundred and twenty of the royal artillery, two hundred seamen, and about fifty Corsicans, Greeks, Turks and Moors. The victors manifested compassion for the fate of their prisoners; they could not refuse them even a tribute of admiration, when, arrived at the place where they laid down their arms, they heard them declare, while lifting up to heaven their eyes bathed in tears, that they had surrendered them to God alone. The humanity of the French and Spaniards was highly conspicuous, and worthy of lasting praise. Yielding to the most generous emotions, the common soldiers of the two nations were forward to administer refreshments and consolations to their unfortunate enemies. The duke and count de Crillon, as well as the baron de Falkenhayn, commander of the French troops, signalised themselves by the most feeling and delicate attentions. Such actions and conduct cast abroad a pleasing shade, which serves to soften the horrors of war, and to hide and alleviate its calamities; should they not also mitigate the fury of national rivalships and animosities?

Thus did the island of Minorca return to the dominion of Spain, after it had been in the possession of Great Britain for upwards of seventy years.

The news of so many and so grievous disasters, and especially that of Yorktown, produced in England a general consternation, accompanied by an earnest desire of a new order of things. The length of the war was already become wearisome to all; the enormous expenses it had occasioned, and which it still exacted, were viewed with disquietude and alarm. The late reverses still increased this universal discontent; and with the diminution of the hope of victory was strengthened in all the impatience for the return of peace. The possibility of resuming the offensive upon the American continent, and of reestablishing there, by dint of arms, the sovereignty of

Great Britain was now considered as a chimera. The secret machinations in order to divide the people of America, the terror and barbarity of the Indians, the attempts of treason, the destruction of commerce, the falsification of bills of credit, odious means to which the British ministers had resorted, and even the victories of their generals, all had failed of wresting from the Americans the smallest indication of a disposition to resume their ancient yoke. If such had been their constancy, when their ship, battered by the tempests, seemed hastening to the bottom, how could it be hoped to see them bend, while the most propitious gales were conducting them into the wished for port? It was selfevident that henceforth the war of America could have no other object but that of obtaining the most honorable conditions possible, after having acknowledged independence. On the other hand, the immense losses sustained in the West Indies, gave occasion to fear lest they might be followed by others still more afflicting. The most anxious apprehensions were entertained for Jamaica, against which the House of Bourbon seemed ready to display the entire apparatus of its power. The fall of a place of such importance as Fort St. Philip, and the loss of the whole island of Minorca, inspired doubts for Gibraltar itself.

The people, always the same every where, imputed these disasters, not to the contrariety of fortune, but to the incapacity of ministers. Their adversaries, both within parliament and without, raised the most violent clamors. They exclaimed, that such were the foreseen results of ministerial infatuation and obstinacy. They demanded with vociferation the immediate dismissal of these perverse and imbecile servants of the crown; they affirmed, that it was urgent to prevent those who had brought the country to the brink of a precipice, from plunging it headlong down it by the last frantic shock; that there was no chance of safety but in removing instantly those senseless instigators of a fatal war. These cries of hatred coincided with the prevailing spirit; they were echoed with unanimity by the discontented multitude. Besides, it escaped no one that since the course of things had created the necessity of entering into negotiation with the Americans, and of acknowledging their independence, it was not suitable that those who had at first so highly exasperated them by their laws, and afterwards had embittered them to the utmost by a barbarous war, should undertake to treat with them. The work of a durable pacification appeared little proper to be confided to hands which had fanned the fire of war. Already general Conway, by a very eloquent speech, pronounced the twenty-second of February, in the house of commons, had moved and obtained that his majesty should be entreated to command his ministers not to persist any longer in the attempt to reduce the colonies to obedience by means of force, and by continuing the war upon the American continent. He did more; in the sitting of the fourth of March, he



proposed and carried a resolution, purporting that those who should advise the king to continue the war upon the continent of North America, should be declared enemies of the sovereign and of the country. From this moment, the leading members of the privy council, the centre and source of all great deliberations, perceived that it was full time to resort to the usual remedy of a change of ministry. The general attention was excited to the highest degree. At length, the twentieth of March, the earl of Surrey having moved in the house of commons that the king should be supplicated to change his ministers, lord North rose, and declared with dignity that it was superfluous to spend any more time upon this subject, since it had already occupied the attention of his majesty, who would shortly make known his new choice. 'Before I take leave of this House,' added lord North, 'I feel it a duty to return it thanks for the support and favor it has afforded me during so long a course of years, and in so many trying situations. It will be easy to give me a successor, endowed with a greater capacity, of better judgment, and more qualified for his situation; but it will not be equally so to find a man more zealous for the interests of the country, more loyal to the sovereign, and more attached to the constitution. I hope the new servants of the crown, whoever they may be, will take such measures as shall effectually extricate the country from its present difficulties, and retrieve its fortune at home and abroad. I should declare, in retiring, that I am ready to answer to my country for all the acts of my administration. If it is wished to undertake the investigation of my conduct, I offer myself to undergo it.'

The new ministers were selected from among those members of the two houses of parliament, who had shown themselves the most favorable to the pretensions of the Americans. The marquis of Rockingham was appointed first lord of the treasury; the earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox secretaries of state; lord John Cavendish chancellor of the exchequer. Admiral Keppel was at the same time created viscount and first lord of the admiralty. So great was the exultation caused by this event, particularly in the city of London, that it was feared the people of that capital, would, according to their custom, break out into some blameable excesses. Everybody felt assured that the end of the war was at hand, and that of all the calamities it had caused. All that was desired was, that the conditions of peace might be honorable. Accordingly, the partisans of the new ministers were earnest in their prayers that some favorable event might gloriously repair the checks which the British arms had received towards the close of the past, and in the commencement of the present year.

## BOOK FOURTEENTH.

1782. THE belligerent powers, in order to execute the plans they had formed in the beginning of the present year, only waited the completion of their preparations, the return of spring, and the fitness of occasion. Alike weary of a long war, all had the same persuasion that this campaign was to be decisive. Nor were they ignorant that it is at the moment of peace that reverses have the most fatal consequences, as there no longer remains either time or hope for retrieving them. Under these considerations, each of the powers at war redoubled vigilance and efforts, in order to secure the definitive triumph of its arms. The allied courts directed their views especially upon the domination of the European seas, the reduction of Gibraltar, and the conquest of Jamaica. The French were in the highest degree solicitous to transmit succours to their establishments in the East Indies, where, notwithstanding the valor and distinguished ability displayed by M. de Suffren, in several hard fought engagements with admiral Hughes, their affairs were in a state of declension; and already two Dutch places of great importance, Trincomale and Negapatam, were fallen into the power of the English. The attention of the allies had therefore two principal objects; to defend their own possessions, and to seize those of the enemy.

It was agreed, that the Dutch and Spanish fleets should effect their junction with the French in the port of Brest. This mighty armada was afterwards to scour the open sea, and clear it of all hostile force from the straits of Gibraltar to the coasts of Norway. It was intended that the ships of the line should blockade the squadrons of the enemy in all the channels and ports, while the frigates and other light vessels should intercept the convoys; and utterly ruin the commerce of the English. The views of the allies extended yet farther; they hoped by incessantly spreading new alarms upon the coasts of Great Britain, that some opportunity might present itself for making descents, ravaging the country, and even for striking still more important blows, according to circumstances. They proceeded with the greatest zeal to the execution of their designs; the junction of their armaments was to present a powerful mass of sixty sail of the line, besides a prodigious number of frigates and sloops of war. The English were very far from possessing means sufficient to withstand so formidable a display of forces. Accordingly, the allied courts entertained not the least doubt but that their arms would be as successful in the West Indies and Europe, in this year's campaign, as they had been in the last upon the American continent. A glorious peace must, they felt assured, inevitably result from these decisive successes.



On the other hand, the new members of the British cabinet neglected nothing that could tend to remedy the calamitous state of affairs, and enable them to resist with effect the storm that rumbled over their heads. They hoped to compensate the inequality of force by the skill of commanders, the courage of troops, and the success of projected expeditions. Their cares were directed to the equipment of the fleet and the lading of the convoy destined to revictual Gibraltar. After the security of the kingdom, there was nothing which they had so much at heart as the safety of that place. But they were sensible that, first of all, it was necessary to prevent the junction of the Spanish and Dutch squadrons with the French fleet; thus interrupting also, at the same time, the commerce of the Dutch in the Baltic, and protecting that of England against their insults.

Admiral Howe was therefore ordered to put to sea from Portsmouth with twelve sail of the line, and to establish his cruise upon the coasts of Holland. This measure had the desired effect. The Dutch squadron, which had already set sail from the Texel, abandoned the sea to the English, and made the best of its way back into port. After having cruised off the Dutch coasts for the term of a month, admiral Howe, finding that the enemy made no movement demonstrative of a disposition to put to sea again, and the unhealthiness of the season having occasioned much sickness on board his fleet, took the determination to return to Portsmouth. Admiral Milbanke relieved him almost immediately. If he was not able to annoy the Dutch trade in the Baltic, he at least effectually protected that of the English; and, moreover, he constantly interdicted to the enemy's squadron the entrance of the channel. Thus, with the exception of the brilliant action of Doggers Bank, the republic of Holland, formerly so famous, did nothing in all this war that was worthy of her, and of her ancient renown. Such was the decay of her glory and of her power, the deplorable result of excessive riches, of insatiable avidity, and perhaps still more, of the party spirit which rent those provinces. If in a republic the counterpoise of parties, in matters relating to internal administration, may sometimes turn to the advantage of liberty, and maintain more energy in the people, those factions which have foreign powers for object, produce an entirely opposite effect. They divert the public spirit upon that which is abroad, and paralyse all its activity at home. The most evident symptom of the decay of the strength of a state, and of the loss of its independence, is, doubtless, a division between citizens in favor of foreigners; and such was the situation of the Dutch at this epoch. If at the conclusion of the present war, their republic was not reduced to the last degree of depression, if it even repaired a great part of its losses, this it owed, not to its own force, but entirely to the arms and protection of France.

We resume the course of events; undoubted intelligence had been received in England that a considerable convoy of troops and military stores destined for India, was on the point of sailing from the port of Brest. Fearing, on the one hand, for Jamaica, and on the other, for the establishments of the coast of Malabar, the ministers, without any delay, despatched admiral Barrington, at the head of twelve sail of the line, with orders to watch this convoy, and to capture it, if the opportunity should offer itself. He shaped his course for the bay of Biscay, and soon discovered the convoy, which consisted of eighteen transports, under the guard of two ships of the line, the *Pegase* and the *Protecteur*. The wind was violent and the sea tempestuous. The English nevertheless continued to crowd sail. The ship *Foudroyant*, an excellent sailer, commanded by captain Jarvis, at length came up with and engaged the *Pegase*, under the chevalier de Sillan. The forces of the two ships being about equal, the action lasted with extreme violence for a full hour. The Frenchman did not strike till after having seen the greater part of his men either killed or disabled. The sea was so rough that captain Jarvis was scarcely able to shift a small part of the crew of the prize. It was to be feared that the small number of men he sent aboard of it might be risen upon, and the ship rescued. But captain Maitland, who commanded the *Queen*, came up at this moment and assisted his companion to secure his prize. Immediately after, they were again separated by a gust of wind. Captain Maitland afterwards fell in with another French ship called the *Actionnaire*, and captured her, after a feeble resistance. In the meantime, the frigates had given chase to the transports, which, at the first appearance of the English, had obeyed a signal for dispersing with all celerity. Twelve fell into the power of the enemy. This was a sensible loss to France; for independent of the artillery, munitions of war, and provision, there were on board these vessels upwards of eleven hundred regular troops. Admiral Barrington brought his prizes safely into the ports of England.

The British admiralty having realised the utility of cruises in the seas of Europe, resolved to multiply them. It adopted this determination the more willingly, as it had not yet received any intimation of the approaching appearance of the grand combined fleet. Notwithstanding the ardent desire which animated alike the French and the Spaniards, to depress the power of their implacable enemy, their operations suffered too often from that slowness which seems inseparable from all coalitions. The English, on the contrary, enjoyed the advantages attached to the unity of powers, and to the concert of movements. As soon as Barrington was returned, Kempenfeldt had orders to put to sea, and stand in like manner towards the bay of Biscay. His instructions were, to do the French commerce all the harm possible, to protect that of the British, and espe-



cially to cover the arrival of two rich convoys shortly expected, the one from Jamaica, the other from Canada.

After having wasted much precious time, the allies had set themselves at length to carry into effect the plans they had meditated. The count de Guichen commanding the French squadron, and don Lewis de Cordova admiral in chief of the combined fleet, set sail from the port of Cadiz in the beginning of June with twenty-five sail of the line, between Spanish and French. They stood to the north, towards the shores of England, animated with a desire and with a hope to wrest from those audacious islanders the empire of the ocean. As they sailed along the coasts of France, they were joined by several ships of war, which lay in the ports of that part, and even by a squadron that came from Brest to meet them. These different reinforcements carried the combined fleet to forty sail of the line. Fortune smiled upon these first operations. The two convoys of Newfoundland and Quebec, escorted by admiral Campbell with one ship of fifty guns and some frigates, fell into the midst of this immense line. A part were taken, the rest dispersed. Eighteen transports came into the power of the victors; this capture was valued at considerable sums. The ships of war made good their escape, and gained the ports of England in safety. This advantage indemnified the French, in some measure, for the loss of their convoy destined to the East Indies.

After this, if not difficult, at least useful success, become entirely masters of the sea, they repaired towards the entrance of the channel. As they had done in their preceding campaigns, they stretched their line across it from the Scilly islands to that of Ushant. While observing the coasts of England, two objects especially occupied their attention; the protection of their own convoys, and the seizure of those of the enemy. Meanwhile, the British ministers were not reckless of the danger. Admiral Howe put to sea with twenty-two sail of the line. His instructions enjoined him to avoid a general action, and to use every possible endeavor to protect the arrival of the Jamaica convoy, become still more precious since the loss of that of Canada. This able commander displayed the rarest talents in the execution of his orders. He put himself out of the reach of the hostile fleet, by steering to the west, upon the route likely to be taken by the convoy. This manœuvre was crowned with full success. Admiral Howe rallied to himself the whole convoy, with its escort, commanded by Peter Parker, and, towards the last of July, entered with them sound and safe into the ports of Ireland. The allies then returned to their own coasts, after demonstrations as vain and fruitless as those of their two preceding campaigns.

But of all the enterprises of the belligerent powers in Europe, none appeared to them more worthy to absorb all their attention than the siege of Gibraltar. The English were all intent upon succouring

that fortress ; the French and Spaniards upon preventing it. These two opposite aims were become the object of their reciprocal emulation. Independent of the glory of their arms, and the honor of crowns, there was nothing less at stake than the empire of the Mediterranean, which seemed to depend on the possession of this celebrated rock. Never did any military operation attract, to the same degree, the gaze of the entire world ; this siege was compared to the most famous recorded in history, whether ancient or modern. To preserve Gibraltar, was in England the first wish of all minds ; it was known there that a scarcity began to prevail, within that place, of munitions of war, and especially of provisions. It was equally known that the besiegers intended to convert the blockade into an open attack. Already they were preparing machines of a new construction, in order to carry, by dint of force, what they had failed of attaining by famine. Accordingly, since Gibraltar, notwithstanding all that art and nature had done for its defence, was menaced with perils of a new species, the British government assembled at Portsmouth all the naval forces of the kingdom. The squadrons that were cruising upon the coasts of Holland and of the Bay of Biscay, had orders to repair thither. An immense number of transports were there laden with munitions and necessaries of every denomination. At length, all preparations being terminated, towards the beginning of September, admiral Howe, commander-in-chief, accompanied by the admirals Milbanke, Robert Hughes, and Hotham, set sail from Portsmouth. His force consisted of thirty-four sail of the line, and a proportionate number of frigates and fire-ships. Upon the fortune of this armament hung that of the besieged fortress.

Arms were not, however, the only means which the British ministers resolved to employ in order to attain the object they had in view ; namely, a glorious war and an honorable peace. It was not permitted them to hope to be able to reduce their enemies entirely, so long as they persisted in their strict union ; they therefore formed a design to throw division among them, by making to each of them separate proposals of peace. The dissolution of the coalition appeared to them the certain pledge of definitive triumph. They calculated also, that even in case they should not succeed in their attempt, they would nevertheless obtain a real advantage ; that of contenting the minds of the people of Great Britain, and of rendering the war less odious to them, by demonstrating the necessity of continuing it. Another no less powerful consideration had influence upon their determination ; they felt, that in order to preserve the partisans they had made themselves both in and out of parliament, it was necessary that they should hold out at least an appearance of inclining towards peace. Under these considerations, the British cabinet made application to the empress of Russia. She accepted the character of mediatrix with the States-General of Holland ; she



offered them, in the name of king George, a suspension of arms, and conditions of peace upon the footing of the treaty of 1674. The ambassador of France, who was then at the Hague, watched these secret manœuvres, and labored with all his power to prevent the effects of them, and to maintain the States-General in their fidelity to the alliance. He reminded them that they were pledged not to make peace with England until that power should have acknowledged the unrestricted freedom of the seas. While recapitulating the plans of naval operations concerted between the two states against the common enemy, he intimated that Holland could not renounce them all of a sudden, without as much prejudice to her own honor, as to the interests of her faithful ally, the king of France. He glanced also at the gratitude by which the Dutch were bound to his most christian majesty for the preservation of the Cape of Good Hope, and the recovery of St. Eustatius, as well as the colonies of Guiana, owing entirely to his arms. In support of the representations of the French ambassador, the States-General could not but add a tacit reflection. The colonies above mentioned were still in the hands of the French, as guarantee of treaties; was it not to be feared that they would refuse to restore them, if their allies departed from their engagements? These considerations were backed also by the efforts of the partisans of France. They at length prevailed totally. The States-General rejected the propositions of the court of London, declaring that they would not disparage the incorruptible faith of which their ancestors had left them the example. The overtures that were made at the same time to the governments of France and of Spain, were not attended with any better success. The first entertained hopes of expelling the British altogether from the West Indies, and thereby of acquiring more efficacious rights to stipulate for the liberty of the seas. The second, swayed by the same motives, had, besides, the prospect of recovering possession of Jamaica and Gibraltar. Intimately united also by the family compact, the two monarchs would have thought it derogatory to the dignity of their crowns, not to have fulfilled the obligations it imposed.

But the British ministers hoped for more fruit from their intrigues with the United States of America. With a view to this object, they had recalled General Clinton, and replaced him by general Carleton, who, by his moderation and humanity during the war of Canada, had conciliated the esteem and confidence of the Americans. He was invested, as well as admiral Digby, with power to negotiate peace with the United States, upon the basis of independence, and to conclude with them a treaty of amity and commerce.

But the Americans took into consideration, that no act of the parliament had as yet authorised the king to conclude peace or truce with America; and consequently it was to be apprehended that proposals and promises made at the mere motion of ministers, might

afterwards be disavowed by the two Houses. They were aware also of the extreme repugnance which the king personally had to acknowledge their independence. They began therefore to suspect the existence of a hidden snare. These conjectures acquired new force with them, on hearing that the British cabinet had made separate overtures to each of the belligerent powers. They no longer doubted but that its drift was, by means of these overtures, to sow division among them, and to amuse them by vain words. The proposition of peace appeared to them a mere stratagem of the English to divert their attention from the preparations requisite to the prosecution of the war, and thereby secure for themselves easy advantages. The French minister at Philadelphia exerted himself to the utmost to interrupt all negotiations. He placed in the strongest light the grounds which the Americans had for apprehending bad faith on the part of England, and for confiding, on the contrary, in the sincerity and generosity of the king of France. The most influential members of the American government were little disposed of themselves to commence their career in the political world by a violation of treaties, and to exchange an approved alliance for a suspicious friendship; their opinion prevailed. The Congress declared formally, that they would enter into no negotiation wherein their ally should not participate.

Moreover, that not the slightest doubt should remain respecting the good faith of the United States, in order to bar all hope to England, and all suspicion to France, the provincial assemblies decreed, that peace should never be concluded with Great Britain without the consent of his most christian majesty; declaring enemies to the country all those who should attempt to negotiate without authority from Congress. Thus the first days of the year witnessed the failure of all hope of pacification. The cause for which the belligerent powers had taken arms, appeared still undecided. In the midst of that reciprocal distrust which imbittered minds, no form of conciliation was admissible, till ushered in by the last necessity. While such was the posture of affairs upon the American continent, they were about to be decided, in the islands, by one of those events which triumph over all the measures of prudence. The war of the West Indies was destined to have an issue similar to that which the catastrophe of Cornwallis had operated in Virginia. The allied courts had made formidable preparations for executing at last their long meditated projects against Jamaica. The Spaniards had in the islands of St. Domingo and Cuba, a numerous fleet, and a considerable body of troops, both perfectly equipped, and in readiness to move wherever the good of the service might require. On the other hand, the count de Grasse was at Fort Royal in Martinico, with thirty-four sail of the line, and a great number of frigates. The French admiral was occupied with the care of refitting his fleet, while awaiting



a second convoy which departed from Brest early in February, and which brought him an immense quantity of arms and military stores, of which he stood in great need. After having terminated his preparations, his intention was, to effect his junction with the Spaniards at St. Domingo, in order to act in concert against Jamaica. Their combined forces were to consist of sixty sail of the line, and near twenty thousand land troops; a prodigious armament, and such as had never before been seen in those seas. The English were very far from having means of resistance adequate to those of attack. When Rodney, who was then anchored at Barbadoes, had been joined by admiral Hood, and three ships of the line from England, he found himself at the head of no more than thirty-six sail of the line. The garrisons of the British islands were all very weak; and even in Jamaica there were only six battalions of troops, inclusive of militia. The terror was so great there, that the governor of the island proclaimed martial law, the effect of which was to suspend all civil authority, and to confer it entire upon the military commanders.

Admiral Rodney was perfectly aware that the success of the West Indian war, and the fate of all the British possessions in those seas depended on two decisive events. It was necessary to intercept the Brest convoy before it should arrive at Martinico, and to prevent the French fleet from uniting with that of Spain at St. Domingo. In order to accomplish the first of these objects, he had put to sea, and so stationed his fleet to windward of the French islands, that it extended from the island of Desirade to that of St. Vincents; thus occupying the route usually followed by vessels coming from Europe bound to Martinico. He had also taken the precaution to detach his frigates still more to windward, that they might observe and promptly report to him all the movements of the enemy. But the French presaged the snare that was laid for them. Instead of taking the ordinary track, they stood with their convoy to the north of Desirade, and then keeping close under the lee of Guadaloupe and Dominica, brought it in safety to the bay of Fort Royal in Martinico. This reinforcement was most opportune for the French. It was, on the contrary, extremely fatal for the English, who had now no other means of averting their total ruin in those parts, but by preventing the junction of the fleets of France and Spain at St. Domingo. With this object in view, Rodney came to anchor in Gros Islet Bay at St. Lucia, in order to be able to watch continually all that passed at Fort Royal. His frigates kept up a very active cruise; and in the meantime he took care to recruit his water and provisions, in order to be in a situation to keep the sea as long as possible. Meanwhile, the count de Grasse felt himself pressed to act. His instructions required it of him; and their object was of the last importance to the glory and prosperity of the French realm. On the safety of his convoy depended the success of the expedition of Jamaica. He

sent it forward under the escort of two ships of the line, the *Sagittaire* and *Experiment*, and followed it shortly after with all his fleet. He would have wished to avail himself of the trade winds to sail directly towards St. Domingo; but he reflected that in so doing, incumbered as he was with upwards of an hundred transports, and the wind always blowing from the same point, it was almost impossible for him to keep out of the reach of the British fleet. It was evidently in the interests of his designs to avoid a battle; he therefore took a different route. He shaped his course to the northward, standing along near the shores of the islands with all his vast armament. Prudence could not but applaud this measure, and every thing promised its success. The pilots of the count de Grasse had the advantage over those of the enemy of being better acquainted with the bearings of these coasts, for the most part French or Spanish; and they might of course approach them as near as they should think proper. Besides, the different channels formed between these islands, offered both secure retreats and favorable winds for escaping the pursuit of the enemy. The French admiral might thus pass his convoy along the coasts, while his ships of war should form in order of battle to cover it against the attempts of his adversary. It was easy for the French by this means to keep to windward of the British, and consequently to preserve a free passage to St. Domingo. The count de Grasse had therefore sufficient grounds for hoping that all the vessels under his command would, by little and little, make their way good to the point of general rendezvous. The British frigates, which kept a diligent watch, soon apprised Rodney of the sailing of the French fleet. Immediately, with his accustomed promptitude, he put to sea in quest of the enemy. It was the ninth of April. Already the French had begun to pass Dominica, and were to leeward of that island when they descried the whole British fleet. The count de Grasse ordered the captains of the transports to crowd all sail and take shelter in the port of Guadaloupe. The two admirals prepared themselves for battle with equal skill and bravery. The Frenchman, however, chose to keep his enemy at a distance, in order to give his convoy time to retire, and not to commit to the caprice of fortune a certain operation. The Englishman, on the contrary, felt that he could not engage his adversary too close, since there was no remedy for the critical situation of affairs except in a complete and decisive victory. The count de Grasse had thirty-three sail of the line; among which, one of one hundred and ten guns, the *Ville de Paris*, five of eighty, twenty-one of seventy-four, and the rest of sixty-four. The crews were complete, and there were on board the French fleet five to six thousand land troops, forming the garrison of the ships. The centre was under the immediate orders of the count de Grasse; the marquis de Vaudreuil commanded the van, and M. de Bougainville the rear. The fleet



of admiral Rodney consisted of thirty-six sail of the line, of which one of ninety-eight guns, five of ninety, twenty of seventy-four, and the others of sixty-four. The British van was commanded by vice-admiral Hood, and the rear guard by rear-admiral Drake. The English were desirous to engage a general action, but they had not yet been able to get abreast of the island of Dominica, and their advance was retarded by calms. They endeavored nevertheless to profit of the puffs of wind which sprung up from time to time, in order to fetch the French. But the latter, favored by a breeze, made for Guadaloupe. The van of the British fleet receiving the wind soon after, admiral Hood seized the occasion to come up with the French within cannon-shot reach, and the action commenced towards nine o'clock in the morning. The count de Grasse was full of confidence at seeing that he could bring all his force to bear upon a part only of the enemy's.

The engagement was extremely fierce; but however impetuous was the attack of the French, the British withstood it without losing their order. The headmost ships of their centre having at length a sufficiency of wind to carry them to the support of their van, which suffered excessively, they renewed the action with inexpressible fury. The French received their shock with a valor no less worthy of admiration. Rodney's own ship, the *Formidable*, of ninety-eight guns, and his two seconds, the *Namur* and the *Duke*, both of ninety, made a tremendous fire. The captain of a French seventy-four, so far from being dismayed at it, ordered his mainsail to be furled, that his crew might abandon all idea of retreat, and fight with the more desperation. He waited the approach of the three British ships, and engaged them with admirable intrepidity. His conduct inspired the English themselves with so much enthusiasm, that one of them, in a letter which was made public, did not hesitate to call him the *godlike Frenchman*. The other ships of the British centre came up successively, and the rear, under admiral Drake, was not far behind them. But the French admiral, who had accomplished his purpose, thought proper to draw his ships out of action, and accordingly gave the signal for retreat. Such was the issue of this first combat; it would be difficult to decide on which part the most ability and gallantry were signalised. The English made no attempt to follow their enemies, whether because the wind was less in their favor, or because their van, and especially the *Royal Oak* and the *Montague*, had been grievously damaged. On observing this, the French admiral ordered the convoy, which had taken refuge at Guadaloupe, to put to sea again immediately, and continue its voyage. This order was executed with as much precision as promptitude by M. de Langle, who commanded the convoy; which a few days after arrived safe and entire at St. Domingo. Some French ships had suffered considerably in the action. Among others, the *Cato* was

so damaged, that it became necessary to send her to Guadaloupe to be repaired. The Jason also had been so shattered in her engagement with the Zealous, that she was also obliged to make the best of her way to the same island. These accidents prevented the count de Grasse from gaining so soon as he could have wished to windward of the groupe of islands called the Saints, in order afterwards to stand to windward of Desirade, and repair to St. Domingo by the north of the islands. The English, after having hastily refitted their ships, had again set themselves to pursue the French. The count de Grasse continued to beat to windward, in order to weather the Saints, and he was already arrived, on the eleventh, off Guadaloupe. He had gained so much distance upon the British fleet, that its topsails only could be descried, and that with difficulty, by the French. Rodney had pushed his pursuit with all the diligence exacted by the urgency of the conjuncture; but he began to despair of overtaking the enemy. It was agitated in a council of war, whether it would not be better for the interests of their affairs to give over the direct pursuit of the enemy, and stand to leeward, in order to arrive, if possible, before them in the waters of St. Domingo. While this important point was under deliberation, and while an anxious lookout was kept at the mastheads, in painful expectation of the moment which was to decide the fate of Jamaica, and whether the empire of the West Indies was to remain with the French or with the English, a signal announced, about noon, the appearance of two French ships. They had fallen to the leeward, and were drifting continually nearer to the English. They were the Zélé, of seventy-four guns, a ship which seemed destined to bring disaster to the French fleet, and the frigate Astree, which the count de Grasse had detached to take her in tow. A little before, the Zélé had got foul of the Ville de Paris, and lost her foremast and mizenmast in the shock. In consequence of this accident she was unable to keep up with the rest of the fleet. The English now conceived new hopes of engaging the battle for which they so ardently panted. They calculated that by bearing down rapidly to cut off the drifted ships, they should constrain the French admiral to come to their succour, and thereby place himself under the necessity of fighting. They accordingly manœuvred with so much promptitude and sagacity, that the two ships could no longer escape them, unless the French admiral bore down with his whole fleet for their preservation. It is thought, and not without reason, that if the count de Grasse, content with the glory acquired upon the coasts of Virginia, had known how to yield in time to fortune, and had abandoned the two fatal ships to the destiny that menaced them, he might easily have made his way good to St. Domingo. Once arrived in that island, where the forces of Spain would have joined his own, he might have given the final blow to the British power in the West Indies. He had already



gained so far to windward, that if he had continued his voyage it was become impossible for the English to come up with him. But deeming it contrary to the dignity and reputation of the mighty armament which he commanded, to suffer two ships to be taken almost under the fire of its guns, he took the brave but no less adventurous resolution of going to their succour; thus, for the sake of protecting an inconsiderable part of his fleet, exposing himself to the hazard of losing the whole. He formed his line of battle, bore down upon the English, and rescued the *Zélé*. But this movement had brought him so near to the enemy, that it was no longer in his power to avoid an engagement. The two admirals prepared for it with equal ardor. The same high spirit was shared by all their crews; there was not a sailor of the two nations who did not feel that he was about to contend for the honor of his sovereign, and the dominion of the West Indies. But the night was already come; it was employed on either side in making every preparation for the great day of the morrow.

The space of sea which was to serve as the field of battle, is contained between the islands of Guadaloupe, Dominica, the Saints, and Maria Galante. Both to windward and leeward, the waters abound in shoals and very dangerous reefs. The twelfth of April, at six in the morning, the two fleets found themselves drawn up in presence of each other, but on opposite tacks. The wind at this moment having veered from east to southeast, became more favorable to the English. They profited of it without loss of time; their van and the greater part of their centre ranged up to within half cannon-shot of the enemy, and commenced the attack with unexampled fury. The action lasted from seven in the morning till seven at night. The other ships of the centre, and the greater part of those of the rear, edged up successively, and took part in the battle. Among them was distinguished the *Barfleur*, of ninety guns, the ship of admiral Hood. During this time the *Zélé*, towed by the *Astree*, was endeavoring to gain Guadaloupe.

Never did warriors the most inflamed with desire of victory, display more desperate valor or determined resolution, than the French and English in this memorable day. The broadsides, from their rapid succession, appeared continual; through the thick smoke that covered the two fleets, nothing was seen but the blaze of their guns, nothing was heard but the thunder of artillery, and the crash of the spars that were shivered into splinters. The *Formidable*, admiral Rodney's ship, discharged in the course of this terrible conflict no less than eighty broadsides; the *Ville de Paris* an equal number. The fight continued for several hours without any apparent superiority of success; almost all the ships were excessively shattered; the crews were exhausted with fatigue. From the very commencement of the action the English, according to their custom, had endeavored to

break the enemy's line of battle. But the wind was not strong enough; and the French perceiving their design, held firm and repulsed them with vigor. Meanwhile, the van and centre of the count de Grasse had suffered extremely in their rigging, which occasioned a sensible retardment in the movements of these two divisions. The third, commanded by M. de Bougainville, not having regulated its manœuvres by those of the rest of the line, had fallen into extreme disorder. To this fatal event, which could only be imputed to men, there soon succeeded another, originating in the contrariety of fortune. The wind became all at once so unfavorable to the French, that their sails filled aback; it was for the same reason extremely propitious to the English. Rodney took advantage of it instantly. He bore rapidly down with the Formidable, the Namur, the Duke and the Canada, and penetrated through the French line at the post occupied by the Glorieux, which was completely dismasted, at the distance of three ships from the Ville de Paris. His other ships were directed by signal to follow him. This order having been executed with great promptitude, the whole British fleet found itself to windward of the enemy's. From this moment the fate of the day could no longer be doubtful. The English wore round close upon their adversaries, who, broken and in total confusion, could ill withstand an enemy fighting in compact line, and animated by the prospect of infallible victory. The French protracted their resistance only by detached groups, or partial engagements of ship with ship. Their desperate situation, however, had not yet abated their courage. They endeavored to reestablish the line to leeward, but all their efforts were vain, though they signally honored their misfortune. The English of preference closed with those ships which they judged unable to escape them. The Canada engaged the Hector, which did not surrender till after having exhausted all its means of defence. The Centaur attacked the Cesar; they had both remained entire. A furious action ensued. The French captain would not surrender. Three other ships of war assailed him; but after his ship had been battered to pieces, and his ensign-staff shot away, M. de Marigny, who commanded the Cesar, ordered his colors to be nailed to the mast, and redoubled the fire of all his batteries. He was slain; his successor defended himself with the same courage. At length his mainmast being fallen, and all his tackling destroyed, he yielded to number. The captain of the Glorieux did not surrender till after the most honorable resistance. The Ardent, after a no less gallant defence, fell also into the power of the English. The Diademe, torn all to pieces, went to the bottom. If all the French captains whom fortune betrayed on this day, displayed an heroic bravery, none of them deserved more lasting praises than the unfortunate count de Grasse. He seemed inflexibly resolved rather to sink with his ship, than to surrender her to the enemy. Totally dismasted, and admitting the water



on all parts, the *Ville de Paris*, after a combat of ten hours, continued to keep up a terrible fire with starboard and larboard guns. Captain Cornwallis in the *Canada*, appeared to rest his glory upon reducing her; but by her very mass she repulsed all his efforts; six other British ships joined the *Canada*, to give the final blows to the French admiral, but still in vain. Several of his ships had attempted to succour him; at first his two seconds the *Languedoc* and *Couronne*, then the *Pluton* and the *Triumphant*. But, overwhelmed by number, the captains of these ships had been constrained to abandon their captain-general to all the dangers of his position. The count de Grasse found his last hope extinct; his fleet, lately so flourishing, was either dispersed or fallen into the power of the enemy, but his invincible courage refused to bend. He persisted in this manner, facing with the most admirable intrepidity the repeated attempts that were made upon him from every quarter, till past six o'clock in the afternoon. Admiral Hood's approach in the *Barfleur* of ninety guns, did not alter his determination. He bore a heavy fire from him during some time, without any appearance of yielding; and it was not till after a dreadful destruction of his people that he consented at last to strike. He and two more were the only men left standing upon the upper deck. Thus fell into the hands of the English the *Ville de Paris*, justly considered as one of the fairest ornaments of the French marine. This magnificent ship had been presented to Lewis XV. by his capital, at the epoch of the disasters occasioned by the war of Canada. It had cost four millions of livres. Thirty-six chests of money, and the whole train of artillery, intended for the attack on Jamaica, became the prey of the victors. The English lost in this battle and in that of the ninth, upwards of a thousand men. The loss of the French was much more considerable, without reckoning prisoners. The first had in particular to regret the captains Bayne and Blair of the *Alfred* and *Anson*. Lord Robert Manners, son of the marquis of Granby, a young man of the greatest promise, survived his wounds but a short time. This day cost life to six captains of French ships; among whom were the viscount d'Escars and M. de la Clocheterie; the first of the *Glonieux*, the second of the *Hercule*.

To reap the fruits of his victory, admiral Rodney would have wished to pursue the enemy after the battle. But as it grew dark, he thought it necessary, in order to secure his prizes, and to afford time for inquiring into the condition of the ships that had suffered in the action, to bring too for the night. The following morning he was still detained upon the coasts of Guadeloupe by a calm, which lasted three days. Having at length examined the bays and harbors of the neighboring French islands, and being satisfied that the enemy had sailed to leeward, Rodney despatched sir Samuel Hood, whose division being in the rear, and coming up late, had suffered but little

in the battle, to the west end of St. Domingo, in the hope that he might be able to pick up some of their disabled ships. Hood was afterwards to repair to Cape Tiberon, where admiral Rodney had appointed to meet him with the rest of his fleet.

With the exception of some French ships, which M. de Bougainville conducted to St. Eustatius to be repaired, all the others under the marquis de Vaudreuil, keeping together in a body, made the best of their way to Cape Francois. In the meantime, admiral Hood had arrived in the waters of St. Domingo, and while cruising in the Mora passage, which separates that island from Porto Rico, he descried four sail of French vessels, two of the line, and two of less force. These were the Jason and Caton, which were returning from the anchorage of Guadaloupe, with the frigate Aimable and the sloop of war Ceres. Their captains were not informed of the action of the twelfth of April, and were pursuing their voyage in full security. They fell into the midst of the squadron of sir Samuel Hood, who had little difficulty in forcing them to surrender. A fifth sail, which was discovered in the distance, had the fortune to escape the pursuit of the English, by an unexpected shift of wind in her favor. Thus the French loss amounted to eight ships of the line; but the Diademe having been sunk, and the Cesar having blown up, there remained but six in the possession of the English, as trophies of their victory.

Admiral Hood rejoined sir George Rodney off Cape Tiberon; the latter then proceeded with the disabled ships and the prizes to Jamaica. The former remained, with twenty-five ships that had suffered the least, in the waters of St. Domingo, to watch the enemy, and prevent him from attempting any expedition of importance against the British possessions. Though discouraged by the check which they had just received, the allies were still formidable. They had at Cape Francois twenty-three sail of the line, under the marquis de Vaudreuil, and sixteen Spanish, commanded by don Solano. Their land forces amounted to near twenty thousand men. They relinquished, however, the enterprize of Jamaica, and indeed every sort of attempt in the West Indies. The Spaniards returned to the Havanna. Some French ships took under their guard a convoy of merchantmen, and arrived in Europe without accident. The marquis de Vaudreuil repaired with the rest of his fleet to the ports of North America. Thus ended the projects against Jamaica, and all this campaign in the West Indies. It produced afterwards one only event; the Bahama Islands which had hitherto served as a shelter for British privateers, surrendered the sixth of May to the Spanish arms. The French obtained also another success in the most northern regions of America; a feeble compensation of their late losses. The marquis de Vaudreuil, a little before his departure for the United States, had detached M. de la Peyrouse, with the ship of war Sceptre, and the frigates Astree and Engageante. His instructions



were, to repair to Hudson's bay, and do all the harm possible to the establishments of the British northwest company. The expedition succeeded completely; the English estimated the damage he caused them at several millions of livres. It was much more remarkable for the almost insurmountable obstacles which the nature of the places and climate presented to the French, than for the resistance of their enemies, whom they surprised in full security and without defence. The coasts were difficult and little known, and the shoals very dangerous. Though it was only the last of July when the ships of the expedition arrived in Hudson's bay, yet the cold was already so rigorous there, and the masses of floating ice so numerous that they were very near being shut up for the winter in those bleak and dismal regions.

In the meantime, admiral Rodney had repaired to Jamaica; he had made a triumphal entry into the port of Kingston. The inhabitants of the island crowded with eagerness to behold their deliverer, and to enjoy the spectacle of the victorious and of the captured ships. But no object more excited their curiosity, than the French admiral himself, who, already become illustrious by great success in America, and ready but now to fall upon their island at the head of the most formidable armament, appeared there at present as a memorable example of the caprices of fortune. The victory of Rodney and the exultation of the colonists, did not however cause them to forget what generosity exacted of them towards an unfortunate enemy. They loaded him with all the attentions which they judged suitable to console him.

Meanwhile, before the news of the victory of the twelfth of April had reached England, admiral Pigot had been appointed to the command of the West India fleet, in the room of Rodney. The latter obeyed without delay, and departed for Europe, after having embarked the count de Grasse in the homeward bound Jamaica convoy. The odious pillage committed at St. Eustatius, had brought Rodney into great discredit with the public. His conduct had been censured with extreme asperity even in parliament. The complaints which arose on all parts against this admiral, might have contributed no less to his recall than his attachment to the party in opposition to ministers. But when arrived in England, he answered his accusers only by showing them the count de Grasse prisoner. Immediately, the infamous spoiler of St. Eustatius became the idol of the nation. Those same individuals who had inveighed against him with the most vehemence, showed themselves the most forward to load him with panegyric in the same measure.

The count de Grasse encountered in England the most honorable reception; he owed it perhaps as much to ostentation as to politeness. As soon as he was arrived at London he was presented to the king, and waited on by all the great. The people assembled in throng

before the hotel where he lodged ; forced to appear at the balcony, the multitude greeted him with loud acclamations, and applauses without end. They called him the brave, the valiant Frenchman. Such is the fascination of courage even in an enemy ! In the public places where the count made his appearance, numerous crowds gathered about him, not to insult him, but, on the contrary, to pay him homage. The enthusiasm of the people of London seemed to redouble, when it was generally agreed to find him an English physiognomy. He was obliged to consent to have his portrait painted ; copies of it were profusely distributed throughout the country ; and whoever was without it, exposed himself to be accounted a bad patriot. Admiral Rodney was created an English peer, by the title of lord Rodney. Hood was honored with an Irish peerage ; Drake and Affleck with baronetages.

The grief which the news of the disaster of the twelfth of April produced in France, was the more profound, as it immediately succeeded the most sanguine hope. But the French, constant in their gaiety, and intrepid by their nature, rapidly lose impressions of sadness ; they soon resumed courage. The king was the first to give the example of firmness ; it was imitated by all France. In order to repair the losses of his marine, the monarch ordered the immediate construction of twelve ships of the line of one hundred and ten, eighty, and seventy-four guns. The counts de Provence and d'Artois, his brothers, offered him each one of eighty ; the prince of Conde one of one hundred and ten, in the name of the states of Burgundy. The chamber of commerce, with the six corps of retailers of the city of Paris, the merchants of Marseilles, of Bordeaux, of Lyons, resolved with the same zeal to furnish to the state each a ship of one hundred and ten guns. The receivers-general of the revenue, the farmers-general, and other financial companies, offered to advance considerable sums. All these offers were accepted, but not those which patriotism had dictated to private citizens ; the king, not willing to increase the burthens that already weighed upon his people, ordered the sums which had been subscribed or advanced by particulars, to be placed again at their disposal. Thus, the ardent zeal which manifested itself in all parts towards the country and the sovereign, raised the French above the malice of adverse fortune, and cheered them with new hopes of a brilliant future.

We have seen the war brought to an end upon the American continent, by the irreparable check which the arms of England sustained at Yorktown ; and we have also seen it suspended in the West Indies, by the disasters of the French marine. We shall now return from those distant regions, to consider the issue of this long and bloody war in that part of the globe which we inhabit, and in those countries whence it drew its principal aliment. The attention of all the informed part of mankind was turned upon the siege of Gibraltar.



For many ages, Europe had not witnessed an enterprise of this sort which presented more formidable difficulties, or more important results.

Admiral Howe had sailed for the relief of that fortress. Various were the conjectures of men respecting the success of his efforts. Some, full of confidence in the dexterity and audacity of the English, inferred from the event of their preceding expeditions the most favorable issue to this; others, reflecting upon the naval superiority of the allied courts, and impressed with esteem for the talents and valor of the count de Guichen and don Lewis de Cordova, formed a contrary opinion. In one place, the extraordinary preparations that had been made and were still making, by the besiegers, appeared to answer for the approaching fall of Gibraltar. In another, on the contrary, the strength of its position, the perfection of its works, and the intrepidity of its defenders, seemed to place it beyond the reach of danger. Every where but one opinion prevailed upon this point; that the obstacles were numerous, and that blood must stream copiously before they were all surmounted. But the very hazards of this great enterprise so inflamed the valor of all warlike men, that even those who were not called to take an active part in it, wished at least to be spectators of the glorious scenes that were about to be represented at the foot of this formidable rock. Hence it was, that not only from France and Spain, but also from Germany, and the remoter regions of the north, the most distinguished personages were seen hastening to arrive at the camp of St. Roch, and in the port of Algesiras. Even those nations which are accounted barbarous, and who have communicated that appellation to so large and so fine a portion of Africa, were seized with an irresistible curiosity; they repaired to the nearest shores in order to contemplate a spectacle so new for them. All was in movement in the camp, in the arsenals, and aboard the fleets of the allies. From the summit of his rock, Elliot awaited with an heroic constancy the attack with which he was menaced. But before relating the memorable events that ensued, it appears to us necessary to enter into a description of the places, and of the works within and without the citadel; and to trace an outline of the plans and preparations of the besiegers.

The fortress of Gibraltar is seated upon a rock which projects in the form of a tongue for the space of a league, from north to south, out of the continent of Spain, and which is terminated by a promontory called the point of Europe. The top of this rock is elevated a thousand feet above the level of the sea. Its eastern flank, or that which looks towards the Mediterranean, is entirely composed of a living rock, and so perpendicularly steep as to be absolutely inaccessible. The point of Europe, which is also of solid rock, slopes and terminates in an esplanade which rises twenty feet above the sea; here the English have planted a battery of twenty pieces of heavy

artillery. Behind this point the promontory dilates, and there is formed a second esplanade which overlooks the first, and affords space enough for the troops of the garrison to parade in without difficulty. As the declivity is gentle, and of easy access, the English have made cuts in the rock in front, and surrounded the platform with a wall fifteen feet in height and as many in thickness, copiously furnished with artillery. Within this platform they have constructed besides an intrenched camp, which offers them a secure retreat in case they should be driven from their outer works. From this post they communicate with another still more elevated, and situated among steep and irregular masses; here the besieged had established their camp. Upon the western flank of the promontory, and upon the seashore, the town of Gibraltar itself occupied a long and narrow space. It had been almost totally destroyed by the artillery, in one of the preceding attacks. It is closed on the south by a wall, on the north by an ancient fortification called the castle of the Moors, and in front, next the sea, by a parapet sixteen feet thick, and furnished from distance to distance with batteries, which fire level with the water. Behind the town, the mountain rises abruptly quite to its summit. The English, for the greater security of this part, have constructed two other works, which project considerably into the sea. Both are armed with formidable batteries. The first, which looks to the north, is called the Old Mole; the second, the New Mole. Not content with these defences, they have erected in front of the castle of the Moors and of Old Mole, another work consisting in two bastions, connected by a curtain, of which the scarp and covered way, being well countermined throughout, are very difficult to mine. The object of this construction is to sweep, by a raking fire, that narrow strip of land which runs between the rock and the sea, and which forms the only communication of the Spanish continent with the fortress. In the front of this work, the water of the sea had been introduced by means of dikes and sluices, which forming a pool or fen, adds much to the strength of this part. The north side, or that which faces Spain, is by far the loftiest flank of the rock. It fronts the camp of St. Roch, and presents upon all its surface a prodigious quantity of batteries, which descend in tiers towards the Spanish camp. Thus art had combined with nature to make of this immense rock an impregnable citadel. Between the promontory of Gibraltar and the coast of Spain, lies towards the west a deep gap filled by the waters of the sea; it is the bay of Gibraltar or of Algesiras. The port and city of this name are situated upon the western shore of the bay. The garrison of Algesiras amounted to little over seven thousand men, with about two hundred and fifty officers. Such was the nature of that rock, against which the Spanish monarchy displayed the greatest part of its forces, and invoked besides the powerful assistance of France. This enterprise was the object of the most ardent



wishes of Charles III. ; he considered the honor of his crown as deeply interested in its success. The king of France likewise saw in the reduction of Gibraltar the termination of the war. In order to push the operations of the siege and secure its success, the conduct of it was committed to the duke de Crillon ; the public opinion designated the victor of Minorca as the conqueror of Gibraltar.

The preparations directed against this place exceeded every thing that had ever been heard of in like circumstances. Upwards of twelve hundred pieces of heavy cannon, eighty-three thousand barrels of powder, a proportionable quantity of bombs and balls, were destined to batter the works of the English. Forty gunboats, with as many bombketches, were to open their fire on the side of the bay, under cover of a formidable fleet of fifty sail of the line ; twelve French, the others Spanish. Frigates and light vessels hovered in front of this line, in waiting to carry succour wherever it might be wanted. Upwards of three hundred large boats had been assembled from all parts of Spain, which came to join the immense number already in the bay of Algesiras. It was intended to employ them during the attack in carrying munitions and necessaries to the ships of war, and in landing the troops as soon as the works should be ruined. Nor were the preparations by land inferior to those that were made by sea. The Spaniards had already advanced by sap ; and their lines, as soon as they were terminated, presented an astonishing number of batteries of heavy artillery. Twelve thousand French troops were brought to diffuse their peculiar vivacity and animation through the Spanish army, as well as for the benefit to be derived from the example and exertion of their superior discipline and experience. At sight of the immense warlike apparatus assembled against the place, and of the ardor manifested by the soldiers, the generals who directed the siege considered themselves as so sure of success, that they were upon the point of ordering, without further delay, a general assault. They had resolved, that while the land forces should assail the fortress on the side of the isthmus, the fleet should batter it upon all the points contiguous to the sea. They hoped that the garrison, already little numerous, experiencing besides a great diminution in dead and wounded, would be totally incapable of sufficing for the defence of so extensive works. The loss of some thousands of men, and several ships of the line, would have seemed to the besiegers but a slender price for so inestimable a conquest. Meanwhile, the project of an attack by main force was not adopted by all the members of the council. Those who blamed its temerity, observed, that until the defences of the place on the land side were entirely prostrated, to attempt the assault would be sending the troops to a certain death, without any hope of success. On the part of the sea, they showed that an attack would be attended with the inevitable destruction of the ships, without producing the smallest

effect upon the fortress. 'Nevertheless,' they added, 'as a simple attack by land must necessarily be fruitless, it is highly desirable that a kind of ships could be procured more capable of resisting artillery than those of an ordinary construction.' It could not be expected to carry Gibraltar by an attack of short duration; but was it possible to prolong it without hazarding the ruin of the fleet? This consideration occupied the thought of several men of talents. They presented plans of various inventions, all having for object to facilitate the battering of the fortress on the part of the sea. These schemes were examined with extreme attention. Several were rejected as incompetent to the purpose in view, none as too expensive. At length, after long deliberation, it was agreed to adopt the plan of the chevalier d'Arcon, a French engineer of high note; it was thought ingenious and infallible. His project went to the construction of floating batteries, or ships, upon such a principle, that they could neither be sunk, nor fired. The first of these properties was to be acquired by the extraordinary thickness of timber, with which their keels and bottoms were to be fortified; the second, by securing the sides of the ships, wherever they were exposed to shot, with a strong wall, composed of timber and cork, a long time soaked in water, and including between a large body of wet sand. But the ingenious projector not being yet satisfied with his work, and wishing to render it more proof against the redhot shot from the fortress, executed a contrivance for communicating water in every direction to restrain its effect. In imitation of the circulation of the blood in a living body, a great variety of pipes and canals perforated all the solid workmanship, in such a manner, that a continued succession of water was to be conveyed to every part of the vessels; a number of pumps being adapted to the purpose of an unlimited supply. By this means, it was expected that the redhot shot would operate to the remedy of its own mischief; as the very action of cutting through those pipes would procure its immediate extinction.

To protect his floating batteries from bombs, and the men at the batteries from grape or descending shot, the chevalier d'Arcon had contrived a hanging roof, which was to be worked up and down with ease, and at pleasure. The roof was composed of a strong ropework netting, laid over with a thick covering of wet hides; while its sloping position was calculated to prevent the shells from lodging, and to throw them off into the sea before they could take effect. All this scaffolding was constructed upon the hulks of great ships, from six hundred to fourteen hundred tons burthen, cut down to the state required by the plan. There were ten of these floating batteries; they were armed in all with an hundred and fifty-four pieces of heavy brass cannon, that were mounted; and something about half the number of spare guns were kept ready to supply the place of those which might be overheated, or otherwise disabled in action. The



Pastora alone, which was the largest, carried twenty-four in battery, and twelve in reserve. The Talla Piedra, commanded by the Prince of Nassau, and the Paula, which was also one of the stoutest, mounted a no less numerous artillery. That its fire might not be slackened by losses in dead or wounded, thirty-six men, as well Spaniards as French were allotted to the service of each piece. The command of this flotilla had been confided to admiral don Moreno, a seaman of equal valor and ability, who had served with distinction at the siege of Port Mahon. The vast bulk of the battering ships, the materials employed in their construction, and the weight of their artillery seemed likely to render them extremely heavy and unmanageable. They were however rigged with so much skill and ingenuity, that they executed their various evolutions with all the ease and dexterity of frigates.

When all these preparations were completed, there were few persons in the camp of the besiegers who did not consider the fall of a place so vigorously attacked as inevitable. It was at this epoch, towards the middle of August, that two French princes arrived at the army before Gibraltar; the count d' Artois and the duke de Bourbon. The object of their mission was to animate the troops by their presence, and that they might themselves come in for a share of the glory of so signal and illustrious an enterprise. The army were impatient to receive the signal of attack; their ardor had more need of restraint than incitement. So sanguine was the general hope, that the duke de Crillon was thought extremely cautious of hazarding an opinion, when he allowed so long a term as fourteen days to the certainty of being in possession of Gibraltar. Twenty-four hours appeared more than sufficient.

The arrival of the French princes afforded an opportunity for the display of that politeness, and the exercise of those humanised attentions and civilities, by which the refined manners of modern Europe have tended so much to divest war of many parts of its ancient savage barbarity. The Spaniards had intercepted some packets, containing a number of letters directed to the officers in Gibraltar, and had transmitted them to the court of Madrid, where they lay, at the time that the count d' Artois arrived at that capital. The French prince obtained the packets from the king, and on his arrival at the camp, had them forwarded to their address. The duke de Crillon sent with them a letter to general Elliot, in which, besides informing him of this particular mark of attention shown by the count d' Artois, he farther acquainted him that he was charged by the French princes respectively, to convey to the general the strongest expressions of their regard and esteem for his person and character. He requested in the most obliging terms, that he would accept of a present of fruit and vegetables, for his own use, which accompanied the letter, and of some ice and partridges for the gentlemen of his

household; farther entreating, that as he knew the general lived entirely upon vegetables, he would acquaint him with the particular kinds which he liked best, with a view to his regular supply. General Elliot answered with the same politeness; he returned many thanks to the princes and the duke de Crillon, for the flattering attentions they were pleased to show him. But he informed the duke that in accepting the present, he had broken through a resolution which he had invariably adhered to from the commencement of the war, which was, never to receive, or to procure by any means whatever, any provisions or other commodity for his own private use; and that he made it a point of honor, to partake of both plenty and scarcity, in common with the lowest of his brave fellow-soldiers. He therefore entreated the duke, not to heap any more favors of the same kind upon him, as he could not in future apply them to his own use. This exchange of courtesies was deemed worthy of their authors, and of the sovereigns they represented.

But while these civilities were passing, as in the midst of profound peace, the dispositions were in process for redoubling the horrors of war. Elliot had hitherto observed in a sort of inaction the preparations of the besiegers, when all of a sudden he saw issuing from the port of Algeiras the enormous masses of the floating batteries. If his courage was not shaken, he could not however but feel at least a strong emotion of surprise. In this uncertainty as to what might be the effect of those new invented machines, prudence urged him to make every defensive preparation that was calculated to elude and defeat it. Confiding, moreover, in the strength of the place, and the valor of his garrison, he was under no apprehension for the issue of the approaching attack. He did more; he resolved to anticipate it, by attacking himself. The besiegers had pushed their works with so much diligence that some of them were already far advanced towards the fortress. The governor determined to try how far a vigorous cannonade and bombardment with redhot balls, carcasses and shells, might operate to their destruction. A powerful and admirably directed firing accordingly commenced from the garrison, at seven o'clock in the morning of the eighth of September. By ten o'clock, the Mahon battery, with another adjoining to it, were in flames; and by five in the evening were entirely consumed, together with their gun-carriages, platforms and magazines, although the latter were bomb proof. A great part of the communications to the eastern parallel, and of the trenches and parapet for musketry, were likewise destroyed; and a large battery near the bay suffered excessively; the works were on fire in fifty places at the same instant. It was not without extreme exertions and considerable loss that the besiegers at length succeeded in extinguishing the flames, and preserving their works from total destruction.



This affront was so much resented by the duke de Crillon, that having pressed the reparation of his works during the night, he unmasked all his batteries by break of day on the following morning; they mounted one hundred and ninety-three pieces of cannon and mortars, and continued to pour their fire of shot and shells, without intermission, upon the garrison, through the whole course of the day. At the same time, a part of the fleet taking the advantage of a favorable wind, dropped down from the Orange Grove at the head of the bay, and passing slowly along the works, discharged their shot at the Old Mole and the adjoining bastions, continuing their cannonade until they had passed Europa Point and got into the Mediterranean. They then formed a line to the eastward of the rock, and the admiral leading, came to the attack of the batteries on the point, and under a very slow sail, commenced a heavy fire with all their guns. But these combined efforts did very little harm to the besieged. There prevailed for some days a calm, which was soon to be interrupted by a most sanguinary combat.

The thirteenth of September was destined to witness an ever memorable conflict. History, in effect, presents nothing more terrible for the desperate fierceness and resolution of the two parties, nor more singular for the species of arms, nor more glorious for the humanity manifested by the conquerors. The season beginning to be late, and admiral Howe approaching with intent to revictual Gibraltar, the allied commanders felt the necessity of precipitating the attack they meditated. According to the plan agreed upon, the artillery of the lines, the floating batteries, the ships of war and gun-boats were to attack the place upon all points at once. While the cannon, mortars and howitzers of the isthmus kept up a heavy fire on the land side, it was intended that the floating batteries should direct their fire against the works which commanded the bay, taking their station in front of the Old Mole. At the same time, the gun and mortar boats, with the bombketches, taking post on the two flanks of the line of battering ships, were to enfilade the British artillery which defended the fortifications constructed upon the margin of the sea. As to the fleet, it was destined to concur no less effectually to the attack, according to the wind or the necessity of the service. In this manner, the fortress would be battered simultaneously by four hundred pieces of ordnance, without including the artillery afloat.

General Elliot, on his part, had neglected nothing that could enable him to make a vigorous defence. The soldiers were at their posts, the artillerists at their places with lighted matches; numerous furnaces were prepared for heating the shot. At seven in the morning, the ten battering ships, under the conduct of admiral don Moreno, put themselves in motion. Between nine and ten they came to an anchor, being moored in a line, at moderate distances, from

the Old to the New Mole, lying parallel to the rock, and at about nine hundred yards distance. The admiral's ship was stationed opposite the king's bastion; and the others took their appointed places successively, and with great regularity, on his right and left. The cannonade and bombardment, on all sides, and in all directions, from the isthmus, the sea, and the various works of the fortress, was not only tremendous, but beyond example. The prodigious showers of redhot balls, of bombs, and of carcasses, which filled the air, and were without intermission thrown to every point of the various attacks, both by sea and by land, from the garrison, astonished even the commanders of the allied forces. The battering ships, however, appeared to be the principal objects of vengeance, as they were of apprehension, to the garrison; but such was the excellence of their construction, that they not only resisted this terrible fire, but answered it with equal fury; and already they had operated a breach in the works of the Old Mole. The result of so many mutual efforts seemed for a long time uncertain. At length, however, some smoke began to issue from the upper part of the battering ships *Pastora* and *Talla Piedra*. It was caused by some redhot balls, which had penetrated so far into their sides, that they could not be extinguished by the water of the internal canals. They had set fire to the contiguous parts, which, after smouldering for some time, suddenly broke out in flames. The men were seen, at the hazard of life, using fire engines, and pouring water into the shotholes. This fire, though kept under during the continuance of daylight, could never be thoroughly subdued. The disorder in these two commanding ships in the centre, affected the whole line of attack; and by the evening the fire from the fortress had gained a decided superiority. The fire was continued from the batteries in the fortress with equal vigor through the night, and by one o'clock in the morning the two first batteries were in flames, and the others visibly on fire, whether by the effect of the redhot shot, or, as the Spaniards pretended, that they were purposely set on fire, when it appeared no longer possible to save them. The confusion was now extreme. Rockets were continually thrown up by each of the ships, as signals to the fleet of their distress and danger. These signals were immediately answered, and all means used by the fleet to afford the assistance they required; but as it was deemed impossible to remove the battering ships, their endeavors were only directed to bringing off the men. A great number of boats were accordingly employed, and great intrepidity displayed, in the attempts for this purpose; the danger from the burning vessels, filled as they were with instruments of destruction, appearing no less dreadful than the fire from the garrison, terrible as that was, since the light thrown out on all sides by the flames afforded the utmost precision in its direction. Never, perhaps, has a more deplorable spectacle passed before the eyes of



men. The thick darkness which covered the land and waters in the distance contrasted with the frightful glare of the flames which devoured so many victims; in the midst of the roar of artillery, their dolorous cries were audible. A new incident occurred to interrupt the attempts that were made for their rescue, and to complete the general confusion and destruction. Captain Curtis, a seaman as able as he was adventurous, advanced at this moment with twelve gunboats, each carrying one eighteen or twenty-four pounder. They had been constructed to oppose those of the Spaniards, and their low fire and fixed aim rendered them extremely formidable. Captain Curtis drew them up in such a manner as to flank the line of battering ships. The scene was wrought up by this fierce and unexpected attack to the highest point of calamity. The Spanish boats dared no longer to approach, and were compelled to the hard necessity of abandoning their ships and friends to the flames, or to the mercy of a heated and irritated enemy. Several of their boats and launches had been sunk before they submitted to this necessity; and one in particular, with fourscore men on board, who were all drowned, excepting an officer and twelve men, who having the fortune to float on the wreck under the walls, were taken up by the garrison. Some feluccas had taken shelter upon the coast during the night, but as soon as the day appeared, the English soon compelled them to surrender. It seemed that nothing could have exceeded the horrors of the night; but the opening of daylight disclosed a spectacle still more dreadful. Numbers of men were seen in the midst of the flames, crying out for pity and help; others floating upon pieces of timber, exposed to an equal though less dreadful danger from the opposite element. Even those in the ships, where the fire had yet made a less progress, expressed in their looks, gestures, and words, the deepest distress and despair, and were no less urgent in imploring assistance. Moved with compassion at this dismal scene, the English discontinued their fire, and thought only of saving the enemy they had vanquished; a conduct the more generous, as it was attended with manifest peril. Captain Curtis in particular acquired an imperishable glory, by showing himself regardless of his own existence in his endeavors to preserve that of his enemies. He advanced intrepidly with his boats towards the burning ships, in order to rescue those who were about to become the prey of the one or other element. He was himself the first to rush on board the blazing batteries, and to set the example of dragging with his own hands the terrified victims from the jaws of destruction. Meanwhile, death hovered incessantly round him. He was equally exposed to the peril arising from the blowing up of the ships as the fire reached their magazines, and to the continual discharge, on all sides, of the artillery, as the guns became to a certain degree heated. Several of his people were killed or severely wounded in this honor-

able enterprise. He was near sharing the fate of one of the largest ships, which blew up only a few moments after he left her. Near four hundred men were thus saved, by the noble exertions of Curtis from inevitable death. The French and Spaniards, however, lost no less than fifteen hundred men, including the prisoners and wounded, in the attack by sea. The wounded that fell into the power of the conqueror were carried to the hospitals of the fortress, and treated with the greatest humanity. Nine floating batteries were burnt by the redhot shot, or by the Spaniards themselves. The tenth was burnt by the English, when they found she could not be brought off. Their loss was inconsiderable; it amounted, according to their account, since the ninth of August, to no more than sixty-five killed, and three hundred and eighty-eight wounded. The fortifications received but slight damage; or at least not so considerable as to afford any room for future apprehension.

In this manner was victory obtained with lasting glory to general Elliot, and the whole garrison of Gibraltar. The treasures which the king of Spain had expended for the construction of these enormous machines, the bravery and perseverance of his troops, the valor and spirit of the French, were all in vain.

It cannot indeed be positively affirmed, that if such formidable means of attack had even been employed in all their efficacy, and according to the intention of the generals, they would have sufficed to carry the place; but neither can it be denied that the allies committed several faults of no little importance. The first was undoubtedly that of having hurried on the attack before M. d'Arcon had been able to bring his floating batteries to that degree of perfection which he could have wished. By working the pumps, he had perceived that the water of the pipes leaked upon the inward parts, and that the powder was exposed to be wet by it, and rendered unfit for use. He would have found a remedy for this inconvenience; but he was not allowed time to seek it. The inner pipes were therefore stopped up, and only the outer ones filled with water, which were found an insufficient defence against the effect of the redhot shot. It is, besides, to be considered that don Moreno was ordered so abruptly to repair to the attack from the point of Majorca, that he found it impossible to form the line of his floating batteries in front of the Old Mole, as contemplated in the plan of attack. From that point his fire would assuredly have been more efficacious, and he might also have retired thence without difficulty if he had thought it necessary; but he was constrained to take post between the Old and the New Mole. Nor did the Spanish gunboats answer the general expectation, whether they were in effect opposed by the wind, as was pretended, or that their spirit of adventure sunk under the dreadful fire from the garrison. Only two of them took any considerable share in the attack. The great fleet itself remained in a state of almost



total inaction. It is uncertain whether this failure should be attributed to an unfavorable wind, or to secret jealousies between the land and sea commanders. The batteries on shore, whatever was the cause of it, were equally far from performing the services which were expected from them. Their fire was neither so well supported, nor so well directed, as it should have been. It resulted from these several causes, that the garrison, instead of being disquieted upon all points at the same instant, found themselves at liberty to direct the whole weight and force of their fire against the floating batteries. In this manner was disconcerted the most ingenious design which for a long time had been framed by the wisdom of man. The most sanguine hopes suddenly gave place to the opinion, that Gibraltar was not only the strongest place known, but that it was absolutely inexpugnable.

Convinced, by this attack, that a regular siege could not have the desired issue, the allied commanders resolved to convert it into a blockade, and to await from famine what they despaired of obtaining by dint of arms. It was therefore of the highest importance to prevent admiral Howe from throwing into the place the intended relief.

The combined fleet had accordingly taken its anchorage in the bay of Algesiras, to the number of about fifty sail of the line; among which were five of one hundred and ten guns, and the Trinidad, of one hundred and twelve. The design of don Lewis de Cordova, the commander of these forces, was to engage the British fleet as soon as it should appear, while his light squadron should give chase to the transports and capture them, one after another. It is not easy to explain why this admiral, instead of advancing to meet the enemy off Cape St. Mary, where he would have been able to display his whole line, took the determination to await him in a narrow bay, where the number of his ships, so far from being an advantage, could only tend to embarrass him. It appears that this disposition emanated immediately from the king of Spain, whose thoughts were all absorbed in the conquest of Gibraltar.

In the meantime, admiral Howe met with much delay through contrary winds and unfavorable weather, on his way to Gibraltar. His anxiety was therefore extreme, lest the place should find itself necessitated to surrender before the arrival of succours. It was not till the fleet had arrived near the scene of action that his apprehensions were removed, by intelligence received from the coast of Portugal, of the total discomfiture of the combined forces. This news increased his hope of succeeding in his enterprise; he calculated that the enemy, discouraged by so severe a check, would show himself less eager to encounter him. Near the mouth of the straits he met with a furious gale of wind, which damaged several of his ships. The combined fleet suffered much more in the bay of Algesiras. One ship of the line was driven ashore near the city of that name;

another fine Spanish ship, of seventy-two guns, was driven across the bay, under the works of Gibraltar, and was taken by the boats of the garrison. Two more were driven to the eastward into the Mediterranean; others lost masts or bowsprits; and many suffered more or less damage.

On the morning that succeeded the storm, the British fleet entered the straits' mouth, in a close line of battle ahead, and in the evening of the same day it was opposite the port of Gibraltar; but the wind failing, only four victualling ships could enter the harbor. The rest of the transports with the squadron were drifted by the currents into the Mediterranean. The combined fleet took the same direction. A general action seemed inevitable; a calm and fog which came up, prevented it; or perhaps the admirals themselves were not disposed to engage, without all probabilities of success. However it was, admiral Howe profiting dexterously of an east wind which sprung up in the strait, passed his whole convoy to Gibraltar harbor. To cover this operation, the British fleet had formed in order of battle at the mouth of the straits, fronting the Mediterranean, between the opposite points of Europa and Ceuta.

The combined fleets then made their appearance, bearing directly down upon the enemy; but the British admiral considering that the revictualling of Gibraltar, the principal object of his mission, was accomplished, he saw that it would be the highest imprudence and rashness to hazard an action in the strait. He knew the superiority of force that he would have to encounter; and he could not but perceive that the vicinity of the enemy's coasts would exceedingly aggravate, for him, the consequences of a defeat. He chose, if he was obliged to come to action, to have searoom enough, in order, by his evolutions, to prevent its being decisive, as it must necessarily be in a confined space. Under these considerations, he took the advantage of a favorable wind, and repassed the straits into the Atlantic.

The allies followed him with only a part of their fleet. Twelve of their largest ships of the line, being heavy sailers, were left behind. Meanwhile, their van came within reach of the British rear, and there immediately ensued between them a brisk, though distant cannonade, the only effect of which was to damage some vessels on both sides. Profiting of their superiority of sailing, the English drew off to such a distance, that the allies lost all hope of coming up with them. They then took the resolution of repairing to Cadiz. Admiral Howe detached eight of his ships for the West Indies, six others to the coasts of Ireland, and returned with the rest to Portsmouth. The destruction of the floating batteries, and the revictualling of Gibraltar, relieved England from all disquietude respecting the fate of that place. This double success was no less glorious for her arms, than afflicting for the enemies she combated. The allies are reproached with having shown upon land too much precipitancy and too little



concord; upon sea, too much indecision and too little spirit. In this occurrence, as in those which had preceded it, the display of their great naval forces had resulted in little more than a vain parade. It is, however, to be considered, that if during the course of all this war, the fleets of the allied courts gained no brilliant advantages, or rather sustained reverses, in general actions, their seamen more often than once acquired signal renown in particular engagements of ship with ship. The French, especially, manifested in these rencounters a valor and ability alike worthy of admiration, and often crowned with victory. We leave those to account for this difference who are more versed than ourselves in naval tactics.

The events which we have related, as well in this as in the foregoing book, had occasioned among the belligerent powers an ardent desire, or rather an avowed will to put an end to the war. On all sides, a hope was cherished that an honorable adjustment would soon be brought about. Several successive campaigns, without any important advantage, and the loss of the army taken at Yorktown, with lord Cornwallis, had at length convinced the British ministry of the impossibility of subjugating the Americans by force of arms. The manœuvres employed to divide them among themselves, or to detach them from their allies, had not been attended with any better success than military operations. On the other hand, the victories of Rodney and Elliot had not only dissipated all fears for the West Indies and Gibraltar, but also put in safety the honor of Great Britain. With the exception of the independence of the United States, which she could no longer refuse to acknowledge, she found herself in a situation to treat upon a footing of equality with her enemies relative to all other articles. Victorious at Gibraltar, holding the scale of fortune even in the seas of Europe, she had caused it to incline in her favor in the West Indies. If she had sustained sensible losses in that quarter, she had, however, acquired the island of St. Lucia, so important from its strength, the excellence of its ports, and the advantages of its position. Although it could not be considered as a sufficient indemnification on the part of Great Britain for the loss of Dominica, Grenada, Tobago and St. Christophers, yet England had made so considerable conquests in the East Indies that she brought into a negotiation more objects of exchange than France could offer. But all these considerations yielded to another of far greater moment; the public debt of Great Britain, already enormous, experienced every day an alarming augmentation. The people did not conceal their desire for the return of peace, and the protraction of the war excited public murmurs. The ministers themselves, who had so severely censured the obstinacy of their predecessors in continuing the war, openly inclined for peace; whether because they thought it really necessary, or that they were afraid of incurring similar reproaches. An untimely death had carried off the marquis

of Rockingham, who, in the general direction of affairs, had conciliated universal esteem, and Fox had resigned. The first had been replaced by the earl of Shelburne, and the second by William Pitt, son of the earl of Chatham; both known for consenting rather from necessity than choice to the independence of America. The majority of the ministry, however, was composed of those who had obtained the repeal of the rigorous laws against the Americans, and who had afterwards distinguished themselves in parliament by advocating with singular warmth and eloquence an early acknowledgment of their independence. It was therefore determined to send Thomas Grenville to Paris, in order to sound the intentions of the French government, and to prepare the ways for the plenipotentiaries that were to follow him. A short time after, in effect, M. Fitz Herbert and M. Oswald repaired to the French capital in that character; they had little difficulty in penetrating the dispositions of the court of Versailles. The United States had taken care that their plenipotentiaries should assemble at Paris in this conjuncture; they were John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, who had recently been released from his detention in the tower of London.

If great was the desire of peace in England, it was not less ardently wished for in France, as well by the government as by the people. The court of Versailles had attained the object it had most at heart, that is the separation of the British colonies from the mother country. The first of the proposals of the court of London was, in effect, to acknowledge the independence of the United States; and this was the principal, and indeed the only avowed motive of France for taking up arms. As to the situation of affairs in the West Indies, the operations that were in contemplation against those islands, interested Spain much more than France. And, besides, the discomfiture of the twelfth of April had deranged all plans, and extinguished all hopes. Nor was there any room to expect better fortune in the seas of Europe, since their empire had already been disputed for several years, without the occurrence of any decisive event.

The losses which France had sustained in the East Indies, might counterbalance the conquests she had made in the West. Upon the whole, therefore, she found herself in a condition to treat for herself on equal terms with respect to the chances of war, and upon a footing of decided superiority in regard to its principal cause; the independence of the United States. Independent of the foregoing considerations, there existed others which powerfully urged a speedy reestablishment of peace. The finances were exhausted; and notwithstanding the judicious regulations and economy which the government had endeavored to introduce into all the departments, the resources were no longer in proportion to the exorbitant charges of the war. The expenditure exceeded the receipt, and every day



beheld the increase of the public debt. The reestablishment of the marine, expeditions in distant countries, the capture of several convoys which it had been necessary to replace, such were at first the charges which consumed the royal treasure. The Americans, afterwards, deprived in a great measure of all revenue by the slowness with which taxes were paid in their country, authorised themselves from the insufficiency of their means to present incessantly new demands to the court of Versailles. After having permitted the farmers-general to lend them a million of livres, after having guaranteed the loans which they had negotiated in Holland, Lewis XVI. had advanced them himself eighteen millions, and they still solicited six others. The French, at this epoch, had applied themselves with singular ardor to the extension of their commerce. The war had proved extremely prejudicial to it, and the merchants who had been the greatest sufferers could no longer hope to retrieve their losses, but by the cessation of hostilities. All these considerations led to a general opinion, that to the possibility of concluding an honorable peace, was added the expediency and even the necessity of so doing.

As to Spain, the hope of conquering Gibraltar and Jamaica had been annihilated by the fatal days of the twelfth of April and the thirteenth of September. The continuation of the war with a view to these two objects, would therefore have been rather the effect of obstinacy than of constancy. On the other hand, the court of Madrid had acquired by its arms the province of West Florida and the island of Minorea. As England had no compensation to offer it for these two acquisitions, it was natural to think that a treaty of peace would confirm the possession of them to Spain. Though her views had been aimed much higher, these advantages were at least sufficient to prevent the Spaniards from complaining that they had taken part in the war without any personal interest, and through mere complaisance. It had never ceased to excite general surprise that the court of Madrid should have furnished fuel to a conflagration which might become so fatal to itself, in taking part in a war whose professed object was that of establishing an independent republic in the immediate vicinity of her Mexican possessions. The contagion of example, the seduction of novelty, the natural proclivity of men to shake off the yoke, afforded without doubt reasonable grounds of apprehension and alarm. But if Spain had interfered in this great quarrel against her particular interests, she would have been doubly blameable in lavishing so much blood and treasure to prolong it, especially since the possession of Minorea and West Florida secured her honorable conditions. This power therefore inclined also towards the general pacification.

It remains for us to cast a glance upon the Dutch. Following their allies at a distance, rather than marching at their side, they were constrained by their position to will whatever France willed. It was

only from that power, and not from their own forces, that they could expect the termination of their inquietudes. If they had recovered St. Eustatius and Demerary, were they not indebted for it entirely to the arms of the king of France? They wished therefore for peace, since experience had taught them that war could yield them no advantage, and that it is never more detrimental than to a people whose existence is founded upon commerce.

To this inclination for peace, manifested at the same time by all the belligerent powers, was added the mediation of the two most powerful princes of Europe; the empress of Russia and the emperor of Germany. Their intervention was accepted with unanimous consent; every thing verged towards a general peace.

Thus, towards the close of the present year, the negotiations at Paris were pushed with mutual ardor. The English and Americans were the first to come to an accommodation. They signed, the thirtieth of November, a provisional treaty, which was to be definitive and made public, as soon as France and Great Britain should have adjusted their differences. The most important conditions of this treaty were, that the king of England acknowledged the liberty, sovereignty and independence of the thirteen United States of America, which were all named successively; that his Britannic majesty renounced, as well for himself, as for his heirs and successors, all rights whatever over the government, property or territory, of the said states. In order to prevent any occasion for complaints on either side upon the subject of limits, imaginary lines of boundary were agreed upon, which brought within the territory of the United States immense countries, lakes and rivers, to which, up to that time, they had never pretended any sort of claim. For, besides the vast and fertile countries situated upon the banks of the Ohio and Mississippi, the limits of the United States embraced a part of Canada and Nova Scotia; an acquisition which admitted the Americans to participate in the fur trade. Some Indian nations, which had hitherto existed under the domination of the English, and especially the Six Tribes, who had always adhered to their party and alliance, were now included in the new territory of the United States. The English were to evacuate and restore all the parts which they still occupied, such as New York, Long Island, Staten Island, Charleston, Penobscot and all their dependencies. There was no mention made of Savannah, as the evacuation of that place and of all Georgia by the English, had already left it entirely in the power of Congress.

The Americans were also secured by the treaty of peace in the right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and all other places where the two nations had been accustomed to carry on fishery before the rupture. It was expressly stipulated, that the Congress should recommend to the different states that they should decree the restitution of all confiscated effects,



estates and property whatsoever, as well to British subjects as to those among the Americans who had adhered to the party of England. It was agreed, besides, that such individuals could not be questioned or prosecuted for any thing which they had said or done in favor of Great Britain. These last articles displeased certain zealous republicans, and became the object of vehement declamations on their part. They little reflected how vengeance, at first so sweet, may prove bitter in the result. The loyalists were not any more satisfied; galled at seeing their fate depend on a mere recommendation, which might have effect or not, according to the good pleasure of the several states, they complained of the ingratitude of England, who unworthily abandoned them to chance. Animated discussions also arose in parliament relative to this point. The party in opposition represented in glowing colors the infamy with which the ministers were about to cover the name of England, in suffering those who had served her to become the prey of their persecutors. It seemed to have been forgotten that in these political convulsions it is necessary to have regard rather to what is possible or advantageous, than to that which is merely just and honorable. Every man who takes part in a civil conflict, must expect, sooner or later, to submit to this common law. Exclusively occupied with its great interests, the State deigns not even to perceive those of individuals. Its own preservation is the sole object of its cares; for it the public good is every thing, private utility nothing. Upon the adoption of these bases, it was agreed that hostilities, whether by land or sea, should cease immediately between Great Britain and America.

1783. The preliminaries of peace between France and England were signed at Versailles on the twentieth of January 1783, by the count de Vergennes, minister of foreign affairs, and M. Fitz Herbert, minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic majesty. England acquired thereby an extension of her right of fishery upon the banks of Newfoundland. But she restored to France in full property the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. She likewise restored her the island of St. Lucia, and ceded her that of Tobago. On the other hand, France restored to England the island of Grenada, with the Grenadines, Dominica, St. Vincent, St. Christopher, Nevis and Montserrat. In the East Indies, France recovered possession of Pondicherry, and Karical, and all her other establishments in Bengal and upon the coast of Orissa. Still other concessions of no little importance were made her, relating to trade and the right of fortifying different places. But an article singularly honorable for France, was that by which England consented to consider as entirely annulled all stipulations which had been made in regard to the port of Dunkirk, since the peace of Utrecht, in 1713.

The court of London ceded to that of Madrid the island of Minorca and the two Floridas. It obtained, at the same time, the restitution

of the Bahama islands; a restitution which was afterwards found superfluous, since colonel Deveaux had just reconquered those islands with a handful of men, equipped at his own expense. These preliminaries were converted into a definitive treaty of peace the third of September, 1783. It was signed on the part of France by the count de Vergennes, and on that of Spain, by the count d' Aranda, and in behalf of England, by the duke of Manchester. The definitive treaty between Great Britain and the United States was signed the same day at Paris, by David Hartley on one part, and by John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay, on the other. On the preceding day had likewise been concluded, at Paris, the separate treaty between Great Britain and the States-General of Holland; the duke of Manchester stipulating in the name of his Britannic majesty, and M. Van Berkenroode and M. Bransten, in behalf of their high mightinesses. The court of London restored to the Dutch their establishment of Trincomale; but they ceded to the English the city of Negapatam with its dependencies.

Notwithstanding all the pomp with which the allied courts had affected to assert the maritime rights of neutrals, no mention whatever was made in these different treaties of so important a point of public law.

Such was the issue of the long struggle undertaken for the cause of America. If may it be supposed, that the colonists had for a long time sought an opportunity to throw off the yoke, it must be admitted also, that the English were themselves the first to excite them to it. Their rigorous laws irritated, instead of restraining; the insufficiency of their military force, and the versatility of their measures, did but the more imbolden the resistance of the Americans. The war which ensued, was carried on, as civil wars have usually been, often with valor, always with desperation, and sometimes with barbarity. Between the English, on the contrary, and the other European nations which they had to combat, the reciprocal demonstrations of prowess received new lustre from that humanity and courtesy which eminently characterise the age in which we live. The Congress and the Americans in general, displayed the most extraordinary constancy; the British ministers perhaps merited the reproach of obstinacy, and the cabinet of France distinguished itself by the singular sagacity of its policy.

From these different causes resulted the foundation in the New World of a Republic, happy within by its constitution, pacific by its character, respected and courted abroad for the abundance of its resources. So far as it is possible to judge of sublunary things, from the extent and fertility of its territory, and the rapid increase of its population, it is destined, at no distant day, to become a vast, and exceedingly powerful state. To consolidate their work, and render its duration eternal, the Americans have only two things to avoid.



The one is, that moral depravation which too commonly results from an excessive love of gain; the other is, the losing sight of those principles upon which the edifice is founded. May they at least return to them promptly, if the ordinary course of human events should introduce disorder and decay into that admirable system of government which they have established!

With the exception of an affair of little importance in which colonel Laurens was slain, and the evacuation of Charleston, nothing had passed upon the American continent, deserving of particular attention. As soon as the preliminaries of peace were known there, the public joy manifested itself, but with much less enthusiasm however than might naturally be supposed. Peace had for a long time been looked upon as certain; and man enjoys more calmly the possession of happiness itself, than the hopes which precede it. New apprehensions, besides, soon arose to cloud the horizon; a secret fire menaced a conflagration, and at the very moment in which peace disarmed external enemies, an intestine war appeared ready to rend the republic. The pay of the army was excessively in arrear; the greater part of the officers had spent in the service of the state, not only all they were possessed of, but also the fortunes of their friends. They were very apprehensive that the resolutions of October, 1780, by which Congress had granted them half pay for a certain term of years, would not be carried into effect. They had therefore deputed a committee of officers, to solicit the attention of Congress to this subject. Their instructions were, to press the immediate payment of the money actually due, the commutation of the half pay above mentioned for a sum in gross, and the indemnification of the officers for the sums which they had been compelled to advance in consequence of the failure of their rations. Some security that the engagements of the government would be complied with, was also to be requested. But whether because a part of the members of Congress were little disposed to favor the army, or that others were desirous that the particular states, and not the federal treasury, should support the burthen of these gratifications, nothing was decided. Discouraged at this slowness, the deputies wrote to the army. The other public creditors manifested no less disquietude than the officers. They foresaw plainly that the ordinary revenue would be altogether inadequate to the payment of the sums that were due to them; and they were equally convinced of the repugnance which the states would have to impose new taxes for the purpose of raising the means to satisfy their demands. The discontent of the first and of the second was extreme, they already anticipated their total ruin.

The American government at this epoch, was divided in two parties; one was sincerely disposed to do ample justice to the public creditors generally, and to this end they desired the establishment of a general tax; they labored to fund the public debts on solid con-

tinental securities; they wished also to create a revenue to answer the necessities of the republic, and to be subject to the disposal of Congress. The opposite party considered this revenue as dangerous to liberty. They contended that the particular states alone, not the Congress, should have authority to impose taxes or duties. Already, at the recommendation of Congress, twelve states had subjected to a duty of five per cent. all foreign produce or manufactures that should be imported into the United States. One state, however, out of the thirteen, had refused to comply with the wishes of Congress, and this refusal paralysed the action of the twelve others.

It was at this epoch that intelligence was received of the signature of the preliminary and eventual articles of peace; the disbanding of the army must be its necessary consequence. The partisans of the tax then became apprehensive that their adversaries, when relieved from the maintenance of the troops, and from the fear which they inspired, would show themselves still more adverse to the creation of a national revenue. They saw not only that the creditors of the state would thus be cut off from all hope, but that the republic itself would be exposed for the future to incessant and inextricable embarrassments, for want of a general authority invested with the power of imposing taxes. They resolved, therefore, to profit of an occasion which would never again present itself, to procure the adoption of a plan whose utility appeared to them incontestable. They were undecided, however, as to the means to be employed in this conjuncture; several contradictory opinions were advanced. The more resolute, not reflecting upon the danger of an irregular appeal to the multitude in affairs of state, were inclined to resort to force, and to make of the army itself the instrument of their designs. At the head of these were Alexander Hamilton, then member of Congress, the treasurer, Robert Morris, with another Morris, his assistant in office. But the more circumspect thought it advisable to pursue a middle course, and to permit the army to threaten but not to act; as if the hand which has excited a popular movement could also appease it at pleasure! In the secret councils that were held upon this affair, the latter opinion prevailed. Colonel Stewart, of the regular troops of Pennsylvania, was sent to camp under pretext of entering upon the exercise of his office of inspector-general. He had instructions to sound the dispositions of Washington, and to endeavor to ascertain how far he would consent to give into the plan agreed upon. It was especially recommended to him to foment the agitation which prevailed in the army, and to persuade it not to disband until it had obtained full assurance that the arrears of pay should be liquidated, together with an indemnification for the supplies which it ought to have had, but which had been withheld up to that time. Whether the commander-in-chief was not disinclined towards this scheme, or that he thought it prudent not to declare himself too ostensibly, colo-



nel Stewart believed, or at least made others believe, that Washington approved it entirely. Meanwhile, the members of the opposite party were soon apprised of what was passing, and set themselves to counteract it. Convinced of the importance of obtaining the countenance of Washington, they put forward a certain Harvey, who had manifested an extreme ardor in these discussions. This man wrote to the commander-in-chief, that, under the pretence of wishing to satisfy the public creditors, the most pernicious designs were meditated against the republic; that nothing less was in agitation than a plot to demolish the fabric of freedom, and to introduce tyranny. To these insinuations he joined others relating to Washington personally; he intimated to him that it was wished to deprive him of his rank, to put down his friends, and, in a word, to destroy the work which they had accomplished with so much glory, and at the expense of so much toil and blood. Washington could not but entertain certain apprehensions. He doubted there were machinations in agitation which portended no good to the state. He circulated the letter of Harvey, that its contents might be known even to the soldiers. He exerted all his authority to prevent an insurrection. The commander-in-chief thus declared himself publicly against a design, which perhaps within his own breast he did not altogether disapprove, though he blamed, and not without reason, the means by which it was to have been carried into execution. The most alarming rumors were propagated on all parts. It was loudly exclaimed that the troops, before they disbanded, ought to obtain justice; that they had a right to claim the fruit of victories which their valor had won; that the other creditors of the state, and many members of the Congress itself, invoked the interference of the army, prepared to follow the example which they expected from it. Minds became highly inflamed; assemblages were formed in the camp, and it was openly proposed in them to make law for the Congress. In the midst of this effervescence, circulated anonymous invitations to the officers to convene in general assembly. On the eleventh of March, was passed from hand to hand an address, the author of which did not name himself, but who was known afterwards to be major John Armstrong. This writing, composed with great ingenuity, and with greater passion, was singularly calculated to aggravate the exasperation of the soldiers, and to conduct them to the most desperate resolutions. Blameable in a time of calm, it became really criminal at a moment when all heads were in a state of the most vehement irritation. Among other incendiary passages, it contained the following; 'After a pursuit of seven years, the object for which we set out is at length brought within our reach; yes, my friends, that suffering courage of yours was active once; it has conducted the United States of America through a doubtful and a bloody war. It has placed her in the chair of independency, and peace returns again to bless—Whom? A country willing to redress your wrongs, cherish

your worth, and reward your services? a country courting your return to private life, with tears of gratitude, and smiles of admiration, longing to divide with you that independence which your gallantry has given, and those riches which your wounds have preserved? Is this the case? or is it rather a country that tramples upon your rights, disdains your cries, and insults your distresses? Have you not more than once suggested your wishes, and made known your wants to Congress? Wants and wishes which gratitude and policy should have anticipated rather than evaded; and have you not lately, in the meek language of entreating memorials, begged from their justice what you could no longer expect from their favor? How have you been answered? Let the letter of your delegates to Philadelphia reply.

‘If this, then, be your treatment while the swords you wear are necessary for the defence of America, what have you to expect when your voice shall sink, and your strength dissipate by division? When those very swords, the instruments and companions of your glory, shall be taken from your sides, and no remaining mark of military distinction left but your wants, infirmities and scars? Can you then consent to be the only sufferers by this revolution, and retiring from the field, grow old in poverty, wretchedness and contempt? Can you consent to wade through the vile mire of dependency, and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity, which has hitherto been spent in honor? If you can, go—and carry with you the jest of Tories and the scorn of Whigs—the ridicule, and what is worse, the pity of the world. Go, starve, and be forgotten! But if your spirit should revolt at this; if you have sense enough to discover, and spirit enough to oppose tyranny, under whatever garb it may assume; whether it be the plain coat of republicanism, or the splendid robe of royalty; if you have yet learned to discriminate between a people and a cause, between men and principles, awake; attend to your situation, and redress yourselves. If the present moment be lost, every future effort is in vain; and your threats then will be as empty as your entreaties now.’

These words, more worthy of a raving tribune of the people, than of a discreet American, chafed minds already exasperated into a delirium of fury. The general fermentation announced the most sinister events; and war between the civil and military powers appeared inevitable. But Washington, whose constancy no crisis could shake, strong in the love and veneration of the people, contemplated the danger of his country, and instantly formed the generous design of extinguishing the kindling conflagration. He was not ignorant how much better it is, in such circumstances, to lead misguided minds than to resist them; how much easier it is to obviate intemperate measures than to correct them. He resolved, therefore, to prevent the meeting of the officers. With this view, in his orders



addressed to the officers, he expressed the conviction he felt that their own good sense would secure them from paying any attention to an anonymous invitation; but his own duty, he added, as well as the reputation and true interest of the army, required his disapprobation of such disorderly proceedings. At the same time, he requested the general and field officers, with one officer from each company, and a proper representation from the staff of the army, to assemble in order to deliberate upon the measures to be adopted for obtaining the redress of their grievances.

By this conduct, the prudence of which is undeniable, Washington succeeded in impressing the army with a belief that he did not disapprove their remonstrances, and the leaders of the insurrection, in particular, that he secretly favored their designs. By this means he gained time for disposing minds and things in such a manner, that the military committee should take only those resolutions which entered into his plan. The following day, Armstrong circulated a second anonymous paper, in which he congratulated the officers upon the prospect that their measures were about to receive the sanction of public authority; he exhorted them to act with energy in the assembly convoked for the fifteenth of March.

In the meantime, Washington exerted the whole weight of his influence to bring the agitations of the moment to a happy termination; he endeavored to impress on those officers individually who possessed the greatest share of the general confidence, a just sense of what the exigency required; to some he represented the dangers of the country; to others, the constancy they had hitherto manifested; to all, the glory they had acquired, and the interest they had in transmitting it entire and unsullied to their posterity. He reminded them also of the exhausture of the public treasury, and of the infamy with which they would brand themselves in giving birth to civil war, at the very moment in which the public happiness was about to revive in the midst of peace. On the day appointed by Washington, the convention of officers assembled. The commander-in-chief addressed them a speech, as judicious as it was eloquent, in which he endeavored to destroy the effect of the anonymous papers. He demonstrated all the horror of the alternative proposed by the author, that in case of peace, the army should turn their arms against the state, unless it instantly complied with their demands, and if war continued, that they should abandon its defence by removing into some wild and unsettled country.

‘My God!’ he exclaimed, ‘what can this writer have in view, by recommending such measures? Can he be a friend to the army? Can he be a friend to this country? Rather is he not an insidious foe; some emissary, perhaps, from New York, plotting the ruin of both, by sowing the seeds of discord and separation between the civil and military authorities of the continent?’ ‘Let me entreat

you, gentlemen,' he added, 'not to take any measures, which, viewed in the calm light of reason, will lessen the dignity, and sully the glory you have hitherto maintained; let me request you to rely on the plighted faith of your country, and place a full confidence in the purity of the intentions of Congress; that previous to your dissolution as an army, they will cause all your accounts to be fairly liquidated; and that they will adopt the most effectual measures in their power to render ample justice to you for your faithful and meritorious services. And let me conjure you in the name of our common country, as you value your own sacred honor, as you respect the rights of humanity, and as you regard the military and national honor of America, to express your utmost horror and detestation of the man who wishes, under any specious pretences, to overturn the liberties of our country; and who wickedly attempts to open the flood-gates of civil discord, and deluge our rising empire in blood.

'By thus determining, and thus acting, you will pursue the plain and direct road to the attainment of your wishes; you will defeat the insidious designs of our enemies, who are compelled to resort from open force to secret artifice. You will give one more distinguished proof of unexampled patriotism and patient virtue, rising superior to the pressure of the most complicated sufferings; and you will, by the dignity of your conduct, afford occasion for posterity to say, when speaking of the glorious example you have exhibited to mankind; "Had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of perfection to which human nature is capable of attaining."

When Washington had concluded his discourse, a profound silence ensued in the assembly; soon those who composed it communicated to each other in a low voice, the sentiments with which they were impressed. The authority of such a personage, the weight of his words, the sincere affection which he bore to the army, operated irresistibly upon all minds. The effervescence gave place to a calm. No voice was heard in opposition to that of the chief. The deputies of the army declared unanimously that no circumstances of distress or danger should induce them to sully the glory which they had acquired; that the army continued to have an unshaken confidence in the justice of Congress and their country; that they entreated the commander-in-chief to recommend to the government the subject of their memorials; and, finally, that they abhorred the infamous propositions contained in the anonymous writing addressed to the officers of the army. Thus Washington, by his prudence and firmness, was instrumental in preserving his country from the new danger that menaced it, at the very moment when its safety seemed to have been established forever. Who knows what might have happened, if civil war had ensanguined the very cradle of this republic? The captain-general kept his word, and was himself the advocate of his officers with the Congress. He obtained of them a decree, commut-



ing the half pay into a sum in gross equal to five years' full pay, and that either in money, or securities bearing an interest of six per cent. According to the orders of Congress, three months' pay was advanced to the officers and soldiers in the notes of the treasurer. But this measure was not taken till late, and not until the Pennsylvania militia had broken out into so violent an insurrection, at Philadelphia, that they blockaded, with arms in hands, the very hall of Congress for some hours. The reduction of the continental army became then the principal object of attention, and discharges were granted successively to those soldiers, who during seven campaigns of a most obstinate war, had struggled with an heroic constancy, not only against sword and fire, but also against hunger, nakedness, and even the fury of the elements. Their work completed, their country acknowledged independent, they peaceably returned to their families. The Congress voted them public thanks, in the name of a grateful country. The English were not slow to evacuate New York and its dependencies, in which they had made so long a stay. A little after, the French departed from Rhode Island for their possessions, carrying with them the benedictions of all the Americans.

The Congress, in order to celebrate worthily the establishment of peace and independence, appointed the eleventh of December, to be observed as a day of solemn thanksgiving to the Dispenser of all good. By another decree they ordained, that an equestrian statue of bronze should be erected to general Washington, in the city where the Congress should hold its sessions. The general was to be represented by it in the Roman costume, with the staff of command in the right hand, and the head encircled with a crown of laurel. The pedestal of marble was to be invested with *bassi relievi* commemorative of the principal events of the war, which had taken place under the immediate command of Washington; such as the deliverance of Boston, the taking of the Hessians at Trenton, the affair of Princeton, the battle of Monmouth, and the surrender of Yorktown. The anterior face of the pedestal was to bear the following inscription. *The United States assembled in Congress, voted this statue, in the year of our Lord 1783, in honor of George Washington, captain-general of the armies of the United States of America, during the war which vindicated and secured their liberty, sovereignty, and independence.*

Such was the issue of a contest which during the course of eight consecutive years, chained the attention of the universe, and drew the most powerful nations of Europe to take a share in it. It is worthy of the observer to investigate the causes which have concurred to the triumph of the Americans, and baffled the efforts of their enemies. In the first place, they had the good fortune not to encounter opposition from foreign nations, and even to find among

them benevolence, countenance, and succours. These favorable dispositions, while they inspired them with more confidence in the justice of their cause, redoubled also their spirit and energy. The coalition of several powerful nations, leagued against a single one, on account of some reform it wishes to establish in the frame of its government, and which threatens not only to defeat its object, but to deprive it of liberty and independence, usually causes its rulers to divest themselves of all moderation and prudence, and to have recourse to the most violent and extraordinary measures, which soon exhaust the resources of the country and excite discontent among its inhabitants; till, oppressed and harassed in every form by the officers of government, they are driven at last into civil convulsions, in which the strength of the community is consumed. And besides, these violent measures so disgust the people with the whole enterprise, that confounding the abuse of a thing with the use of it, they choose rather to retreat to the point from which they set out, or even further back, than to continue their progress towards the object originally proposed. Hence it is, that, if that object were liberty, they afterwards rush into despotism, preferring the tyranny of one to that of many. But to these fatal extremities, the Americans were not reduced, as well for the reason at first stated, the general favor of foreign states, as on account of the geographical position of their country, separated by vast seas from nations which keep on foot great standing armies, and defended on all other points by impenetrable forests, immense deserts and inaccessible mountains, and having in all this part no other enemy to fear except the Indian tribes, more capable of infesting and ravaging the frontiers, than of making any permanent encroachments. One of the most powerful causes of the success of the American revolution, should, doubtless, be sought in the little difference which existed between the form of government which they abandoned, and that which they wished to establish. It was not from absolute, but from limited monarchy, that they passed to the freedom of an elective government. Moral things, with men, are subject to the same laws as physical; *the laws of all nature*. Total and sudden changes cannot take place without causing disasters or death.

The royal authority, tempered by the very nature of the government, and still enfeebled by distance, scarcely made itself perceptible in the British colonies. When the Americans had shaken it off entirely, they experienced no considerable change. Royalty alone was effaced; the administration remained the same, and the republic found itself established without shock. Such was the advantage enjoyed by the American insurgents, whereas the people of other countries, who should undertake to pass all at once from absolute monarchy to the republican scheme, would find themselves constrained to overturn not only monarchical institutions, but all others, in order



to substitute new ones in their stead. But such a subversion, cannot take place without doing violence to the opinions, usages, manners and customs of the greater number, nor even without grievously wounding their interests. Discontent propagates itself; democratic forms serve as the mere mask of royalty; the people discover that they have complained of imaginary evils; they eagerly embrace the first opportunity to measure back their steps, even to the very point which they started from.

Another material cause of the happy issue of this grand enterprise, will be seen in the circumspect and moderate conduct invariably pursued by that considerate and persevering people by whom it was achieved. Satisfied with having abolished royalty, they paused there, and discreetly continued to respect the ancient laws, which had survived the change. Thus they escaped the chagrin of having made their condition worse in attempting to improve it. They had the good sense to reflect, that versatility in counsels degrades the noblest cause, chills its partisans, and multiplies its opponents. There will always be more alacrity in a career whose goal is fixed and apparent, than in that where it is concealed in obscurity. The Americans reared the tree, because they suffered it to grow; they gathered its fruit, because they allowed it to ripen. They were not seen to plume themselves on giving every day a new face to the state. Supporting evil with constancy, they never thought of imputing it to the defects of their institutions, nor to the incapacity or treason of those who governed them, but to the empire of circumstances. They were especially indebted for this moderation of character to the simplicity of their hereditary manners; few among them aspired to dignity and power.

They presented not the afflicting spectacle of friends dissolving their ancient intimacies, and even declaring a sudden war upon each other, because one was arrived at the helm of state without calling the other to it. With them patriotism triumphed over ambition. There existed royalists and republicans; but not republicans of different sects, rending with their dissensions the bosom of their country. There might be among them a diversity of opinions, but never did they abandon themselves to sanguinary feuds, proscriptions and confiscations. From their union resulted their victory; they immolated their enmities to the public weal, their ambition to the safety of the state, and they reaped the fruit of it; an ever memorable proof that if precipitate resolutions cause the failure of political enterprises, temper and perseverance conduct them to a glorious issue.

The army was disbanded; but the supreme command still remained in the hands of Washington; the public mind was intent upon what he was about to do. His prudence reminded him that it was time to put a term to the desire of military glory; his thoughts were now turned exclusively upon leaving to his country a great example

of moderation. The Congress was then in session at the city of Annapolis in Maryland. Washington communicated to that body his resolution to resign the command, and requested to know whether it would be their pleasure that he should offer his resignation in writing, or at an audience. The Congress answered, that they appointed the twenty-third of December for that ceremony. When this day arrived, the hall of Congress was crowded with spectators; the legislative and executive characters of the state, several general officers, and the consul-general of France were present. The members of Congress remained seated and covered. The spectators were standing and uncovered. The general was introduced by the secretary, and conducted to a seat near the president. After a decent interval, silence was commanded, and a short pause ensued. The president, general Mifflin, then informed him, that the United States in Congress assembled were prepared to receive his communications. Washington rose, and with an air of inexpressible dignity, delivered the following address.

‘Mr. President; The great events on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I have now the honor of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country. Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffidence, a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the union, and the patronage of heaven. The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest. While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. Permit me, sir, to recommend in particular, those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of Congress.

‘I consider it as an indispensable duty, to close this last act of my official life by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendance of them, to his holy keeping. Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and bidding



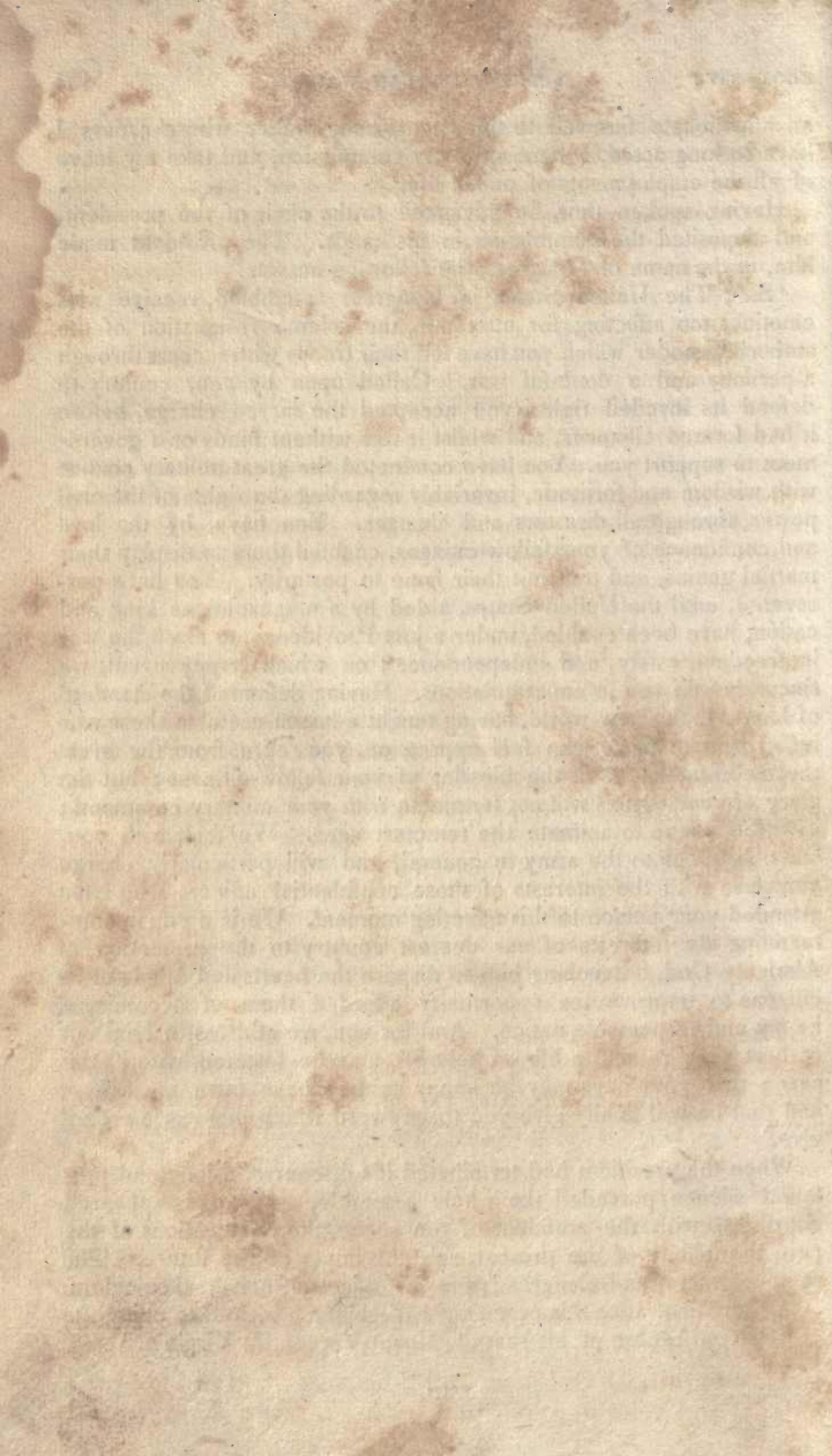
an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.'

Having spoken thus, he advanced to the chair of the president, and deposited the commission in his hands. The president made him, in the name of Congress, the following answer.

'Sir; The United States in Congress assembled, receive with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success through a perilous and a doubtful war. Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge, before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without funds or a government to support you. You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power, through all disasters and changes. You have, by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity. You have persevered, until the United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled, under a just Providence, to close the war in freedom, safety, and independence; on which happy event, we sincerely join you in congratulations. Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world, having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict, and to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action, with the blessing of your fellow-citizens; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command; it will continue to animate the remotest ages. We feel, with you, our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interests of those confidential officers who have attended your person to this affecting moment. We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens to improve the opportunity afforded them of becoming a happy and respectable nation. And for you, we address to Him our earnest prayers that a life so beloved, may be fostered with all his care; that your days may be happy as they have been illustrious; and that he will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give.'

When the president had terminated his discourse, a long and profound silence pervaded the whole assembly. All minds appeared impressed with the grandeur of the scene, the recollections of the past, the felicity of the present, and the hopes of the future. The captain-general and Congress were the objects of universal eulogium.

A short time after this ceremony, Washington retired to enjoy the long desired repose of his seat of Mount Vernon, in Virginia.





## BIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHOR.



CHARLES JOSEPH WILLIAM BOTTA, was born at St. George, province of Vercelli in Piedmont, in 1766. He studied medicine at the university of Turin, and was employed as physician to the army of the Alps ; afterwards to that of Italy. About this time he composed an extensive work, containing a plan of government for Lombardy. Towards the close of 1798, he was sent to the islands of the Levant with the division detached thither by general Buonaparte.

On his return to Italy he published a description of the island of Corfu, and of the maladies prevalent there during his stay ; 2 vols. 8vo.

In the year seven of the French Republic, (1799) general Joubert appointed him member of the provisional government of Piedmont. This provisional government having been dissolved at the arrival of the commissioner Musset, Botta was appointed member of the administration of the department of the Po. At the epoch of the Austro-Russian invasion, he again took refuge in France. The minister of war, Bernadotte, reappointed him physician of the army of the Alps ; and after the battle of Marengo, the commander-in-chief of the army of reserve appointed him member of the *Consulta* of Piedmont.

At the commencement of 1801, he was member of the executive commission, and afterwards, of the council of general administration of the twenty-seventh military division. Botta likewise made part of the deputation which came to Paris in 1803 to present thanks to the government upon the definitive adjunction of Piedmont, and there published an historical sketch of the history of Savoy and Piedmont. Immediately after the union, he was elected member of the legislative body by the department of the Doura, the tenth of August, 1804. The twenty-eighth of October, 1808, he was created vice-president, and on the expiration of his term, was reelected

in 1809, and proposed, the ninth of December, as candidate for the questorship. The emperor granted him soon after the decoration of the order of the Union.

The third of January, 1810, he presented to Buonaparte, in the name of the academy of sciences of Turin, the two last volumes of its memoirs. He adhered, the third of April, 1814, to the deposition of Napoleon and his family. The eighth, he accepted the constitutional act which recalled the Bourbons to the throne of France, but he ceased to make part of the legislative body on the separation of Piedmont. At the return of Buonaparte in 1815, he was appointed rector of the academy of Nanci, but lost this place after the second restoration of the king.

Besides the works already named, he has published,

1. At Turin, 1801, an Italian translation of the work of Born, of which Broussonet had given to the public a French version, in 1784.

2. A memoir upon the doctrine of Brown, 1800, in 8vo.

3. Memoir upon the nature of tones and sounds, read before the academy of Turin, and inserted (by extract) in the *Bibliothèque Italienne*, tome I. Turin, 1803, 8vo.

4. The history of the war of the independence of America, 1809, 4 vols. 8vo.

5. *Il Camillo, O Vejo conquistato*, (Camillus, or Veii conquered,) an epic poem in twelve cantos. Paris, 1816. This work has received high encomiums in the European journals. Botta has contributed some articles to the *Biographie Universelle*, among others, that of John Adams.

6. The history of Italy.

The Translator is indebted for the preceding notice of Botta, to the complaisance of an estimable countryman and acquaintance of the Historian.



## LIST OF WORKS

CONSULTED BY THE AUTHOR FOR WRITING THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN WAR.

### ENGLISH.

- Journals of the House of Lords ; Journals of the House of Commons, in folio ; printed by order of the two Houses, from 1764 to 1783.
- Authentic account of the Proceedings of Congress, held at New York in 1765. Almon, 1767.
- Journals of the Proceedings of the Congress, in 8vo. Dilly, 1775.
- Journals of Congress held at Philadelphia, for Almon, 1786.
- The Parliamentary Register, &c. all the volumes from 1766 to 1783.
- The Annual Register ; all the volumes from 1764 to 1783.
- Historical Anecdotes relative to the American rebellion, 1 vol. 8vo. 1779.
- The Remembrancer, or impartial repository of public events ; the second edition, London, for I. Almon, with the prior documents.
- Letters on the American Troubles, translated from the French of M. Pinto, 1776.
- An impartial History of the War in America between Great Britain and her colonies, from its commencement to the end of the year 1779, in 8vo. for Faulders, 1780.
- The History of the Civil War in America, comprehending the campaigns of 1775, 1776, 1777 ; by an officer of the army, in 8vo. for Sewall, 1781.
- A genuine detail of the several engagements, positions and movements of the Royal and American armies, during the years 1775 and 1776, with an accurate account of the blockade of Boston, &c. ; by William Carter, in 4to. for Kearsley, 1785.
- An impartial and authentic narrative of the battle fought on the 17th June, on Bunker's Hill ; by John Clarke, 1775.
- A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the southern provinces of North America ; by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, Dublin, 1 vol. 8vo. 1787.
- Strictures on lieutenant-colonel Tarleton's History of the campaigns of 1780 and 1781, by Roderick Mackenzie, in 8vo. 1787.
- The History of the American Revolution, by David Ramsay, 2 vols. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1789.
- History of the War with America, France, Spain and Holland, commencing in 1775, and ending in 1783, by John Andrews, 4 vols. in 8vo. London, for J. Fielding, 1785.
- The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America, by William Gordon, London, printed for the author, and sold by Charles Dilly, 1788, 4 vols. 8vo.
- An Historical, Geographical, Commercial and Philosophical View of the American United States, and of the European settlements in America, and the West Indies ; by W. Winterbotham, 4 vols. in 8vo. London, 1795.
- The Life of George Washington, by John Marshall, chief justice of the United States, 5 vols. in 8vo. London, for Richard Philips 1804, 1805, 1807.

LIST OF WORKS.

The Life of Washington, by David Ramsay, 1 vol. 8vo. New York, 1807, printed by Hopkins and Seymour.

Letters addressed to the Army of the United States, in the year 1783, with a brief exposition; by Buel, Kingston, State of New York, 1803.

FRENCH.

Revolution d'Amerique, par l'abbé Raynal, Londres, 1781.

Lettre adressée à l'abbé Raynal, sur les affaires de l'Amerique Septentrionale, traduite de l'Anglais de Thomas Payne, 1783.

Essais historiques et politiques sur les Anglo-Américains, par M. Hilliard d'Auberteuil, 4 vols. in 8vo. Bruxelles, 1781.

Histoire de l'administration de Lord North, et de la guerre de l'Amerique septentrionale, jusqu'à la paix de 1783, 2 vols. in 8vo. Londres et Paris, 1784.

Histoire impartiale des evenemens militaire et politiques de la dernière guerre dans les quatre parties du monde, 3 vols. Amsterdam et Paris, chez la veuve Duchesne, 1785.

Constitution des treize Etats Unis d'Amerique, Philadelphie et Paris, 1783.

Affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amerique, 17 vols. in 8vo. Anvers.

Voyages de M. le Marquis de Chastelux dans l'Amerique Septentrionale, pendant les années 1780, 1781, et 1782, 2 vols. in 8vo. Paris, chez Prault, 1786.

Histoire des troubles de l'Amerique Anglaise, &c. par François Soules, 4 vols. in 8vo. Paris, chez Buisson, 1787.

Histoire de la dernière guerre entre la Grande Bretagne et les Etats Unis d'Amerique, la France, l'Espagne et la Hollande, depuis son commencement en 1775, jusqu'à sa fin en 1783, 1 vol. 4to. Paris chez Brocas, 1787.

Histoire de la Revolution de l'Amerique, par rapport à la Caroline meridionale, par David Ramsay, membre du Congrès Americain; traduit de l'Anglais, 2 vols. 8vo. Londres et Paris, chez Frouille, 1787.

Recherches historiques et politiques sur les Etats Unis de l'Amerique Septentrionale, par un citoyen de Virginie, 4 vols. in 8vo. Paris, chez Frouille, 1788.

Discussions importantes, debattues au parlement Britannique, 4 vols. in 8vo. Paris, chez Maradan et Perlet, 1790.

Mémoires historiques et pièces authentiques sur M. de la Fayette. 1 vol. in 8vo. Paris, l'an 2, (1793).

To the foregoing works should be added, a great number of pamphlets, which, during the American revolution, were published daily, as well in England as in America and France. Lastly, even among the actors of the great events which he has related, the author has had the good fortune to find individuals as polite as well informed, who have deigned to furnish him with important manuscripts. He prays them to accept here the public expression of his acknowledgment.











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