



MATERIALS FOR HISTORY

PRINTED

FROM ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY FRANK MOORE,

AUTHOR OF THE "DIARY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION," ETC.

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FIRST SERIES.

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THE "Materials for History" consists of original papers, in the form of correspondence, military journals, private diaries, and such other documents as illustrate the history of America, more particularly that portion of it embraced in the period between the years 1700 and 1800. It contains entirely original matter, hitherto comparatively unknown, and affords much that is new upon disputed points, relative to the private and social as well as military and political life of the country.

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Henry Laurens

CORRESPONDENCE

OF

HENRY LAURENS,

OF

SOUTH CAROLINA.

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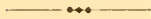
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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

HENRY LAURENS, a portion of whose correspondence will be found in this volume, was a native of Charleston, South Carolina, at which place he was born in the year 1723. His early life was devoted to mercantile pursuits, in which he gained much applause for his scrupulous attention to business. At the commencement of the revolutionary difficulties he was resident in Europe, where he used his utmost exertions to stay the violence of the ministerial party, and prevent the war; but finding that unconditional submission on the part of the colonists was the only method by which harmony could be effected, he returned to Carolina, determined to join his fortunes with those of his fellow-countrymen. He soon became celebrated; was, in 1776, delegated to the Continental Congress, and, in

the autumn of the next year, succeeded John Hancock in the presidency of that body. Resigning this position in 1778, he was soon after appointed minister plenipotentiary from the United States to Holland. On his way there he was captured, and carried into Dartmouth, England, from whence he was removed to London, and committed to the Tower. He remained a prisoner nearly two years, suffering severely from the cruel and unnecessary restraints and requirements of his warders. Soon after his release he went to Paris, and, with Franklin, Adams, and Jay, signed the preliminaries of the peace of 1783. This was the last act of his political life. He died in South Carolina on the eighth of December, 1792, respected and beloved.

LAURENS' CORRESPONDENCE.



[HENRY LAURENS TO JOHN LAURENS.]

CHARLESTON, S. C., 14th August, 1776.

UNCOMMON and exceedingly mortifying, my dear son, has been the late long interruption in our correspondence. I find that I have not put to paper in any address to you since the 29th April, and unless certain letters referred to have reached you, I have no ground to hope that you have learned any thing concerning me since November last ; in the meantime, after long and anxious waiting, I have had the pleasure of receiving your letters of the 5th December from St. Augustine, and of 20th March by the hand of Mr. Read ; but that which you say was sent, via Virginia, franked by the postmaster, came no nearer to me than Cockspur, when it was either destroyed or returned in the packet ; if Governor Wright, who was there, had been possessed of my feelings, he would have sent a son's letter to a

father, notwithstanding the opposition of their political tenets.¹

Once more I will attempt to present my love to you by the hands of Monsieur Rilliet, who, poor gentleman, is making another effort after many disappointments to regain a footing on his native soil ; you will see in the schedule of letters,² he is already the bearer of several to you, which are now perhaps not worth carriage. I have not time to review them, and since they are written and packeted, let them go.

I told you in my last that I was going to Georgia. I began my journey the 1st May, and at Wright's, Savannah, Broton Island, and New Hope, found crops of rice amounting to about thirteen hundred barrels, which I caused to be removed to places less exposed to the threatened depredations of picaroons from St. Augustine, in such places that great value still remains. I have lately learned that each plantation is again well covered—the best crop, they say, that ever was borne

¹ Sir James Wright, baronet, was the son of Judge Wright of South Carolina. He held at different periods the highest posts in Georgia, having been attorney-general, judge, and lieutenant-governor, before assuming the government of the colony in 1761. He was governor at the commencement of the revolution, and was the last who administered affairs in the name of the king. He died in England.

² Letters referred to : 26th November and 6th December, by Rainier from Georgia.—4th, 8th, and 16th January, by M. Rilliet ; copies by Snow Mobile, Captain Smith.—22d February, 6th and 14th March, by M. Rilliet ; copies by Mr. Demar via West Indies.—16th and 19th March, by M. Rilliet.—26th and 28th March, by Mr. Sandy Wright, to be forwarded through St. Augustine.—29th April, by M. Rilliet.

at Broton Island—but what of that? The whole will either be destroyed, stolen, or lie with the farmer to perish by time and vermin—no small sacrifice at the shrine of liberty, and yet very small compared with that which I am willing to make; not only crops, but land, life and all must follow in preference to sacrificing liberty to mammon. In such sentiments I found the people of Georgia with a few exceptions, but none more hearty than our Highland friends, the McIntoshes. Lachlan is colonel of a battalion upon continental establishment; two of his sons, Lach and William, are subs; his brother William commands a troop of rangers in pay of the colony, or, as I should now say, the State. Joe Habersham is major, and John a captain in the battalion; in a word, the country is military.

My negroes there, all to a man, are strongly attached to me—so are all of mine in this country; hitherto not one of them has attempted to desert; on the contrary, those who are more exposed hold themselves always ready to fly from the enemy in case of a sudden descent. Many hundreds of that colour have been stolen and decoyed by the servants of King George the Third. Captains of British ships of war and noble lords have busied themselves in such inglorious pilferage, to the disgrace of their master and disgrace of their cause. These negroes were first enslaved by the English; acts of parliament have established the slave trade in favour of the home-residing English, and almost totally prohibited the Americans from reaping

any share of it. Men of war, forts, castles, governors, companies and committees are employed and authorized by the English parliament to protect, regulate, and extend the slave trade. Negroes are brought by Englishmen and sold as slaves to Americans. Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, &c., &c., live upon the slave trade. The British parliament now employ their men-of-war to steal those negroes from the Americans to whom they had sold them, pretending to set the poor wretches free, but basely trepan and sell them into tenfold worse slavery in the West Indies, where probably they will become the property of Englishmen again, and of some who sit in parliament. What meanness! what complicated wickedness appears in this scene! O England, how changed! how fallen!

You know, my dear son, I abhor slavery. I was born in a country where slavery had been established by British kings and parliaments, as well as by the laws of that country ages before my existence. I found the Christian religion and slavery growing under the same authority and cultivation. I nevertheless disliked it. In former days there was no combating the prejudices of men supported by interest; the day I hope is approaching when, from principles of gratitude as well as justice, every man will strive to be foremost in showing his readiness to comply with the golden rule. Not less than twenty thousand pounds sterling would all my negroes produce if sold at public auction to-morrow. I am not the man who enslaved them;

they are indebted to Englishmen for that favour; nevertheless I am devising means for manumitting many of them, and for cutting off the entail of slavery. Great powers oppose me—the laws and customs of my country, my own and the avarice of my countrymen. What will my children say if I deprive them of so much estate? These are difficulties, but not insuperable. I will do as much as I can in my time, and leave the rest to a better hand.

I am not one of those who arrogate the peculiar care of Providence in each fortunate event, nor one of those who dare trust in Providence for defence and security of their own liberty while they enslave and wish to continue in slavery thousands who are as well entitled to freedom as themselves. I perceive the work before me is great. I shall appear to many as a promoter not only of strange, but of dangerous doctrines; it will therefore be necessary to proceed with caution. You are apparently deeply interested in this affair, but as I have no doubts concerning your concurrence and approbation, I most sincerely wish for your advice and assistance, and hope to receive both in good time.

I finished my journey going round by Mepkin, and returned to Charleston the 1st June. Half an hour after I had entered my house, intelligence was brought of a fleet at anchor a little to the northward of Charleston bar; for the history of this fleet I refer you to Jack Wells'¹ paper of the 2d inst., and to certain notes which

¹ Thomas, in his History of Printing, gives a brief account of John Wells, the editor here referred to.

I have added. His account, although true in general substance, is the most bungling and inaccurate of any thing I have seen from him; it would be easier to build a true and proper narrative at full length than to mend the botchery which he took a full month to compose. I wish you or somebody else would publish a fair and honest compilation from his gazette and my papers. You know me too well to suppose I would in a little exaggerate or suppress. You may add as much of what follows as may appear to be necessary, but let the whole be cleverly done and introduced by such declaration of candour as these accounts are well entitled to; nothing more abhorrent to me than publications of falsehood for truth.

Upon the tremendous range of fifty-five sail of hostile ships before our doors and in full view, after wishing they had rather come as seekers for freights of rice, I thought it my duty to add to the dignity of vice-president of the colony (now State, observe) the several offices of engineer, superintendent of works, aid-de-camp, and occasionally any other which could in the least contribute to the service of my country, then seeming to verge on a precipice, and to require the support of every man in it. I, who you know had resolved never again to mount a horse, I, who thought it impossible for me to gallop five miles in a day, was seen for a month and more every day on the back of a lively nag at half-past four in the morning, sometimes galloping twenty miles before breakfast, and sometimes

setting the horse fourteen hours in eighteen, and, what you will say was more extraordinary, I never got a tumble; but mark, he was a trotting horse. I will never cross a pacer again if I can avoid it. I have spoken so particularly of myself, not meaning to claim any singular or extraordinary merit, but because I know you will draw pleasing inferences of my state of health from an account of such exertions. The president¹ was as diligent, as active as a man could be, and so much more useful than myself, as his authority, superior abilities, and advantages of youth enabled him. Every man, except a few unhappy misled, whom the people call tories, and a few of a worse stamp, whom I call property men, was animated, discovered a love of country, and a boldness arising from an assurance of being engaged in a just cause. Charleston was in a very short time enclosed by lines, trenches, and redoubts; wharves were cleared of all incumbrances; streets strongly barricaded; retrenchments within; batteries erected for defence at practicable landings above the town. Thousands of men came in from the country, from North Carolina and Virginia, and all this with a degree of celerity as amazing as our former neglect had been. Much indeed are we indebted to General Lee, as well as to his seconds, the Brigadiers Armstrong and Howe; these arrived at a critical time, and we were favoured by weather, which fortunately withheld the

¹ John Rutledge was president and commander-in-chief of the colony of South Carolina at this period.

enemy from striking a sudden blow ; and every moment of the interval was improved to advantage on our side.

General Lee at first sight was exceedingly displeased with the fort at Sullivan's ; wished we could save our stores and abandon it, although he acknowledged the exterior work was impregnable ; however, as that could not be done, he recommended some amendments, gave advice, orders, and his presence in the beginning of the action, to which, if we do not altogether owe the honour of the twenty-eighth of June, we are certainly greatly indebted ; but, from the general's better knowledge of the harbour and the vast importance of that post, he must now be of a different opinion.

At the approach of the ships of war towards Sullivan's, the ramparts and parapets of Fort Johnson, where Colonel Gadsden had chosen his command, were seen covered by officers and soldiers, every one interesting himself in the fate of the sister fortress, and standing ready in case of need to second her efforts. All the batteries round the town were at the same time manned, guns loaded, every article in readiness for acting in turn. Troops of regulars and militia properly stationed for repelling all attempts to land ; engines and men at proper stands for extinguishing fires in the town. There was every appearance of an universal determination to give General James Grant the flat lie. It was the fortune of his old friend Will Moultrie to speak first, and he monopolized the glory of the day.

The country militia as well as the town continued

cheerfully to do duty on this frontier as long as one of the enemy's fleet remained in sight; the Active was the last; she with a tender went about ten days ago to Bull's Island, the property of Captain Shubrick; landed forty white and twenty black men; killed by platoon firing a few head of cattle; augmented their black guard by stealing six more negroes, and then sailed off the coast or perhaps only a little out of sight. To hear Shubrick's overseer relate the manner of their firing on the cattle, and the very few of their shot which hit the mark, is droll enough, and serves to raise the contempt of those, who with single ball, at one hundred and fifty yards' distance, will hit the circle of an English crown.

[After the attack upon Sullivan's Island, seconded by ravages and murders by the Cherokee Indians on our western frontier, who probably acted in a concerted plan with the ships and troops, I believe there were few men here who had not lost all inclination for renewing our former connexion with your king and his ministers; however that might have been, the great point is now settled. On the 2d instant a courier arrived from Philadelphia, and brought a declaration of the 4th of July, by the representatives of the thirteen united colonies in congress met, that from thenceforward those colonies should be "Free and Independent States." You have no doubt seen the paper, or will in a few days see the copy often repeated at full length; therefore I need not mark the particular contents. This declaration was proclaimed in Charleston with great

solemnity on Monday, the 5th inst., attended by a procession of president, councils, generals, members of assembly, officers civil and military, &c., &c., amidst loud acclamations of thousands who always huzza when a proclamation is read. To many, who from the rashness, impolicy, and cruelty of the British administration, had foreseen this event, the scene was serious, important, and awful. Even at this moment I feel a tear of affection for the good old country and for the people in it, whom in general I dearly love. There I saw that sword of state which I had before seen four several times unsheathed in declarations of war against France and Spain by the Georges, now unsheathed and borne in a declaration of war against George the Third. I say even at this moment my heart is full of the lively sensations of a dutiful son, thrust by the hand of violence out of a father's house into the wide world. What I have often with truth averred in London and Westminster, I dare still aver; not a sober man, and scarcely a single man in America wished for a separation from Great Britain. Your king, too, I feel for; he has been greatly deceived and abused.

Soon after the men-of-war had anchored within our bar, alarming accounts were brought of new attempts by John Stuart, Henry Stuart, Alexander Cameron, and other ministerial agents to stir up the savage Indians to attack our western frontier; several intercepted letters from them confirmed the reports. / The Indians, and particularly the Cherokees, had amused us by the

most flattering talks, full of assurances of friendship and promises to follow our advice, which always had been that they should observe a strict neutrality; but very suddenly, without any pretence to provocation, those treacherous devils, in various parties, headed by white men, and pushed on by those who are in employment for this cruel purpose, made an inroad upon our settlements, burned several houses, and murdered about sixty persons, chiefly women and children. Colonel Williamson in South, Brigadier Rutherford in North Carolina, were immediately in arms, and a large command marched from Virginia. What Rutherford and the Virginia troops have done, we are not yet informed; but Colonel Williamson and his parties have driven back the savages of the lower towns, killed as many as could be come at in fight, and taken some prisoners, among whom are no less than fifteen white men; they have also destroyed Seneca, Keowee, Warracky, Estatohee, Toxawa, and Sugartown, together with the crops of corn and other grain found in fields and barns, the only possible way of reducing the barbarians. This intelligence comes from Colonel Williamson in late letters. If the Virginians act their part well, the Cherokees will soon be reduced to the utmost distress, and may possibly turn their vengeance against those hellish instigators to this hellish war. At the entrance of Seneca, a new town which, I am told, was very extensive, on the banks of Keowee, Colonel Williamson suffered from an ambuscade; his horse, by two shot, was killed

under him. Mr. Salvador, a gentleman whose death is universally regretted, was killed by his side; eight men wounded, two of whom are since dead. He nevertheless rallied his troops, attacked the savages, beat them out, and after destroying a town of near four miles long, marched forward. He is undoubtedly a brave man, and not a bad general. You know his deficiency in education; what heights might he have reached if he could have improved his genius by reading. If we succeed against the Cherokees, the Creeks and other Indians may continue to be simple spectators of our contest with British ships and soldiers; otherwise we shall be attacked on all sides and greatly distressed; but men here are fearless of distress, and determined to maintain their rights, trusting in a righteous God for a happy issue.

I told you in a former letter of the dangerous insurrections by thousands of the back country people; these were suppressed by the vigilance and activity of Colonel Williamson in a first instance, and in a second and more formidable by Colonel Richardson and troops from North Carolina. Hundreds, or more properly thousands, were taken prisoners, informed truly of the nature of the dispute between Great Britain and the colonies, converted, and sent to their habitations. About a hundred of their colonels, captains, and other officers, (from whence it appears that the whole body was very large,) were brought to Charleston; these, except thirteen or fourteen of the most tenacious, soon con-

fessed their errors, united in the American cause, and also returned home. Of the thirteen or fourteen were some sensible men, particularly their chief, Colonel Robert Cunningham, a man of great honour, whose conscience, as he said, fettered him in the oath of allegiance, although he admitted the injustice of taxing Americans without their own consent, and censured the British administration; he often moved me while I was president of the Council of Safety, and often since the president of the colony, to accept from him and his companions an oath of neutrality; he would not at first believe that the British administration were so wicked as to instigate the savages to war against us. As soon, therefore, as he was convinced of the truth, his conscience freed him from old obligations, and he most heartily desired to take the oath of fidelity to the United Colonies, and to have an opportunity of giving proofs of his sincerity. His fellow-prisoners joined him in a petition to the president and council, who ordered the whole to be released. They immediately repaired to Colonel Williamson's camp and offered their service; but he, considering their long absence from their several homes, recommended to them the care of their families. Not all, however, whom we have enlarged have continued faithful. Some of the common fellows have quoted the example of Sir James and broke their parole; most of these are now among the Indians; some of them have again been taken prisoners, and must suffer the penalty of an old law. Kirkland, you may have heard,

made his escape where he left his son, a child of ten or twelve years old, in gaol; we know nothing of him since his flight; possibly this ignorant fellow may have found his way to Sir James's; he was confident of a hearty welcome there, and of much free conversation with the master of that house. If he were honest, he might make a tolerable serjeant; but any thing less than a regiment will fall short of his own mark.

The Reverend Mr. Cooper from time to time gave offence to his parishioners, and they have dismissed him. The king's officers, that is to say, the attorney-general, chief and assistant judges, postmaster, and Mr. Outerbridge, are confined to the postmaster's house. The late commander of Fort Johnson and the collector are at large on their parole. W. Wragg remains at his plantation, and lately James Brisbane and some seven or eight others of our neighbours, who had signed the association and acknowledged the justice of the American cause, but refused to do any thing which might endanger their property in a case of conquest by the other side, (these and some who play still a more cunning game are *property men*,) were sent to Cheraw gaol. The success of the 28th of June made some converts, and these gentlemen in particular advanced so far as to consent to bear arms, take the test oath, &c., but still under the air of obedience to avail themselves of the plea of compulsion and to save property; such men deserve no station of honour on either side. I can have no pity for these, while I sincerely commiserate the

circumstances of the king's officers and of every suffering candid man, although he may be my enemy.

Mrs. Stuart, the wife of the cruel superintendent, had been long confined to her house and hindered from leaving the colony. The people had hoped that Stuart would in the case of his own have had some tender feelings for the wives and innocent children of our friends on the Indian frontier; but when we found that he had struck the blow, instead of retaliating as *his* friends ever do, the president and privy council ordered Mrs. Stuart to be enlarged; no valuable end could be obtained by a continuance of her suffering.

America is now well supplied with gunpowder and arms, and every day will probably increase our commerce by slow steps.

The General Assembly is to meet on the 17th of September, when the Declaration of Independence will be recorded among our acts, and every salutary measure pursued for the welfare of the State. To tell you the Virginians had routed Lord Dunmore; that North Carolina is very quiet; Maryland and Philadelphia as yet unmolested; New York likely to become the seat of war for this summer; that Boston is now secured to us by strong fortifications; that the New England privateers had made prizes of several transport ships, and prisoners of many hundred Highland soldiers, would probably be to relate what you will know before this can reach you; but it may be new to you that General Lee and General Howe went last week to Georgia,

whence some expedition is intended to the southward. The season of the year and some other circumstances are not so favourable as to give me sanguine hopes of success; and you will feel some concern when I tell you we expect another visit by the British ships and troops in the winter months.

I have now gone through with much intelligence, such as it is; don't wonder if I tell you I write in haste. I had determined to take time by the forelock, and to have saved four or five days for writing to my friends in England; but through some unexpected public calls, and the long sickness of my good man James, I am reduced to one, and I must copy for different conveyances; however, I have a few words more to add. I am now by the will of God brought into a new world, and God only knows what sort of a world it will be; what may be your particular opinion of this change I know not. You have done well to avoid writing on politics. Remember you are of full age, entitled to judge for yourself; pin not your faith upon my sleeve, but act the part which an honest heart after mature deliberation shall dictate, and your services on the side which you may take, because you think it the right side, will be the more valuable.

I need not tell you, whatever may be your determinations, to avoid all party disputes, and to act inoffensively and circumspectly in the state where you are. I cannot rejoice in the downfall of an old friend, of a parent from whose nurturing breasts I have drawn

my support and strength ; every evil which befalls old England grieves me. Would to God she had listened in time to the cries of her children, and had checked the insidious slanders of those who call themselves the king's servants and the king's friends, especially such of them as had been transported to America in the character of civil officers. If my own interests, if my own rights alone had been concerned, I would most freely have given the whole to the demands and disposal of her ministers in preference to a separation ; but the rights of posterity were involved in the question. I happened to stand as one of their representatives, and dared not betray my trust.

I am now more than ever anxious to see you ; to see my dear Harry and your sisters ; to see your uncle and aunt—but when and where ? God direct you for the best ; but pay particular attention to those friends, especially to your eldest sister and to Harry. Your other sister is at an age and has qualities to make her foster-mother happy. I could add very much on this head, but clouds and darkness are before me.

Remember me respectfully to each of my old friends ; tell them that as an individual I have a right to acknowledge my obligations to them, and that I will take every opportunity of showing my regard ; and although I hold my life by a most precarious tenure, yet I trust in God we shall meet again as friends. Particularly inform both the Messrs. Cowles that I will, when it is possible, look into our accounts and adjust

them; it has not been in my power to do so since my arrival from England. Mr. William Cowles will do me the justice to own, that it is not my fault those accounts were left unsettled. I had often wrote to him for them. I made one journey to Bristol for the sole purpose of settling them, and when I was leaving the kingdom I again took Bristol in my way to Falmouth for the same purpose. I waited there to the very last hour for saving my passage in the packet, and did not receive the papers from him, till I had kept the post-chaise long in waiting at my door, and in despair was just stepping into it. My friend is to blame on this score.

I am glad you continue with Mr. Becknel and your brother with Mr. Henderson; frugality is essential to you both. Consider I cannot supply you while the sword of Britain remains unsheathed. Improve every moment of your time, my dear son, and continue your guidance and protection to your brother and your sisters—your respect and duty to your distressed uncle and aunt. I feel much for them. May God protect and guide you all, and may he still give peace and mutual friendship to the divided family of Britain, and promote the happiness, equally of the ancient root and of the transplanted branches. If you do not come, enquire for opportunities in Holland and in France, and write as oft as you can, and Harry too.

Adieu, my dear, dear son.

MR. JOHN LAURENS.

HENRY LAURENS.

Why do you never say a word of M. B. ?

[JOHN ROSS TO SILAS DEANE.]

NANTES, 19th July, 1777.

DEAR SIR :

By last post I acknowledged receipt of your's, and then flattered myself I should to-day be able to communicate Mr. Morris'¹ sentiments to you, regarding what you have recommended. However, for some days could not get a sight of him; how he has been employed is best known to himself. Before your letter came to my hand, I proposed to him to resign the sole management of public and private business, from a conviction of his inattention and neglect in superintending matters of less importance to his own reputation, and to those of his distant connections. To this he replied, he had determined in his own mind not to relinquish the management of either, until he heard further from his brother, whose apprehensions had been ill-grounded, as he could convince him and all his friends, the business had hitherto been conducted with regularity, and that nothing had suffered in what was committed to his care. I took the liberty to contradict his assertions from my own particular knowledge of the contrary, and informed him what such resolution might hazard, if he persisted, when possessed of his brother's letter, and particularly acquainted with the instructions I had received therewith. At the same time I insisted,

¹ Thomas Morris. See letter from Robert Morris to Henry Laurens, in the subsequent pages of this volume.

if determined to abide by so absurd a contempt of his brother's orders, on his writing me a letter, stating his reasons for refusing a surrender of what I knew him incapable of conducting, without risking further sacrifice of the interest of his employers and an additional loss of reputation to himself, and to those of his connections thereby.

This letter he promised to furnish me, and might serve to justify my attention to the trust reposed by our friend in me, but have not obtained it as yet. I have, therefore, reason to conclude it will not be possible, without positive new powers, for me to command a surrender of the private concerns of his house, and that I shall have the disagreeable task of corresponding with the friends of W. M. & Co., forbidding their future attention to his orders or correspondence.

It is impossible for me or any other person to find out what abuse the house have sustained in point of interest, nothing being entered to afford me the least insight thereto; but I know them to suffer through his folly and extravagance more than he can ever retrieve, respecting their credit and character.

Permit me now to give it as opinion to you and *advice*, that the commissioners interpose immediately, exercise their powers, and place the execution and management of all future concerns of the public in some secure hand. Our friend, Mr. Robert Morris, has placed the utmost confidence in both you and me; we should be wanting, and indeed to blame, did any thing escape

us under present circumstances in any degree prejudicial to his interest and reputation. *It happened extremely unfortunate at present that Mr. Lee should be deprived from acting, for want of proper instructions respecting his appointment as joint agent.* Your powers, I trust, may nevertheless prove sufficient to supply by the want of a former commission until it reach him. Accordingly, if so, and that he does act, it is incumbent on you and me in particular to consult the interest of Mr. Robert Morris in his absence, until we hear further from him, and have his own opinion on the subject. I would beg leave, therefore, to propose a continuation of his *name* in the management of the public business, joined with Mr. Lee, or such other as the commissioners may see fit to appoint on the present occasion, and that every thing incumbent on our friend, Mr. Morris, may be complied with on his part as joint agent. I approve that you and I should look out and engage a careful, capable man in character of clerk, to attend the business and to be paid at his expense, until matters can be better arranged more suitable and satisfactory to the parties concerned. You'll believe I am persuaded the opinion urged by me on this subject cannot proceed from any views of interest to myself. I have in truth no such motives; on the contrary, I may venture to assure such agent as may be appointed here, if Mr. Morris' name is discontinued the business must be greatly lessened by such a loss of connection.

By a letter received from you last evening by Mr.

Williams, I perceive you press him to a pursuit of getting possession of the prizes lately arrived. Some are sold, and I fear they may turn out so trifling on the settlement of the whole, I would take the liberty to advise your permitting Mr. Morris to close the sales, and the net proceeds to be carried to the credit of the United States, he being more in advance than will balance such part as can come to their share. Your letter to Captain Wickes, (which he received from Mr. Williams,) sufficiently guards against any more coming to our friend's hands in the same line, Captain Wickes having already directed the commanders of the continental ships of force to conform to your instructions in the consignment of all future prizes.

This, I foresee, will prevent noise, such as ought in our situation to be avoided. Shall be glad to know your determination in course; assuring you of every possible endeavour on my part to facilitate your resolutions, if my services can be rendered useful on the present or any other future occasion, that matters may be conducted in *future* with more regularity and prudence; I trust, more to the satisfaction of all parties. My respects to Mr. Franklin.

I sincerely remain,

Dear Sir, your ever obedient servant,

JOHN ROSS.

SILAS DEANE, ESQ.

[JOHN WEREAT TO HENRY LAURENS.]

SAVANNAH, August 30th, 1777.

MY DEAR SIR:

I WROTE you a few days ago in a great hurry, for fear of losing an opportunity that then offered for Charleston; to be forwarded from thence by Mr. Dorcius by the first opportunity.

I now begin to tremble for the fate that awaits this devoted country; honesty, integrity, and love of justice being the declared and avowed principles of any man, are crimes sufficient to secure him the hateful name of tory, and to hold him up to the resentment of the people as an enemy to his country. I think I told you some time ago that I thought the augmentation of the present representation under our present circumstances a great evil; every day's experience convinces me that it is so, and it requires no great degree of prescience to declare that Georgia cannot exist as a separate State twelve months longer, without the immediate interposition of Congress.

I told you in a former letter how the laws, that this country are to be ruled by, were framed and agreed upon at a nightly meeting in a tavern. This, though dangerous in its consequences, is but a part of the evil. We have now another nocturnal society established, who have arrogated to themselves the name of *The Liberty Society*. The business of this cabal, as far as I am capable of judging, seems to be principally intend-

ed to poison the minds of the people throughout the State, and to set them at enmity with every man who is not of their party. They, or the leaders of them, seem to be void of every sentiment of honour, and truth is a stranger to their proceedings; they bellow *liberty*, but take every method in their power to deprive the best part of the community of even the shadow of it. Those wretches appear to me to have a manifest intention to destroy the reputation of their neighbours, in order to raise themselves fortunes and political fame upon the ruins of the real friends of their country, and the American cause. One of their proceedings, as far as I have been able to inform myself, has that tendency, which you may be informed of in some degree by perusing the inclosed copy of a circular letter, which seems calculated for the diabolical purpose of destroying General McIntosh; to accomplish which the vilest of falsehoods are imposed upon the people to induce them to give their sanction to these deeds of darkness.

The reason set forth in this letter I know to be as diametrically opposite to truth as light to darkness. So far from being an enemy to civil government, he is and always was, since I knew him, as great a stickler for it as any man in the State. You may remember an instance of it at his appointment to the command of the first battalion. The petition alluded to, the general has never been able to obtain a sight of; neither could I, though I have endeavoured frequently

to see it; so that it may truly be said to be a *stolen petition*.

No person who refused to sign it is ever trusted with any of the secrets of the club afterwards, let them assign reasons ever so good for their refusing. The reasons for desiring the general to be removed, besides that set forth in the circular letter, are said to be, first, his connections; that his brother, William McIntosh, who was formerly colonel of the horse, was obliged to resign his commission, the people were so clamorous against him.

2dly. That his brother, George McIntosh, that known traitor, was screened by the general from being brought to justice, until he could make his escape.

3dly. That a relation of his (Alexander Baillie) was detected in carrying intelligence to St. Augustine to the enemy, giving them notice of an expedition then in agitation, and afterwards carried on without success.

4thly. That a nephew of the general's, (one McIntosh,) in the Indian nation, was an avowed and open enemy to the American cause, and is stirring up the Indians against the frontier inhabitants of this State.

The foregoing are part of the many accusations contained in the St. Johns petition, as far as a gentleman who heard it read can charge his memory, and which I am told is now on its way to Congress.

With respect to what is said in the first instance of William McIntosh, I wrote you my opinion with freedom and candour some time ago. He was twice examined before the house, and both times honourably ac-

quitted. Once he received their thanks, and I believe it will be acknowledged by those who are not prejudiced, or worse, that no officer in that regiment has ever done the duty and gone through the fatigue that he did.

As to the treason of George McIntosh, I presume you are pretty well informed on that score by this time; it may be here added, however, that there are two gentlemen lately arrived here from London, by the way of Augustine and Providence, Mr. Peronneau and Mr. Bellinger, who inform, that they conversed with Panton in Augustine, who declared that George McIntosh was perfectly innocent of the vessels going to Florida, and that if he was allowed to come in safety to this State, he would clear up the matter beyond the possibility of a doubt.

The next charge, if it can be called so, is diametrically opposite to the truth, for Mr. Alexander Baillie is no more related to the general than he is to me; or, if he was, is that a sufficient ground for an accusation?

The following article is likewise equally false and ridiculous; for the young man that is in the Indian nation, and whom they would make out to be the general's nephew, is no ways related to him, so that this article of the charge must fall with the rest.

Doctor Hall and Ben Andrew keep the ferment up in the parish of St. John, either of whom I fear would sacrifice the public weal to their private interest. You may form some opinion of the doctor by his letter to

me on Gwinnett's affair with the secret committee, and to whom I forwarded it by Mr. Donaldson. The other has been actually concerned in importing British goods, in which he was caught and the goods condemned, of which I wrote you some days ago, and some other things of a very bad complexion; but as the public are not concerned, I forbear to mention them till I see you.

Colonel Baker, too, I heard, drew up his whole regiment and made them sign this infamous petition; a downright act of mutiny, and, I should think, ought to be punished as such.

The demagogue for this town and county is that infamous wretch, old Joseph Wood, a delegate elect for the Continental Congress; a fellow notoriously infamous, and who never stood charged with an honest action in his life.

The governor, I hear, keeps it up in St. Matthew's parish, where he demeaned himself so much as to go to an election the other day for a vacancy, and would not suffer a man to vote till he first signed a petition against the general.

Who leads the faction in St. George's parish, I know not; but I believe Colonel Wells keeps it up in St. Paul's parish and the ceded lands, perhaps with some assistants. It appears evident to me that General McIntosh is too honest for this set of rulers; that they will stick at nothing, however infamous and wicked, to ruin him and a few others that stand in their way, and will oppose their iniquitous proceedings.

Having now entered pretty fully into this matter, I shall point out to you some articles of our constitution that are broken, and by whom, besides those mentioned in the addition to George McIntosh's case, enclosed in my last.

The fourth article relates to the election of members to represent the State in the assembly, and is broke in the following instances, viz. :

"The port and town of Savannah shall be allowed four members to represent their trade;" and "The port and town of Sunbury shall be allowed two members to represent their trade." From whence one would naturally conclude that there ought to be four separate and distinct elections, one for each seaport town, and one for each county at large; yet neither Savannah nor Sunbury have a single member in the house. In the former instance, the whole fourteen members were indiscriminately chosen for the county at large; and at Sunbury they held a separate election for the town agreeable to the constitution, and chose two members. The county at large chose sixteen, who were all received, and the two chosen by the town rejected by the house.

The sixth article says: "The representatives shall be chosen out of the residents in each county, who shall have resided at least twelve months in this State, and three months in the county where they shall be elected." The instances wherein this article is violated are as follows: Joseph Wood, an inhabitant of this

town, was returned a member for the county of Effingham, where he never resided, took and retained his seat in the house as such. George Wells, an inhabitant and practitioner of phisic in the town of Augusta, was returned and kept his seat for Wilkes county, in direct violation of this article. A Mr. Jones, who came into the State about three months before the election, was likewise returned a member for Burke county; and after the meeting of the house was appointed a counsellor.

This article says farther: "And they shall be of the Protestant religion, and shall be possessed in their own right of two hundred and fifty acres of land, or some property to the value of two hundred and fifty pounds." This part of the article is also broken in two instances: the first, (as I am informed,) by a member for the county of Chatham, who is a Roman Catholic. The other is Wood, who, if any body suspects of being worth two hundred and fifty pounds in his own right, let them examine the records of the court and then judge.

The seventh article says, that the house is to "direct writs of election for supplying intermediate vacancies." A writ was issued by the house at their last sitting for electing two members, which writ was interlined, and five came down and were accepted by the house.

The seventeenth article declares that "No person bearing any post of profit under this State, or any per-

son bearing any military commission under this or any other State or States, except officers of the militia, shall be elected a representative." I shall point out two instances in which this article is violated. The first is by a person holding a place of profit under this State, with a salary annexed, not only being elected, but has taken and kept his seat as a representative for the county of Chatham, and is the same man above-mentioned, who is not of the Protestant religion, and consequently disqualified under both articles. The other is old Wood, the paymaster of the first battalion, who, it cannot be doubted, is so to all intents and purposes agreeable to the spirit and meaning of the constitution, and has ever acted in that character since such an office was appointed, notwithstanding his son is nominally paymaster: for, in the first place, he is a boy of about sixteen or seventeen years of age, and is now at Philadelphia or some place to the northward, and never acted in that office, and, agreeable to the principles of law and reason, cannot; for, as he is a minor, he cannot be bound, and it naturally follows that he cannot hold a place of trust, though he might a military commission. From the above premises it is plain to every honest, unprejudiced person that Joseph, and not John Wood, is paymaster of the first battalion, and consequently disqualified as a representative of the people under three different articles of that constitution, which he would fain have mankind believe he was capitally concerned in framing, by publishing his name at the head

of it by way of introduction. In order to put this matter still farther past the possibility of a doubt, and to prove that he looks upon himself to be the paymaster, and not his son, I assert from undoubted authority that he offered that office for sale for a valuable consideration. It may be his reasons for it were that he might have no incumbrance upon his hands when he set out for Philadelphia to represent the State. The House of Assembly, by their choice of him, acknowledge his fitness for that honourable station; and of his fitness for the office of paymaster or of any other office where money is in the case; indubitable testimony can be produced. Witness the fraud attempted against the Spaniard, with regard to his cargo of sugar, and his embezzling the charitable donations of the Freemasons' Society for the relief of widows and orphans, with many others that might be mentioned; but these are matters of record, and cannot be controverted.

The eighteenth article says: "No person shall hold more than one office of profit under this State at one and the same time." Are not Secretary for the State, and Register of Probates two offices? Yet they are held by the same person; but this is of little consequence if compared with other matters.

How far the governor and council have maintained inviolate the nineteenth article of the constitution, let the honest, unprejudiced part of mankind declare.

But what shall be said when we come to take a view of the oaths by which the assembly, governor,

and council are solemnly bound? As you have them in the constitution I sent you, 'tis unnecessary to transcribe them here. Whether the assembly have executed the trust reposed in them for the benefit of the State, and the support of the constitution thereof or not, I leave you to judge after the facts above related. If they would come off by pleading that they did so to the best of their knowledge, it may be presumed that their knowledge is inadequate to the purpose for which they were chosen.

Admitting the forementioned four members to be unduly elected, and to retain their seats contrary to the constitution, and that they all voted for the governor, as 'tis acknowledged they did as well as himself, and upon closing the poll it appeared that he had but a majority of one vote; with what face could he swear that he had not accepted the government contrary to the articles of the constitution, I cannot conceive. He certainly cannot be so stupidly ignorant as not to know these things. How well he has protected the people in the secure enjoyment of all their rights, franchises, and privileges, the proceedings against George McIntosh (whom he declared he believed to be innocent) will abundantly evince.

The president of the council, the constitution says, shall take the same oath as is prescribed for the governor; but with all due deference to the constitution-makers, they have given us two kings of Brentford, in the persons of Treutlon and Andrew; the latter has

also been guilty of breaking the constitution he has sworn to support. But the man frequently says, he is "an ignorant countryman;" this you must readily grant, and believe him to be as ignorant as he pretends to be, when he can mistake his order for punishing a man before he is convicted, by seizing and destroying his property, to be securing him in the enjoyment of all his rights, franchises, and privileges; and equally ignorant, to mistake the Congress in Philadelphia for a jury of the vicinage in Georgia; both which he has certainly done, and you will readily believe it was through ignorance, as you know that he is a Christian saint, and does unto all men as he would they should do unto him.

From what I have above set forth, and the addition to George McIntosh's case, before sent you, with a good deal that might be added, you will readily conceive the situation of this State; neither is there any prospect of a change for the better. Some people from the southward, I am told, from being oppressed and plundered of their little means of subsistence, are gone to Augustine; many more talk seriously of removing to Carolina, and 'tis probable that, by the conduct of those who misrule the State, we shall in a short time be joined to Carolina or Florida. God avert the latter; the former would be infinitely preferable to our present situation, where neither liberty or property are secure.

In order to show you still farther what chance a man has for to obtain justice after the club has taken

an active part against him, I shall relate one circumstance more to you, for which purpose I kept this letter open.

When I found there was no obtaining justice for Mr. McIntosh from the council, and that they had obstructed the judiciary department of government, I resolved to try the House of Assembly, and accordingly drew up a spirited remonstrance, complaining of the conduct of the governor and council, praying for a hearing and justice. The hearing indeed was granted, but justice is still denied, and possession is still kept of Mr. McIntosh's estate and negroes. I have been since told by some of the members that if another application was made to the house, an order would issue for the restitution of the property; but this I would not do, as they thought proper to refuse justice upon the former application.

A principal reason for declining another application to the house was the approaching session in October; and, upon drawing the grand jury, I found a more respectable one than I have seen for many years. I therefore resolved to lay the matter fully before them, and try if they will take the matter up, which is a measure that I think must succeed.

The governor and council all threatened to resign if the house did not approve of their conduct in this business; but in this they did not succeed; for the house would not give a sanction to so much infamous villainy, though they refused to do justice themselves.

Doctor Hall endeavoured, as much as lay in his power, to enrage the house, and to get the authors of the addition to the case of George McIntosh, Esq., taken up and punished; but, unfortunately for his purpose, there was too much truth in it to be controverted, and he failed of his plan. I never observed so much rancor in the conduct of any man as appeared visible in the doctor upon this occasion.

Your cousin George Walton was buried yesterday. He was taken off very suddenly after two or three days' illness. He died at Colonel Harris' plantation, having gone out so far to accompany some officers who were going upon a command to the southward; when, being a good deal heated, he drank a large quantity of cold water, and washed himself before he had time to cool. Your brother has been very ill, and was not able to attend the house; but I have not heard how he is, since the first account of his illness, which may be about a month ago. I heard he went to some medicinal springs in Carolina for his health, which I sincerely wish may be serviceable to him.

I am, very sincerely,

Dear Sir, your most obedient servant,

JOHN WEREAT.

HENRY LAURENS.

I forgot to tell you that an action is instituted against Langworthy for perjury, which I have great reason to believe will be proved. This country will be hopefully represented in Congress by this genius and

old Wood. The latter has as great pretensions to the character of a finished v—l—n as any man on the continent. I inclose you copies of Mr. Perronneau's and Mr. Bellinger's affidavits.

[AN UNSIGNED LETTER.]

From the camp on the field of battle near Dilworth, on the heights of Brandywine. September 11th, at night.

I SHOULD have written to thee, O Imperial! Consider the pain of the contusion! What excessive fatigue—a rapid march from four o'clock in the morning till four in the eve, when we engaged till dark. We fought. Describe the battle. 'Twas not like those of Covent Garden or Drury Lane. Thou hast seen Le Brun's paintings and the tapestry perhaps at Blenheim; are these natural resemblances? Pshaw! quoth the *captain, en un mot*. There was a most infernal fire of cannon and musketry; smoke; incessant shouting; "Incline to the right! Incline to the left! Halt! Charge!" &c. The balls ploughing up the ground; the trees cracking over one's head; the branches riven by the artillery; the leaves falling as in autumn, by the grape shot. The affair was general.

The masters on both sides showed conduct. The action was brilliant. Mr. Washington retreated, (*i. e.* run away,) and Mr. Howe remained master of the field. We took ten pieces of cannon and a howitzer; eight were brass, the other two of iron of a new construction.

I took a night-cap lined with fur, which I find very comfortable in the now "not summer evenings in my tent." A ball glanced about my ancle and contused it; for some days I was lifted off and on horseback in men's arms.

I do not write from the camp on the field of battle, &c., &c.; neither do I write in the month of September. Since the above date I have been in a more bloody affair at midnight on the 22d of September. The battalion I served in, (the second of light infantry,) supported by three regiments and some dragoons, surprised a camp of the rebels consisting of fifteen hundred men, and bayoneted (we hear) from four to five hundred. The affair was admirably conceived and executed. I will (as it is remarkable) particularize. I was released from picket at sunset—the preceding sunset I mounted—and was waked at nine at night to go on the bloody business. The men were ordered to unload; on no account to fire. We took a circuit in dead silence; about one in the morning fell in with a rebel vidette, (a vidette is a horse sentinel,) who challenged three times and fired. He was pursued, but escaped. Soon after, two foot sentries challenged and fired; these escaped also. We then marched on briskly, still silent; our company was advanced immediately preceding a company of riflemen, who always are in front. A picket fired upon us at the distance of fifteen yards, miraculously without effect. This unfortunate guard was instantly dispatched by the riflemen's swords. We

marched on through a thick wood and received a smart fire from another unfortunate picket; as the first, instantly massacred. We then saw their wigwams or huts partly by the almost extinguished light of their fires, and partly by the glimmer of a few stars, and the frightened wretches endeavouring to form. We then charged. For two miles we drove them, now and then firing scatteringly from behind fences, trees, &c. The flashes of the pieces had a fine effect in the night. Then followed a dreadful scene of havoc.

The light dragoons came on, sword in hand. The shrieks, groans, shouting, imprecations, deprecations; the clashing of swords and bayonet, &c., &c., &c., (no firing from us and little from them, except now and then a few, as I said before, scattering shots,) was more expressive of horror than all the thunder of the artillery &c., on the day of action.

They threaten retaliation; vow that they will give no quarter to any of our battalion. We are always on the advanced post of the army; our present one is unpleasant; our left too open and unguarded. We expect reinforcements. There has been firing this night all around the sentries, which seems as if they endeavoured to feel our situation.

I am fatigued and must sleep. Couldst *thou* sleep thus? No more than I could act Sir Wildair in a Ship on Fire; nor I at first, (*entre nous*,) but I grant custom, &c., &c. Yet my rest is interrupted. I wake once or twice, or more; my ear is susceptible of the least noise.

Mr. Washington, by the account of some who came in to-day, is eighteen miles distant with his main body. They also say he intends to move nearer us to try the event of another battle. He has been *reinforced*.

Before the action of the 11th of September and the nocturnal bloody scene, our battalion had a skirmish with General Maxwell's light troops, whom we drove from a very strong post on the Iron Hills.

N. B.—I write from camp near Beggarstown, seven miles distant from Philadelphia, which is garrisoned at present by the British and Hessian grenadiers under Lord Cornwallis. I have been there once. It is a fine town. October 2, twelve midnight, in my tent.¹

[HENRY LAURENS TO COLONEL GERVAIS.]

YORKTOWN, October, 1777.

DEAR SIR:

YESTERDAY, by the hands of Mr. Lawrence, a brother of my neighbour at the distillery, I sent you all the intelligence of the day. This morning has produced me the enclosed letters from my son, and copy of eastern intelligence, on which I congratulate with the friends of America. Colonel Pinckney is not come in yet. I wish I had John Laurens' letter by him; 'tis probable it contains minutia.

A long letter this morning from General Washing-

¹ This fragment was endorsed by Mr. Laurens, "Unsigned letter, written immediately after the battle of Brandywine."

ton. It does not appear that he has in contemplation an immediate attack upon the enemy ; on the contrary, he complains of the want of many essential articles. He is the most to be pitied of any man I know ; these essentials are to be had, and now I suppose will be ; had they been provided some time ago with those articles, we should have prevented hundreds, perhaps thousands of desertions, and there would have been no Howe in Philadelphia. O ! what my pen would truly tell you would I indulge it ; but I must not at present. A letter from camp, from General Smallwood, of the 14th, maintains, notwithstanding a Mr. Humphrey's new lying paper, that the loss of the enemy in killed and wounded and prisoners the 4th inst.¹ was not less than sixteen hundred ; indeed, the glaring, the impudent lies published under General Howe's permission in Philadelphia, which you will see in John Laurens' letter, invalidate every thing they say.

Our president² gave notice yesterday of his purpose to quit the chair and Congress next week. I moved the house to entreat and solicit his continuance ; to my surprise, I was seconded and *no more*.

Several other members are about leaving us ; I regret the apparent defection. Our house will be reduced in a few days to barely twenty or twenty-one members.

¹ At the battle of Germantown.

² John Hancock retired from the presidency of Congress on the twenty-ninth of October, 1777. His speech on the occasion, together with a loyal version of it, is preserved in the "Diary of the American Revolution."

Mr. Hall now waits for me. I will only desire my compliments to His Excellency, to Mr. and Mrs. Manigault, to Mrs. Gervais, and to each other friend.

God bless and keep you all.

HENRY LAURENS.

COLONEL GERVAIS.

P. S.—Don't let the good news from eastward lull you; the struggle here will be arduous, but 'tis far from impossible, and we ought to believe it probable ships and troops will attempt a winter expedition to the southward; but let us be prepared. It will be wise if there should be no attack; to be prepared may discourage an attack.

[HENRY LAURENS TO ROBERT HOWE.]

YORKTOWN, Pa., 25th October, 1777.

DEAR GENERAL:

PERMIT me to refer to my late letter of the 20th by Durst, an express. I have notified Mr. Hancock of this present safe conveyance, and again requested the honour of transmitting his letter with your commission. "You may depend upon it, I will send them to you in time if possible," was his reply; granting the possibility, and you will find his packet in company with this; but the embarrassment which no doubt he feels from a variety of business in the moment of his leaving Congress, will probably prove an impediment.

By a new hand from the northern department we have a scrap of the detail of General Burgoyne's sur-

render, which you will see on a piece of paper within ; but no authentic letter from General Gates has yet appeared, whence some people begin to doubt the truth of the accounts transmitted by General Putnam and General George Clinton ; announced also in public orders, and the firing thirteen cannon by General Washington.

According to Mr. Gates' custom, I say his advice cannot come to hand till this evening or to-morrow ; and in the meantime I will not be bilked of the pleasure of believing a story so well told and so often repeated.

The Delaware affair, which you will find upon another piece, is glorious. Don't you think those cannon-eering heroes, Commodore Hazlewood of the little fleet, Colonel Smith at Fort Mifflin, and Colonel Greene of Rhode Island, at Red Bank, deserve to be canonized ?

Colonel Bradford, formerly a printer in Philadelphia, has had a great share of merit in this noble perseverance. General Washington threw into the fort, a few days before the grand action, two or three hundred stout fellows, volunteers, who had been accustomed to fire and water.

Is not the Knight of the Bath verging fast toward a shameful retreat or a more shameful surrender ? I don't think the latter impossible ; his withdrawing from the field, into Philadelphia and fortifying, demonstrates he had not sufficient numbers for attack. The large detachments which were made upon the late occasion

have rendered him less capable of defence. Be that as it may; if we continue, as now in all probability we shall, to be masters of the river, he will in a few days have nothing to eat. The game our general is playing I hope is the best, and you shall know it in due time. Some things have happened which have induced me to send Duché's letter¹ to the president, where, if it is worth your trouble, you may read a system of flattery and tampering rascality, becoming the piety, the honesty of a wretched Duché or Dodd. I have not been able to obtain a copy of his prayer, (but you may possibly live to read his last dying speech; his name, wretched man, will be accursed by all generations.) I am well assured, however, by a gentleman of good memory and more veracity, that when he affected to pray, among other equally strong terms he constantly offered these: Bless our general and our army; shield and give them victory on the day of battle; make them instruments in the establishment of liberty and independency; teach our hands to war and our fingers to fight; subdue our enemies, let their weapons in

¹ The Reverend Jacob Duché, the first chaplain of Congress, on the 8th of October, 1777, wrote a letter to General Washington, attempting to dissuade him from continuing in the army of the Congress. The letter was published in the newspapers of the day, and called forth an able answer from Colonel John Parke. The letter and answer can be found in the appendix to the "Letters from General Washington to several of his friends in the year 1776," published in a small volume in 1778. Sparks' Collection also contains a notice of Duché's letter, together with one on the subject, from Francis Hopkinson to Duché.

battle fall from their unnerved arms, &c., &c. Alas! the frailty of human nature; in this view I pitied Dodd and I commiserate the abject state of Duché!

The more I reflect upon the contents of the letter, particularly upon the truth calculated to deceive, "I write not under the eye," the stronger is conviction that Lord and General Howe are in a state which renders treaty a desirable object, shackled at the same time by orders which will not admit of an approach from their side; if such were their circumstances on the 8th October, how galling are their fetters now at the 25th?

General, I will not insult you by advice to be prepared, guarded, in the district committed to your charge. I know your vigilance. 'Tis time to relieve you, my dear sir. I wish you all happiness.

HENRY LAURENS.

GENERAL HOWE.

[HENRY LAURENS TO MAJOR HUGER.]

YORKTOWN, 15th November, 1777.

DEAR SIR:

IF it had been in my power, you could not have wished a person more ready to serve you than I should have been in the affair referred to in your favour of the 2d of September, which was delivered to me, as it happened, two days too late for a particular interposition on behalf of the appellee in the case of the schooner Rosanna. The cause had been matured for judgment before I had been named to the bench for hearing and

deciding upon appeals in prize cases; therefore I purposely refrained from sitting when the final opinion was to be pronounced.

I had indeed perused copies of the proceedings, and from thence had formed a judgment of my own, without knowing particularly who were interested. Immediately upon receipt of your letter I determined if needful to employ an advocate; but upon application to Colonel Harnet, with offers of my assistance, he informed me the bench had, by their sentence, reversed the decree given in admiralty, and ordered restitution of property or value to be made to the appellants. Hence I ought in modesty to think my own opinion erroneous; but although I am far from being an obstinate fellow, I cannot, and pay great deference to some gentlemen of the bench, honestly say I acquiesced. Colonel Harnet was my first informant; when I applied to him with offers of my service, he said he was of my opinion—he thought the case was in favour of the captors. One of the judges on the bench, meaning no disparagement to the other gentlemen, is esteemed a good lawyer, and universally esteemed an honest man; this circumstance, if I were as nearly concerned as you are, would make the disappointment sit lighter. The pursuit of that phantom is, however, at an end.

All the great news of Burgoyne John, Esq., &c., will have been familiar before this can reach you. Our eyes are now fixed upon Delaware. Forts Mifflin and Mercer, together with some of our armed vessels,

have performed such acts of defence, against the attempts of a British fleet and army, as will unite the commanders in future history with the name of Franklin, when that valuable man shall be celebrated for his construction of the marine chevaux-de-frise. Force upon force are continually repeating attacks upon these brave men; if they fall, honour will attend them, and the enemy will have made a dear and inglorious purchase of victory. The details of this portion of our war will astonish Europe, at least will be admired there. General Washington has afforded all the reinforcement he can spare to their support; the forts are respectively in better posture for defence than they were a month ago; but the late arrival of troops from New York, supposed to be upwards of three thousand, may enable the enemy to overpower the garrisons; if ever that happens, it will be accompanied by shocking carnages; the loss on that side has already been great. A ship of sixty-four guns and one frigate burnt, one sixty-four gun ship exceedingly injured, and several others very much hurt; and at a moderate computation, drowned, slain, and captured, full one thousand men. On our part the killed and wounded scarcely exceed sixty; the rascals who gave up the ship Delaware, and a few deserters from the galleys to be added.

I expect the next letters will announce the arrival of reinforcements, from four to six thousand men, to General Washington. Our contest will then seem to be drawn to one point, when I hope the campaign will

happily terminate in our favour. I dare not trust myself to believe, with some people, this year's success will end the war.

Captain Hyrne will relate to you the starving condition of the enemy and false friends in Philadelphia; how we frequently make prisoners and daily receive deserters; the discontents of the Hessian officers and troops, and many other articles, not omitting a scandalous retreat from Rhode Island. I will not further trouble you, but to repeat that I am with great regard,

Dear Sir, your most obedient servant,

HENRY LAURENS.

MAJOR HUGER.

You may be told our g—— is under a pernicious influence of two g——l; suspend judgment; I have seen the general's sentiments, very fully and freely written to a friend on that subject. I will not believe a word of the whisper.

[JOHN LAURENS TO HENRY LAURENS.]

November, 1777.

AT break of day on the fifteenth, the enemy's batteries began a heavy cannonade upon Fort Mifflin, and their fleet set sail to come up the river with the tide. One of their ships, an old East Indiaman, cut down for a floating battery, and armed with eighteen twenty-four pounders, and two sloops, advanced between Hog Island and the northern point of Tinicum, at the distance of about one thousand yards from our grand battery. Six

other vessels and a galley, carrying a thirty-six-pounder, approached the chevaux-de-frise, about six hundred yards from the fort. The garrison saluted them with red-hot bullets. At eight o'clock the fire of the six vessels and galley commenced, and was seconded by that of the land-batteries; a quarter of an hour after, the sloops with eight pieces, thirty-two and twenty-four pounders, brought their guns to bear on the right of the battery, and after many successive broadsides, laid the parapet in ruin, and dismounted one of the two pieces which were on that side, there being only two embrasures on the right, from whence the fire of the sloops was returned.

The musketry of the tops drove the cannoneers from the platform, and the land-batteries, making a cross-fire with that of the vessels, rendered the right of the battery untenable. Major Fleury, who commanded a number of men appointed to answer the fire of the enemy's tops, and Captain Lee of the artillery, remained in this dangerous part of the battery till all their men were either killed or wounded, and the cannon battered to pieces.

Captain Dickinson commanded two pieces on the left of the battery, and Lieutenant —— in the centre.

Major Thayer, the commandant, was everywhere. Major Talbot commanded a reserve in the interior work—a kind of last retreat thrown up in form of a cross, to enable the garrison to dispute the ground inch by inch in case of storm.

At eleven o'clock ammunition began to fail, and Major Thayer ordered the blue flag to be hoisted as a signal of distress to the commodore. Major Fleury and some volunteers ran to the magazine, and after searching, found one cartridge for a thirty-two pounder, and several eighteen-pounder cartridges. The fire was renewed; in conformity to Major Thayer's order, they had begun to lower the fort flag in order to hoist the signal, but Captain Lee and Major Fleury ran to hinder it, entreating the commandant rather to send off some of the boats from the wharf than to make a signal which would discover to the enemy the weakness of the garrison. The commandant approved of what they said, and ordered the flag to be hoisted again. The enemy had for a moment slackened their fire, imagining, no doubt, that the garrison was preparing to surrender; but our cannon undeceived them.

At one o'clock the ammunition of the fort was exhausted; only two cannon remained fit for use—the rest were dismounted or broke to pieces; the parapet was destroyed; one of the sloops which had moved towards the middle of the fort had demolished the bank, and was knocking down the palisades. A body of troops appeared on the opposite shore ready to embark, and our garrison was small. The commandant called a council at two o'clock, the result of which was, that the garrison must either have *ammunition* and a *reinforcement*, or *boats*.

The enemy's fire raged; ours languished. The

blockhouses flew about in splinters; a piece of timber detached from one of them knocked down a lieutenant and Major Fleury; the former was killed by the blow, and the latter lay senseless. Major Talbot, who ran to their assistance, was wounded in the leg and arm with two grape shot. Night came on, and transport boats arriving instead of reinforcement, the garrison evacuated their post and embarked at half after eleven, at the very moment when the sound of oars announced the approach of troops to storm our levelled palisades.

This account of our brave garrison's last day's defence is the most circumstantial I have been able to collect, and may be depended upon, coming from the authority of Major Fleury, engineer of the fort.

On the 18th we received intelligence from different officers commanding outposts, that a detachment of British troops, amounting to two thousand—some alleged five thousand, but the former is most probable—had crossed the Schuylkill, marched down to Chester, and were there embarking horses, artillery, &c. The circumstance of this party's being attended by a number of women and children, induced some persons of little reflection to believe that the enemy were preparing to quit Philadelphia; but, as persons of more judgment expected, these troops, under the command of Lord Cornwallis, crossed the Delaware, landed at Billingsport, were joined by the reinforcement, whatever it be, from New York, and meditated an attack on Fort

Mercer. Their apparatus of artillery disclaimed any intention of storming that post, as they marched with twelve cannon and several howitzers.

General Varnum was warned by express from headquarters of the enemy's designs. Huntington's brigade was detached on the 19th and Greene's division on the 20th, to coöperate with the force under General Varnum in preventing the enemy's laying siege to the fort, and advice was sent to General Varnum of these corps being detached.

21st. This morning letters from him and General Greene inform us that Fort Mercer was evacuated on the evening of the 20th; the garrison and flying camp have moved to Mount Holly. The fort was certainly untenable against formal siege, without a superior force in the field to oblige to raise it. The galleys passed Philadelphia and have retreated up the river; a brig and two sloops likewise passed. The large vessels, why, I can't conceive, were burnt. The enemy's force in Jersey are part at Billingsport, part at Fort Mercer, and part at Manto Creek. General Varnum seems to think that an engagement with them is desirable; he says they were delayed at Billingsport by a rumour prevailing, which intimated that the greatest part of the continental army was in Jersey, and they waited for further reinforcement, before they took their present positions.

This afternoon a party of the enemy sallied from their lines, skirmished with one of our advanced parties

which was not in force, and in their return burnt Mr. Dickinson's house, Mr. Mifflin's, and several others, with valuable furniture in them. As soon as intelligence of it was received at head-quarters, six companies were ordered to march and chastise the incendiaries; but they had retired before our party arrived. They gave out that Germantown would be burnt to-morrow; and though it is not usual in war to proclaim one's real intentions, we shall be as much on our guard as if we were sure that they will attempt to realize their menaces.

If all our men were as well clothed and accoutred as one of the New England regiments that arrived in camp two days ago, we could, even with the scanty reinforcement that we have received from the northward, make a glorious conclusion of the campaign and perhaps of the war. The regiment that I allude to is uniformly and handsomely clothed, armed, and accoutred; has a grenadier and light infantry company; both officers and men make as good an appearance and are as well under arms as any troops I ever saw. I have been informed by a foreigner of character, who said he had seen the invoices of military stores shipped from France for America, that clothing, including every minute article of dress, even garters, shoe-buckles, and stock-buckles, for thirty thousand men, arms, and proportionate number of tents, arrived in the *Amphitrite* and another vessel; and that these necessary supplies, intended for the use of the continental army, must have

been monopolized by one of the New England States in which they were received. If this be the case, such a remarkable attempt to engross the advantages of the confederacy demands a congressional inquiry. If the Frenchman from whom I had this anecdote was mistaken, and the stores alluded to were imported on the account of the particular State which received them, that branch of confederacy is dangerously politic.

November 24th. — Humphrey's Philadelphia paper of the 19th cites some English intelligence; the most remarkable paragraph is that the suffrages of the privy council upon the subject of war with France were six for and six against; the king gave the casting vote against it. I am desirous to mention to you that the letters for Delaware State come out of their way at least forty miles when sent to head-quarters.

I have received your's of the 17th, and am much obliged to you for the orthography of galley; as it was a word that had not frequently occurred in the course of my former reading and writing, I was tempted to give up my own spelling, and follow that which I observed adopted by our officers.

I am furnished with every important anecdote relative to the forts on Delaware, and will send you the whole history of the siege, or such parts as you may be desirous of seeing, together with a sketch of the posts and the adjacent islands, &c.

I am exceedingly anxious to see you, my dear father, but can't determine myself to ask leave of absence at

this moment. Whether near you or at a distance, I am ever your affectionate,

JOHN LAURENS.

HENRY LAURENS.

[HENRY LAURENS TO JOHN ADAMS.]

YORK, 3d December, 1777.

SIR :

THE 28th ult. I had the honour of writing to you by the messenger, Frederick Weare, and of transmitting a vote of Congress by which you are appointed a commissioner at the court of France. Inclosed under this cover you will find a commission executed agreeable to the order of Congress.

You have no doubt heard, or will hear before this can reach you, of the little affair which happened last week in Jersey; the attack by the Marquis de Lafayette, at the head of about four hundred militia, and a detachment from Morgan's rifles, on a picket of three hundred Hessians twice reinforced by British, in which our troops were successful; killed about twenty, wounded more, took fourteen prisoners, and chased the enemy about half a mile. We learn that General Greene, under whom the marquis had acted, had been recalled from Jersey; but 'tis probable, from an account received this morning, in a private letter from Major Clarke, something more must have been done before he recrossed the Delaware.

The major writes, that from different and corroborating accounts, Lord Cornwallis was killed or wounded;

that in an attack made at Gloster the enemy were beat, left thirty dead on the field, and crossed the water, after having set fire to that pretty little town, by which the whole was consumed; that the English officers, greatly enraged against the French nation, openly declare they would gladly forgive America for the exchange of drubbing the French; that General Howe had billeted his soldiers on the inhabitants of Philadelphia, two in each house, and taken many of their blankets for the use of his light horse, which had occasioned universal discontent and murmuring among the cits; that a ship and brig, richly laden, attempting to come up the river, had been lost among the chevaux-de-frise.

I am, with great regard and esteem,

HENRY LAURENS.

JOHN ADAMS, Esq.

[ROBERT MORRIS TO HENRY LAURENS.]

MANHEIM, December 26th, 1777.

SIR:

ON the 17th inst., I received at this place two letters from my friend Mr. John Ross, dated in Nantes, the 2d of August and 20th of September, which came, via Virginia, in a sloop called the Congress, lately arrived there. These letters were written for the purpose of making me acquainted with the unworthy conduct of my brother, Mr. Thomas Morris, in Nantes, and their contents shocked me to the very soul; I perceived instantly how grossly I had long been imposed on, and

deemed it my duty to have him immediately discharged from the agency in which he was employed for the public. Accordingly, I wrote that very day to the Hon. William Smith, Esq., a member of the commercial committee, an account of this intelligence, and enclosing a letter for Mr. Thomas Morris, one for Messrs. Plarns, Penet & Co., and another for Mr. J. Gruel, requesting they might be signed, if approved by the committee, and dispatched in order that Mr. Morris might be dismissed, and the business that had passed under his direction be brought to a settlement soon as possible. All these letters I wished to have laid before the Congress for their approbation, and in order to prove *that I had not a wish* to retain my brother in the public service one moment after I knew him to be unworthy of the employ. I then thought those letters would be all that was necessary on the occasion, and that my brother's dismissal would have wiped away the discredit his conduct had brought on our commercial department, and the final settlement of the accounts have ended the disgrace he had brought on me, leaving only himself the victim of his folly. But on the 23d instant I received several letters from Mr. Deane, by the eastern post, wrote in consequence of one that I had unfortunately written to him the 29th June last, whilst under the influence of an unjust and erroneous opinion that the commissioners had used my brother very cruelly in their manner of mentioning him to Congress. In this letter I censured them freely, believing that I

had sufficient reason for doing so. These censures of the very unwarrantable use Mr. Thomas Morris made of the letter, have excited the keenest resentment of the commissioners against me, and, I confess, as things are really circumstanced, I am not surprised at it. This resentment has impelled them to put the harshest interpretation on some passages in my letter, and to represent my conduct, in respect to my brother, in colours it does not deserve.

The receipt of these letters distressed me exceedingly, because I had been convinced by Mr. Ross that I was in the wrong with respect to the commissioners, and had determined to acknowledge it fully and freely to them; but on finding that, although my letter to Mr. Deane was a private one, and his to me the same, yet he desired I should lay his before Congress. It was compelling me to open before that august body a dispute that I thought they ought not to be troubled with; yet, as his letters insinuate many charges against me, I concluded to comply with his request and vindicate myself against insinuations and reflections not founded in justice or reality. I find, however, by a letter received yesterday, that copies of these letters from Mr. Deane to me have already been read in Congress, consequently that it is unnecessary for me to bring the original; and my design in giving you, sir, the trouble of reading and Congress of hearing this letter, is not to reerminate on Mr. Deane, but to justify myself, and this I propose to do by a plain narrative of

the facts that have led me into the present embarrassments, and I must ask a patient and candid hearing from you and them.

Mr. Thomas Morris and myself are descended from a father, whose virtue and whose memory I have ever revered with the most filial piety. Our mothers were not the same, and this youth was born after our father's decease, without any sufficient provision made for his maintenance. The tender regard I bore to the parent, I determined when very young to extend to his offspring, and no sooner had I fixed myself in the world than I took charge of this brother. I gave him the best education that could be obtained in Philadelphia, and took as much care of his morals as my time and capacity enabled. When he was arrived at a proper age, I took him into my counting-house to instruct him in the profession from which he was to draw his future support. In this situation he remained about three years, during which time he discovered on all occasions a good understanding, sound judgment, and clear head, with remarkable facility in dispatching business. His behaviour was then modest and innocent, his heart pure, and he possessed a mind strongly actuated by principles of honour; at least these were the opinions I had formed, and such was the character he bore amongst his own acquaintance; from hence I formed the most pleasing expectation, and saw but one source from whence any reverse could spring. This was a fondness he early discovered of being the head of his

company, a disposition more dangerous to youth than any other, and which in fact has been his ruin. This it was that first led him to seek improper company, who, readily granting him the preëminence he delighted in, soon carried him into the practice of their follies and vices. When I discovered this to be the case, and found that advice had not its proper weight, and thinking frequent exercise of authority might be dangerous, I fell on the expedient of sending him to Spain, (in order to break off his connection with worthless companions,) and there placed him in an eminent counting-house, where he gained much knowledge and experience, and where he acquired the French and Spanish languages so as to write and speak both with great fluency. At a proper season I recalled him to America, and took him a partner in our house, promising myself assistance and relief from his abilities and *expected* assiduity, and for some time had great satisfaction in him; but unfortunately his former associates found him out and again led him astray. At this period the commercial business of America was interrupted by certain resolutions of Congress, and, fearing that idle time and these associates would bring him to ruin, I determined on sending him to Europe well recommended, with money in his pocket, in hopes to open his mind, extend his ideas, and give him a habit of keeping and seeking good company. He travelled through Spain, Italy, and into France, with reputation kept by means of introductions. I procured for him the best company in

every place he went to, and I had the pleasure to receive many letters from my friends as well as from himself in the most satisfactory style. These letters, his assurances, and those from some friends on his behalf, regained my confidence, and I judged he had now arrived at the period of proper reflection ; for such usually happens to young people who have been too volatile in the first stages of manhood. At this period it happened that a commercial agent became necessary to have a general superintendency of the public business in Europe. My brother was then in France, (as I thought,) possessed of my good opinion ; and, reflecting that he was qualified for that agency by his education in two counting-houses, where he had seen and executed much business ; by his perfect knowledge of the languages, and by his being connected with some of the best mercantile houses in Europe, and known to many more, I was prompted to offer his services to the committee, firmly believing he would be extremely useful, and do honour to himself and me. Here I must observe that no part of his conduct had ever given me the least cause to suspect any want of integrity or breach of honour. Therefore, the only doubts I did or could entertain were, whether he would bestow that attention that he ought to this business ; and for this I depended on the assurances he had given in his letters of a faithful execution of any commands I might lay on him. The committee, of which Dr. Franklin was then a member, was pleased to accept the offer, and on the

doctor's going to France, he promised me to become a friend and adviser to my brother if he found it necessary. Mr. Deane had promised this before his departure, and to make me acquainted with his conduct. I reposed myself in confidence that he could not do any harm, (as I should soon hear how he managed, and could act accordingly,) and he might do much good. At the same time that I recommended him to the agency, I intrusted him to collect the debts due to our house in Europe, and pay the balances we might owe there; and since then have continued to employ him in the management of our own business. This must convince every person that I had full confidence in him, as I would not have intrusted my own property and affairs in what I could think doubtful hands.

I have given this long detail to show the foundation on which I recommended my brother to his employment, and I think any other person in my situation would have done the same thing. However, if I am any ways culpable in having done so, it is the event and not the intention that makes me so; for could I have had the least idea of what has happened, I would sooner have perished than he should have been trusted.

The next thing I am blamed for is granting greater faith to my brother's representations than to the commissioners' letters. This was only the case in part, for I had other evidence than his letters; however, I must also account for my conduct in this respect by a detail of circumstances.

It happened very unfortunately that, about the time Thomas Morris was appointed in America to this agency, he had gone from France to London, where, totally unable to withstand the tempting scenes of pleasure *that sink of iniquity affords*, he gave in to the pursuit with an eagerness (as I am now informed) that debauched his mind and laid the foundation for all that has since happened. He was in London at the time his letters of appointment arrived at Paris. Mr. Deane sent for him. He came and promised a faithful attention to business; he repaired to Nantes, and finding Mr. Penet had been intrusted with a contract for public business, part of which had been executed, he readily fell into the proposals made by that house and became a party in it, but on what terms I do not know; consequently he put the public business into their hands, (which was not inconsistent with the instructions under which he acted.) Whilst things were in this train in France, I received a letter from the gentleman in Cadiz with whom my brother had lived, a worthy man, who had great regard for him and wished to promote his welfare. He gave me reason to suppose his conduct in London had been out of character, and this gave the first alarm to my fears.

In consequence of which I wrote letters on the 31st January last to Mr. Deane, to Mr. Ross, and to Mr. Thomas Morris, informing them of this intelligence, and pressing their immediate care of and attention to the public business, should he neglect it. I requested my

friend Ross to visit France on purpose to watch and inform me truly what was his conduct, and insisted to my brother that if he had been guilty of any neglect of duty or misconduct in discharge of his public trust, that he should resign it into the hands of Mr. Deane or Mr. Ross, empowering them *regularly* to act for him until new arrangements were made. This done, I awaited impatiently for the event. In the meantime, some disputes and mutual complaints had arisen between Mr. Deane and my brother, and, on the arrival of the above letters, the latter went to Paris, where they so far settled matters that he returned to Nantes with Mr. Deane's sanction, (Mr. Ross, being at Hamburg, did not arrive until long after.) Some ships arrived from Philadelphia at Nantes about this time with cargoes on public account, consigned to the order of Thomas Morris; particularly the Success, Captain Anderson, and Elizabeth and Mary, Captain Young. By the return of one or both of these (I think) came letters from the commissioners, saying, to the best of my remembrance, "that Mr. Thomas Morris must be immediately displaced from his agency," and another, quoting the paragraph of Dr. Lee's letter from Bordeaux. Having no private letter *then* from Mr. Deane on this subject, I was astonished at the style of these to Congress; for, supposing my brother guilty of some inattention, which was the most I did suppose, I could not think it right to blast entirely a young man's reputation that was just setting out in the world, merely be-

cause he was fond of pleasure; and as the letters he had written respecting the business under his care were full and clear, they were produced to Congress in his justification, and to prevent any hasty measures. I then related to Congress the substance of what I have now written, but not so fully; and many members, as well as myself, were surprised at the affair as it then stood. In consequence of what the commissioners had wrote, I referred myself to Mr. Thomas Morris' private letters more particularly. I found there was no good understanding between Mr. Deane and him, (but of Doctor Franklin he wrote respectfully,) and he intimated that Mr. Deane was privately his enemy. Not trusting, however, to his letters, I applied to several persons that came from Nantes, who assured me there was nothing amiss in his conduct that they knew or heard of; but more particularly one person who had transacted business with him. This gentleman assured me over and over that he lived two months in the house with my brother; that he saw him assiduous, attentive, and industrious; that if it had not been for him, the business of those ships would not have been done in any reasonable time, and that I might depend my brother would give entire satisfaction; at least he was fully persuaded of this. He said he knew well there were persons in France that envied his appointment, and would leave nothing undone to have him displaced, and particularly mentioned Mr. Williams, who he heard was nephew to one and concerned in trade

with another of the commissioners, as the person intended to supply his place. The relator of this account is now in America; a man of character, sensible, and capable for his sphere of life; and when Mr. Deane arrives he shall have the satisfaction of seeing and examining him; till then I think it best to keep his name for my own sake.

This relation and others less full, my brother's and other letters, and Mr. Deane's silence, led me to give some credit to the story; and although I was ever willing to displace my brother on the least just cause appearing, yet I confess I did not like that he should be sacrificed to make room for another person; and when Mr. Deane's first letters on the subject of my brother did arrive, they did not remove the impressions I had received. Still I had not full confidence that some cause for what was written had not been given on his part, and I supposed his neglect or misconduct to have been magnified in the account given thereof to the commissioners, who could not have been eye-witnesses. In this situation, I wrote the letter of the 29th June, that has so irritated them; telling very fully what I heard, and censuring freely what I thought wrong. Before I sent this letter I showed it to some members of Congress, relating truly, as I have now done, the circumstances that induced me to write it; and they thought me right as things then appeared. When Mr. Ross arrived at Nantes, he advised me of it, and promised immediately to enter into an examination of my brother's conduct,

and give me a faithful account of it ; but he was above ten weeks there before he wrote that account, and I do suppose was trying what he could do by exhortation, &c. At last the shocking account came on the 17th inst., and that day I requested my brother might be dismissed from his employment, giving notice to Congress of his malconduct.

Here, sir, have I given a candid account of my reasons for introducing this unhappy man into public employ, and for not sooner soliciting his dismissal. I did the first in hopes of his being serviceable to the public, at the same time that he would enjoy an honourable and beneficial employment. I have done the latter as soon as I was convinced it ought to be done. Until now I had no conception that it was possible for him to act the part he has done, and nothing carries stronger conviction of his being irretrievably lost than his behaviour with my letter of the 29th June. Congress will observe that Mr. Deane complains of my having urged him to resent the injuries I believed they had done him. The paragraph of my said letter to Mr. Deane on that subject is as follows: "I think those public letters were cruel to my brother and extremely unfriendly to myself. I shall inform him of them, and if he has spirit to resent them, I hope he will also have judgment to do it properly."

This letter was enclosed to my brother with the following paragraph: "I now wait with impatience to learn the result of your journey with Captain Bell to

Paris, for on that and your future conduct depends your commission as commercial agent to the United States of America, and I find there are those that envy you that appointment and wish it out of your hands, as you may see by the enclosed letter for Silas Deane, Esq., which I send open for your perusal; and if you can determine to merit the continuance of that commission by good behaviour, I think I can maintain it for you in spite of all endeavours to the contrary. But if you will not deserve it, I shall be the first to take it from you, and in that case it would hardly be worth while sending the letter to Mr. Deane, only there are some commercial matters in it. Therefore, you must *seal and send it to him*. As to what I have said about your resenting their letters, I think you had best not think of any thing of that kind, lest your past behaviour will not support you in doing it; and the best satisfaction you can have will be by holding your post under such good conduct as will deter them from attacking you again."

Thus, sir, you will observe I only hinted resentment in the letter to Mr. Deane, and in fact retracted the idea in this to Thomas Morris, and I solemnly declare these are the only lines I ever wrote in that style. Here it also appears that my design was to have the letter delivered immediately without any person seeing it but Mr. Deane and himself. Had that been done, you would not have been troubled on the occasion, but it would have remained a private affair.

The other charges and insinuations are chiefly founded on the ill use Mr. Thomas Morris made of this letter on conjecture and on misinformation. If Mr. Deane had seen the whole of that long private letter he speaks of, he would have seen how false and groundless the several stories told him of it were. Indeed, the contents of that letter, except the paragraph above quoted, would ill suit Thomas Morris to show any one; for, knowing his own conduct, they must have stung him to the soul every time he read them, unless his soul was grown too callous to have a feeling left.

Mr. Deane seems to remark on my private letters, requesting him to displace Thomas Morris from his employment if found unworthy of it, as if I meant thereby to exercise an undue authority as member of Congress. But this is a strained construction; the only authority I must or could mean to exercise was that of an elder brother over a younger, dependent on him for his support and accountable to him for his conduct; and, under this idea, I insisted that he should empower Mr. Deane or Mr. Ross to act in his stead and under his authority if they thought it necessary, which shows I had no design of exercising any other authority than the influence I expected my letters, as an individual, would have had on my brother; and I still think if these had been insisted on at that time, he would have yielded to them. As to the expressions I used, "of supporting him in his appointment if his conduct would justify it, and that all the commissioners together should not remove him

if he did his duty," etc., they may have been too strong; but I was writing these under the influence of a (groundless) belief that they had done him injustice, and I knew Congress would not displace him or any of their servants that did their duty.

Upon the whole, this was a private letter that has produced these animadversions on my conduct, and therefore not wrote with any particular guard or caution; but it adds very much to the distress and unhappiness this unworthy young man has involved me in, to think I should have passed censures on Doctor Franklin and Mr. Deane, (Doctor Lee was not mentioned,) which they did not deserve. I did it under a deception that most men of feeling would have fallen into, and I shall as freely own it to them as I do to you, holding it more honourable to acknowledge an error and atone for any injuries produced by it, than with a vindictive spirit to persist, because you happen to have committed it. The account given both by Mr. Ross and Mr. Deane of Mr. Thomas Morris' conduct so far surpasses any thing that I could have an idea of, that I do not pretend to animadvert on any part of it. My distress is more than I can describe; to think that in the midst of the most ardent exertions I was capable of making to promote the interest and welfare of my country, I should be the means of introducing a worthless wretch to disgrace and discredit it, is too much to bear. I hope, however, that no pecuniary loss will happen to the public, and that the disgrace and discredit will be

wiped away by his dismissal. From this hour I renounce all connection with him, although I cannot help lamenting the loss of what he was capable of being. I shall enclose Mr. Deane a copy of this letter for his satisfaction, and make what I think suitable acknowledgments to both Doctor Franklin and him.

Should Congress think there is any thing more on my part to be done, I am ready to obey their orders; and with the greatest respect I remain,

Sir, your most obedient servant,

ROBERT MORRIS.

To his Excellency, HENRY LAURENS, Esq.,
President of Congress.

[R. I., Esq., to H. L., Esq.]

*A liberal and just translation of the letters of R. I., Esq., to His Excellency, H. L., Esq., done for the benefit of those Americans who are ignorant of the language in which they were written.*¹

PARIS, 1778.

DEAR SIR:

I WRITE this to you, and desire you to communicate it to my countrymen in Congress, who, I hope, will exert themselves in my favour. If you and they are satisfied that my former letters have made the impressions that I wish, you will then be so good as to lay this before Congress; if, on the contrary, you think their minds are not properly prepared, you will withhold it, as I do not wish it publicly known till it is likely to

¹ This "translation" is in the handwriting of Colonel John Laurens.

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produce the desired effect. My situation here is very tormenting; I have received two thousand Louis d'ors of the public money, as I informed you in my letter of —, and have done nothing in my proper department; but my letters will convince you that I have not been idle. Upon my coming to this place I found the commissioners at variance; I wished to be on the side of Franklin and Deane, but the former was too wise to be my dupe, and treated me with reserve; the latter too haughty to be guided by me, and treated me with contempt, which you know was too mortifying for me to bear. I therefore had nothing left but either to cross the Alps, or fall in with a man, who from many years' acquaintance I knew was not accounted the mildest and best-natured in the world. I chose the latter, and how busily I have been engaged, the present, as well as former letters, with the enclosed papers, will sufficiently evince. I do not want to be troublesome to my friends by soliciting their interest in my favour, as it would be much more agreeable they would take a hint, and, without forcing me to a direct application, procure me a post and place most suited to my inclination and ambition; favours unasked confer a higher gratification.

I thought I had spoken plain enough before, and sufficiently explained my wishes when I told you I was willing to act as envoy or minister-plenipotentiary for Italy, in which case it would be necessary to have as many commissions as courts; that so I might travel in state from court to court, and reside where I pleased,

without being confined to Florence or Leghorn ; at the same time I informed you that it would be still more agreeable to be appointed for Versailles until the British ministry return to their senses, and, by acknowledging our independence, give an opportunity of sending me to the court of London, which has ever been the height of my ambition. I could not entertain a doubt of being gratified in one or other of these points, and that my first excuse for not crossing the Alps, namely, that the Tuscan minister had informed me his master did not wish to see me, though he entertained a good will for America, until France took a decided part in our favour, as by the conduct of France he means to regulate his own ; that this excuse, I say, would have served my turn until I should receive your answer. Unfortunately, France has come to a determination, has signed a treaty with us, acknowledged our independence, and sent a fleet to assist, and minister to reside in America ; and still I am here without having received a line from you or the Committee for Foreign Affairs, or from Congress, and with only a single commission for the court of Tuscany. For this reason I intimated my pleasure to you that you would oppose the ratification of the treaties, and set matters again afloat, assigning the best reasons I was then able to devise, interspersing with a liberal hand as much personal abuse on Franklin and Deane, who had, in spite of my endeavour, brought this matter to so speedy an issue as I thought was sufficient at least to convince you how much they

thwarted my views and how much I hated them, and that, therefore, they ought to be removed with disgrace and infamy; and until I could know the effects of this, I cast about for another reason for my not leaving this place; luckily, the broils in Germany furnished a very ostensible one. I got the Tuscan minister to say that his master wished me not to appear at his court until he knew what part the court of Vienna would take, as by the conduct of that court, with which he is so intimately connected, he must regulate his own. Before that is done, I hope for your answer, and that Congress will gratify me so far as to disgrace Deane and remove Franklin, to make room for me at Versailles, when I assure them that they have acted very foolishly in the appointment of Mr. Deane, who is every way unqualified for the trust reposed in him. It may be said Congress knew him well before they trusted him, he having been for some considerable time a member of that body; but I say, search the world through, and a more unfit person could not be found; and, as I hope they will allow me to be a better judge of men, manners, and abilities, I say again he is totally unqualified for the post he has filled, and not to be trusted in future. This I hope is sufficient, but if not, I do assert, nay, I can prove that he is a — New England man; and though he has sent you supplies of arms, ammunition, and clothing, fitted out vessels, and without deigning to consult my worthy friend, A. Lee, Esq., nay, I may say, has almost without him brought about the treaty, and has pro-

cured the fleet and minister to be sent you without the knowledge of A. Lee, Esq., or myself, yet I affirm, nay, I will swear if you require it, that he has such a hauteur about him that nobody can do business with him. And as to Franklin, he is a crafty old knave; he would not let me have a copy of the treaty after it was signed, though he knew how anxious I was to have it, and how much advantage I could have made of it. In my conscience I believe he has neither honour nor honesty; he has abilities, it is true, but so much the worse when they are not under the restraint of virtue and integrity, and I declare before God, he is under the restraint of neither; and if Congress still doubt it, I can get Doctor —, so celebrated in the *Quinzaine d'Anglois*,¹ who is as honest an Irishman as ever attended a court with a straw in his shoe, and Mons. —, my two intimate friends, together with Thornton and twenty such like, to confirm it by their oaths also. But it will be said, perhaps, he has during a long life of upwards of seventy years supported a good character, and that his reputation is established and high through Europe. I deny the fact; did not Wedderburne abuse him? But if it were even so, does not that prove what fools they are in Europe to think well of a man who has treated me with contempt? who refused to consult me on the

¹ The reader is referred to a piece entitled “*Quinzaine d'Anglois*; or, the Englishman's fifteen days at Paris,” in which a certain Irish doctor acts a capital part. He is a known — character, and often seen with Mr. R. I., especially about the time the treaty was executed.—*Mr. Laurens' Note.*

treaties, or to let me have a copy of them after they were finished? and when I called upon him to explain his conduct, and wrote to him again, again, and again, and sent my secretary, John Julius Pringle, to catechize him in person, at last sent me word, "Have patience, and I will pay thee all;" but I sent him a Roland for his Oliver. I have shown him that he did not understand the text, and desired him to read over the whole chapter. However, if, after all I have said, Congress cannot be induced to dismiss him wholly, there can be no objection to his being sent to Vienna; he will do well enough there, notwithstanding what I have said of him, but he is not to be trusted at Versailles, which is the place I have fixed on for myself, and you may tell Congress so.¹

I am, Dear Sir, etc., etc.

[JOHN LLOYD TO HENRY LAURENS.]

NANTZ, 14th February, 1778.

I BEG leave to refer your honour to the duplicate of my last herewith annexed. By the last advices from London it appears to be the prevalent opinion that war with France is unavoidable, and it is said that Lord Mansfield declared in the House of Lords that he was informed a treaty was actually signed between this court and the commissioners of the United States.

¹ This letter is endorsed by Mr. Laurens, "No. 1 and No. 2, Traits of the infamous practices of party in Congress."

Upon a late motion in the House of Commons not to send any more troops to America, the minority divided one hundred and sixty-five, which is the greatest number that they have amounted to. It is again suspected that Lord Chatham will have the forming of a new administration.

We are not yet acquainted with Lord North's pacific propositions; it is thought they will be submitted to the parliament after the intended inquiry is made into the state of the nation.

It is a long time since we have had any authentic intelligence through our own channel from America. The captain of a vessel, which arrived yesterday from Georgia, informs me of a report that you are appointed president of the honourable Congress, which I please myself is true, and rejoice exceedingly on the occasion, from the perfect knowledge I have of your consummate abilities and great integrity. Permit me upon this most conspicuous acknowledgment of your real merit, by the supreme legislature of the United States, to present to you my sincere congratulations, and which are accompanied with a fervent wish that you may long enjoy the grateful tribute of your country.

Mr. Thomas Morris, who was one of the continental agents in this kingdom, being dead, my friends at Paris have desired me to postpone my embarkation for America. I am not yet properly acquainted with their reasons for this requisition, but flatter myself it proceeds from a respectful contemplation in my behalf.

I beg leave to renew my assurances to you, that I shall be happy to render myself serviceable to the United States, whose interest and prosperity I most sincerely wish to promote by every means in my power.

With the most profound respect, I have the honour to be,

Your most obedient servant,
JOHN LLOYD.

[JOHN RUTLEDGE TO HENRY LAURENS.]

CHARLESTON, February 16th, 1778.

DEAR SIR :

You must have so long expected the bearer, that I suppose, ere now, you gave over all thoughts of ever seeing him again. He was a great while detained by Mr. Attorney-General. Since he allowed him to depart, I have kept him, thinking that the Assembly and Legislative Council would have determined on the articles of confederation much sooner than they did. I now send the attorney-general's dispatches relative to Arthur's case, whose appeal I suppose cannot have been determined, as such determination would be *ex parte*.

By the inclosed papers you will perceive that several amendments are proposed by the Assembly and Legislative Council to the articles sent from Congress; that our delegates are empowered to ratify a confederation, but that they are instructed to use their utmost endeavours to get the alterations proposed by this State adopted.

The House has been employed ever since its first meeting about the confederation and constitution; the third reading of the latter is nearly gone through in the Assembly; but, as they and the Legislative Council differ widely in some material points, it is impossible to say what may be the event of their deliberations.

The British cruisers having done much damage on our coast, it was determined, about the 17th of December, to fit out some armed vessels to act in concert with the Randolph and Notre Dame against them. In order to man these vessels and prevent the enemy's obtaining intelligence, our ports were shut till this squadron sailed. The preparations for the expedition (like all our other works) took up much more time than was expected, and unfavourable winds prevented its getting to sea till last Thursday. Inclosed is a list of their force; ¹ with which, I hope, Captain Biddle will give a good account of some of the enemy's vessels.

I asked the Assembly's leave for your return, and they have given it, when a representation shall arrive in Congress. You are, however, reëlected; your colleagues are Messrs. W. H. Drayton, Thomas Heyward, John Mathews, and Richard Hutson.

You will have, from your other correspondents, a particular account of the dreadful fire in this town,

¹ Ship Gen. Moultrie, Capt. Sullivan, 118 seamen, officers included; 37 marines, 12 6 and 6 9-pdrs.
 Brig Notre Dame " Hall, 78 " " " 16 " 18 4-pdrs.
 " Fair American " Morgan, 69 " " " 20 " 8 4 and 6 6-pdrs.
 " Polly, " Anthony, 74 " " " 30 " 14 4-pdrs.

and of any other material news here. Drayton says he will set off next Monday, so that he will probably be with you very soon after you receive this, and be able to inform you of every thing here worth knowing which you may not have heard.

I am, with great esteem, Dear Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

JOHN RUTLEDGE.

The Honourable HENRY LAURENS, Esq.

P. S.—I have paid the bearer one hundred and eighty-five continental dollars.

[FLEURY AND DU PLESSIS TO LAURENS.]

25 Fevrier, 1778.

MONSIEUR :

L'ARRIVÉE d'un de nos nouveaux associés, à l'expédition du Canada avec une commission de Lt.-Colonel, nous a rapellé quelques reflexions oubliées, que nous prenons la liberté de confier à votre discrète amitié. Elles seront courtes, mais frappantes, et nous laisserons à votre esprit juste, et à vôtre ame honnête en faire l'application, où même en tirer les conclusions obvieuses.

Nous sommes depuis près d'un an à l'armée, et sans interêt ni avidité n'avons sollicités les graces du Congrès, que par des services ; quoique nos pétitions eussent pû être datées successivement des champs de bataille de Brandywine, de Germantown, des forts sur la Delaware, etc.

Le Congrès a daigné nous honorer du grade de Lt.-

Colonel, et fils adoptés d'une nouvelle patrie. Nous avons reçu avec respect, et reconnaissance, les témoignages prètieux d'estime et de bienveillance de ceux qui comme vous en sont l'honneur et l'appuy.

Nos foible services étoient recompensés au-delà même de nos désirs et cette grace étoit un titre glorieux, sur lequel pouvoient se fonder nos pretensions d'avancement, en rentrant dans le sein de notre première patrie ; bien convaincus, que ce qui constatoit l'utilité de nos services auprès d'une nation qu'elle regarde déjà comme son alliée, nous donnoit droit à ses graces, et a ses faveurs.

De depuis (sans doute par des raisons que nous devons respecter) presque tous nos compatriotes, ont obtenu des recompenses égales, quoique nous osons le dire, avec une franchise militaire, il y eût quelques différences dans les services ; et quoique plusieurs eussent pendant la campagne dernière été retenus par leurs intérêts pécuniaires au Congrès, tandis que nous l'étions par la cause publique à l'armée.

Nous prenons la liberté, Monsieur, de vous demander à vous même, si ces comparaisons forcés et fâcheuses n'eussent pas excitées dans votre cœur, à nôtre place non une sort de mecontentement que notre respect pour le Congrès nous interdit, mais au moins des réflexions peu satisfaisantes. Vous nous objecterez peut-être que la voix du Congrès et de l'armée est une recompense bien flatteuse, et doit suffire à ceux qui n'ont d'autre intérêt que celui de leur gloire ; mais ces témoignages quelque satisfaisants qu'ils puissent être, sont

passagers, et c'est à deux milles lieues de ceux dont nous les recevons, que nous attendent les graces de nôtre première patrie, où nous n'avons d'autres titres apparent pour les réclamer, que ces mêmes grades du depuis accordés à la politique où à la faveur ! Croira-t-on que pour nous seuls ils ont été le prix du mérite, et achetés par les fatigues, les dangers, les blessures, etc., etc.

Dans un gouvernement arbitraire où la faveur fait la loi, un ministre peut-être prodigue à ses créatures les récompenses refusées ou avec peine obtenues par ceux dont les services, sont l'unique recommandation ; mais supposera-t-on en Europe, que les représentans d'un peuple libre, un Congrès sanctuaire de la liberté, de la justice, et de l'honneur, puisse donner les mêmes récompenses à ceux dont les services diffèrent tant ; et ne sache refuser qu'à ceux qui ont bien servi.

Ces réflexions involontaires à chaque jour renouvelées nous arrachent enfin un secret que nous avions tâché de devorer. Ce n'est ni une basse envie, ni le dessein coupable de nuire qui nous sollicite à vous confier nos déplaîsirs ; et nous avouons avec plaisir, autant pour rendre justice à nos compatriotes que pour satisfaire nôtre propre délicatesse, qu'ils ont peut-être plus de talens que nous, et plus de moyens de vous être utiles, mais aucun d'eux n'a eû le même bonheur, ne s'est trouvé dans nos circonstances, ni même ne s'est efforcé de les faire naître ; leur zèle est sans doute égal au nôtre, mais nous les défions d'en avoir un plus ardent

pour une aussi belle cause, et lui seul peut-être a pû reparer nôtre insuffisance.

Si nous écrivions à un homme injuste où mal informé, nous joindrions des observations encore plus frappantes aux faits que nous venons de vous rappeler, mais vous savez tout : il suffit. Nous ne tâcherons ni de hâter, ni de forcer, ni de prévenir vôtre opinion. . . Nous en appelons à vôtre cœur, il plaidera nôtre cause. Soiez juge, prononcez, nous souscrivons d'avance à un arrêt dans lequel nous sommes sûrs que la raison et la justice seront de moitié.

Comme nôtre lettre pourrait être considérée comme une sorte de pétition pour obtenir une promotion nouvelle, nous déclarons que nous ne demandons rien de cette espèce, et sommes plus empressés à mériter les grâces qu'à les obtenir.

C'est dans ces sentimens, aux quels se joignent ceux du plus profond respect que nous avons l'honneur d'être,

Monsieur,

Vos très humbles et très obeissants serviteurs,

L. FLEURY,

Le Chevalier de MAUDUIT DU PLESSIS.

Son Excellence HENRY LAURENS,
Président de l'honorable Congrès.

[JOHN LLOYD TO HENRY LAURENS.]

NANTES, February 28th, 1778.

SIR :

I BEG leave to refer your honour to what I have addressed you under several late dates. This conveyance being at the moment of departure, I have scarce time to acquaint you that Lord North, on 17th inst., in the House of Commons, spoke in a manner more humiliating than a British minister on any occasion ever has done before him ; I should be happy to send his speech complete, but it's not in my power to procure the paper in which it is contained, and I have not time to copy it ; your honour will, therefore, be pleased to receive the most material extract.

“One of the bills he proposed to move for was to quiet America on the subject of taxation, and to remove all fears, real or pretended, of parliament ever attempting to tax them again, and to take away all exercise of the right itself in future so far as regarded revenue ; that as to the other particulars in controversy, he observed the Americans had desired a repeal of all the acts passed since 1763 ; that this could not, however, be supposed to mean any more than those acts which had in some way or other pressed on them ; for that some, which had passed in 1769, were beneficial, and such as themselves must consider in that light, being the granting bounties and premiums or the relaxation of former statutes that had been grievous to them ; that

as to the acts, such as the Massachusetts charter, the fishery and prohibitory bills, as they were the effects of the quarrel, should cease; and that as to complaints of matters of various nature, authority should be given to settle them to the satisfaction of America; that all these matters, consisting of a great variety, would be better left to the discussion of commissioners than to be established here by act of parliament, or by express powers given for each specific purpose; for that the Americans, in the negotiation, would consider every concession made actually here, to be a point of the basis of the treaty, and never to be receded from, and would accumulate new demands upon them; therefore, that as every thing of that kind might be variously modified by agreement, he was for leaving the whole to commissioners. That the commissioners, formerly appointed, had very large powers—so indeed he considered those powers; but as others seemed to consider them as more limited than in reality they were, he should take care now to be very explicit, and that he would give them full powers to treat, discuss, and concur on *every point whatever*; that as some difficulties had arisen about the powers given to the commissioners of treating with Congress by name, he would now remove that difficulty by empowering and enabling the commissioners to treat with Congress as if a legal body, and would so far give it authenticity, as to suppose the acts and concessions would bind all America; that they should have powers to treat with any of the provincial

assemblies on their present constitution, and with any individuals in their present civil capacity or military commands with General Washington or any other officer; that they should have a power, whenever they thought requisite, to order a suspension of arms; that they should have a power of granting pardons, immunities, and rewards; that they should have a power of restoring all the colonies, or any of them, to the form of its ancient constitution, as it stood before the troubles: any of those where the king nominated governors, council, judges, and other magistrates, to nominate such at their discretion till the king's further pleasure be known; that, as the powers of the former commissioners had been objected to, so the Congress had raised a difficulty on pretence of their non-admission of the title to be Independent States. That, meaning peace sincerely, he was resolved this difference should not stand in the way of a negotiation; for the commissioners were to admit, on their entering into a treaty, that they were so, but as a point to be given up on its amicable termination. As the Americans might claim their independence on the outset, he would not insist on their renouncing it till the treaty should receive its final ratification by the King and Parliament of Great Britain. That the commissioners should be instructed to negotiate for some reasonable and moderate contribution towards the common defence of the empire, when reunited, but to take away all pretence for not terminating this unhappy difference; the contribution was not

to be insisted on as a "sine qua non" of the treaty; but that, if the Americans should refuse so reasonable and equitable a proposition, they were not to complain if hereafter they were not to look for support from that part of the empire to whose expense they have refused to contribute."

The language certainly manifests that Great Britain is sufficiently humbled to solicit America for a peace on such terms as Congress shall be pleased to dictate. It was heard by all parties in the house with surprise and astonishment, but the propositions received a general assent. The ministry embraced the opportunity to reprobate, in the severest terms, the conduct of those men who have been the cause of bringing the nation to the very brink of destruction, and to entail eternal infamy and disgrace upon her.

Some differences having unexpectedly arisen between the king of Prussia and the empress, immense armies are marching towards their respective frontiers, so that a war in Germany is now expected, and which it is thought will have a prevalent influence over the political system of this court.

Your honour's much obliged friend and most obedient servant,

JOHN LLOYD.

HENRY LAURENS.

[JOHN RUTLEDGE TO HENRY LAURENS.]

CHARLESTON, March 8th, 1778.

DEAR SIR:

I RECEIVED your several favours by the bearer, and have communicated to the Assembly so much of their contents as it seemed proper to lay before them.

I no longer correspond in a public character with you, but, as I wish that my conduct may always stand fair in the opinion of men of integrity and understanding, I hope you will excuse my taking the liberty of giving you a brief account of my resignation.

On Thursday last, a bill by which the legislative power was vested in an Assembly and a Senate, (the latter to be chosen by electors in the different parishes and districts, at the time of choosing members of Assembly,) was presented for my assent—you recollect that it was discussed in the Congress of 1776, whether the Legislature should be composed of two or three branches? and whether the Legislative Council should be eligible by the Assembly or the people? so that we have the sentiments of the people, by their representatives in that Congress, on these questions. I rejected the bill for the reasons within contained, and resigned.

The more I reflect on the matter, the more I am convinced that a legislature has no lawful power to establish a different one, but that such power is only in the people, on a dissolution of government, or subversion of the constitution. I really never imagined that this

bill would have reached me, and therefore, though my opinion of it was long ago fixed, I had not put pen to paper, before it was ordered to be engrossed, and I had very little time for committing my thoughts to writing, before it was offered to me; otherwise I should perhaps have been more diffuse, but I have laid down the principle—let that suffice. Reason convinced me that my doctrine was sound before I found it supported by such great authorities as Locke, Bolingbrook, and other celebrated names. You have, within, the very words of the oath which I have taken, and I imagine that no candid and judicious person will think that, without a breach of it, I could have consented to the establishment of a different legislature; for though it is clear that the legislative authority which imposes an oath, may release another from it, yet it may be doubted whether they can release themselves; as, if they could, the oath seems of no consequence, binding only as long as they please to be bound, and amounting only to this promise: “we will keep it until we think proper to break it.” (And then, indeed, oaths would be for convenience made.) But, even if they could, they must be absolved by a law from the oath, before they can pass an act contrary to it—a virtual or implied absolution; an absolution, by an act tantamount to a law for repealing that which imposed the oath, i. e., by a law in direct breach of it, cannot be justified, being the very matter intended to be prevented by the oath. It does not lie with me to judge how far the other branches of the Legislature

could, consistently with the oath established by section thirty-three of the constitution, (and which oath they have taken,) pass a law for altering the legislative power. I meddle not with other men's consciences; let every one judge for himself in such cases.

By this bill the Christian Protestant religion is declared to be established, and no person is obliged to contribute to the support of any sect of which he is not a member; but why should the legislative authority be altered to come at a measure which may be attained by a law?

On balloting for a president in my stead, Mr. A. Middleton had seventy-six votes, (and Gadsden forty;) but he refused to accept the appointment, declaring that he disapproved of the bill; that they had no right to pass such a one; that, if he approved of it, he could not pass it, (having taken the oath,) nor could any man who should take the oath, without being perjured. It would be impertinent and tedious, (and I have been already more prolix than I intended,) to trouble you with an account of what passed and happened afterwards; you will hear of it some time or other, and I can easily judge what you will think of it; I will therefore only add, that, on Mr. Middleton's refusal, Mr. Lowndes (who, *I am told*, opposed the taking away the president's negative) was chosen by twenty-six votes more than Gadsden had. He has accepted the office, and there is an adjournment till next Wednesday.

May I request to be favoured, when you have leisure, with your sentiments on this affair?

I am, with great esteem and respect,

Dear Sir, your most humble servant,

JOHN RUTLEDGE.

The Hon. HENRY LAURENS, Esq.

[THOMAS PAINE TO HENRY LAURENS.]

LANCASTER, April 11th, 1778.

SIR:

I TAKE the liberty of mentioning an affair to you, which I think deserves the attention of Congress.

The persons who came from Philadelphia some time ago with, or in company with, a flag from the enemy, and were taken up and committed to Lancaster jail for attempting to put off counterfeit continental money, were yesterday brought to trial, and are likely to escape by means of an artful and partial construction of an act of this State for punishing such offences.

The act makes it felony to counterfeit the money *emitted* by Congress, or to circulate such counterfeits, knowing them to be so. The offenders' counsel explained the word "emitted" to have only a retrospect meaning, by supplying the idea of *which have been* "emitted by Congress." Therefore, they say, the act cannot be applied to any money emitted after the date of the act.

I believe the words, "emitted by Congress," mean only and should be understood to distinguish conti-

mental money from other money, and not one time from another time. It has, as I conceive, no reference to any particular time, but only to the particular authority which distinguishes money so emitted from money emitted by the State. It is meant only as a description of the money, and not of the time of striking it, but includes the idea of all time as inseparable from the continuance of the authority of Congress.

But be this as it may, the offence is continental and the consequences of the same extent. I can have no idea of any particular State pardoning an offence against all, or even their letting an offender slip legally, who is accountable to all and every State alike for his crime. The place where he commits it is the least circumstance of it. It is a mere accident, and has nothing or very little to do with the crime itself. I write this, hoping the information will point out the necessity of the Congress supporting their emissions by claiming every offender in this line, where the present deficiency of the law, or the partial interpretation of it, operates to the injustice and injury of the whole continent.

I beg leave to trouble you with another hint. Congress, I learn, has something to propose through the commissioners on the cartel respecting the admission and stability of the continental currency. As forgery is a sin against all men alike, and reprobated by all civil nations, query, would it not be right to require of General Howe the persons of Smithers and others in Philadelphia suspected of this crime? and if he or any

other commander continues to conceal or protect them in such practices, that, in such case, the Congress will consider the crime as the act of the commander-in-chief? Howe affects not to know the Congress; he ought to be made to know them; and the apprehension of personal consequences may have some effect upon his conduct.

I am, Dear Sir,
Your obedient and humble servant,
T. PAINE.

The Honourable HENRY LAURENS, ESQ.,
President of Congress.

Since writing the foregoing, the prisoners have had their trial; the one is acquitted, and the other convicted only of a fraud; for, as the law now stands, or rather as it is explained, the counterfeiting or circulating counterfeits is only a *fraud*. I don't believe it was the intention of the act to make it so, and I think it a misapplied lenity in the court to suffer such an explanation, because it has a tendency to invite and encourage a species of treason, the most prejudicial to us of any or all the other kinds.

I am aware how very difficult it is to make a law so very perfect at first, as not to be subject to false or perplexed conclusions. There never was but one act, (said a member of the House of Commons,) which a man might not creep out of; i. e., the act which obliges a man to be buried in woollen.

[COLONEL ELBERT TO HENRY LAURENS.]

FREDERICA HARBOUR, on board the sloop Rebecca,
19th April, 1778.

DEAR GENERAL:

I HAVE the happiness to inform you that about ten o'clock this forenoon the brigantine Hinchbrook, the sloop Rebecca, and a prize brig of theirs, all struck the British tyrant's colours, and surrendered to the American arms.

Being informed that the above vessels were at this place, I put about three hundred men, by detachments, from the troops under my command at Fort Howe, on board the three galleys: the Washington, Captain Hardy, the Lee, Captain Braddock, and the Bullock, Captain Hatchet; a detachment of artillery, with two field pieces, under Captain Young, I also put on board a boat; and with this little army embarked at Danin, and last evening effected a landing at a bluff about a mile below the town; leaving Colonel White on board the Lee, Captain Malvin on board the Washington, and Lieutenant Petty on board the Bullock, each with a sufficient party of the troops. Immediately on landing, I despatched Lieutenant-Colonel Rae and Major Roberts, with about one hundred men, who marched directly up to the town and made prisoners of three marines and two sailors belonging to the Hinchbrook. It being late, the galleys did not engage till this morning. You must imagine what my feelings were to see our

three little men-of-war going on the attack of these three vessels, who have spread terror on our coast, and who were drawn up in order of battle. But the weight of our metal soon damped the courage of those heroes, who took to their boats, and, as many as could, abandoned their vessels and every thing on board, of which we immediately took possession. What is extraordinary, we have not one man hurt. Captain Ellis is drowned, and Captain Mowbray made his escape. As soon as I can see Colonel White, (who has not yet come to us with his prize,) I shall consult with him, the other field officer, and the three captains of the galleys, on the expediency of attacking the *Galatea*, now laying at Ickyl. I send you this by my brigade-major, Habersham, who will inform you of other particulars. I am in haste,

Dear General, your most obedient servant,

S. ELBERT,
Colonel Commanding.

The Honourable HENRY LAURENS.

[GENERAL GATES TO HENRY LAURENS.]

FISHKILL, 27th May, 1778.

SIR:

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letters of the 15th and 19th inst., and to acquaint you of my arrival the 17th at the North River. Inclosed I send your Excellency for the perusal of Congress—1st, General Washington's letter to me

from the Valley Forge, dated the 17th May; 2d, my answer thereto, dated Fishkill, 21st May; 3d, my letter to his Excellency, dated Fishkill, 23d May; 4th, my letter to Governor Trumbull, of 21st May, inclosing a copy of General Washington's of the 17th; 5th, my letter to Governor Trumbull, inclosing two letters containing intelligence received of the motions of the enemy; 6th, those letters. Since the above correspondence, I have received good supplies of provisions, and am happy to find matters in such a train as to be no longer in suspense upon that head.

General Conway, who is just returned from Albany, seems much chagrined at the sudden and unexpected acceptance of his resignation, with no marks of respect or approbation paid to his services. He assures me that he only meant to desire his dismissal, provided he was not allowed to share in the active service of the campaigns; as it would otherwise be considered in France as a reproach to his military character to have remained in an inland garrison town, without any suitable command, while the armies were in the field. Your Excellency will receive General Conway's letter upon this subject; and I hope, sir, Congress will not think me importunate when I say I wish that the only gentleman who has left France with the rank of colonel of foot, should not be returned to his prince and nation in any other manner than such as becomes the gratitude, honour, and dignity of the United States of America. I am much obliged by the commission ordered by Con-

gress for Lieutenant-Colonel Troup; but a diffidence in his own experience and abilities has induced that young gentleman to decline so important a charge, choosing rather to remain in his former station. I therefore return the commission to your Excellency, and have appointed Colonel Malcolm to act pro tempore as deputy adjutant-general. Colonel Malcolm commands one of the sixteen regiments raised upon the new arrangement of the army in the year 1777, and waits the decision of the present new arrangement to determine his future station.

I have trusty persons now employed to gain the earliest intelligence of the enemy's movements and designs; to get the very best will require some money. I wish to be authorized by Congress to justify my proceedings in so essential a service.

I yesterday published in general orders the resolves of Congress of the 15th inst., inclosed in your Excellency's letter to me of the 19th following. I doubt not but the gratitude of the army will be evinced by their conduct and fidelity, for so generous a reward for their past and future services. Your Excellency will find in the packet General McDougall's report to me of the present strength of the enemy's army in and near New York; the authenticity thereof he seems convinced of.

With great respect I am, sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

HORATIO GATES.

His Excellency, HENRY LAURENS, Esq.

[JOHN RUTLEDGE TO HENRY LAURENS.]

CHARLESTON, June 15th, 1778.

DEAR SIR:

I THANK you for the intelligence contained in your favours of last month. Our alliance with France, and the prospect of other European powers acceding to it, are of the utmost importance, and will, I hope, give the finishing stroke to toryism.

The commercial treaty is certainly exceptionable on account of exempting all exports to the French from duty, merely in consideration of their molasses being free, and I think the conduct of our commissioners on that occasion (of which I presume you have heard) blameable. However, the treaty is much better than I ever expected it would have been.

I am very glad to find that you determined to stay in Congress, it being of great consequence that every State should be well represented, and that the president's chair should be properly filled.

We have not a word of news worth relating. The southward expedition (as it is termed) goes on very slowly. Our advices this day from Savannah are, that General Howe was encamped last week only five miles beyond Alatomaha, waiting for reinforcements and provisions. I wish this expedition may not turn out rather worse than the two former. I believe, if any thing is done, it will be by Colonel Williamson, who is set off with a party of eight hundred horse; but the season

is discouraging, and the expenses will, I fear, be far beyond any advantage which may reasonably be expected from the enterprise. Perhaps I may be mistaken, but I fancy it will terminate in nothing more than obtaining a post at St. Marys, which, from the superiority of our force, I imagine will be evacuated on the approach of our troops, and which the enemy may repossess if they please when our men return home, as it will not be advisable for us to garrison it.

People wait with impatience to hear of some capital stroke by General Washington, of the arrival of the British commissioners, and of a declaration of war. I am singular in my opinion that Howe will embark his forces (without General Washington's being able to get at him) for the West Indies, lest a blow should be struck there, and that the proposed commissioners will not come out, as we have no account that the bills (of which drafts were sent to America for circulation) have passed, and the M. de Noailles billet-doux may have convinced the British ministry that it would be spending time very idly to waste any more on such laws, and that commissioners might as well stay at home as come on such a fool's errand as to endeavour to obtain a renunciation of American independency, or to talk about matters which can have no effect until ratified by parliament. With respect to war, I think if the English will consent to partake of instead of engrossing our trade, Louis will be peaceable. He has made his brother George a good proposition, and it is not clear

that he will reject his advice. Observe how cautiously he speaks to parliament: "If he shall find himself called upon"—"if it shall be found necessary." They echo his words, by no means determined on war; and really the wisest thing which Great Britain can do is at once to quit every pretension to any part of America, (for, I suppose, whenever negotiation takes place Congress will insist on her relinquishing Canada and the Floridas,) and endeavour to get as much of its trade as she can, which, indeed, would of course be no inconsiderable share. However, the stubborn pride, self-conceit, and infatuation which have prevented her from making better terms for herself than she can now expect, may perhaps plunge her into a war, from which I do not see what benefit she can possibly derive. But whither am I running on speculation about points which may, ere now, be determined? You will think I forgot how precious your time is. Be pleased to present my compliments and best wishes to Captain John Laurens, and believe me, with great esteem and respect,

Dear Sir, your obliged and obedient humble servant,

JOHN RUTLEDGE.

Honourable HENRY LAURENS, Esq.

P. S.—I will trouble you to apologize to Mr. Drayton for not giving him a line, having received his of the 4th ult., as I have only just now heard (on coming to town) of this opportunity. The inclosed were brought in a packet to me from France, via North Carolina.

[GENERAL SULLIVAN TO HENRY LAURENS.]

HEAD-QUARTERS, PROVIDENCE, August 6th, 1778.

DEAR SIR :

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that some time since three of the enemy's frigates quit their former stations, sailed to the north end of Rhode Island, and anchored between Dyer's Island and Bristol Ferry.

Count D'Estaing, on the 4th inst., meditated an attack upon them, and on the 5th issued orders that two of his ships should turn the north end of Conanicut Islands and give them battle. These orders they proceeded to comply with; but on their approach the English frigates were set fire to, abandoned, and entirely consumed, without making use of any means of defence, or showing the least appearance of resistance. Their names and force have not yet been ascertained, but when known, shall be transmitted to your Excellency.

I am sorry to inform your Excellency that the motions of the militia are exceedingly tardy; I have been but inconsiderably reinforced by the militia of Connecticut, nor do I expect much from them. Those of New Hampshire and Massachusetts are, I am told, on their march, and have reason to expect them by Saturday next. Your Excellency may rest assured that I shall make every previously necessary preparation for their reception, so that no time be lost between their arrival and the immediate execution of our intended invasion.

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

JOHN SULLIVAN.

P. S.—I have this moment learned from certain intelligence that four frigates and one tender were destroyed.

[PETER TIMOTHY TO HENRY LAURENS.]

16th August, 1778.

HONOURABLE SIR:

THE express not having yet called upon me for my packet, I embrace the time to give you some intelligence I have just got, in hopes it may tend towards the capture of a copper-bottom ship, the fittest vessels to be assigned for this station.

William Phillips (the Santee coaster, who you know very well) is just returned from St. Augustine, whither he went with a flag, to carry one Mackenzie, of that place, home, being in the lowest state, and who came out in Bachop's privateer for the benefit of sea air.

He arrived off St. Augustine bar on the 8th, where he found at anchor the *Perseus*, man-of-war, of twenty guns, with two victuallers, a ship and brig, which had nearly discharged their cargoes. The *Perseus* had anchored there but the evening before, piloted round by Captain Mowbray from St. Johns, whither she had been sent from New York, and where she had lain

during the whole windmill expedition from Georgia. Mowbray came out of the *Perseus*, and piloted Phillips in. The gale we had here on the 10th was also felt there. The *Perseus* and victuallers, and also the *Otter*, sloop-of-war, of eighteen guns, which likewise came, anchored off St. Augustine bar on the 9th, were obliged to slip their cables; but all had returned on the 11th, except the ship victualler. Several vessels were driven ashore in the harbour. The *Otter* had been as long at St. Johns as the *Perseus*. They left there Mowbray's ship, the *George*, and a galley made of a brig cut down. Elphinstone said the man who planned the Georgia expedition ought to be hanged. It was reported the number of our backwoods people in East Florida amounted to seven hundred, who were all kept at St. Johns, where they must have an easy time, to be sure. On the 12th, the schooner *Oakhampton* packet, belonging to Mr. John Rose, another cartel sent from hence on the 8th, with eighty-two prisoners, commanded by Captain John Hatter, arrived at St. Augustine. The *Otter* having chased her, the crew had taken the command, and fourteen went for the shore in the boat; only twelve landed; the two others were drowned. The *Perseus'* boat afterwards came up with the schooner. On the 13th the prisoners from Hatter's were landed; amongst them Jameson (whose wife and four children remain here). The same evening a very small northward-built sloop, having a quarter-deck, mounting six guns, with netting all around, full of cohorns and

swivels, very clean, and having topsail-yards aloft, arrived at St. Augustine from New York.

The 14th, Phillips was dispatched, and came away. While there, he understood Captain Elphinstone would cruise off this bar. He asked Phillips if he had spoke with no man-of-war on the passage; but he had not seen a sail either in going or returning. No prizes had been lately carried into Augustine, and there were very few prisoners; Elphinstone had only six on board his ship.

I thought it necessary to give you this information, because, as the winds at this season set in from the northeast, if the *Perseus* cruises a few days here, she may get to the northward before you receive this intelligence; and it is possible some disposition might be to intercept both her and the *Otter* before they can reach either New York, Rhode Island, or Halifax. A couple of cruisers, a frigate, and a privateer or State vessel, coming this way, might do the business; for they cannot lay the hurricane season on the coast of Florida; but they might go to New Providence. I was so fortunate as to plan the successful expedition against Bachop and Osborn; I wish this hint might be as successful. Great things may be done from hence by a fast-sailing frigate or two.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,
PETER TIMOTHY.¹

¹ Peter Timothy was the editor and publisher of "The Gazette of the State of South Carolina," from April, 1777, until about the time of the sur-

It is probable Mowbray may come on a cruise in his ship after the equinox, for he can now man her with Osborn and Bachop's crews. She mounts eighteen three-pounders.

Captain Elphinstone said Captain Pine & Co., as they belonged to a State vessel, will not be exchanged for officers of privateers only.

[GENERAL SULLIVAN TO HENRY LAURENS.]

CAMP BEFORE NEWPORT, August 16th, 1778.

MY DEAR SIR:

I HAVE been honoured with your Excellency's favour of the 18th inst., with the gazette inclosed. I most sincerely thank you for the license you have given me to communicate intelligence to your Excellency by private letter, and also for your promise to retaliate in kind. My letters to General Washington, copies of which he is to convey to Congress, from time to time,

render of Charleston, S. C., to the British in 1780. His father was Lewis Timothée, a French Protestant refugee, who settled at Philadelphia in the early part of the last century; was employed some time in the printing house of Franklin, and was the first librarian of the Philadelphia Library Company. He removed to Charleston in 1733, and soon after became the printer to the colony of South Carolina. He died in December, 1738.

Peter succeeded his father as printer to the colony, and after the commencement of the revolution, became printer to the State. At the surrender of Charleston he was taken prisoner and sent to St. Augustine with General Gadsden and other distinguished Carolinians. He was exchanged in 1781, and in the autumn of the next year, while making a voyage to St. Domingo the vessel foundering, he, with every soul on board, was lost.

must have informed you of the return of the French fleet; the loss it sustained in the storm, and their sudden departure for Boston. This movement has raised every voice against the French nation, revived all those ancient prejudices against the faith and sincerity of that people, and inclines them most heartily to curse the new alliance. These are only the first sallies of passion, which will, in a few days, subside.

I confess that I do most cordially resent the conduct of the Count, or rather the conduct of his officers, who have, it seems, compelled him to go to Boston and leave us on an island without any certain means of retreat; and what surprises me exceedingly is, that the Count could be persuaded that it was necessary for ten sail of the line to lay in the harbour to attend one which is refitting.

I begged the Count to remain only twenty-four hours, and I would agree to dismiss him, but in vain. He well knew that the original plan was for him to land his own troops with a large detachment of mine within their lines, under fire of some of his ships, while with the rest I made an attack in front; but his departure has reduced me to the necessity of attacking their works in front or of doing nothing. They have double lines across the island in two places, at near quarter of a mile distance. The outer line is covered in front by redoubts within musket-shot of each other; the second in the same manner by redoubts thrown up between the lines. Besides this there is an inaccessible pond,

which covers more than half of the first line. A strong fortress on Tomminy Hill overlooks and commands the whole adjacent country.

The enemy have about six thousand men within these works. I have eight thousand one hundred and seventy-four. With this force I am to carry their lines or retire with disgrace. Near seven thousand of my men are militia, unaccustomed to the noise of arms. Should I throw my men by stratagem within these lines, it must be my best troops. Should they be defeated, the want of ships will render their retreat impracticable, and most of the army must be sacrificed. You will, therefore, judge of my feelings, and of the situation which my inconstant ally and coadjutor has thrown me into. My feelings as a man press me to make the desperate attempt. My feelings as an officer cause me to hesitate.

I have submitted the considerations to my officers; how they will declare, I know not. I feel disgrace will attend this fatal expedition, though it gave at first the most pleasing presages of success.

I think the new manœuvre of the commissioners exceeds any thing they have yet attempted. I trust they will return to England with that share of contempt such infamous conduct deserves.

Your brave and worthy son is a fellow-sufferer with me in this fatal island. Believe me, my dear sir, when I tell you that America has seldom produced his equal for bravery or for judgment.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir, with the highest esteem, your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

His Excellency, HENRY LAURENS, Esq.

[PETER TIMOTHY TO HENRY LAURENS.]

CHARLESTON, August 17th, 1778.

HONOURABLE SIR :

THE express not being gone yet, accept more intelligence. I have just seen Capt. Thomas Seymour, who was taken the 6th instant, and put ashore at Long Bay the 8th, by a Jamaica privateer schooner of Jamaica, called the *Revenge*, mounting twenty-two swivel guns and four cohorns, manned with twenty-four men, and commanded by John Atkinson; the vessel that drove Philip Will's schooner ashore at Bull's. He tells me he sailed from Bermuda the 20th of July, and that he left Guttridge there, who was to sail the 21st upon a cruise, in a new Virginia boat of fifty-four feet keel, which he had taken, razed, and armed with fourteen guns; together with his own sloop of twelve, and a brig which he had bought in Bermuda. This Guttridge is a daring fellow, and an excellent pilot on the coasts of North Carolina and Virginia. If the Virginians were advised of this, or some other steps could be taken for his reception, perhaps his success might be interrupted.

The greatest injuries our trade has received have

been from Guttridge's fitting out at and cruising from Bermuda, where the nest of tories lodged by Lord Dunmore are exceedingly mischievous.—Would it not be worth an expedition to Bermuda to swear the inhabitants as subjects to these States, and to remove the refusers as prisoners of war? A few small vessels, and one hundred soldiers, under chosen, discreet officers—to have there—might do it. In a war between Britain, Spain, and France, there cannot perhaps be places more injurious to the trade of our allies, nor so convenient rendezvous for the enemy's privateers, than the Bermuda and Bahama Islands. Is it not worth some attention? Whoever possesses or secures Providence first, commands the straits, gulf, and windward passage, and the inhabitants will go privateering on one side or the other—none in the world more mischievous. I have the honour to be

Your Excellency's obedient humble servant,

PETER TIMOTHY.

HON. HENRY LAURENS.

[W. H. DRAYTON TO JOHN LAURENS.]

PHILADELPHIA, September 7th, 1778.

DEAR SIR :

I most affectionately congratulate you upon the glory you have gained in the late action in Rhode Island, and upon your having continued safe in the midst of so many balls and dangers.

Your post was in the most important, most honourable, and most perilous quarter. We had received a

copy of General Sullivan's letter to General Washington. Your father had received a letter from the Marquis Lafayette. Three days passed, and not a word from or of you, after the action. A report prevailed that you had fallen, and it had weight from the above circumstances. However, yesterday, Major Morris arrived with the desired accounts and relieved us from our anxiety, and I felt particularly happy on the occasion, as well upon your father's as your account.

A man who is ever vigilant to discharge his duty to his country, is pleased to have objects pointed out. Give me leave to point one. The public is fully convinced that in you they possess a most valuable officer, and upon this point great hopes are established. It is your duty then, in action, to take some care of such an officer, and not unnecessarily expose those hopes to a blasting shower of balls.

We have had but little information with respect to the operations of the French fleet during their expedition against Lord Howe. General Sullivan *forgot* to inclose a copy of D'Estaing's letter to him *immediately* upon his return to Rhode Island. We have no account of the names of the officers who signed the protest, nor of the answer of the general officers to General Sullivan's third proposition to them, immediately upon the departure of the French fleet for Boston; nor of the precise time when the fleet sailed for and arrived at Boston. These, you know, are of importance to me. The stationary nature of the camp at White Plains

may enable you to inform me on this point, and on those relative to Monmouth.

I am, my dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

WM. H. DRAYTON.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOHN LAURENS.

[ROBERT HOWE TO HENRY LAURENS.]

CHARLESTON, S. C., 22d September, 1778.

MY DEAR SIR :

My public letters will convey my opinion to Congress, how essential the subduction of St. Augustine is to the tranquillity both of this State and of Georgia, of which if Congress should be convinced, they will probably encourage an effectual expedition against it; to you, therefore, sir, as a friend whose attention to me and whose services I never shall forget, I take the liberty of addressing myself upon a subject which relates merely to myself.

I flew to my native country when it was likely to become the seat of war; it fell to my lot to remain here, (unwillingly, I confess,) when the war progressed northwardly; but from a sense of duty I submitted. You, sir, know what a loss of rank I sustained by being absent from the scene of immediate action, and, I flatter myself also, know that nothing but an earnest desire to sacrifice every private consideration to that public cause in which I was engaged, could have detained me a mo-

ment in a service where I was deprived of that promotion which was my right, and of which every soldier of sensibility cannot but be tenacious.

Now, dear sir, if an expedition against St. Augustine should be undertaken, which, long since believing to be absolutely necessary, I endeavoured to prepare myself for; if, after a great deal of private expense, to which I have put myself to obtain an exact knowledge of its strength and situation; if, after risking the lives of persons employed as spies for this purpose, who were not insignificant members of society, and after every exertion and strenuous effort I have made, I should be deprived of the only opportunity which has offered in my department of serving my country signally, and of obtaining fame, another, elder in commission than I am, should be sent up to reap those laurels, and to avail himself of that information I have laboured to gather, it cannot but be supposed that I shall feel it sensibly.

You, sir, whose sense of honour I know to be delicate, will feel for me in such a situation. You, sir, whose friendship and kindness I have with gratitude experienced, will, I doubt not, exert yourself to prevent a measure which will not only give malevolence an opportunity of reflecting upon me, but fix an indelible stain upon me as a soldier, by implying that I had no talent adequate to actual service. Upon you, therefore, sir, as a friend (for so I know you) and for the sake of justice, I rely, to guard me against a mortification and

disgrace which I am conscious I do not deserve, and which forever will wound the honour and peace of,

Dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

ROBERT HOWE.

Honourable HENRY LAURENS, Esq.

P. S.—You will please not to communicate the contents of this letter unless you find it necessary.

[LORD STIRLING TO HENRY LAURENS.]

MIDDLEBROOK, December 16th, 1778.

DEAR SIR:

OUR sudden departure from Elizabethtown, in order to meet the enemy on their curious expedition up Hudson's River, and being in a moving way ever since, has prevented my acknowledging the receipt of your several letters of 5th, 6th, and 7th instant, with the papers mentioned to be inclosed, for which I sincerely thank you. The copies of the treaties I have laid by, and shall not make any use of them till I hear further from you. The emendation you propose to a certain verdict I should readily subscribe to, for I never could see the great difference between the *retrograde manœuvre and running away*. Mr. Elliot, of New York, in a line of the 5th, says he has met one copy of Vattel's works, which is among some books in cases which are unpacked, but has the promise of it as soon as they can conveniently get at it. In another of the 14th, which I received this morning, he says, "he has not yet been

able to get Vattel's works." I have heard of another copy in this State, but it is in a similar situation, packed up and sent back into the country.

I am sincerely obliged to you for opening your mind so freely on certain matters; I little thought we were in such jeopardy. Deane's publication will open the eyes of many.

With the highest respect and esteem, I have the honour to be your most obedient humble servant,

STIRLING.

The Honourable HENRY LAURENS.

[THOMAS PAINE TO HENRY LAURENS.]

SIR:

MY anxiety for your *personal* safety has not only fixed a profound silence upon me, but prevents my asking you a great many questions, lest I should be the unwilling, unfortunate cause of new difficulties or fatal consequences to you, and in such a case I might indeed say, "*'Tis the survivor dies.*"

I omitted sending the inclosed in the morning as I intended. It will serve you to parry ill nature and ingratitude with, when undeserved reflections are cast upon me.

I certainly have some awkward natural feeling, which I never shall get rid of. I was sensible of a kind of shame at the Minister's door to-day, lest any one should think I was going to solicit a pardon or a pension. When I come to you I feel only an *unwill-*

ingness to be seen, on your account. I shall never make a courtier, I see that.

I am your obedient humble servant,

THOMAS PAINE.

January 14, 1779.

[GENERAL SULLIVAN TO HENRY LAURENS.]

PROVIDENCE, January 25th, 1779.

DEAR SIR :

I HAD the honour (two days since) of receiving your esteemed favour of the 5th instant, with the gazette inclosed, for which and the polite attention you have ever been pleased to pay to me, beg you to accept my most sincere and cordial thanks.

I lament exceedingly your resignation of the chair, and my unhappiness is greatly increased by a conviction that you would not have done it without good and sufficient reasons for so doing.

Though you are reduced to a private station, permit me to assure you without flattery that I shall always revere your character, and esteem it the highest honour, if I can merit a continuance of that correspondence with which you have heretofore honoured me.

Permit me, dear sir, to entreat you not to turn your back upon Congress at a time when our finances are low, our best officers resigning, our soldiers ready to mutiny, our credit sunk, and that patriotic zeal which first fired American bosoms, flying from us, I fear, never to return again. My business is to serve, and

not to censure; but I fear that Congress, in their foreign appointments, have been too unguarded, and that Mr. Deane has been too much influenced by private resentment, in attacking their proceedings¹ in every part where there is the least probability of success, with a view of inflaming the minds of the people, and lessening their respect for Congress; and this at a time when prudence dictated that their influence should be supported and extended; and I much fear that too much of that time which should be spent in saving a distressed people, is taken up in party disputes, the reason for which should be carefully concealed from our enemies, and remain a secret even to our friends. As I am not in the cabinet, I do not attempt to give my opinions. I only express my fear, which I could wish had not so probable a foundation.

Your resignation has convinced me that matters are far from being right in Congress; and the miserable state of our bills of credit, and the distressed situation of the army, alarm my fears exceedingly.

I wish the late resolution of Congress respecting the bills of credit may answer the intended purpose; but I fear the event will prove the contrary. If the plan had been the best that could have been devised, does it not at this time bear a strong resemblance to administering medicines to a person whose disorder has

¹ See the Pennsylvania newspapers about the period this letter was written.

been suffered to rage uncontrolled till the patient is past recovery.

I have the honour to inclose you some York and some Providence papers, which may afford you some amusement at a leisure hour. There is nothing new in this quarter, save that the enemy are fixing up their flat-bottomed boats, I suppose for the purpose of coming on the main to plunder. I hope our precautions may frustrate their designs.

I have the honour to be, with the most lively sentiments of esteem and respect, dear Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

Honourable HENRY LAURENS, Esq.

[GENERAL SULLIVAN TO WASHINGTON.]

April, 1779.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY.

I HAVE examined and compared the several maps with the written accounts of the Indian country which were laid before me by your Excellency, and have considered the plan of the expedition proposed, and beg leave to make the following observations, viz.:

That, though the number of Indians in that country appear, from information, to be about two thousand, yet underrating the number of the enemy has been a prevailing error with the Americans since the commencement of the war. This is ever a source of misfortune, and has, to some armies, proved fatal. As in no

instance it could be more dangerous than in the present intended expedition, it will be necessary to consider whether there is not a probability of the enemy being more numerous than Gen. Schuyler's account makes them. It is indeed probable that he might have obtained nearly a just account of the number of Indians in each tribe, but it is impossible that he should gain an accurate account of the number of Tories and French volunteers who have joined the parties commanded by Butler and their other leaders. I therefore conclude that his account can only respect the Indians inhabiting the part of the country to be invaded. If so, the number of the enemy which may be expected to oppose our force must far exceed his account.

The enemy are now possessed of an opinion that an expedition is intended against Canada by way of Lake Ontario. This may probably induce them to send all the force they can possibly spare from Canada, to act in conjunction with the armed vessels to oppose our passing from Mohawk River into the river Iroquois, through the lake; but should the demonstrations in the Cohass country puzzle and perplex them, it can only serve to keep them in Canada until the real intention is known, which will happen as soon as the main body of the army is formed on the Susquehannah. They will then, undoubtedly, turn their whole force to defeat that party, which passes up the Mohawk River, that they may be the better enabled to combat the other which advances by the Susquehannah. Should, therefore, the party

which advances up the Mohawk River be small, they must (if they advance far into the country) be cut off; and if they do not advance, little or no advantage can be derived from it. I am therefore of opinion that the main body should advance by that route, and the smaller party by the Susquehannah, though this last party should, in my opinion, be at least equal to the estimated force of the Indian nations. If this is the case, they must carry conquest before them, as they can have no other force to engage but what is derived from the Indians themselves, and probably not all that, as the advancement of the other party must demand the attention of some of them to that quarter. The force of the other party should be nearly equal to the collective force of the Indians and that of the Britons and Tories, which may probably be detached from Canada. I say nearly equal, because it cannot be doubted but the advancement of the party up the Susquehannah will demand the attention of some of those nations who live nearest the Teoga.

It has been expected that the retreat of the main body may be cut off if they pass up the Mohawk River and down to the Cayuga Lake. But this objection will apply with much greater force and propriety to the sending a small party that way. It has been said that in case of misfortune a retreat may be better made by the Susquehannah than by the Mohawk River. This is an argument much in favour of the smaller body passing that way. But the main body should be of

sufficient force to command victory wherever they go, and to form a junction with the Susquehannah party at all events.

The largeness of the party will much distract the enemy, as they cannot know (until it arrives at the fork of the river near Lake Ontario) whether the real design is against Canada or the Indian nations. The party advancing by the Susquehannah may probably be considered as a party destined to make a feint, to keep the Indians at home; but should it be considered in the only remaining light, which is, that of destroying the Indian country, it will keep those nations at home, give the main body an opportunity to defeat with ease all parties which may be sent against it from Canada, and form a junction with the Susquehannah party between Cayuga Lake and Chemung, which two places are but forty miles distant from each other.

There will be an additional advantage in the main body coming this way, as it will come in the rear of the enemy and prevent their retreat to Niagara; but should the main body advance by Susquehannah, it will come on in front of the enemy, and give them an opportunity to retreat to any part they may think proper, *especially* as the smallest part of the army, should it advance by Mohawk River must move with great caution and deliberation, lest their retreat should be cut off, or the party be subjected to a total defeat. But should the main body advance that way, confident of its own superiority, they will move with that necessary firmness

which a consciousness of superiority seldom fails to inspire, and, of course, will be more likely to cut off the retreat of the Indians, and give them a fatal blow. The smaller party being sure of a retreat, may move without that danger to which it would be exposed in the other route, and much sooner co-operate with the main body. Besides this, let me observe, that, as the party which advances by Mohawk River will have the enemy on all sides, it would be the height of bad policy, as well as contrary to every military rule, to suffer that party to be the smallest.

The number of troops to be sent by Susquehannah should, in my opinion, be two thousand five hundred, which, when the posts for magazines are established at Augusta, Wioming, Wialusing, and Teoga, will be reduced to less than two thousand. The party sent by Mohawk River should consist of four thousand, which, by draughts for boatmen, provision guards, and a detachment to make a feint at Cherry Valley, will be reduced nearly to three thousand. With this force the business may be effectually done, and with such expedition as will prevent the enemy from escaping, and in the end will be attended with much less expense than a small party.

As this expedition is intended to cut off those Indian nations, and to convince others that we have it in our power to carry the war into their own country whenever they commence hostilities, it will be necessary that the blow should be sure and fatal ; otherwise they

will derive confidence from our ineffectual attempts, and become more insolent than before. If therefore the circumstances of the army and country will not admit of a proper force, it will be much better not to make the attempt, than to make an ineffectual one.

With respect to supplies by the way of Albany, I have no doubt, as it is a great flour country, and a sufficiency of live stock may be procured from Connecticut and other parts, and forage may be had with as little difficulty as by the way of the Susquehannah. Besides this, as the army must embark on Susquehannah at Augusta, it will not be so long a route from a well-inhabited country on the Mohawk River to the centre of the Indian settlements, as from Augusta to Chemung.

In order that the main army may suffer as little as possible from a deduction of force, I would propose, that in addition to the force already mentioned, Poor's brigade should be taken from Connecticut, where they are not wanted, and Glover's from Providence, the place of which may be supplied by State troops, stipulated by the New England States, and in addition to those some militia might be ordered, for three months, to complete the number proposed.

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

Your humble servant,

JNO. SULLIVAN.

His Excellency GEN. WASHINGTON

[GEN. SULLIVAN TO WASHINGTON.]

MILSTONE, April 16th, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL :

As your Excellency has honoured me with an appointment to command the intended expedition, I must beg leave to lay my sentiments before you in writing, as words used in conversation may vanish in air, and the remembrance of them be lost, while writing will remain to justify my opinion, or to prove it was erroneous.

The variety of reasons which I urged yesterday for passing with the main body up the Mohawk River and down by Wood Creek to the Cayuga Lake, still have their weight in my mind ; but as Gen. Schuyler writes that they cannot be supplied with provisions, the plan must be given up, and that of passing with the main body up the Susquehannah be adopted. The force which I have requested for that quarter is 3,000 effective men, after all proper deductions are made for guards at the several posts, boatmen, hospital guards, tenders, &c. That those should be collected before we enter the Indian country, appears to me essentially necessary, as it is supposed that the principal opposition we shall meet with, will be between Wyoming and Teoga. Should this be the case, as seemed to be the general opinion in council yesterday, we can derive no advantage from the party on the Mohawk River, as they are not to join us until we have established a post at Teoga.

Should they attempt to join us before, they must be defeated in passing down the Susquehannah; and should our numbers be such as will admit of a defeat before we arrive at Teoga, as we can have no communication with the other party, and they are to regulate themselves by a plan fixed before we march, they will remain ignorant of our defeat, and, of course, proceed at the time appointed, and in all probability fall into the hands of the enemy. If we are to expect the principal opposition before we arrive at Teoga, it is absurd to reckon for part of our force, troops who are not to attempt joining us before we have passed the principal dangers.

Indeed, I had no great dependence upon the advantages to be derived from so small a party in that quarter. It was yesterday said, that we might expect 1,400 Indians to oppose us in our march. Your Excellency will permit me to say, that 1,400 Indians, perfectly acquainted with the country, capable of seizing every advantage which the ground can possibly afford, perfectly acquainted with the use of arms, inured to war from their youth, and, from their manner of living, capable of enduring every kind of fatigue, are no despicable enemy, when opposed to 3,000 troops totally unacquainted with the country, and the Indian manner of fighting, and who, though excellent in the field, are far from having that exactness with fire-arms, or that alertness in a wooded country, which Indians have.

As so many have contributed to prove this, it will be unnecessary for me to say more upon the subject. If I was not a party concerned in this expedition, and my opinion was asked of the force necessary to insure success, I should give it that the force of each party should be equal to the highest estimate of the enemy's force in that country; that they might be able to form a junction at all events, and put the matter beyond the possibility of a doubt, and after that they would be enabled to detach and conquer the country in an eighth part of the time that they would if obliged for their own security to keep in a body. I know that the estimated force of the Indians is small; but when I consider that underrating the number of the enemy has been a prevailing error with us since the commencement of the war, that we have had persons from among them, both inhabitants and deserters, and have had the proceedings, debates, and calculations of Parliament before us, and yet have repeatedly mistaken their numbers more than one-half, I cannot suppose but that we are still liable to fall into the same error, where we can have no evidence, and every thing told us is mere matter of opinion. In addition to this, let me repeat what I observed yesterday, which is the probability of a force being sent from Canada, to prevent our passing into Canada by way of Lake Ontario. I also beg leave to observe, that when our advancement upon the Susquehannah is known, it will probably be conjectured that our intention is against

Niagara, which will induce the enemy strongly to reinforce that post. This they may do in a fortnight, as it is but 110 miles from Montreal to Owegachia, and their vessels can take troops from thence to Niagara in three or four days; and when they find that our intention is against the Indian settlement, those troops will undoubtedly join them. From these considerations it must appear that the demand I have made is far from being unreasonable, even exclusive of the party sent on their flanks. I well know that Continental troops cannot be spared for this purpose, but good militia should undoubtedly be called for. This expedition is undertaken against those Indian nations to convince them that we have it in our power to carry the war into their country whenever they commence hostilities. Should we fail in the attempt, the Indians will derive confidence from it, and grow more insolent than before.

Thus have I submitted my sentiments to your Excellency, and trust that my reasoning upon the subject must prove that 3,000 good and effective men, at least, will be necessary to march from Teoga, exclusive of those which your Excellency may think proper to direct to operate on the other flank of the enemy.

I have the honour to be, with the most lively sentiments of esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

JOHN SULLIVAN.

To his Excellency GENERAL WASHINGTON.

[WASHINGTON TO BRIG.-GEN. SCOTT.]

HEAD-QUARTERS, MIDDLE BROOK, May 5th, 1779.

DEAR SIR :

I HAVE been favoured with your letter of the 24th ult., and was sorry to receive such unfavourable accounts respecting the levies. The exigency of the service requires that they should be in the field as soon as possible.

I am now to inform you, that the original intention of bringing those levies to reinforce the army here, is changed, and that they are destined as a reinforcement to the Southern army.

Our affairs in Georgia grow daily more alarming, and unless a force of more permanent troops than militia can be collected, sufficient to stop the progress of the enemy in that quarter, we shall have a great deal to apprehend. South Carolina considers herself in imminent danger, and fears she will share the fate of her neighbour, if some effectual succour is not afforded. This has dictated the necessity of sending the Virginia levies, however ill we can dispense with their services here.

I am therefore to desire, considering the pressing importance of the occasion, you will exert yourself to collect them, with the utmost expedition, at such places as you judge most convenient, and to leave them equipped and marched to join the Southern army, as soon as circumstances will possibly permit. There is not a moment's time to be lost, and I am con-

vinced you will not lose any that it is in your power to improve.

By the levies, I mean such of the 2,000 men voted by the late act of Assembly as have been raised in Virginia. The men who re-enlisted with their regiments here, and were furloughed, are not comprehended, but are to come on to join their corps. The levies are to be thrown into three regiments, as I do not imagine you will have more than will fully complete this number. I shall immediately send you a detachment of officers from the Virginia line, as mentioned in the inclosed list, who will be sufficient to officer the three battalions. Part of these are already in Virginia, to whom you will give notice.

I have written to the Committee of Congress on Southern affairs, on the subject of arms;—they, I doubt not, will take measures to have you supplied as speedily as possible. You will be pleased to march with the troops.

I would recommend, for the facility of the march, that the battalions move one after another. This will render subsistence easier, and conduce to expedition. You will make previous arrangements with the Quartermaster and Commissary, that you may suffer no delay or difficulty in your route, for want of any thing in either of their Departments. You will observe in the list, that one of the battalions is without ensigns. I shall endeavour to supply the deficiency, or give some further direction about it. I shall wish to hear

of the progress you make in assembling and equipping the men, of the time you march, &c.

I am, dear Sir, with great regard and esteem,

Your most obedient servant,

GEO. WASHINGTON.

Brigadier-General SCOTT.

[GEN. GATES TO HENRY LAURENS.]

PROVIDENCE, 22d June, 1779.

DEAR SIR:

I WILL not suffer this express to depart without felicitating you on the glorious news from Charlestown, and on the signal honour due to your amiable son. We are in hourly expectation of receiving the indisputable fiat of Charles Thomson. In the mean time, no one doubts the authenticity of the victory we have gained.

You, Sir, who were formerly my best correspondent, may now and then find leisure to drop me a line. For the best information of things this way, I refer you to the contents of my packet of yesterday's date to the President. I request you to consider the whole attentively; a cursory reading in Congress should not satisfy you. There is, if I do not flatter myself, matter in them, if not to inform, at least to entertain you. The transactions on the North River will, if I foresee aright, produce consequences the most important to America. My friend Lovell can give a list of the papers in the packet. Read them at your leisure.

When you write Colonel Laurens, present him my most affectionate regards.—With every sentiment of respect and esteem, believe me, Sir,

Your much-obliged and most obedient humble servant,

HORATIO GATES.

P. S.—I believe I am to wait until you are again President, before I shall receive my gold medal.

Honourable HENRY LAURENS, ESQ.

[GEN. ROBERT HOWE TO LAURENS.]

RIDGEFIELD, IN CONNECTICUT, 3d August, 1779.

YOUR letter, my dear Sir, fraught with your good wishes for my health, and the amendment of my morals, reached me yesterday. Believe me, when I say that I was in the execution of my duty when I met with the mortifying accident which befell me, and which afflicts me with its ill effects at this time, and will, I fear, much longer; though I am, at length, able to do my duty, which I pledge myself to you, my friend, shall always with me precede every other consideration.

I am ordered by the General, with a part of my division, viz., Glover's brigade, Moylan's and Sheldon's horse, and Armand's independent corps, to take command in this neighbourhood, to cover this country and protect the inhabitants as much as possible from the insults and ravages of the enemy, as contrary to

the dictates of humanity as disgraceful to it. Our parties have been down to their very lines, and several brushes have happened, all terminating favourably to us.

The detachment under Captain Hopkins, three or four nights since, fell in with and attacked a party, superior in number, under Colonel Emmerick, drove them, and would have taken them every man, had not they been supported by a large body of infantry. Many of the enemy were wounded; three or four taken; in short, the action was spirited and well conducted, and deserving of applause. There are now out, and will be continually kept out, a number of parties, and we shall endeavour to impress the enemy with that alarm and terror they so delight to spread, and, I hope, make some of their light parties smart for their spirit of enterprise.

I thank you, dear Sir, for many kind things done me, and for those you wish me, particularly for wishing me in service. I am not in it. May my conduct be such as to merit your approbation, then of my own heart, and render service to my country, I pray God. Let me, dear Sir, once more beg you, if the resolution you wrote me about is not yet got into Congress, that it may as soon as possible. It is essential to my peace, my glory, and the service.

I am, dear Sir, with great regard and respect, your much-obliged and most obedient servant,

ROB. HOWE.

P. S.—Do not find fault with my handwriting, but try to read it, for when I write to you I strive to write my best. Please send me the newspapers when you have read them.

[FRANCIS LEWIS TO STEPHEN SAYRE.]

PHILADELPHIA, 10th August, 1779.

MY DEAR SIR:

YOUR letter of the 21st February, 1778, from Copenhagen via St. Croix, is the only one I have received from you since the declaration of American Independence; about that time I wrote you two several letters, with duplicates for France, but so many of our dispatches being captured, I much doubt whether any came to your hands.

By the different manœuvres of the British troops, Congress has been obliged to change their places of residence; from hence to Baltimore, thence to this city, then to Yorktown, and back again to this city, where they now reside. When at Baltimore, I urged your being appointed a commissioner to one of the European States, but was answered by the Committee of Foreign Correspondence, that you were then Secretary to Mr. A. Lee's embassy to the Court of Berlin, and proved a bar to your being appointed at that time to another department. Upon the return of Congress to Philadelphia in April, 1777, by a new appointment of delegates for our State, I was not in the nomination, and remained so till December of the same year, when

I was re-chosen, and since that time have been Chairman of the Commercial Committee of Congress.

Your letter, together with that from Mr. Fabritius, (whose high character I was well acquainted with when at Copenhagen,) was laid before Congress, who are very sensible of the advantages that would accrue in a commercial intercourse with Copenhagen, as several supplies of Russian manufactures might be obtained through that channel; but we are at the same time apprehensive the Danish Court are too much influenced by that of G. B. to wink at such commerce, though it may be advantageous to the subject. But our greatest difficulty arises from the mode of establishing a fund. Rice, tobacco, and indigo, are now our principal articles for a European market, and of these we have considerable quantities; but our coasts have been so infested by the British cruisers, that scarcely one vessel in three escapes them; and unless we can establish a fund, by loan from some European State, it will be impracticable for us, under such circumstances, to make payment with our produce, though we have more than sufficient in this country to establish large funds in Europe, could we convey it with any prospect of safety.

France being now engaged in a war with G. B., we cannot expect a loan from thence, and I presume Holland is at present solicited by the belligerent powers for money. A postscript to your letter hints a thought by Mr. Fabritius, "that a loan of two or three mil-

lion of dollars might be negotiated at B——nt, and, in case of one year's punctual payment of the interest, he is confident any sums may be had at a very low interest."

Your scheme of sending out goods in Danish bottoms, to St. Croix or St. Thomas, is feasible, and where we could lodge tobacco, indigo, &c., to be returned in said ships for payment; but the risque of captures between this and the islands is full as great; however, I shall urge Congress to make an attempt in one or the other mode; it will be therefore necessary that you and Mr. Fabritius inform me, with the names of agents in both islands, who may be appointed by you to receive such effects. I would here observe, that Russian manufactures, such as canvas for our navy, brown sheeting and ravensduck for tents, brown and white drillings for the officers and soldiers—also $\frac{7}{8}$ Hambr^a Dowlas, and the best Tuckling 6^{es} from Hambr^o for soldiers' shirts and overalls, cordage of all sizes, is always wanted.

At the commencement of the present dispute with G. B., in order to pay our armies, &c., we were under the necessity of making emissions of paper money. This our enemies availed themselves of by counterfeiting many of those bills to a considerable amount, which by their emissaries were dispersed through the United States, adding thereby to the then more than necessary quantity for a circulating medium, so alarmed the fears of the people, that it has rapidly depreciated

the present value of our money. The emissions chiefly counterfeited were of May, 1777, and April, 1778, which, by a resolution of Congress, are called in, and the public at large, convinced of its bad effects, now cheerfully submit to a heavy taxation, so as to reduce the remainder to nearly its pristine value. Had taxation been made coeval with emissions, the depreciation would in great measure have been prevented; but taxation has for four years past lain dormant, nor was it possible to be effected sooner, when we consider that the respective States had new modes of government and new constitutions to form.

General Washington has his head-quarters at the Highlands, on the west side of Hudson River, to cover a strong post that we occupy on the river, at a place called West Point, against which Sir H. Clinton planned an expedition in June last; but finding the post of too great strength, he posted his army nine miles below, on both sides of the river, at opposite points called Verplanck's and Stony Point. The latter, strongly fortified, was, on the 15th ult., at night, taken by storm by Gen. Wayne, with 1,200 men. The garrison, consisting of 606 men, of which 107 were killed and wounded; the remainder surrendered prisoners of war, and are now confined in this city, &c.

We have also authentic accounts from Connecticut, that another detachment of British troops from New York and Rhode Island, under the command of Sir George Collier and Gen. Tryon, landed at East and

West Haven, which they burnt, then advanced into New Haven, which they plundered, but before they could fire the town, were obliged by the militia to a precipitate retreat to their ships, from whence they proceeded to Fairfield and Norwalk, both which they also reduced to ashes. This mode of distressing the inhabitants indiscriminately will, in my opinion, have a contrary effect to what they expected, for by these cruelties the people are become so exasperated, that they will retaliate with the utmost rigor.

4th August.—A few days past a sortie was made by Major Lee, of the Virginia Light Dragoons, with 400 men, in the night, upon Powles' Hook, opposite New York, where the whole garrison, consisting of 200 men, were killed or taken; 143 are brought prisoners to this city, the remainder were killed.

We have lately received the Manifesto of His Catholic Majesty, declaratory in favor of France, which has given high spirits to the friends of liberty in these States, and many tories wish to be thought converts.

I had lately a sight of Rivington's newspaper,* printed at New York, wherein were published two letters from you, one addressed to Mr. Isaac Sears, the other to myself, taken in a ship from Sweden, belonging to this city, but carried into New York. In future, when you write to me, direct your letters to

* *Royal Gazette*, June 26, 1779.

the care of Messrs. Sweighausen & Co., at Nantz, who are agents for Congress at that port, and who will carefully forward them by packet boats employed for carrying public despatches.

I have frequently urged Mr. Fabritius' plan for improving the loan, but Congress seems at present averse to borrowing money in Europe, upon this principle, that for what they borrow there, they mortgage the lands of the United States for redemption, but what they borrow here is of the inhabitants, who must contribute to the payment by taxes levied on themselves.

Congress has been for some time past so pestered with complaints from their commissioners in France, tending to criminate each other, that a resolution is passed to have only one in France, viz., Doctor Franklin, who is commissioned Minister Plenipotentiary to that Court; the rest are recalled.

I have been early a great sufferer by the British depredators, having all my effects, to the amount of at least £12,000 sterling, plundered by a party under the orders of a Lient.-Col. Burch, of the Light Dragoons, together with my stock at White Stone, and the buildings there, *totally* destroyed. Mrs. Lewis, (after eight months' detention,) my son Frank, with his wife and child, are now with me; my son Morgan is in the service at Albany.

If you can point out any mode, either in public or private business, wherein I can be of service, assure

yourself that my earnest endeavours to promote it shall not be wanting, and that I am, and always shall be,

Your sincere friend and humble servant,
F. L.

Since the foregoing, I have been favoured with your several letters of the 16th March, 25th and 26th May, 30th June, 1st and 2d August, and your last, a long letter from Amsterdam, which I have at present mislaid. That letter, giving me hopes of seeing you here early in this year, occasioned my not writing to you since; but being disappointed of that pleasure, I could not let slip this opportunity by Mr. James Searle, a delegate to Congress for the State of Pennsylvania, whom I would recommend to your notice, and who will inform you of every thing material relative to our public affairs.

In November last the State of New York made a new appointment of delegates to Congress, by which I was superseded, and thereupon honoured by Congress to preside at the Admiralty Board, in which department I shall, upon your arrival here, render you every assistance in my power.

With the pleasing expectation of seeing you soon in America, I am, dear Sir,

Yours affectionately, F. L.

P. S.—This you will receive by the Hon. Henry Laurens, late President of Congress, who is commis-

sioned to Holland upon public business, with whom I would recommend your cultivating an acquaintance.

I am, and *ut supra*.

[ALEXANDER HAMILTON TO JOHN LAURENS.]

From the current of intelligence, an embarkation is on foot at New York. A little time will develope its destination. I hope it may disappoint my conjectures; the general opinion points to the West Indies; and, upon the whole, I believe myself the plan of Southern operations is too bold and enlarged for the feeble, shivering, contracted councils of Britain.

The naval force that arrived under Arbuthnot, by the best intelligence, consists of two ships-of-the-line, two fifty-gun and two smaller frigates. Some seamen, deserters, report that they made at sea two detachments of troops, one for Quebec, the other to Halifax, each under convoy of a vessel of the line. If Arbuthnot goes to the West Indies, Byron will be still inferior to D'Estaing, to say nothing of the Spanish fleet in that quarter. The troops and seamen arrived in a very sickly situation.

We have just received an account that looks like the approach of D'Estaing to our continent. A vessel arrived at Boston mentions having parted with him in lat. 25°, long. 70°, steering N. W., with six thousand troops on board, taken in at the Cape, bound for Georgia, and afterwards northward. If this should be

true, you will probably hear of him before this reaches you ; but he may perhaps push directly northward, to lay the axe to the root. This will be a master-stroke, and fix D'Estaing's character as a first-rate officer. The reduction of the enemy's fleets and armies in America will make all their islands fall of course, deprive them of supplies from this continent, and enable us to second the operations of the French, with ample succours of provisions. If he touches at Georgia for your relief, and continues his progress northward, you, I know, will endeavour to keep pace with him, and make us happy again. The lads all join me in embracing you most affectionately. Pray, let me hear from you frequently, and deal a little in military details, as you expect the same from me.

The Philadelphia papers will tell you of a handsome stroke by Lee on Powles' Hook. Some folks in the Virginia line, jealous of his glory, had the folly to get him arrested. He has been tried and acquitted with the highest honour. Lee unfolds himself more and more to be an officer of great capacity ; and if he had not a little spice of the Julius Cæsar or Cromwell in him, he would be a very clever fellow. Adieu.

Yours most sincerely,

A. HAMILTON.

Apropos—speaking of a Cæsar and a Cromwell ; don't you think *the Cabal* have reported that I declared in a public house in Philadelphia, that it was high time for the people to rise, join General Wash-

ington, and turn Congress out of doors. I am running the rogues pretty hard. Dana was the first mentioned to me. He has given up Doctor Gordon, of Jamaica Plains. You well remember the old Jesuit—he made us a visit at Fredericksburg, and is writing the history of America. The proverb is verified, “There never was any mischief but had a priest or a woman at the bottom.” I doubt not subornation and every species of villainy will be made use of to cover the villainy of the attack. I have written to Gordon, and what do you think is his answer?—he will give up his author if I will pledge my honor “neither to give nor accept a challenge, to cause it to be given nor accepted, nor to engage in any rencounter that may produce a duel.” Pleasant terms enough. I am first to be calumniated, and then, if my calumniator takes it into his head, I am to bear a cudgelling from him with Christian patience and forbearance; for the terms required, if pursued to their consequences, come to this. I have ridiculed the proposal, and insisted on the author, on the principle of *unconditional submission*. What the Doctor’s impudence will answer, I know not. But you who know my sentiments will know how to join me in despising these miserable detractors.

On revising my work, I find several strokes of the true school-boy sublime. Pray let them pass, and admire them if you can.

WEST POINT, Sept. 11, 1779.

[THOMAS PAINE TO HENRY LAURENS.]

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 14th, 1779.

DEAR SIR :

It was my intention to have communicated to you the substance of this letter last Sunday, had I not been prevented by a return of my fever; perhaps finding myself unwell, and feeling, as well as apprehending inconveniences, have produced in me some thoughts for myself as well as for others.

I need not repeat to you the part I have acted, or the principle I have acted upon; and perhaps America would feel the less obligation to me, did she know, that it was neither place, nor the people, but the cause itself, that irresistibly engaged me in its support; for I should have acted the same part in any other country, could the same circumstances have arisen there which have happened here. I have often been obliged to form this distinction to myself, by way of smoothing over some disagreeable ingratitude, which, you well know, have been shown to me from a certain quarter.

I find myself so curiously circumstanced, that I have both too many friends and too few; the generality of them thinking, that, from the public part I have so long acted, I cannot have less than a mine to draw from. What they have had from me, they have got for nothing, and they consequently suppose I must be able to afford it.

I know but one kind of life I am fit for, and that is a thinking one, and, of course, a writing one. But I have confined myself so much of late, taken so little exercise, and lived so very sparingly, that unless I alter my way of life, it will alter me. I think I have a right to ride a horse of my own, but I cannot now even afford to hire one, which is a situation I never was in before, and I begin to know that a sedentary life cannot be supported without getting exercise.

Having said thus much, which, in truth, is but loss of time to tell you who so well know how I am situated, I take the liberty of communicating to you my design of doing some degree of justice to myself; but even this is accompanied with some present difficulties; but it is the easiest, and, I believe, the most useful and respectable of any I can think of.

I intended this winter to collect all my publications, beginning with *Common Sense* and ending with *fisheries*, and publishing them in two volumes octavo with notes. I have no doubt of a large subscription. The principal difficulty will be to get paper, and I can think of no way more practicable, than to desire Arthur Lee to send over a quantity from France in the *Confederacy*, if she goes there, and settling for it with his brother.

After that work is completed, I intend prosecuting a history of the Revolution, by means of a subscription; but this undertaking will be attended with such an amazing expense, and will take such a length of

time, that unless the States individually give some assistance therein, scarcely any man could afford to go through it.

Some kind of an history might be easily executed, made up of daily events and trifling matters, which would lose their importance in a few years. But a proper history cannot even be begun, unless the secrets of the other side of the water can be obtained, for the first part is so interwoven with the politics of England, that that which will be the last to get at, must be the first to begin with; and this single instance is sufficient to show that no history can take place for some time.

My design, if I undertake it, is to comprise it in three quarto volumes, and to publish one each year from the time of beginning, and to make an abridgment afterwards in an easy, agreeable language, for a school-book. All the histories of ancient wars that are used for this purpose, promote no moral reflection, but, like the Beggars' Opera, render the villain pleasing in the hero.

Another thing that will prolong the completion of an history, is the want of plates, which only can be done in Europe; for that part of a history which is intended to convey description of places or persons, will ever be imperfect without them.

I have now, Sir, acquainted you with my design, and unwilling, as you know I am, to make use of a friend while I can possibly avoid it, I am really obliged

to say, that I should now be glad to consult with two or three on some matters that regard my situation, till such time as I can bring the first of those subscriptions to bear, or set them on foot, which cannot well be until I can get the paper; for, should I disappoint of that, with the subscriptions in my hand, I might be reflected upon, and the reason, though a true one, would be subject to other explanations.

Here lies the difficulty I alluded to in the beginning of the letter, and I would rather wish to borrow something of a friend or two, in the interim, than run the risk I have mentioned, because, should I be disappointed by the paper being taken, or not arriving in time, the reason being understood by them beforehand, will not injure me; but in the other case it would, and, in the mean time, I can be preparing for publication. I have hitherto kept all my private matters a secret, but as I know your friendship, and you a great deal of my situation, I can with more ease communicate them to you than to another.

I am, dear Sir, your obedient humble servant,

THOMAS PAINE.

P. S.—If you are not engaged to-morrow evening, I should be glad to spend part of it with you; if you are, I shall wait your opportunity.

The Honourable HENRY LAURENS, Esq.

[ED. L. HAYWARD TO JOHN LAURENS.]

GEORGETOWN, December, 1779.

I SEND you the Journal promised in my letter of the 9th. A careful reading will verify my remark, that if lying could effect a peace with Old England, the colonies long ere this would be under the ancient rule, thinking more of ploughshares and pruning-hooks than of the finesse of *horrida bella*.—I will write on Tuesday by Miles' shallop.

Yours ever, in the bonds, &c.,

ED. L. HAYWARD.

JOURNAL OF THE SIEGE OF SAVANNAH.

September 3d, 1779.—Saw from Tybee Light-house four large ships in the offing; sent Lieut. Lock in the pilot-boat to reconnoitre them.

4th.—The Lieutenant returned, and reported the strange ships in the offing to be two French ships-of-the-line, two frigates, and a sloop.

5th.—They stood off this day, and appeared again.

6th.—Lieut. Whitworth was dispatched with advice to New York, of the enemy being on this coast, but was chased in by the French.

7th.—Lieut. Whitworth sailed again, and, we hope, escaped the enemy; employed in sounding the North Channel, and bringing the *Rose*, *Keppel*, and German men-of-war into it, and mooring them.

8th.—The signal was made from the Light-house, of seeing 18 sail; at sunset counted 41 sail, 32 of

which appeared large ships; an officer and reinforcement came to Tybee fort, which had only one 24-pounder and one 8½-inch howitzer. Came slow from Cockspur and anchored in the North Channel; His Majesty's ship Fowey, the Savannah armed ship, transports, and prison-ships, ready to go up Savannah River, started all the water except the ground tier.

9th.—At daylight saw the French fleet, some of them in chase of a schooner with English colours, which they took.

10th.—Four of the enemy's ships got under way at high water, and stood for Tybee; the Fowey made the signal to weigh; weighed with the Fowey, Keppel, and Comet galley, and ran up Savannah River as far as Long Reach; the Fowey got aground on White Vester Bank; ordered the Keppel and Comet to her assistance, with boats, anchors, &c.; the fort was abandoned and burnt; the French ships anchored off Tybee; the Fowey got off at high water.

11th.—Employed sounding, and laying off the channel leading to Savannah; the Fowey, Keppel, and Comet galley anchored there.

12th.—At sunset a French ship anchored off Tybee; two more anchored in the South Channel, and one in the north; perceive she was aground.

13th.—At 2 p. m. a sloop, the Crawford, came alongside; sent 8 nine-pounders, 400 shot, and 8 barrels of powder, &c., to the army; the Comet galley moved to Cockspur, and exchanged some shot with

the French ship aground; the French fleet at anchor without the bar; at 7 A. M. weighed, as did the Fowey, Keppel, and Comet galley; at half-past, the ship took the ground, but soon floated; anchored with the small bower at 8; weighed and came up the river at 11; anchored at Five Fathom Hole.

14th.—Sent Lieut. Lock, 26 seamen, Captain Rankin, and all the marines, to reinforce the army, per order from Commodore Henry.

15th.—At 2, the Keppel and Comet went down the harbour to cover and protect the troops expected from Beaufort; this day I joined the army with the remaining part of the officers and ship's company, leaving only enough to keep the ship free; posted the officers and seamen to the different batteries in the line; the General received a summons from Count D'Estaing to surrender, &c., &c., *TO THE ARMS OF THE FRENCH KING*; a council of war was called on the occasion, and an answer was sent; a trooper of Pulaski's was brought in this morning.

16th.—The remainder of the Rose and Fowey's guns were landed; the guns were immediately mounted on the different batteries; Colonel Maitland and the troops from Beaufort arrived, 71st, and New York Volunteers—brave fellows; Savannah in the highest spirits.

17th.—A truce agreed on for twenty-four hours, viz., till gun fire P. M.

18th.—Continued truce.

19*th*.—Hands sent down to bring the ships up nearer the town; all the ships moored; the pickets firing most part of the night.

20*th*.—New works thrown up; the French ship; rebel galleys moving up the river; orders from Capt. Henry to scuttle and sink the *Rose* man-of-war in the channel, which was immediately done after getting out as many of her stores, &c., as the time would admit; the *Savannah* armed ship and *Venus* transport were burnt, with their guns and provisions, ammunition, &c.; two or three transports sunk at Five Fathom Hole, or thereabouts, with all their sails burnt, &c., &c.

21*st*.—Two negroes deserted from the enemy; report them strong, Gen. Lincoln, with the rebel army, having joined the French, and that they are preparing for the attack; strengthening our works; firing occasionally on the enemy to disturb them.

22*d*.—The enemy still opening works to the left; fired on them occasionally from the batteries.

23*d*.—Strengthening the works, and throwing up intrenchments in front of the different corps in the line.

24*th*.—At 7 in the morning saw the enemy very busy intrenching themselves to the left of the barracks; three companies of light infantry made a sortie with great spirit; the enemy being too numerous obliged them to retreat under the fire of our batteries, with the loss of 21 killed and wounded; Lieut. Mc-

Pherson, of the 71st, was killed; it is supposed the enemy suffered considerably; the enemy fired several cannon in our line from two 18-pounders, and some 4-pounders; a flag was sent to bury the dead on both sides; in the afternoon the enemy's galleys advanced near the works; our galleys exchanged several shot with them, and returned under the sea battery; the new battery behind the barracks finished this day, mounted with two 18-pounders, two 9-pounders, and field-pieces; throwing up intrenchments in front of the different corps in the French lines, about half a musket-shot from our abatis; the pickets exchanged shot the greatest part of the night, we throwing shells into their works, and firing on them from our batteries every fifteen minutes.

25th.—The French threw up new works on the left of the barracks, in which they mounted two 18-pounders *en barbette*, but were driven from them by our batteries; in the evening, the rebel galleys advanced up to the Rose, but were obliged to retire by the fire from the Comet and Thunderer galleys; continue throwing shells and firing on their works during the night.

26th.—At 11 A. M. the enemy's galleys fired a few shot at the fort on the left of the encampment, without effect; a French frigate advanced to Five Fathom Hole.

27th.—At 3 A. M. a small fire of musketry from the pickets; at 8 A. M. a flag from the French, with private letters from the British prisoners; destroyed the bar-

racks, and carried off the wood, &c., leaving the lower part as a breastwork, to prevent it being fired from the enemy; continue throwing shells and cannonading the enemy's works during the night.

28th.—At 1 in the morning a small firing between the pickets; a rebel taken close to our abatis; about 2, another firing from our pickets; at 9 A. M. a French frigate moved up the Back River, and moored her stern and head; every thing quiet this day; the enemy are carrying on their works; 8 P. M., the Thunderer galley moored near the French frigate, and began to cannonade her; the frigate did not return her fire.

29th.—At daylight this morning, saw a new intrenchment on the left, raised during the night by the enemy, within half a musket-shot of our lines; employed throwing up breastworks to the right and left of the barracks; fired on the enemy's works every fifteen minutes from the batteries and howitzers during the night.

30th.—At daylight perceived the enemy working and extending their intrenchments; at 7 A. M. the Thunderer galley advanced towards the French frigate in the Back River, and fired at her; she did not return a shot; the Thunderer returned, having broken the platform of her gun; at 10 A. M. a brig came up to Five Fathom Hole; the rebel galleys on their former station near the works below; the Rose, a boat with a small gun, fired at the Thunderer without effect; a launch and another boat went up the Back River; a

man came in from the enemy; gives no satisfactory intelligence; some firing from the battery on the right, and the armed vessels, on the enemy at Yamacraw, as well as from the batteries in the front and the left on the French intrenchments; this night an officer of Pulaski's was wounded, and brought into the lines by the pickets.

October 1st.—At 7 A. M. the French frigate in the Back River fired some shot towards the town, and at the negroes on Hutchinson's Island; perceived the enemy in front and on the left busy in their works, embrasures, &c.; a flag from us to the French, with letters from the wounded officer, taken last night; still employed strengthening our lines, particularly in front; sent out of the lines two dragoons of Pulaski's legion by a flag, who had been detained some time here, and received an officer of the same legion with a flag, Mons. Bentoloso, who came to see the officer that was wounded and brought in last night; employed in strongly throwing up a new battery on our left, to be mounted with eight 9-pounders, to act on the enemy's batteries; in hourly expectation of the attack; this afternoon fresh breezes from E. N. E., and rain; fired during the night from the batteries in front, and threw some shells into the French intrenchments.

2d.—Rainy weather, wind E. N. E.; the enemy still working in their intrenchments, and preparing the batteries; at noon the enemy's galleys advanced near the sea battery, and began to cannonade, as did

the frigate in the Back River; several of their shot came into the rear of the camp without doing execution; the Thunderer returned a few shot, the sea battery did not; a deserter from Pulaski's legion reports the enemy's batteries to be near ready; a deserter from the French likewise, with the same account; the frigate in the Back River fired again in the afternoon, without effect; threw shells, and fired from the batteries into the French intrenchments to disturb them during the night.

3*d*.—Rainy weather, wind E. N. E.; the enemy still working in the intrenchments, and completing their batteries; the French frigate firing on the rear of the camp without effect; at 12 o'clock this night the enemy opened the bomb batteries, and threw several shells into the town and camp; at daybreak they opened their batteries, and fired warmly into the town, but none into the field.

4*th*.—The enemy still continue their fire from the bomb and other batteries; it was returned by us.

5*th*.—The enemy still cannonading the camp and town; at night a house took fire, but it went out without communicating to any other building; the frigate and galleys firing as usual; heard a cannonade at sea.

6*th*.—The enemy still firing on the works, camp, and town; the line turned out at dawn on an alarm that the enemy were approaching; the cannonade and bombardment continued all night.

7th.—Still continue cannonading and throwing shells on both sides, the enemy throwing most of their fire towards the town, which suffers considerably; a 9-pounder in our battery to the right of the barracks burst, and wounded a seaman; carpenter employed in repairing the platform in the Ebenezer battery, which had been broken by the enemy's shells; at 7 at night the enemy threw several carcasses into the town, and burnt one house.

8th.—The enemy fired little this morning, but during the night cannonaded and bombarded the town furiously.

9th.—At drum-beating in the morning, the French attacked us warmly on the right, and endeavoured to storm the redoubt and Ebenezer battery; the grenadiers of the 60th regiment advanced to support them, and after an obstinate resistance by the French, they drove them back with great slaughter; their loss is reported to be six or seven hundred killed, wounded, and prisoners; our loss, Captain James, of the dragoons, who died nobly fighting on the parapet of the redoubt, seven of the 60th killed and wounded, and two marines killed and four wounded; a flag from the French to bury their dead, which was granted; at 8 at night the French beat a parley, but were refused by us; they fired cannon and shells during the night without any other effect than destroying the houses.

10th.—This morning sent a flag to bury their dead; the rebels sent one for the same purpose; the truce

lasted from 10 A. M. till 4 P. M.; the French fired several cannon when it expired; between 8 and 9 P. M. our pickets fired on the right several shots; the lines lay on their arms all night, and the seamen stood to their cannon; no other firing from either side during the night.

11th.—This morning very foggy; no alarm from the enemy; our line very alert and in high spirits; the French and rebels sent in flags of truce during the greatest part of the day; the enemy employed burying their dead, carrying off their wounded, and searching for their missing; the French take off all their cannon and mortars in the night, leaving only some small field-pieces to amuse us; our whole lines in spirits, ready for another attack; several deserters, French and rebel, come in, and all report that the enemy are moving, and that their loss in the attack is more than we imagined; the rebels miss thirteen hundred; the French loss uncertain, but greater than the rebels, as they fought like soldiers, and were killed and wounded, but the rebels' loss is from desertion immediately after the defeat.

12th.—The French amused us with four cannon-shot at daybreak; more deserters come in,—say they are retreating; Count D'Estaing was at the attack, and was dangerously wounded in two places, and the flower of the French army killed or wounded; Count Pulaski mortally wounded; the enemy very quiet all night; opened a new battery on the right, of three 4-pounders.

13th.—We fired a gun at 2 in the morning; the French returned two shot; the whole line very alert, and under arms; a flag out at 9, to return the wounded French officers and soldiers; the frigate in the Back River moved down at high water; heard several guns from the sea, which we suppose signals; more deserters come in, who reported the enemy's loss to be great; the rebel militia are mostly gone off, and the rest dispirited, and ready to march to Charlestown; our batteries in front fired on the enemy's works at intervals during the night; the enemy returned the fire, which seemed to come from one gun; nothing more material during the night.

14th.—More deserters from the French and rebels, who make the same report as the former; at 9 this morning a flag out to settle an exchange of prisoners; some information gives us reason to expect a vigorous attack from the French, as soon as they have got off their heavy baggage, cannon, sick, and wounded; we fired at times during the night on the enemy's works; they returned two shot only from two small pieces, supposed to be 6-pounders.

15th.—The enemy very quiet this morning; we could not hear the rebels' reveille; the French beat the drums, but fired no morning gun; a light-ship came to Five Fathom Hole, suppose for water; two galleys joined the former one; more deserters come in, and report the enemy to be on the retreat; that their loss the morning of the engagement was very great,

particularly in their best officers; they are very sickly, and discontented with the rebels; the regiment Darmagnac are on their march to Benie, with baggage, sick, and wounded; the night quiet, firing occasionally from the ground battery on the enemy's intrenchments; they returned three or four shot.

16th.—The French beat the reveille, the rebels did not; more deserters from the French confirming the former reports of their great loss and retreat; we are, however, on our guard; the frigates in the river loose their topsails, as we suppose, to drop down and cover the retreat of the French; an alarm at sunset that the enemy was forming in our front; the lines under arms; the rebels set fire to some houses on our right, as well as in our front; our armed negroes skirmishing with the rebels the whole afternoon; we fired occasionally during the night on the enemy's works and camp; they returned two shot.

17th.—The French beat the reveille, the rebels did not; heard the report of several cannon; a manager of Sir James Wright's, from Ogeechee, reports that the enemy were preparing for a retreat; that they lost the day of the attack, fifteen hundred men killed and wounded, and the desertion very great; fired as usual at the enemy's works; they returned three shots.

18th.—The French beat the reveille, the rebels did not, but they were heard working in the woods; the armed negroes brought in two rebel dragoons and eight horses, and killed two rebels who were in a for-

aging party; only one deserter this day from the French, who gives the same account as the former ones; many boats observed passing from the enemy's vessels and their army; nothing material during the night; we fired as usual on their works, and they returned three shots from a 6-pounder; our lines very alert, and generally on their arms ready to receive the enemy.

19th.—The French beat the reveille, the rebels not, but were heard cutting in the woods; the ship that came to Five Fathom Hole moved down the river, as we supposed, full of water and the French baggage.

20th.—The French beat the reveille, but did not fire the morning gun; two deserters that came in this day, say the rebels marched off yesterday evening, after having fired their camp; the frigate fell down lower, but the wind being against her, could not go further.

[JOHN LAURENS TO ———.]

CHARLESTOWN, Feb. 25, 1780.

THE British army, said to be under the command of Sir Henry Clinton, are distributed on Port Royal Island, John's Island, Stono Ferry, and a detachment, last night, upon James's Island. Head-quarters are at Fenwick's House, on John's Island. Four of their galleys have been seen between John's and James's Islands; the number of troops not known—supposed to be much diminished since the embarkation at New York.

About twelve deserters from the fleet and army have come into Charlestown, and as many prisoners taken by our Light Horse. Different deserters from fleet and army agree in reporting very heavy losses at sea. Three ships plundered, many dismasted ; one brig, two ships taken, and brought into Charlestown ; a brig carried into North Carolina. One of the deserters informs, that thirteen sail were lost on the rocks of Bermuda. There is undoubtedly some grand impediment to the enemy's progress. All their horses perished at sea, and much of their furniture was captured. Three days ago passed by Charlestown bar, in a hard gale of wind, a sixty-four gun ship, a frigate, and some transports. These may be gone to New York for further supplies, but all is conjecture. Near the bar of Charlestown daily appear a frigate and other ships of war, reconnoitering and blocking up the harbour of Charlestown. We have four Continental frigates, two French armed ships, two State armed ships, six other armed vessels, some of them carrying very heavy cannon. The enemy's delay has afforded an opportunity for strengthening the lines of Charlestown, which will be in pretty good order to-morrow. The number of men within the lines uncertain, but by far too few for defending works of near three miles in circumference, especially considering many of them to be citizens, and unaccustomed to the fatigues of a besieged garrison, and many of the Continental troops half naked. Reinforcements are expected. General Hogan is within

a few miles. The Virginia troops are somewhere!— Assistance from that sister-State has been expected these eighteen months. General Moultrie is forming a camp at Baconbridge, where he has about five hundred horse, being horse of this State, Baylor's and Bland's of Virginia. General Williamson is encamped at Augusta; a thousand men are expected from his brigade. General Richardson and Colonel Carhew are raising the militia at and about Camden. At this moment our escape depends on further delay on the enemy's part. Two or three weeks more will make this garrison strong; the inhabitants, in general, are in good spirits. Competent judges say, that Sir Henry Clinton will then have cause to repent his enterprise. This affords encouragement, but events in war are uncertain, and if we do not receive assistance, the next intelligence may be quite contrary. Hasten the Virginia troops, if you meet them.

J. L.

[WASHINGTON TO JOHN LAURENS.]

HEAD-QUARTERS, MORRISTOWN, 26th of April, 1780.

MY DEAR LAURENS:

I HAVE received your letters of the 14th of February and 14th of March, and am much obliged to you for the military details they contain.

I sincerely lament that your prospects are not better than they are. The impracticability of defending the bar, I fear, amounts to the loss of the town and

garrison. At this distance it is difficult to judge for you, and I have the greatest confidence in General Lincoln's prudence; but it really appears to me that the propriety of attempting to defend the town depended on the probability of defending the bar, and that when this ceased, the attempt ought to have been relinquished. In this, however, I suspend a definitive judgment, and wish you to consider what I say as confidential.

Since your last to me, I have received one from General Lincoln of the 24th of March, in which he informs me that the enemy had gotten a sixty-four gun ship, with a number of other vessels, over the bar, and that it had been determined to abandon the project of disputing the passage by Sullivan's Island, and to draw up the frigates to the town, and take out their cannon. This brings your affairs nearer to a dangerous crisis, and increases my apprehensions.

You will have learnt from General Lincoln, that a second detachment had sailed from New York the 7th instant, supposed to be destined to reinforce Sir Henry Clinton. I have not yet ascertained all the particular corps, but know that the 42d, the Irish Volunteers, Queen's Rangers, and some foreign troops, are of the number, and have every reason to believe the total is what I mentioned to him—from 2,000 to 2,500. They appeared a few days since off Chesapeake Bay, but immediately continued their voyage.

I have just received an account of the arrival of

the 47 transports, the 24th inst., at New York from South Carolina, and that there were strong symptoms of another embarkation. This circumstance is to me not of easy explanation. I should imagine that Sir Henry Clinton's present force was equal to his object, and that he would not require more. The garrison of New York and its dependencies, at this time, cannot much exceed 8,000 men—a number barely sufficient for its defence, and not with propriety admitting a diminution. Perhaps, however, counting upon our weakness, the enemy may determine to hazard something here, the more effectually to prosecute and secure conquest to the Southward; or perhaps he may only intend to detach a force for a temporary diversion in Virginia or North Carolina, to return afterwards to New York. I expect more certain advice to-day, and should it confirm the first, any demonstrations it may be in our power to make to retard or prevent the embarkation, shall be put in practice; but unfortunately we have very little in our power.

In both your letters you express a wish that I should come to the Southward. Though I cannot flatter myself with the advantages you look for from such a step, yet if it were proposed by Congress, I confess to you I should not dislike the journey, did our affairs in this quarter permit it. But unluckily the great departments of the army are now in total confusion, and Congress have just appointed a committee, in conjunction with me, to new-model and rectify them.

Till this is done, I could not leave this army. And were not this obstacle in the way, you will easily conceive I must have many scruples which forbid me to let the measure in question originate with me. But all this for your private ear.

Be assured, my dear Laurens, that I am extremely sensible to the expressions of your attachment, and that I feel all for you in your present situation which the warmest friendship can dictate. I am confident you will do your duty, and in doing it you must run great hazards. May success attend you, and restore you, with fresh laurels, to your friends, to your country, and to me.

With every sentiment of regard and affection, I am
sincerely yours,

GO. WASHINGTON.

Lieut.-Col. LAURENS.

[M. MARBOIS TO HENRY LAURENS.]

December, 1780.

Articles of which you are requested to give some details.

1. The Charters of your State.
2. Its present Constitution.
3. An exact description of its limits and boundaries.
4. The Memoirs published in its name, in the time of its being a Colony, and the pamphlets relating to its interior and exterior affairs, present or ancient.
5. The history of the State.

6. A notice of the counties, cities, townships, villages, rivers, rivulets—and how far they are navigable; cascades, caverns, mountains, productions, trees, plants, fruits, and other natural riches.

7. The number of its inhabitants.

8. The different religions received in that State.

9. The colleges and public establishments, the roads, buildings, etc.

10. The administration of justice, and a description of the laws.

11. The particular customs and manners that may happen to be received in that State.

12. The present state of manufactures, commerce, interior and exterior trade.

13. A notice of the best seaports of the State, and how big are the vessels they can receive.

14. A notice of the commercial productions particular to that State, and of those objects which the inhabitants are obliged to get from Europe and other parts of the world.

15. The weights, measures, and the currency of hard money; some details relating to the exchange with Europe.

16. The public income and expenses.

17. The measures taken with regard to the estates and possessions of the rebels commonly called tories.

18. The condition of the regular troops, and the militia, and their pay.

19. The marine and navigation.

20. The mines and other subterranean riches.

21. Some samples of the mines, and of the extraordinary stones; in short, a notice of all that can increase the progress of human knowledge.

22. A description of the Indians established in the State before the European settlements, and of those who are still remaining. An indication of the Indian monuments discovered in that State.

[HENRY LAURENS TO M. MARBOIS.]

Answers to the several questions proposed by Mr. Marbois, as far as my recollection extends, without having recourse to any other materials.

1. There were two Charters from King Charles the Second, to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina, which included all the countries now known by the names of North and South Carolina and Georgia; a division having been made of them afterwards, on account of their extent, and for the convenience of their respective Governments; but I have not the Charters by me at present; they have been often printed, and I believe may be found, together with the original Constitution, in Mr. Lock's works.

2. I have furnished a printed copy of the present Constitution.

3. South Carolina is bounded by the Atlantic Ocean on the east, by the river Savannah on the south, by a division line between that State and North Carolina on the north, and, by the original Charter,

extended to the South Sea on the west; but since the Treaty of 1763, the Mississippi has been esteemed the western boundary.

4. Several memoirs have been published relative to the history of this country, and its interior and exterior affairs, which I have it not in my power at present to furnish, but will procure whenever I return to that State.

5. Answered by the foregoing article.

6. This article cannot be fully answered at present.

7. The number of white inhabitants were computed, at the beginning of the present dispute, at sixty thousand, and the negroes from eighty to one hundred thousand, or thereabouts.

8. The Constitution mentioned in the 2d Article, allows the free exercise of religious denominations of every sect; at present only the different sects of Protestants have places of public worship erected; about one-third are of the Church of England, and the remainder Dissenters of almost every denomination, chiefly Presbyterians and Anabaptists, especially in the interior parts.

9. There is no college as yet erected, but pretty considerable funds are left by legacies and free gifts towards the institution, and nothing but the present war has prevented the establishment. There are endowments for many public and private schools throughout the State for the education of youth. The public roads are well laid out, and were kept in good repair

until the war. All the public buildings of any note are in Charlestown, several of which are large and elegant, and some equal, if not superior, to any on the continent, particularly the Exchange, and two churches of England; also large and convenient barracks, which will contain about 3,000 troops.

10. The Common Law of England, civil and criminal, with the addition of such local laws and regulations as were adapted to the circumstances of the State, were the foundations for the establishment of justice; the trial by jury obtained in all its purity, jurors being drawn by ballot in all cases, and not packed or summoned at the pleasure of the judges or sheriffs, was what the people of this State valued as one of their most inestimable blessings. Their judges, in the Revolution, were appointed during good behaviour,—before during pleasure,—and held circuit courts in the different districts, for the more easy and convenient administration of justice.

11. The customs and manners of the people were in general similar to those in the other Southern States. The inhabitants were remarkable for their politeness and hospitality, and being generally in easy and affluent circumstances, enabled them to live in a style of grandeur not always found in young States. The slaves lived easy and comfortable, were well provided for, and endured a very moderate share of labour, notwithstanding which the incomes of the estates of

the inhabitants were in general greater in proportion than that of any of their Northern neighbours.

12. Few or no manufactures were raised in South Carolina previous to the present Revolution. The produce of the country, chiefly raised by agriculture, were exported to England, in return for which they imported from thence all kinds of manufactures of that country; that trade being stopped by the present war, most of the inhabitants, particularly the planters and farmers, were obliged to set up manufactures of their own; to raise a large quantity of cotton, and considerable flocks of sheep; also flax and hemp; and from the produce of these materials, they had made considerable progress in manufacturing all kinds of coarse cloths, and were enabled to clothe at least two-thirds of their negroes, and, in the interior parts of the country, most of the white inhabitants. On many estates were three or four looms constantly employed, and few or none were without one or two; so that, had they been unmolested for three or four years longer, and the war continued, they would have doubled their manufactures of these articles. Nevertheless, when peace is restored, there is no doubt but they would quit the most of these manufactures, and return again to their former employment, preferring to send their raw materials to Europe, and receive in return their manufactures, especially those of a finer sort, which they could afford to do greatly to their advantage, by the

price of labour being so much cheaper in Europe than America.

13. There are only three seaports of any consequence in South Carolina, viz., Charlestown, Beaufort, and Georgetown. The harbour of Beaufort will admit of ships of sixty or seventy guns; Charlestown, frigates of thirty-six guns; and Georgetown only vessels of eleven or twelve feet water. Charlestown being in the centre, the chief part of the trade was brought thither.

14. Rice, indigo, Indian corn, peas, hemp, lumber, potash, pearlsh, and madder, and naval stores, were the principal productions of Carolina. Of these, rice, indigo, and naval stores, namely, pitch, tar, turpentine, were chiefly shipped to Europe; the other articles to the West Indies, in return for which, rum, sugar, molasses, and coffee, were brought from the latter, and all kinds of woollen and linens, fine and coarse, hardware, and, in short, almost all the manufactures of Europe and the East Indies, were imported from England and Scotland in return. In addition to the foregoing, considerable quantity of deer skins, salted beef, pork, and butter, were annually exported. From one hundred to one hundred and fifty thousand barrels of rice, and one million pounds weight of indigo to a million and a half, have been exported in one year; but since the present war, not more than half that quantity has been raised, owing to many labourers being taken off from agriculture to manufactures. Materials for ship-build-

ing are in great abundance, and of the best kinds—live oak and cedar for timbers, and pitch pine for plank. Vessels built of these materials will last fifty years or longer. Timber may be furnished for any number of ships of war, from fifty guns and under.

15. The weights and measures were in general regulated by those in England. Hard money of the different nations in Europe passed current in the State, and the exchange in general was at par; the balance of trade, except when large importations of negroes were brought in, being in favour of Carolina. Great quantities of gold and silver were imported, particularly from Portugal, to purchase the products of the country.

16. The annual expense of the State previous to the war, and in peaceable times, was about twenty thousand pounds sterling, one-half of which was raised by duties on negroes imported; also on rum, sugar, wines, and a few other luxuries, and the remainder by a tax on lands, negroes, moneys at interest, and stock in trade, collected once a year. The quit-rents went into the King's coffers, and, with the duties laid by the late revenue acts, which brought on the war, went to the support of the officers of the Crown. Since the Revolution, the civil establishment of the State, with troops, garrisons, fortifications, &c., &c., make a considerable augmentation to the former expenses, and may be estimated from thirty to forty thousand pounds sterling per annum.

17. The tories and others who refused to take the oaths of allegiance, were ordered off the State, and were allowed two years to dispose of their property, and remove it away. No act of confiscation had passed the Legislature, when the British took Charlestown.

18. The regular troops were according to the requisitions of Congress, and upon the same footing of other Continental troops, in addition to which the State keep in pay about three hundred infantry and a regiment of light horse, with the same pay and establishment as the Continentals; and the militia, when called into the field, were also on the same establishment—the number supposed about ten thousand, only one-third of which could be called out at one time except the State was actually invaded, when the whole, by law, were to turn out.

19. Before the war, about four hundred sail of vessels were usually employed in the trade of South Carolina, one-tenth of which were owned in the State, since which time most of the trade has been carried on by their own vessels. The marine consisted of two large fleets purchased from Count D'Estaing, three or four armed brigs, four galleys; and they sent Commodore Gillon to Europe to build or purchase three frigates.

20. No mines except iron mines have ever been opened in this State, and those only since the war, though there is no doubt but many others may be found in the interior parts, if properly explored.

21. No sulphur has been discovered in this State hitherto. The best natural history of this country will be found in Catesley's book of Natural History, published by a society of noblemen and gentlemen about thirty-five years ago.

22. All the nations of Indians, who inhabited that part of the country now possessed by the white people, are either extinct, or removed far back and united with the neighbouring nations of Cherokees and Creeks; except the Catawbas, who are settled near Camden, and have a district of forty miles square reserved to themselves. They are much reduced in numbers, not having more than seventy or eighty gun-men left. The Cherokees have about twenty-five hundred or three thousand gun-men; the Creeks between four and five thousand; the Chicasaws, who formerly lived in this country, have removed, many years since, far back between the Creeks and Choc-taws. No Indian monuments now remain of any notice in the country. A history was published of these nations, about 1774 or 1775, in London, by James Adair.

[JOHN SULLIVAN TO M. DE MARBOIS.]

PHILADELPHIA, December 10, 1780.

DEAR SIR :

I now give myself the pleasure of answering your query, so far as may be done with the materials I am possessed of; and beg leave to assure you that I have

taken measures for enabling myself to answer the residue.

As I apprehend, you are only in search of facts which your known talents will enable you to cover with the most elegant dress. I shall give them without any attention to the style or manner.

New Hampshire never had a charter from the Crown. King James the First, in 1606, granted to the London and Bristol Companies (in one charter) all the lands from 34° to 45° N. lat. In 1620, a dispute arose between those Companies respecting the right to the fishery near Cape Cod, whereupon a new Charter was granted to a Company sometimes called the Council of Plymouth, and sometimes the New England Company, of all the lands between 40° and 48° N. lat., (not possessed by any Christian prince or people.)

The Company made several private grants, from which Colonies took their origin, to Lord Say and Seal. They granted what is now called Connecticut to Sir Henry Roswell and others; what was formerly Massachusetts, to Sir Ferdinando Gorges; they granted, in 1729, the old province of Maine, now part of Massachusetts; and the same year to Captain Mason, what was afterwards called New Hampshire; and in 1735, the New England Company surrendered their Charter to the Crown; as also did the London Company, who had a grant of all the lands between 34° and 45° N. lat.

Notwithstanding this surrender, the private grants were valid; and New Hampshire was claimed in virtue of Mason's grant, which extended only sixty miles north from the sea; and was bounded east on the river now called Piscataway, (or Piscataqua,) but formerly Newechawanack River, which was the western limits of Sir Ferdinando Gorges' Patent; the western boundary was the eastern boundary of Sir Henry Roswell's grant, which extended three miles north of Merrimack River, and was to be fixed by a line three miles north of every part thereof. In 1739, a dispute respecting the western boundaries of New Hampshire, which had subsisted for some years, was settled. New Hampshire contended, that as Merrimack River ran from Pawtucket Falls due east to the sea, that a line three miles north of it might be well understood; but that, as its course from its source to the Falls was due north and south, it was impossible to conceive of a line three miles north of it. And the Commissioners determined that the line was to continue from the sea to the Falls, and then cross the river three miles above the Falls, and continue a west course till it met with other governments, leaving all the lands on the north of this line to New Hampshire. In consequence of this determination, commissioners to the Governors of New Hampshire have ever since bounded it east by Newechawanack River, and west by a line to be drawn from the sea three miles east of Merrimack River to Pawtucket Falls, and from thence

to be continued on a west line till it met with His Majesty's other governments. New Hampshire, of course, claimed an extension of this line to Lake Champlain, and New York claimed to stop it on the banks of the Connecticut River, which gave rise to the dispute respecting Vermont. The northern limits were never ascertained, but New Hampshire has ever claimed to the line settled with the French, viz., the 45th deg. of N. lat. Having considered your first and third question under one head, I am almost ashamed to inform you, in answer to your second, that New Hampshire has at present no Constitution.

When the British Government was thrown off in 1775, a convention drew up something which vested all the legislative and executive power in the House and Council, leaving the people power to choose military and some civil officers, and no alteration of this has yet taken place, though I soon expect it.

There is no memoir published in its name, or any particular history of it. Perhaps Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts Bay will afford you more light in this respect than any author extant.

There are at present four counties, viz., Rockingham, Strafford, Hillsborough, and Grafton. Rockingham is the south, Strafford the east, and Grafton the western. Hillsborough may be properly called the middle county.

It has no cities or villages, or places that would be so called in Europe, except Portsmouth and Exeter.

Portsmouth is the metropolis, and contains about seven hundred houses; Exeter, two hundred. The counties are divided into townships. Every man has his seat on his own farm. The houses are numerous, but not compact.

There are a variety of rivers running through the State. All the principal rivers form a junction, and unite in making the great river of Piscataway, which is the only river of consequence that empties into the sea. This river is navigable for the largest ships five miles from its mouth, and for ships of three hundred tons for twelve miles, where is a meeting of two rivers, viz., the old Newechawanack and the Exeter rivers. The last of these is navigable for small vessels fifteen miles further; it receives in its course three small streams, viz., Back River, Durham, and Lampreale River. The two latter are navigable for three miles. Exeter River, where it meets with Lampreale River, forms a fine bay of seven miles in length, and from two to six in width. The Newechawanack branch is navigable for ten miles from the confluence for common merchant vessels. It receives in its course Dover and Great Works River. Beyond the navigable part the tide does not flow, and it is a large fresh river full of falls, and has on its banks a great number of mills for sawing boards, and for other purposes; there it takes the name of Salmon Fall River. Merrimack River also runs through New Hampshire, but discharges itself into the sea at Newburyport, in Massa-

chusetts. This is a large and rapid stream, and has some remarkable falls, particularly Amaskeege. There are between Portsmouth and Newbury some very small streams that empty themselves into the sea, only one of them large enough to furnish water for carrying mills, which is at Hampton, near twenty miles west of Portsmouth. There are a variety of small rivulets interspersed through the country. The general course of all our streams are nearly from northwest to southeast.

There are no very remarkable mountains in New Hampshire but the Blue Hills and White Hills. The former received their name from the first settlers of the country, who gave them that name from the blue appearance which their distant situation gave them. But they have a variety of different names given them by the inhabitants who are now settled round them on every part. They appear to be a broken and almost unconnected continuation of the Killilany mountains, which run through this and several other States.

The White Hills are perhaps the most remarkable in the world. They appear like a white cloud, and, though at the distance of a hundred miles from the seacoast, may in clear weather be discovered at a much greater distance at sea than the highest lands upon the seashore. Their white appearance is owing to bright rocks, and a white moss which seems to cover the whole. There are three of those hills ranging nearly northeast and southwest, which is the general course

of mountains in America. The east and west of those mountains have with difficulty been ascended; that in the centre never has, though often attempted. It is called the sugar-loaf, from the resemblance it bears to it when viewed at a distance. Many persons have marched for several days to gain its summit, but found it impossible. The weather in the midst of summer becomes intolerably cold, and the trees gradually diminish in size as you ascend, till they are reduced to mere shrubs; and by further continuance you find neither tree, shrub, nor plant—a white moss is the only produce which the severity of its peculiar climate will permit. By this time the weary traveller, finding himself in the midst of winter, without fuel, the difficulty of ascending increased by the almost perpendicular declivity of the hill, without even a shrub to support him in advancing or to prevent his tumbling headlong from some of the dangerous precipices, finds himself under a necessity of giving over the dangerous adventure. The savages, sensible of the difficulty, never attempt to ascend it, and endeavour to dissuade others from it.

From the top of those mountains run a variety of streams forming delightful cascades, and others the most astonishing cataracts. In some places you will see a large stream gushing from the mountain, and falling down the rocks perpendicularly more than five hundred feet. These streams form lakes in the country below, from which issue a variety of rivers that

run through the country. There is also a most beautiful cascade on Salmon Fall River, near its head, at a place called the Flume, from the resemblance it bears to the flume of a mill. It runs through a rock for near a mile, and seems to have opened itself a passage through it. The sides are smooth as if cut by an instrument. The stream is about eighteen feet in width, and is very rapid, with a variety of falls which form beautiful cascades, one of which is near a hundred feet. These are the only remarkable cascades in New Hampshire.

Caverns there are none.

The soil produces wheat, corn, grass, herbage, and a great variety of fruit and vegetables.

Its natural growth is hickory, or walnut, oak, maple, locust, hemlock, birch, beach, ash, pine, chestnut, cedar, elm, spruce, and a variety of other sorts of wood.

Its natural riches will be described under other heads.

The number of inhabitants are about one hundred thousand. All religions are tolerated in New Hampshire at this day. The principal sects are Episcopalians, Congregationals, Presbyterians, and Baptists; the three latter are very numerous, particularly the Congregationals and Presbyterians, the religious tenets of which differ but very little. There are some Quakers, Separates, and New Lights, the number exceeding small.

There is one college at Dartmouth, founded about ten years since, for support of which very large tracts of land were granted by the late Governor Wentworth, who was the founder. A number of Indian youths from Canada and the Six Nations have been educated at this university.

The roads in New Hampshire are in general good, and its buildings neat, but not elegant, except in some few instances. The State House in Portsmouth is the only public building which may be called so in any degree; and this was rather the effect of chance than design, convenience being the only thing intended when it was constructed.

The administration of justice is nearly the same as in Great Britain, though the method admits of more litigation. There are two courts of justice, an inferior and superior. All actions are brought before the inferior court in the first instance, from the judgment of which either party may appeal to the superior, when a new trial is had. If the party aggrieved thinks proper, he may bring a writ of review within three years, and have another trial at the superior court, which is final in these courts. All facts are to be tried by a jury of twelve persons drawn out of boxes in the several towns, in which are written on small ballots the names of all the freeholders. In criminal causes a Grand Jury of between twelve and twenty-four are to find a bill or indictment, and the jury of trials are afterwards to determine the facts

and give their verdict for or against the defendant. In all capital causes our courts proceed with great tenderness, and our laws breathe the true spirit of humanity. A person who is to be tried for life has a right to a copy of the panel, consisting of thirty-six jurors, forty-eight hours before trial, and may object to twenty without a reason, and as many afterwards as he can assign a sufficient reason against.

Our laws are in general the same as in Great Britain, differing only in instances where our local situation rendered such alteration necessary.

The customs and manners are the same as you have observed in other parts of America.

Its manufactures are principally coarse linens and woollens of all kinds, but neither in so great abundance as to render foreign supplies unnecessary. Hats, pig and bar iron, pot and pearl-ash.

The present commerce of New Hampshire is difficult to describe, being much embarrassed by the present war. Its principal articles of export are masts, yards, spars, naval stores of all kinds, boards, plank, staves, hoops, shingles, fish-oil, pot and pearl-ash. Formerly ship-building formed a considerable part of our commerce; merchants constructed ships on their own account, and loaded them with produce for the West India markets, where they sold the cargoes, took sugar on freight for Britain, and there sold the vessels, and received the proceeds in dry goods, which they freighted to New Hampshire, the proceeds of the

cargo being received in the produce of the West Indies, and sent home on freight. These furnished the merchants with dry and West India goods, which were retailed to the inhabitants for lumber and other articles. Sometimes ships were laden with timber and other articles, and sent immediately to the British and other European markets; sometimes vessels were sent to other colonies with produce, to barter for the produce or manufactures of other States. This formed the interior and exterior trade of New Hampshire.

Your thirteenth question is answered in the description of the Piscataway River.

The commercial productions of New Hampshire are already described. The articles which the inhabitants are obliged to get from other countries are principally wines, rum, sugar, cotton, fine linens, woollens, silks, stuffs, velvets, &c.; in short, almost every kind of fine clothing.

The weight of measures are the same as in Britain. Hard money passes at 6s. per dollar, which is 4s. 6d. in England.

The income and expenses I am unable to give any accurate account of.

The estates of the rebel tories have generally been confiscated for the benefit of the State.

New Hampshire has no regular troops except three regiments in the army. A well-disciplined militia composes the force of the State. They have no pay but when called into actual service. Their numbers I

am unable to ascertain, but I think them at least twenty-five thousand. They are by law compelled to be constantly equipped at their own expense, with arms, ammunition, &c., ready to take the field.

The marine and navigation is in some degree already described. The constant building of ships rendered the shipping formerly very numerous. There are now a great number of privateers, letters of marque, and merchant ships. There is also a seventy-four gun-ship and a frigate building in that State.

There have been no mines except iron as yet discovered in New Hampshire, save a glass mine, if it may be so called, which is perhaps as great a curiosity as has yet been discovered in any part of the world. It was lately discovered by accident in this manner: A very large mountain about seventy miles from Portsmouth, upon being opened, was found to be full of a very clear glass of the isinglass kind, but much more transparent than any in Europe. It lays in large sheets, and may be cut into what form or size you think proper; it is proof against fire, and cannot be broken. It is exceeding useful for lanthorns, &c., and by no means disagreeable for windows. This glass, though perhaps not equal in some respects to European glass, must claim a preference from its not being liable to be broken.

The Indians inhabiting the State prior to the European settlements, answer exactly to the description given of them by all geographical writers. There

are none now remaining in the State, nor have they left any monuments or curiosities worth notice behind them.

There are a variety of lakes in New Hampshire, of which Winnepesoka and Ossepee are the principal—both of them large but irregular bodies of water, particularly the former. The advantages of fishing and beaver-catching on those lakes were sufficient to allure the unthinking native to settle in the neighbourhood of them, and leave the seacoast to our adventurous ancestors, whose unwarrantable avarice was, in the course of a number of long and bloody wars, often punished with the most inhuman examples of savage barbarity. These wars, however, have at length terminated in the total extirpation of the savage race.

Perhaps few countries have such a variety of animals; for, beside all kinds of European animals, moose, elk, deer, wolves, catamounts, foxes, hares, beavers, rabbits, otters, minks, raccoons, squirrels, and other wild quadrupeds are found in greater abundance here than in any other country. Wild fowl are also found here in very great abundance.

Our seas, rivers, and lakes, abound with fishes of almost every sort. The cod, mackerel, and whale fishery furnishes principal articles in our commerce.

I will as soon as possible furnish you with a sample of our glass. I have never heard of any extraordinary stones being found in New Hampshire.

Having answered your questions as fully as my time and materials will at present admit, I hope you

will not think me influenced by any prejudice when I say that I really like the winter in New Hampshire, though long and severe. The clear, settled state of the weather, even in winter, renders its climate more healthy than that of most other States. Its harbour is the most commodious in America; its advantages for fishing, and the quality and quantity of its timber superior, and the fertility of its soil equal to any other State in the Union.

And I think I do the inhabitants no more than justice, when I say that they possess a frankness of disposition, and a becoming hospitality, which is not to be found in many parts of America.

I have the honour to be, very respectfully, dear Sir, your most obedient servant,

JNO. SULLIVAN.

[S. H. WEBB TO JOHN LAURENS.]

PARAMUS, N. J., December, 1780.

MY DEAR LAURENS:

I find, on examination, that it is our old acquaintance, Stephen De Lancey,* instead of Oliver, who is

* Stephen De Lancey was the eldest of two sons of Brig.-Gen Oliver De Lancey, and his wife Phila, daughter of David Franks, of Philadelphia; and brother of Gen. Oliver De Lancey, of the British army, André's intimate friend and successor as Adjutant-General of the British army in America, and Colonel of the 17th Light Dragoons; and of Susannah, the wife of Sir William Draper.

He was bred a lawyer, and was a resident of New York city. When the American troubles culminated in hostilities, he took up arms on the royal side. In 1776, his father, then "Col. De Lancey," and a Councillor

the author of the Appeal. How a person of his seeming righteous character and bearing could so falsify a plain state of facts, is beyond my comprehension. However, *necessity* knows no law, and very many times makes us diverge in strange ways from

of the province of New York, raised at his own expense a brigade of three regiments of provincials, called "De Lancey's Battalions," of which he was appointed Brigadier-General. The second of these battalions had for its Colonel George Brewerton, and the Lieut.-Col. was Stephen De Lancey. The former died in 1779, and the Lieutenant-Colonel commanded the battalion till the close of hostilities. He served with his corps in Georgia and the Carolinas during the entire period of the British occupation, until the evacuation of Charleston, in 1782. He must not be confounded with his cousin, Stephen De Lancey, the eldest son of Peter De Lancey, of Westfarms, and Alice, the daughter of Gov. Colden, who was also a lawyer, and a loyalist, and Recorder of Albany, but who did not take up arms; nor with another Stephen De Lancey, also a first cousin, who was the second son of Lieut.-Gov. James De Lancey, and a resident, during the war, of Salem, Westchester County, N. Y., and of Burlington, N. J., where he was a missionary, though never in orders.

At the close of the war, Lieut.-Col. Stephen De Lancey went to England, and was appointed Chief-Justice of the Bahama Islands, and resided some years at New Providence, a precinct of which island is to this day called from him, De Lanceytown. Subsequently he was advanced to the higher post of "Governor of Tobago and its dependencies." In the year 1796 he revisited England, and after a lengthened sojourn there, sailed again for Tobago, but was lost at sea, the vessel in which he embarked having foundered with all on board.

He married, June 16th, 1773, Cornelia, eldest daughter of the Rev. Dr. Barclay, sister of Mrs. Col. Beverley Robinson the younger, and Col. Thomas Barclay, so well known in New York before and after the Revolution. By this lady he was the father of Col. Sir Wm. Howe De Lancey, Quartermaster-General of Wellington's army in 1815, who fell at Waterloo, and of Susan, who married Col. William Johnson, son of Sir John Johnson, Bart., and, after his death, Gen. Sir Hindson Lowe, Governor of St. Helena during the captivity of Napoleon the Great.

the path inclination marks out ; and we should practise charity, especially in our friend's case, as his ideas can have but little weight against our cause ; he being in the military service of the King, and an undergrade at that. When our troubles are over, *we* should see him again at Dr. B——'s, and make him confess, or explain, or do both ; which, by the way, I think can be done without serious trouble. I don't believe he is a loyalist at heart, although he makes pretence to an admiration of " his king."

I have copied the paper, which is sent herewith, being unwilling to part with the original of so curious a jumble of ability and error. The copy sent, however, contains all the corrections and markings of our mutual friends, A—— H—— and H—— L——.

If you honour me with a line before you sail, direct to Connecticut, as before. I hope to pass a long time there during this season. This goes by " old Kuyp," who will carry his sobriquet so long as there is any remembrance left for him.

Truly your friend,

S. H. WEBB.

Col. LAURENS.

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA.

THE time is at length arrived that has been so long and often foretold would bring forward the destruction of your Continental currency. What the continual and rapid depreciation of it would soon have affected, the Continental Congress have anticipated by

a single stroke. They were the first to set the example of depreciating its value, and are the first also to produce its annihilation. By the late resolves of the 18th of March last, the Congress, regardless of all public faith and honour, have passed a complete act of insolvency in their own favour, and, like desperate adventurers who find they cannot hold out any longer, agree among themselves to break and cheat their creditors, with paying scarcely sixpence in the pound. [A mere opinion.] You, the unhappy creditors, the deluded, ruined, and devoted victims of their folly and ambition, are not even called upon or consulted. [Has he read Mr. Morris's letter?] It is their will and pleasure that it shall be so, and that is sufficient. [They represent the people, *ergo* they are the people.] You gave them power, and lent them credit. These they have traded upon to your destruction. [These shoes fit tory feet.] The first has enabled them to raise a standing army by which to overawe you; the second, to defraud you of your substance, under pretence that the bills of credit issued in your name were equivalent in value, and secure of redemption. Millions have accordingly been emitted, and the faith and honour of the Congress most solemnly pledged to make good to the possessor the full nominal value stamped on each bill. Every reflecting man saw through the fallacy of the security, and refused it voluntary credit, until the great Doctor Franklin urged the necessity of spreading it among the people; that

once done, said he, it will be their interest to circulate and give it credit; and as to the sinking of it, that will be easy enough, for by the time that it answers our purpose, it will sink of itself by its own depreciation. The hint was adopted, and what it wanted in credit to give it general circulation, the bayonet and Tender Laws at last effected.

The Doctor, though in part a true prophet, never dreamt that the war, which he knew must inevitably follow the declaration of independence, would outlive the forced credit of the money; his calculation extended only to three or four years, within which time he imagined Great Britain would be obliged, from a want of resources herself, and the embarrassments of a wicked opposition, to relinquish her claims upon America. Notwithstanding the Doctor is professedly a great politician, and can see deeper into a millstone than most other people, his idea, in this instance, has been evidently founded on wrong principles; for the war still rages, and will be carried on in spite of the confederated powers of France and Spain, while Great Britain has a shilling to spend. [Doctor Franklin was right. England is bankrupt, and is every day adding to her debts, which she will eventually be obliged to fund, and in the end never pay.] The truth is, that so long as your assumed independence is in dispute, it will be impossible for you to furnish a real and substantial security for any paper money already issued, or which you may hereafter issue. [Paper money is

not very desirable at any time, and particularly so if it is not used in defence of freedom, instead of slavery.] You have nothing that can be called your own while that remains unacknowledged. Who among you, with his senses about him, would lend another a thousand, or hundred pounds in gold or silver, on the security of an estate, the title to which you knew to be claimed, and in dispute? [Stephen mistakes our manners. Of what value is an estate, if the owner has not the liberty to use it as he thinks best?] Yet this is exactly your situation; without the means of credit, or being able to command it, your independence and country both in dispute, your foreign trade trifling,—[This bubble of “foreign trade” should be pricked. Internal development is the work of all true Americans. We have lands such as no other nation ever was blessed with, extending from the ocean to the far West, the boundaries of which never have been reached, and from the hills of New Hampshire to the South Sea. What do we want with foreign trade?—and of little consequence, scarcely sufficient to furnish you with even common necessities, much less to enrich you by its profits, and possessed of so little gold and silver that you cannot supply enough for the necessary purposes of your small and precarious commerce—how is it possible for you to afford a permanent and undoubted security equal to the redemption of any bills, either emitted or to be emitted? The Congress, however, have boldly tried the experi-

ment, and what is the consequence? Your own ruin, distresses, and feelings, can best give the answer; to these I appeal; they speak more to the purpose than a thousand arguments. The candid will acknowledge them, the disingenuous cannot conceal them. [Hum! We'll see.]

But, as if the Congress had not already brought sufficient ruin and misery on you, by damming the little remains of credit which your currency had before their last curious resolves passed, they are now endeavouring to sink you, if possible, deeper in the gulf of destruction, out of which you are never to rise. Having, in order to quiet your well-founded apprehensions and repeated applications for that purpose, resolved not to emit any more bills of credit on their own authority, and knowing that from the depreciation and worthlessness of the present money, to use their own words, "The community suffers great injustice, the public finances are deranged, and the necessary dispositions for the defence of the country are much impeded and perplexed," they have, by the same resolve, commanded (not requested) you to provide funds and issue other bills in lieu of the present, all of which they have also ordered to be called in by a small, gentle tax of fifteen millions of dollars monthly, equal to five millions six hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds Pennsylvania currency, or three millions three hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds sterling, according to the nominal value of the

bills as issued, and for which nominal value, from their and your public faith and honour pledged for its redemption, every possessor has a right to call upon them for the full sum stamped on its face. Yet this, it seems, is all to be destroyed without a single doit given to you in the room of it. I ask you, where is all the property, the substance, and produce, which you have been obliged to furnish for five years past for this trash? You cannot say it is by you in money, as used to be the case formerly, when the farmer sold his produce for honest gold, or bills of credit founded on undisputed funds. Behold! it has all vanished like a dream, and your supposed riches have taken unto themselves wings and flown away. This magical transmutation of something into nothing is the sleight-of-hand-work of the Congress, a body on whose wisdom you relied to preserve what you had, or might acquire from your labours, and to free you from taxes. Where is the faith, the honour, and all that was thought to be sacred in the Thirteen United States, and pledged for the redemption of your Continental money? Is not the depreciation of it established by the resolves of Congress? Are not many thousands of your best friends absolutely ruined? And will you not lose all credit with foreign nations, and become (as you deserve) a by-word among the people?

The Congress, however, have directed you to provide new funds, and to issue new bills on the credit of each particular State. By this subterfuge, after

having done all the mischief they could, and subjecting you to anarchy and distress, they mean to get their own necks out of the halter, and saddle you hereafter with the public misfortunes ; but, by imposing such iniquitous mandates upon you, do they not require you to make bricks without straw, and to attempt impossibilities ?

The several States, it is true, may strike and issue new bills, but can they furnish any new funds for the redemption of such bills of credit, and to the very large amount, as your necessities must oblige you to issue, in order to carry on the war ? They know, and you must all know, that you have no other than what you had before. These they commanded, and these they pledged most sacredly for the redemption of their own emissions, liquidated upon, and as quoted to each State ;—have they answered the purpose ? You are sensible, and feelingly so to your sorrow, that they have been totally insufficient. Can it be imagined that they will be more equal or adequate to the purpose of public security now ? For the same reason that your funds failed before, for the very same they will and must fail now,—that of your independence being yet in dispute. You may mortgage and appropriate the lands within the limits of your several States,—nay, sell them, if you please, and all the property belonging to every individual, but I defy you to provide such an undoubted substantial and permanent fund in any one or all of them, as is indis-

pensably necessary both to redeem any new bills to be issued, or even preserve it from a much quicker depreciation than the last has undergone. You really, as I said before, have nothing that you can call your own; every inch of ground, and every thing you possess, is in dispute, and liable to be taken from you, perhaps in the approaching campaign. It is in vain for you, or any of your political scribblers, (the famous Crisis-writer, who boasts himself to be the author of "Common Sense," a pedantic schoolmaster, not worth sixpence, nor possessing as much property in the country,) to assert that your independence is as established as fate, when the fact is, that at this moment it is more precarious than ever, and from every circumstance, both of a public and private nature, absolutely lost to you. The proposed mode prescribed to you by the Congress for issuing new bills of credit, is in fact the same kind of superstructure, varying only in form, and raised upon the very same and former weak foundation. It differs not in any one essential that can possibly add to, or insure the redemption of, the new bills intended to be issued on it.

The Congress indeed direct that the new bills are not to exceed, when issued, one-twentieth part of the nominal sum of the bills brought in to be destroyed. That will depend on the credit your credulity may please to give it on its first emission and circulation, and on the demand your public necessities will require, as to the quantity, and which, (to judge from what is

past,) as well as the heavy and natural expenditures of war, cannot be very trifling, nor count in less than millions; but for your comfort, these bills, they further direct, shall be redeemable in specie, within six years after the present, and bear an interest of five per cent., payable also in specie, either on their redemption here, or annually, in sterling bills of exchange, to be drawn on their commissioners in Europe. But where is that same specie?—or how is it to be got at in a quantity equal to the full redemption of any sum you may, or must issue, for the immediate necessities of the war? [*Specie vs. Freedom*; the latter is ours above all other considerations.] They surely will not assert that it is now in the country; and if it is not, your present small exports and low state of trade cannot introduce it; and as to a foreign loan, that has long been out of the question, as unattainable from any power in Europe. Neither do they inform you upon what certain funds or credit their sterling bills of exchange are to be drawn, or whether any are in the hands of their commissioners abroad. Who will take their bills without being first assured that they will be paid? or who part with his substance here, for a shadow there? Take it for granted, however, that the interest may be thus paid by their bills of exchange, will this also pay the principal? It is this that ought to claim your attention; for if left to chance, or the events of war, you will find few to give your new bills credit on the faith of such precarious

funds. The Congress, wishing to collect some gold and silver for present occasions, kindly resolve also that these precious metals shall be receivable in payment of the quotas of each State, on the fifteen million monthly tax, and at the rate of one Spanish milled dollar in lieu of forty dollars of the bills now in circulation. No one doubts their hearty wishes to receive gold or silver in lieu of their present depreciated bills, and to finger it too; but what man in his senses would make the exchange, more especially since passing these damned—[Stephen only *writes* so]—resolves, which virtually annihilate it? or pay a silver dollar in to them, at the rate only of forty for one, when upwards of sixty for one can be purchased anywhere almost throughout the country?

These are but few of the embarrassments that must naturally arise on the experiment to be made on this new plan to restore your public credit. There are many others not less perplexing, and left for your State financiers to find out and combat. If, after what has been already said, those friendly hints should be disregarded; if you mean to save yourselves from utter destruction, or wish to retain what little the Congress have been pleased to leave you by their late paper experiment and public cheat passed upon your credit, name, and substance, you must not hesitate, one and all, boldly and positively to refuse every kind of credit or circulation to the new imposition ordered to be repeated upon you by their late resolves. If

you do not, you are undone,—[If we don't, we are]—for the security plausibly held out to you is really worse, if possible, than that of the former; therefore do not temporize or give way in the least. Firm and manly resistance at first, is better than slavish repentance at last. Remember, that if you sin again, you sin with your eyes open, and will richly merit the perdition that will inevitably await you, should you be so lost to all sense of interest, good policy, and regard for yourselves, families, and country, as again to trust that Congress, who, by their folly, weakness, wickedness, and ambition, have already brought you to a state of ruin, and by this their new devised scheme, replete with madness tenfold, (should you adopt it,) will again sink you into wretchedness, misery, and irretrievable distress.

Take, my countrymen, a serious view of your affairs as they stand at present, for you are not fools, nor want for comprehension or abilities to judge, if left to yourselves. [This Appeal has a quiet way of leaving us to ourselves.] You have a right to inquire, to have the truth laid before you, and to determine for your own happiness. Are you not free men?—the Congress say you are. [Just so, and we intend to continue so.] Assert, then, your privileges, and dispassionately examine whether you tread on a rock or a quicksand.

Your situation, finances, and resources at home have already been stated to you. These, you see, in

every point of view, are upwards of sixty to one against you ; and every internal dependence to carry on the war by your own means and strength absolutely inadequate. The probable reduction of Charlestown, and the consequent probable submission of the two Carolinas,—[How about this?](the principal funds on which you rely to support your foreign credit,) still lessens your abilities here. Abroad, your hopes and expectations are small and precarious indeed. Your great and good ally, France, as the Congress have been pleased to style her, disgracefully repulsed at Savannah by a handful of brave men, though opposed by the redoubtable D'Estaing, and some of the most veteran troops of that power, aided by Lincoln, with all his train ; the formidable fleet of France, intended to sweep the seas and coast of America, from south to north, last autumn, and to swallow the British fleet and army by surprise;—where are they ? The winds blew, and they were dispersed, dismantled, shattered, and broke to pieces ; the remains are scarcely heard of, and no terror of it left. In the West Indies, the naval superiority of Great Britain, under the gallant Admiral Hyde Parker, is decisive beyond all comparison ; and almost every French island there, from various distresses, disappointments, captures, failure of reinforcements, and supplies of naval stores and provision, is now at the command of the active General Vaughan and his forces, and who, we doubt not, by this time, if not before, has

repossessed himself of those we lost ; La Motte Piquet, with a few French men-of-war, scarcely half ours in number, and not likely to be reinforced, being obliged to skulk, unable to oppose our progress, or afford relief to his distressed station. [Take off about “twenty-two shillings in the pound,” in receiving this assertion.]

In the East Indies, the French have not a single possession left,—[True, for they’re all right]—the islands of Bourbon and France excepted, and those, it is expected, are, or must soon fall to the brave Admiral Hughes, and the victorious British troops in that part of the world. Of course, all their valuable trade there is at an end. In Africa, Goree and Senegal are again our own. In Europe and the Mediterranean we are gloriously and most decisively victorious, Admiral Sir George Rodney having, on the memorable 16th day of January last, completely surprised, captured, and totally destroyed the Spanish fleet,—[Plain murder]—consisting of eleven sail of the line, six or eight of which, including the Spanish Admiral himself, Don Juan de Langara, he has taken into Gibraltar, the siege and blockade of that place being immediately raised, and the Spanish army obliged to retreat with precipitation to Cadiz, to protect that important port from destruction. By this great stroke, and the previous capture also of the whole convoy and fleet of the Spanish Caraccas Company on the 8th of the same month, and by the same British squadron, not only one-fourth of the Spanish Armada (with at least ten

thousand seamen) is destroyed and lost to them, but seven capital ships-of-the-line added to our own list, exclusive of seventeen new ones launched from the English docks, and now nearly, if not quite ready, to join Admiral Hardy, and who, by these and other acquisitions, will, in the course of this summer, be at the head of upwards of eighty sail-of-the-line,—a fleet which scarcely all the maritime powers in Europe conjoined can match. The destruction of the Spanish fleet, the dismasting of seven out of four-and-twenty French men-of-war sent after Admiral Rodney from Brest, and the whole obliged to put in to Corunna, shattered by a violent storm; the fate of D'Estaing's formidable fleet, almost wrecked on this coast last fall; and the dreadful mortality among the French seamen on board their grand fleet,—altogether, and when compared with our own amazing efforts and increase of naval strength, puts it beyond all human doubt but that the boasted, united, and combined powers and views of the ambitious House of Bourbon, at sea, for this year at least, if not forever, are at an end. Britain again rides triumphantly Mistress of the Seas. The wealth of France and Spain lost on this element alone, cannot be estimated at less than twenty millions sterling, in the depredations made upon their fleets and commerce, the former being reduced too low for any capital future attempts, and the latter almost totally ruined; while Great Britain, on the contrary, is left now more at liberty to prosecute the war at home

with greater vigour and certainty of success, and here with every prospect of decisive advantage. The full and amicable settlement of the Irish discontents, now no more, puts a stop at once to the sanguine hopes you derived from that quarter, and renders your General, Mr. Washington's public and published orders on that occasion for a general festivity and Te Deum on the 17th of March last, rather premature and ridiculous. The discontents and low state of his army, *chiefly composed of Irish*, perhaps required some inspiration of this kind to animate, and prevent them from desertion; but if he has no stronger influence to retain them in the Continental service, very few of them, I assure you, who now know that their nation is perfectly satisfied, and more our friends than ever from reasonable dispositions, will be taken in by such straw-catching artifices.

This general picture, my countrymen, is drawn for your information. It is not a picture of fancy, but taken from the life, and is really founded in truth. Judge, then, of your present situation and future prospects. It is possible to suppose, as your leaders would have you believe, that your unhappy situation is mended, your prospects brighter, or that your independence is as firmly established as fate. They deceive you who tell you so. On the contrary, does not ruin, wretchedness, and distress, stare you full in the face, look which way you will? And is not destruction to your country, to yourselves, and your wives

and little ones, hanging over you, ready to overwhelm you in unutterable misery and distress? The events of war, it is true, are uncertain, and what appears favourable on our side to-day, may be reversed to-morrow; but this is by no means probable, from the great and decisive events that have taken place in favour of the Crown of Great Britain, though unallied and standing alone,—a circumstance that proves beyond the possibility of a doubt her power and resources to be infinite and superior. You have it yet in your opportunity to be saved from further distress, the deprivation and the calamities of war. These certainly await an obstinate perseverance in those who wilfully continue the rebellion; while, on the other hand, the door of mercy is open to all those who will speedily return to their duty and allegiance, and on terms, if properly requested, that will render America the most free, and its inhabitants the happiest of any country on the face of the earth, by insuring to them peace, liberty, and safety. A commission of peace is again lodged in the British Commander-in-Chief, Sir Henry Clinton. Embrace the benevolent invitation of your gracious Sovereign before it is too late, and give praise to Heaven for so great salvation. [This last for our particular consideration. Who speaks first?]

A LOYAL AMERICAN.*

* The Notes in brackets in this article, are the corrections and additions mentioned in the letter which precedes the Appeal.

[MOSES YOUNG TO HENRY LAURENS.]

PARIS, 10th April, 1782.

HONOURABLE SIR :

By particular desire of the M. de La Fayette, I now make the following communications :—

That immediately after the surrender of the British army under General Cornwallis, Colonel John Laurens requested of the M. that he would take an opportunity of learning his Lordship's opinion on the subject of an exchange between him and Mr. Laurens, then a prisoner in the Tower of London. The M. did so, and found the Earl exceedingly desirous of such an event taking place ; but said he was afraid the British Government would not consent to give up Mr. Laurens for him. The M. asked him how it was that that Government made such a blunder as to commit Mr. Laurens, being a public Minister, and not a military man, to confinement upon such a charge ? The English nobleman answered that the blunder lay with the admiral at Newfoundland in sending that gentleman to England, but that he was exceedingly well used there, and treated with the greatest respect. The M. made answer, that America was under no obligation to Great Britain for such good usage ; that everybody knew the British Government *dare* not treat Mr. Laurens with disrespect, because Congress would in that case order a most *severe* retaliation ; and so far as depended upon *him* for the execution of such orders, his Lordship already knew his sentiments on the subject

of retaliation, and he also probably knew that he had the honour to be ranked by Mr. Laurens among his particular friends; so that both from duty as an American officer, from principle, and friendship, no relaxation of any orders he might receive, could be expected, should his friend be ill-used.

The English General expressed a strong desire that such an exchange should be proposed to General Washington, and said he would wait upon his Excellency for the purpose, but that he was afraid of trespassing upon any part of the time of the American Chief in telling his story, as he had affairs on hand of much more consequence than the private ones of a captive officer; he would therefore desire Mr. House, one of his aids, to confer with one of General Washington's aids: and thus the affair stood when the Mqs. was ordered to another part of the Continent.

The M. desired me to mention that he was exceedingly anxious to see Mr. Laurens on the Continent of Europe, both from public and private motives; on the public account, because if a negotiation for peace was opened, Mr. Laurens was the only commissioner of the five who was acquainted with the interests of the Southern States, and the only one who practically knew the general commercial interests of the whole Continent; that Governor Jefferson had declined accepting the appointment, and therefore it was the more necessary that Mr. Laurens should be at liberty to act. He wished it on a personal account,

because it had been hinted before he left America, that notwithstanding the well-known attachment of Mr. Laurens to the cause of his country, it might have been more proper to appoint a man who never had had an opportunity of contracting prejudices in favour of the enemy, by being much among them. The M. most heartily wished that Mr. Laurens would negotiate the matter in such a manner, as that General Cornwallis should, as the most unexceptionable method to the British Government, propose, by letter, the exchange to him, (the Marquis,) and he would immediately procure a French frigate to carry such proposition to Congress, or General Washington.

The M. asked me if I had not heard that it was reported Mr. Laurens' intellects were somewhat impaired by the severe fit of sickness brought on him by the severity of his treatment in the Tower.

I have the honour to be, with the most inviolable attachment, honourable Sir, your most humble and obedient servant,

MOSES YOUNG.

HENRY LAURENS, Esq.

[MOSES YOUNG TO HENRY LAURENS.]

OSTEND, 30th June, 1782.

HONoured AND DEAR SIR:

As you desired, I now enclose the American Peace Bill, and annex an intended one brought into the House of Lords by the Earl of Shelburne, which I have copied, and send as from Mr. Bridgen, who de-

sire; me to present his and Mrs. Bridgen's best respects. The Messrs. Hartly also desire to be particularly mentioned; Mr. D. H. is again in Parliament for Kingston, (or Hull,) and is determined to oppose the last-mentioned bill in the House, because he thinks it holds out an idea to the people of England that the dependence of America on the British Crown is yet to be expected, and that something like *bribes* is meant to be offered to the Americans. I shall likewise put within this cover a letter directed to Miss Laurens, given me by Mr. Manning, and one which I found in the Post Office at Margate.

Mr. Benjamin Vaughan thinks it one of the greatest misfortunes of his life that Mr. Laurens refused to permit an explanation of the motives which induced him to mention to Lord Shelburne the affair of the Tavern Bill, because such an explanation was absolutely necessary for reinstating him in the good opinion of Mr. Laurens. He declares most solemnly that his motive was no other than this: that as a warm friend to the independence of America, he made it his study to give Lord Shelburne and Mr. Laurens such information of each other's temper as he believed necessary towards a perfect understanding, and to the success of any negotiation that might be entered into; in particular he was anxious that his Lordship might avoid every thing that would probably displease, and do every thing that would probably please Mr. Laurens; that he mentioned the affair at the Tavern to

show the delicacy and jealousy of Mr. Laurens's honour, as he represented that of the United States of America, and must be treated with more attention than the British ministry might think needful to any British subject. Mr. Vaughan says it occasioned a breach between him and his brother William, who charged him with betraying that confidence which he placed in him alone when he mentioned the affair at the Hotel. Mr. B. V. wrote to Lord Shelburne on the subject, (a copy of which he promised me,) and showed me his Lordship's answer, wherein he says he has not met with any thing of a long time that distressed him so much. He there proposes writing to Mr. Laurens, or that Mr. Vaughan himself shall write the letter, and he will sign it; this Mr. Vaughan told me he declined accepting of, depending upon his own personal explanation.

Upon my arrival at Ostend, I found that I could not expect an answer to my letter written to Mr. Vaughan until after three days; rather than wait so long, I took a passage immediately, went up to London, and presented myself to that gentleman. He said he was glad I had come so soon, but had it not now in his power to make the adventure so considerable, because he had placed a moiety of £5,000 in another channel; the remaining £5,000 he would ship under my direction and management in the line at first proposed, and desired I would look out for a vessel of about two hundred tons to charter. Several days I employed in this business, and met with several ves-

sels of Mr. Vaughan's description, to be made neutral by the owners; but none of them would agree to his terms. At last he heard of a very fine Danish ship at Newry, in Ireland, of four hundred tons burthen, and was so well pleased with the account he had of her, and with the terms, that he chartered her at once to the islands of Grenada and St. Thomas, with liberty to touch at Madeira. She is to be principally loaded in Ireland with salted provisions, and the property intended to be vested in her is from £10,000 to £12,000 sterling, on which I am to have the customary commissions on sales and returns. As my attendance during the loading of the ship is not necessary, Mr. Vaughan has given me a month, in order that I may apply to Dr. Franklin for the money due to me, and I am now on my way to Paris. If I should be so lucky as to get it there, it will enable me to take out to the West Indies twice or three times the amount in East India and Russia goods on my own account; the amount I can here insure at a premium between six and eight per cent., and ship in different bottoms to the Continent of America. I have not much doubt but that Dr. Franklin will at least enable me to remit Babat and Labouchere fifty guineas. Mr. Vaughan has given me to understand that I may finish his business at St. Thomas. In case of a probability of the war continuing a year longer, it would, I believe, be most for my own interest to settle on the island until peace is concluded. I know I could have consign-

ments from Philadelphia, and I think from France, Ireland, and probably from London. I now write to my friends at Nantes and L'Orient; their answers will enable me to form some judgment of what business I may expect from France. The application to those in London and Ireland will be personal, and I shall write to America to prepare my friends for what I shall probably solicit from the Island of St. Thomas. Your commands, Sir, if directed to the care of Mr. James Falls, I shall receive here on my return to London.

Permit me, Sir, to present my best respects to Mr. Henry Laurens, and to repeat my assurances of the most inviolable attachment to yourself and family, with which I am, honoured and dear Sir, your most faithful servant,

MOSES YOUNG.

The Honourable HENRY LAURENS, Esq.

AN ACT

To prevent in future any office to be exercised in any colony or plantation now or at any time hereafter belonging to the Crown of Great Britain, for any longer term than during such term as the grantee thereof, or person appointed thereto, shall discharge the duty thereof, and behave well therein.

Whereas, the practice of granting offices in his Majesty's colonies and plantations in America and the West Indies to persons resident and intending to reside in Great Britain, (in consequence whereof such offices are exercised by deputy, and have been fre-

quently farmed out to the best bidder,) has been long complained of as a grievance by his Majesty's loyal subjects in those parts, who have been thereby exposed to exactions and oppressions, as well as to inconveniences arising from neglect of duty.

And whereas, such offices, if the persons holding the same were resident, and in person discharged the duties thereof, might have been and may still be a means of encouraging and rewarding the attachment of the inhabitants of his Majesty's colonies and plantations to his royal person and government, and to the general interests of the British empire: May it please, &c., that from henceforth no office to be exercised in any colony or plantation now or at any time hereafter belonging to the Crown of Great Britain, shall be granted or grantable for any longer time than during such time as the grantee thereof, or person appointed thereto, shall discharge the duty, and behave well therein.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons holding such office shall be wilfully absent from the colony or plantation wherein the same is or ought to be exercised, without a reasonable cause, to be allowed by the Governor and Council for the time being of such colony or plantation, or shall neglect the duty of such office, or otherwise misbehave therein, it shall and may be lawful for such Governor and Council to remove such person or persons from every or any such office. And in case

any person or persons so removed shall think himself aggrieved thereby, it shall and may be lawful to and for any such person or persons so aggrieved to appeal therefrom, as in other cases of appeal from such colony or plantation, wherein such a motion shall be finally judged of and determined by his Majesty in Council. Provided, always, that it shall and may be lawful for the Governor and Council of any colony or plantation to give such leave of absence as they shall see occasion; and in such case, as likewise in the case of vacancy occasioned by death, or a motion to provide for the due discharge of the duties of such office or offices, until the King's pleasure shall be known.

Provided, also, that nothing herein contained shall operate to the prejudice of any subsisting grant of such office or offices, or to prevent any office being granted determinable at pleasure.*

A TORY SKETCH OF HENRY LAURENS.

History and Character of Mr. Laurens, late President of the Rebel Congress, now a prisoner in the Tower of London.

MR. LAURENS was born in the year 1722. His countenance is swarthy; his figure rather mean; his stature rather below the middle size. He has quick piercing eyes, and a sharp meaning face, but such a

* This act was endorsed by Mr. Young, as follows:

21st June, 1782. Presented by Lord Wycombe, (Shelburne,) and read a first time.—24th June, 1782. Read a second time, and committed to a Committee of the whole House to-morrow.

meaning as to put any person of penetration on his guard in dealing with him. His father was a saddler in Charlestown, a Frenchman by birth, and a Protestant, and wished to breed his son Harry to his own trade. The young man, however, soon deserted his mechanic employment, and applied himself to commerce. He first came to London about the year 1740. He never lived as a clerk with Messrs. Rawlinson & Davidson, as has been so often asserted, but was for some years in that station with Mr. James Crockatt, a Carolina merchant in London. A lucky stroke in the way of insurance laid the foundation of his fortune. On his return to Charlestown, fortune smiled on his industry, and loaded him with riches. He was clear and indefatigable in business, and had the general character of being honest in his dealings; though at the same time he was always reckoned, what is not very respectable among merchants, a keen, sharp, and strict man. This is a very common character over all British America. He is a man of such incessant application, that no degree of trouble can discourage him in the pursuit of an object of interest or ambition. His early education was very limited; but when he became more affluent, by that unremitting attention which forms so remarkable a part of his character, he acquired a fund of miscellaneous literature. This fund, however, is said to be ill-digested; it is rather a farrago. His address is so replete with industrious civility, he is so attentive to those with whom he con-

verses, and so careful lest an improper word should escape him, that a man of plain honesty and discernment is infallibly led to conceive Mr. Laurens has some design on him, that he wishes to conceal something from his view, which he would readily see, were it not artfully shaded. By different men, this behaviour is differently thought of and denominated. The weak and ignorant, judging of him from this circumstance, call him affable and wise; the more discerning think him insinuating and cunning. He certainly wants that sincere, open manliness of manner which a liberal education, natural good sense, and a consciousness of integrity, always confer upon their possessor.

Last war, in 1761, he was Lieutenant-Colonel of a regiment of militia in Gen. Grant's expedition against the Cherokee Indians. His military exploits are nowhere recorded. But in a private broil between Gen. Grant and a Col. Middleton, an American, and a militia colonel, he took part with Gen. Grant; for very different purposes, as was supposed by those who knew him best, to what appeared to be his motives to the undiscerning part of mankind. The dispute between Gen. Grant, then only Col. Grant, and Col. Middleton, terminated in a duel, which was not attended with any fatal consequences.

In the time of the Stamp Act, 1764-'65, Mr. Laurens drew upon himself the hatred of the populace of Charlestown, by declaring their opposition to the act illegal and unconstitutional. They threatened him

with the effects of their resentment, but were induced by persuasion to leave him unmolested. After the repeal of the Stamp Act, the Americans looked forward to new triumphs; they demanded the repeal of the duties on glass and painters' colours. This was refused. They adopted the non-importation scheme. Mr. Laurens at first showed himself averse to this measure; but when he saw that the different colonies were no longer to try their several strengths by separate contests with the mother country, but were to concentrate their scattered powers by forming a General Congress, he eagerly entered into the scheme which he had formerly reprobated. Such stability was now given to the proceedings of the factious colonies, that even a man of Mr. Laurens' art and wariness thought it no longer unsafe to strengthen them by his approbation and concurrence. In this, as in the former struggle, the Americans came off victorious.

In the cessation of political struggles between the Stamp Act and the Glass Act, Mr. Laurens, who was of that sort of mercantile genius which often occasions the enterprising merchant to forget the laws of trade, or persuades him that he shall escape them, had a ship seized by one of his Majesty's cruisers. The vessel was brought into Charlestown, where Sir Egerton Leigh, who was married to a niece of Mr. Laurens, was Judge of the Court of Admiralty. Sir Egerton, in this case, acted with the virtue of an old Roman,

and as a just judge. He condemned Mr. Laurens' ship. Such conduct astonished Mr. Laurens. Such a near relation to condemn one of his ships, roused his implacable resentment. He traduced Sir Egerton as an unjust judge over all the Continent of America. As most of the Americans were illicit traders, Mr. Laurens had many partisans. He wrote as many pamphlets against Sir Egerton as made a pretty large volume. These he circulated wherever the English language was read in that quarter. Many people remember to have seen a box full of them, addressed to different persons, no less than twelve hundred miles from Charlestown.

When things began to assume a more settled appearance after the non-importation agreement was annulled, Mr. Laurens left Carolina and came over to Europe. He remained about three years out of America, the greatest part of which he spent in England. About the beginning of 1775 he returned to Charlestown, in time enough to fan the kindling flame of rebellion. His wealth, his knowledge of trade, his well-known industry and assiduity in every scheme he entered into, and the information he had acquired from his residence in England, rendered him a most valuable acquisition to the American cause, and marked him out as the most proper person the Carolinians could elect to be President of their Provincial Congress. But even here his habitual caution, and even cunning, were not laid aside; for, notwithstand-

ing the decisive part which his actions demonstrated he had taken in the grand dispute, he still pretended he was averse to the measures which the Americans were pursuing, and that for his part he was absolutely forced into them by his countrymen. He dreaded the vengeance of Britain if she should prove successful, and thought to elude it by this shallow artifice.

After having been chosen President of the Provincial Congress of Carolina, he was sent as a delegate to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. In 1777 he was elected President of the Continental Congress; and in that station the infamous convention at Saratoga was entered into between Gates and Burgoyne. These things are yet recent; and this nation still boils with indignation at American treachery in the refusal of Congress to fulfil the terms concluded upon by their own General, disgraceful as they were to this country. But few of us know that Mr. Laurens was the principal, if not the original adviser of this breach of the faith of nations. He even added insult to injury; for instead of telling us openly, and with a manly confidence, that as the safety of the people was paramount to all conventions and stipulations between individuals, the troops could not be allowed to leave America, and as that event would enable us to make such vigorous exertions as would probably destroy their beloved scheme of independence; he attempted to show that what he had done was agreeable to the established notions of right, and this in a

train of argument which its absurdity rendered unanswerable. It would be as difficult to prove the truth of an axiom of Euclid, as to demonstrate the falsehood of the reasons Mr. Laurens published to the world in vindication of his conduct.

What has been said, may serve in helping us to form a more just and accurate notion of Mr. Laurens' character than what is generally entertained. In illustration of what has been advanced, it may be affirmed, that if the ministry attempt to negotiate with the Americans through the medium of Mr. Laurens, he will outwit them. He will pretend to be a moderate man, and a friend to this country. Little regard will be paid to truth, where there will be no dread of immediate detection; for whatever an American may be in private life, *honour and good faith enter not into his ideas of a politician*. Time will be lost, opportunities will be omitted, and Mr. Laurens will have the satisfaction of laughing at our credulity. If the nation wishes for peace, let us treat with the Americans as our declared enemies. We will then expect and be prepared against all the tricks of negotiation, which one nation employs against another. But let us not trust too much to the friendship and integrity of the breaker of the Saratoga Convention.

Mr. Laurens is naturally of an irascible temper, but has generally the art to conceal it. His last voyage to England was to enter his eldest son in the Middle Temple for the study of the law. This son

was educated in true republican principles at Geneva. During Mr. Laurens' stay in England, opposition got hold of him, and a mutual game of deception was played betwixt them; they thought they had made him a convert, and he thought he had made them the warm friends of America. He returned to America, as we have already mentioned, in the end of 1774, or beginning of 1775. His fortune there is very considerable. He has great possessions in Carolina and Georgia; and at the commencement of the rebellion had a large sum in the English funds. His son soon after married here, but the rebellion breaking out in a few months, he went off for America. He has been in several stations in the army, and aid-de-camp to Washington, and was wounded in one of the skirmishes last year to the Southward.*

* This paper is endorsed by Mr. Laurens, "A British Opinion of Me;—correct in some points. It was published in a Political Magazine in 1780."

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