3

HISTORY

OF THE

RISE, PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

OF THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

326
723

INTERSPERSED WITH

Biographical, Political and Moral Obſervations.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

BY MRS. MERCY (Otis) WARREN,
OF PLYMOUTH, (MASS.)

.....Troubled on every side.....
perplexed, but not in despair; persecuted, but not forsaken;
cast down, but not destroyed. *ST. PAUL.*

O God! thy arm was here.....
And not to us, but to thy arm alone,
Ascribe we all. *SHAKESPEARE.*

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RISE, PROGRESS, &c.

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FROM the time that Quebec was inveſted by Montgomery and Arnold, at the cloſe of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five, until the termination of general Burgoyne's campaign, in the autumn of one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſeven, the ſucceſſes, the expectations, and the diſappointments from that quarter, had been continually varying.

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Sir Guy Carleton, the governor of Canada, and who for a number of years had been commander in chief of all the Britiſh forces through that province, was an officer of approved fidelity, courage, and ability. He had ſucceſsfully reſiſted the ſtorm carried into that country by order of congreſs; he had triumphed in the premature fall of the intrepid, but unfortunate Montgomery; he had driven back the impetuous Arnold to the verge of the lakes; he had defeated the operations of general Thomſon, in a bold and ſucceſsleſs attempt to ſurpriſe the Britiſh poſt at *Trois Rivieres*: general Thomſon was there made a priſoner, with all of his party who eſcaped the ſword. This happened about the time a detachment was marched northward, under the command of general Thomas. He died of the ſmall-pox, as related above, when moſt of his army was deſtroyed by the ſword, ſickneſs, or flight.

Though general Carleton had occaſionally employed ſome of the Indian allies of Great Britain, he had by his addreſs kept back the numerous tribes of ſavages, near and beyond the diſtant lakes. He rather choſe to hold them in expectation of being called to action, than to encourage their ferocious inclination for war, which they ever proſecute in thoſe horrid forms, that ſhock humanity too much for deſcription. Whether his checking the barbarity of the ſavages, or whether his lenity

to the unfortunate Americans that had fallen into his hands, operated to his difadvantage, or whether from other political motives, is yet uncertain; however, he was fuperfeded in his military capacity, and the command given to general Burgoyne, who had re-embarked from England early in the fpring, and arrived at Quebec in the month of May, one thoufand feven hundred and feventy-feven, with a large and chofen armament.

General Carleton felt the affront as a brave officer, confcious of having difcharged his truft with a degree of humanity on one fide, and the ftricteft fidelity to his mafter on the other. He immediately requefted leave to quit the government, and repair to England. Yet he did not at once defert the fervice of his king: his influence was too great among the Canadians, and over all the Indian tribes, to hazard his abfence at this critical conjuncture. His return to Europe was therefore poftponed: he encouraged the provincials to aid his fucceffes, and exerted himfelf much more than heretofore, to bring on the innumerable *hordes* of the wilderneefs. In confequence of this, they poured down from the forefts in fuch multitudes, as to awaken apprehenfions in his own breaft of a very difagreeable nature; but he cajoled them to fome terms of reftraint; acted for a time in conjunction with Burgoyne, and made his arrangements in fuch a manner, as greatly to

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facilitate the operations of the ſummer campaign.

General Burgoyne was a gentleman of polite manners, literary abilities, and tried bravery; but haughty in his deportment, ſanguine in opinion, and an inveterate foe to America from the beginning of the conteſt with Britain: this he had diſcovered as a member of the houſe of commons, as well as in the field. On his arrival in Canada he loſt no time, but left a ſufficient force for the protection of Quebec, and proceeded immediately acroſs the lakes, at the head of eight or ten thouſand men, including Canadians, and reached the neighbourhood of Crown Point before the laſt of June.

There, according to the barbarous ſyſtem of policy adopted by his employers, though execrated by a minority in parliament, he ſummoned the numerous tribes of ſavages to ſlaughter and bloodſhed. A congreſs of Indians was convened, who met on the weſtern ſide of Lake Champlain. He gave them a war-feaſt, and though his delicacy might not ſuffer him to comply with their uſual cuſtom, and taſte the goblet of gore by which they bind themſelves to every ferocious deed, he made them a ſpeech calculated to excite them to plunder and carnage, though it was ſpecioufly covered by ſome injunctions of pity towards the aged and infirm, who might experience the wretched

fate of becoming their priſoners. Yet, he ſo far regarded the laws of humanity, as to adviſe the ſavages to tomahawk only ſuch as were found in arms for the defence of their country, and gave ſome encouragement to their bringing in priſoners alive, inſtead of exerciſing that general maſſacre uſual in all their conflicts; nor would he promiſe a reward for the ſcalps of thoſe who were killed merely to obtain the bounty.

Having thus as he ſuppoſed, ſecured the fidelity of ſavages, whom no laws of civilization can bind, when in competition with their appetite for revenge and war, he publiſhed a pompous and ridiculous proclamation. In this he exhorted the inhabitants of the country, wherever he ſhould march, immediately to ſubmit to the clemency of his royal maſter. To quicken their obedience, he oſtentatiouſly boaſted, that "*he had but to lift his arm, and* "*beckon by a ſtretch thereof*," the innumerable *hordes* of the wilderneſs, who ſtood ready to execute his will, and pour vengeance on any who ſhould yet have the temerity to counteract the authority of the king of England. He concluded his proclamation with theſe memorable threats:—"I truſt I ſhall ſtand acquitted "in the eyes of God and man, in denouncing "and executing the vengeance of the ſtate "againſt the wilful *outcaſts*: the meſſengers of "*juſtice* and of *wrath* await them in the field,

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"and devaſtation, famine, and every concomi-
"tant horror that a reluctant, but indiſpenſable
"proſecution of military duty muſt occaſion,
"will bar the way to their return."*

After theſe preliminary ſteps, general Burgoyne puſhed forward with his whole force, and poſſeſſed himſelf of Ticonderoga without the ſmalleſt oppoſition. This was a ſtrong poſt commanded by general St. Clair, an officer always unfortunate, and in no inſtance ever diſtinguiſhed for bravery or judgment. Though the Americans here were inferior in numbers to the Britiſh, they were not ſo deficient in men as in arms, more particularly muſquetry and bayonets: but their works were ſtrong, the troops healthy, and they had juſt received a reinforcement of men, and a freſh ſupply of every thing elſe neceſſary for defence. In theſe circumſtances, there could ſcarcely be found a ſufficient excuſe for calling a haſty council of war, and drawing off by night five or ſix thouſand men, on the firſt approach of the enemy. The want of ſmall-arms was the only plauſible pretence offered by the commander to juſtify his conduct. This deficiency St. Clair muſt have known before the fifth of

* See Burgoyne's ſpeech to the Indians, and his ſingular proclamation at large, in the Britiſh Remembrancer, the Annual Regiſter, and in many other authentic records.

July, when he in a fright fled with his whole army, and left every thing ſtanding in the garriſon.* CHAP. XI. 1777.

It is not probable the Americans could have long kept their ground againſt the ſuperiority of the Britiſh officers, and the number and diſcipline of their troops; yet undoubtedly meaſures might have been early taken by a judicious commander, to have retreated if neceſſary, without ſo much diſgrace, and the total loſs of their artillery, ſtores, proviſions, their ſhipping on the lake, and many valuable lives. The order for retreat was unexpected to the army: they had ſcarce time to ſecure a part of their baggage. The flight was rapid, and the purſuit vigorous. The ſoldiers having loſt all confidence in their commander, the out-poſts were every where evacuated, and a general diſmay pervaded the fugitives, who, in ſcattered parties, were routed in every quarter, and driven naked into the woods.

* About this time a misfortune befel the Americans not far diſtant from Montreal, at a place called the Cedars. There major Butterfield with his party, were compelled to ſurrender priſoners of war. This party captured by captain Forſter who commanded the Britiſh, conſiſted of four or five hundred men. It was warmly diſputed afterwards, between congreſs and the Britiſh commanders, whether the Cedars men, who were permitted to depart on parole, ſhould be exchanged for Britiſh priſoners taken under Burgoyne.

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After two days wandering in the wilderness, the largest body of the Americans who had kept together, were overtaken and obliged to make a stand against a party that much outnumbered them, commanded by colonel Frazer, who had been indefatigable in the pursuit. The action continued three or four hours, when the Americans, though they fought with bravery, were totally routed with very great loss. Colonel Francis, the gallant commander of this party was killed, with many other officers of merit; two or three hundred privates were left dead on the field, thrice that number wounded or taken prisoners: most of the wounded perished miserably in the woods. The British lost several officers highly esteemed by them, among whom was major Grant, a man of decided bravery. Yet general Burgoyne found to his cost, his incapacity to execute the boast he had some time before made in the house of commons, that "so little was "to be apprehended from the resistance of the "colonies, that he would engage to drive the "continent with five hundred disciplined "troops."

General St. Clair had made good his own retreat so far, as to be six miles ahead with the van of the routed army. Such was his terror on hearing of the defeat of colonel Francis, and some other successes of the royal army, that instead of proceeding to fort Ann, as in-

tended, he ſhrunk off into the woods, uncertain where to fly for ſecurity. Another party of the Americans, who had reached fort Ann, were attacked and reduced by colonel Hill, with one Britiſh regiment. They ſet fire to the fortreſs themſelves, to prevent its falling into the hands of the victors, and fled with the utmoſt ſpeed towards fort Edward, on the Hudſon. General St. Clair, and the miſerable remains of his army who eſcaped death, either by fatigue or the ſword, after a march of ſeven days, through mountainous and unfrequented paſſages, haraſſed in the rear, and almoſt without proviſions of any kind, arrived at fort Edward in a moſt pitiable condition.

General Burgoyne was too much the experienced officer to neglect his advantages. He puſhed forward with equal alacrity and ſucceſs; and in ſpite of the embarraſſments of bad roads, mountains, thickets, and ſwamps, he reached the neighbourhood of fort Edward, within a few days after the broken remnant of St. Clair's army had poſted themſelves there. On his approach, the Americans immediately decamped from fort Edward, under the command of general Schuyler, whom they found there, and withdrew to Saratoga. He had been making ſome efforts to collect the militia from the country contiguous, to aid and ſup-

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port the routed corps; but on their advance, he did not think it prudent to face the British troops.

A ſhare of the public odium on this occaſion fell on general Schuyler. His conduct, as well as the delinquency of general St. Clair, was very heavily cenſured. They were both ordered, with ſome other of the principal officers of the late council of war at Ticonderoga, to repair to congreſs to anſwer for the loſs of that fort, and the command of the Lake Champlain. On the other hand, it was no ſmall triumph to general Burgoyne and his army, thus to have chaſed the Americans from the province of Canada, to find themſelves in poſſeſſion of all the lakes, and to ſee the Britiſh ſtandard erected on the Hudſon, which had long been an object of importance with adminiſtration.

Exaggerated accounts of the weakneſs of the Americans, the incapacity of their officers, and the timidity of the troops, were tranſmitted to England; and the moſt ſanguine expectations formed by people of every deſcription through the iſland. They were ready to imagine, that hunted from poſt to poſt, both in the northern and ſouthern departments, the ſpirits of the coloniſts muſt be broken, their reſources fail, and that the United States thus repeatedly diſappointed, would loſe all energy of oppoſition, and ſoon fall a prey to the pride and power of

Great Britain. But notwithſtanding the unhappy derangement of their affairs at the northward, and the ſucceſſes of general Howe at the ſouthward, there appeared not the ſmalleſt inclination among the people at large, throughout the American ſtates, to ſubmit to royal authority. The untoward circumſtances that had taken place, neither exhauſted their hopes, nor damped the ardor of enterpriſe. The dangers that lowered in every quarter, ſeemed rather to invigorate the public mind, and quicken the operations of war.

On the defeat of St. Clair, and the advance of the Britiſh army, the eaſtern ſtates immediately draughted large detachments of militia, and haſtened them forward. Congreſs directed general Waſhington to appoint proper officers, to repair to Saratoga and take the command. They alſo appointed a court of inquiry to take cognizance of the delinquency of the ſuſpended officers: but their influence was too great with the commander in chief, and ſome principal members of congreſs, to ſubject them to that meaſure of *degradation* which it was generally thought they deſerved. They were diſmiſſed, though not with approbation, yet without any ſevere cenſure; but as the conduct of St. Clair was diſgraceful, and that of Schuyler could not be juſtified, they were neither of them appointed to active ſervice.

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General Gates, a brave and experienced officer formerly in Britiſh ſervice, a man of open manners, integrity of heart, and undiſguiſed republican principles, was veſted with the chief command to act againſt Burgoyne. On his arrival at Saratoga, he drew back the army, and encamped at a place called *Stillwater*, where he could more conveniently obſerve the motions of colonel St. Ledger, who was advancing to the Mohawk River, to inveſt fort Stanwix. This poſt was commanded by colonel Ganſevoort, whoſe bravery and intrepidity did honor to himſelf and to his country. General Arnold was ſent on with a reinforcement from the continental army, and a large train of artillery, to the aid of general Gates. He was ordered to leave the main body, and march with a detachment towards the Mohawk River to the aſſiſtance of Ganſevoort: but before there was time ſufficient for his relief from any quarter, this gallant officer found himſelf and the garriſon ſurrounded by a large body of Britiſh troops, in conjunction with a formidable appearance of ſavages, yelling in the environs, and thirſting for blood. At the ſame time he was threatened by their more enlightened, yet not more humanized allies, that unleſs he immediately ſurrendered the garriſon, or if he delayed until it was taken by ſtorm, they ſhould all be given up to the fury of the Indians, who were bent upon the maſſacre of every officer and ſoldier.

St. Ledger by letters, meſſages, and all poſſible methods, endeavoured to intimidate the commander of the fortreſs. He obſerved, that the ſavages were determined to wreak their vengeance for the recent loſs of ſome of their chiefs, on the inhabitants of the Mohawk River, and to ſweep the young plantations there, without diſtinction of age or ſex. He made an exaggerated diſplay of his own ſtrength, of the power and ſucceſs of Burgoyne, and the hopeleſs ſtate of the garriſon, unleſs by a timely ſubmiſſion they put themſelves under his protection. On this condition, he promiſed to *endeavour* to mitigate the barbarity of his Indian coadjutors, and to ſoften the horrors uſually attendant on their victories.

Colonel Ganſevoort, inſtead of liſtening to any propoſals of ſurrender, replied, "that entruſted by the United States with the charge of the garriſon, he ſhould defend it to the laſt extremity, regardleſs of the conſequences of doing his duty." Their danger was greatly enhanced by the misfortune of general Harkimer, who had marched for the relief of fort Stanwix, but with too little precaution. At the head of eight or nine hundred militia, he fell into an ambuſcade conſiſting moſtly of Indians, and notwithſtanding a manly defence, few of them eſcaped. They were ſurrounded, routed, and butchered, in all the barbarous ſhapes of ſavage brutality, after many of them

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had become their prisoners, and their scalps carried to their British allies, to receive the stipulated price. A vigorous sally from the garrison, conducted by colonel Willet of New York, and his successful return with a number of prisoners, gave the first information of the failure of Harkimer. This instead of discouraging, inspirited to fresh enterprise. The valiant Willet, in contempt of danger and difficulty, hazarded a passage by night through the enemy's works, and traversed the unexplored and pathless wilderness for upwards of fifty miles, to the more inhabited settlements, in order to raise the country to hasten to the relief of the garrison, and the protection of the inhabitants scattered along the borders of the Mohawk River.

General Arnold had marched with a thousand men for the relief of the besieged; but though in his usual character he made all possible dispatch, the gallant Gansevoort had two days before his arrival, repulsed the assailants, and obliged them to retreat in such disorder, that it had all the appearance of a flight. In consequence of this, St. Ledger was obliged to relinquish the siege with so much precipitation, that they left their tents, stores, and artillery behind them, and their camp-kettles on the fire. This movement was hurried on by the sullen and untractable behaviour of the Indians; which rose to such a height, as to give

him reason to be apprehensive for his own safety. His fears were well founded: their conduct had become so outrageous, that it was not in the power of sir John Johnson, Butler, and other influential friends of the savages, to keep them within any bounds. They frequently plundered the baggage of the British officers; and when an opportunity offered the slightest advantage, they murdered their British or German allies, with the same brutal ferocity with which they imbrued their hands in the blood of Americans.

The next movement of importance made by general Burgoyne, was an attempt to get possession of the little obscure town of Bennington, lying in the Hampshire Grants among the Green Mountains, and made considerable only by the deposit of a large quantity of cattle, provisions, carriages, and other necessaries for the use of the American army. For the purpose of seizing these, as well as to intimidate the people in that quarter, by the magnitude of his power and the extent of his designs, he detached a party of Hessians, with a few loyalists and some Indians, to the amount of fifteen hundred, and gave the command to colonel Baum, a German officer. He was commissioned, after he had surprised Bennington, to ravage the adjacent country, and if possible to persuade the inhabitants, that he was in force sufficient, and that he designed to march on to Connecticut

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River, in the road to Boſton. He was ordered to inform them, that the main body of the Britiſh army was in motion for the ſame purpoſe,* that they were to be joined at Springfield by a detachment from Rhode Iſland, and that by their irreſiſtible power, they meant to bring the rebellious Americans to due ſubmiſſion, or to ſweep the whole country.

It is aſtoniſhing that a man of general Burgoyne's underſtanding and military experience, ſhould iſſue orders ſo abſurd and impracticable. He muſt have been very little acquainted with the geography of the country, and leſs with the ſpirit of the inhabitants, to have ſuppoſed that a detachment of fifteen hundred men, could march from Saratoga till they reached Connecticut River, take poſt at a variety of places, levying taxes on the inhabitants, making demands of proviſions, cattle, and all other neceſſaries for the uſe of his army, without any reſiſtance; thence to proceed down the river to Brattleborough, and to return by another road and take poſt at Albany: and this buſineſs to be completed in the ſhort term of a fortnight. Nor did he diſcover leſs ignorance, if he expected that a detachment was to leave Rhode Iſland, and march through the country to Springfield on the ſame deſign, and from thence to meet colonel Baum at Albany.

* See general Burgoyne's orders to colonel Baum, Appendix, Note No. I.

It is impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that ſo renowned a commander as general Burgoyne, could mean to deceive or embarraſs his officers, by his orders; but if he flattered himſelf that they could be executed, he muſt ſtill have cheriſhed the opinion that he once uttered in the houſe of commons, that four or five thouſand Britiſh troops could march through the continent, and reduce the rebellious ſtates to a due ſubmiſſion to the authority of parliament. In this march, Burgoyne ordered all acting in committees, or in any other capacity under the direction of congreſs, to be made priſoners.

Theſe pompous orders and bombaſtic threats, were far from ſpreading the alarm and panic they were deſigned to excite. The adjacent country was immediately in motion, and all ſeemed animated with the boldeſt reſolution in defence of the rights of nature, and the peaceable poſſeſſion of life and property. When colonel Baum had arrived within four miles of Bennington, appearances gave him reaſon to apprehend, that he was not ſufficiently ſtrong to make an attack on the place. He judged it more prudent to take poſt on a branch of the river Hooſuck, and by expreſs inform general Burgoyne of his ſituation, and the apparent difficulty of executing his orders with only ſifteen hundred men.

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In consequence of this information, an additional party, principally Waldeckers, were sent on under the command of colonel Breyman. But before he could surmount the unavoidable impediments of marching over bad and unfrequented roads, and reach the camp of his friends and his countrymen, a body of militia commanded by general Starks, had pressed forward, attacked, routed, and totally defeated colonel Baum, in the neighbourhood of Bennington. General Starks in his early youth, had been used to the alarm of war: his birthplace was on the borders of New Hampshire, which had been long subject to the incursions of the savages: when a child he was captured by them, and adopted as one of their own, but after a few years restored. He led a regiment to the field in one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, and distinguished himself as a soldier. On the new arrangement of the army, he retired as a citizen. His manners were plain, honest, and severe, excellently calculated for the benefit of society in the private walks of life; but as a man of principle, he again left the occupation of the husbandman, when his country was in danger. On Burgoyne's approach, he voluntarily marched to the state of Vermont, at the head of the militia, and immortalized his name by his signal success at Bennington, in one of the darkest periods of the American war.

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Bennington, the present scene of action, was the first settlement in the territory of Vermont, which was as recent as the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine. This was made by the possessors of the tracts called the New Hampshire Grants, a robust and hardy set of men, collected from the borders, and under the jurisdiction, of the provinces of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York. Rough, bold, and independent, these people, generally denominated the Green Mountain Boys, were brave and active, not only in the present conflict, but were eminently useful to their country by their intrepidity and valor, to the conclusion of the American war.*

Governor Skeene, a singular character, who had been a colonel in one of the king's regiments, had obtained a commission from the crown, to act as governor at and about Lake Champlain, had assumed a jurisdiction over the Hampshire Grants, and acted as companion and guide to colonel Baum in the expedition. He fled on the first appearance of danger, as did

* General Burgoyne observed in a letter to lord George Germaine, "that the Hampshire Grants, almost unknown "in the last war, now abound in the most active and most "rebellious race on the continent, and hang like a gath-"ering storm upon my left."

See further particulars of the state of Vermont, Appendix, Note No. II.

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the loyalists, the Canadian provincials, and the Indians. Baum was wounded and taken prisoner, and his whole corps captured by this small body of American militia. Colonel Breyman, who arrived in the afternoon of the same day, escaped a similar fate only by flight, after a short and brave defence, and the loss of most of his men.

This memorable event would perhaps at any other period, have appeared of less moment; but when so renowned a commander as general Burgoyne, in the zenith of success and the pride of victory, was threatening with the aid of his savage adherents, to execute all the deeds of *horror* enjoined by his employers, a repulse from so unexpected a quarter, was humiliating indeed: it gave a new turn to the face of the campaign. The success at Bennington took place on the sixteenth of August, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven.

On the first rumor of this action through the country, the loyalists, who in great numbers still resided among the opposers of royal authority, affected every where to cast over it the shade of ridicule. They alleged that the raw militia of Hampshire, and Starks their commander, must have been too much awed by the name and prowess of general Burgoyne, and his experienced veterans, to attempt any thing of consequence: nor were

they convinced of the truth of the report, until they ſaw the priſoners on their way to Boſton. But the people at large, who appeared to have been waiting with a kind of enthuſiaſtic expectation, for ſome fortunate event that might give a ſpring to action, at once gave full credit to the account, and magnified this ſucceſs in ſtrains of the higheſt exultation and defiance, and in the warmth of imagination, anticipated new victories.

It is certain that from this moment, fortune ſeemed to have changed her face. Whether the ſpirits of the Britiſh officers and troops flagged in equal proportion, as the enthuſiaſm for glory and victory ſeemed to rekindle in the boſoms of their antagoniſts, or whether general Burgoyne was reſtricted by orders, that obliged him in ſome inſtances to act againſt his own better informed judgment, his ſucceſs terminated with the capture of fort Edward.

By ſome of his letters written ſoon after this, to the miniſter of the American department, the ſituation of the Britiſh army began to appear to general Burgoyne exceedingly critical. He intimated his apprehenſions; and with an air of deſpondency, in one of them he obſerved, "that circumſtances might require, that he and "the army ſhould be *devoted*; and that his or-"ders were ſo peremptory, that he did not "think himſelf authoriſed to call a council of

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"war, with regard to his present move-"ments."* It was doubtless thought necessary at all hazards, to prevent the forces under general Gates, from being at leisure to join general Washington. It was also a favorite point with the ministry, that Burgoyne should push on to Albany. But however dubious the prospect might then appear to himself, or whatever might be his own expectations, general Burgoyne thought proper to pass the Hudson, and about the middle of September; he encamped on the heights and plains of Saratoga.

Supported by a number of brave, experienced, and most approved officers in British service, a large armament of British, Hessians, and provincials, with a prodigious train of artillery, and his copper-colored scouts and allies, he with all industry prepared to offer battle, and try the fortune of war in a general engagement. The Americans in equal readiness for action, marched from their camp on the nineteenth, and at a place called Stillwater, attacked the right wing of the British army, commanded by Burgoyne himself. Meeting a repulse, they turned their whole force to the left, commanded by the baron Redeisel, and supported by general Phillips, at the head of a formidable artillery. The Americans sustained the com-

* See general Burgoyne's own letters, in his defence and narrative.

bat for ſeveral hours, againſt officers of diſtinguiſhed bravery, and more experience than themſelves, who commanded ſome of the beſt troops the princes of Germany, or even the monarch of Britain could boaſt; but evening advancing, without decided advantage, the loſs of men being nearly equal on both ſides, the Americans retreated, and recovered their camp with little interruption.

The Britiſh troops lay on their arms through the night, and in the morning took an advantageous poſition, and ſpread themſelves along a meadow, in full view, and almoſt within cannon-ſhot of the American camp. Here general Burgoyne received intelligence from ſir Henry Clinton, that he had embarked for the North River, with ſeveral thouſand troops, in order to make a diverſion in his favor, that might greatly facilitate his operations. This account flattered the former expectations of Burgoyne; who judged that general Gates would be obliged to divide his army, to ſuccour the diſtreſſed villages on each ſide the Hudſon, now expoſed to the moſt cruel ravages. Expectation was again raiſed, and the Britiſh army invigorated by freſh hopes, that a junction at Albany might ſoon be effected.

With theſe ideas, general Burgoyne found means to diſpatch ſeveral meſſages by private ways, through the woods to general Clinton

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The purport of thefe was, "that if poffible to "remain unmolefted, he fhould keep his pre-"fent pofition a few days longer; when prob-"ably the American army might be weakened "by the neceffity of detachments for other fer-"vice." He was further ftrengthened in the ideas of fuccefs, by a recent difappointment of the Americans in an attempt to recover Ticonderoga. Had this enterprife fucceeded, it would at once effectually have prevented the retreat of the Britifh army, which began to be contemplated.

The bufinefs was principally committed to the direction of general Lincoln, and profecuted with vigor by the colonels Brown, Johnfon, Woodbury, and other fpirited officers. They paffed the mountains between Skeenfborough and Lake George, in fo rapid and private a manner, that before any intimation of the bufinefs was diffeminated, they feized the out-pofts, captured the armed veffels and a number of boats on the lake, and with four companies of foot and a party of Canadians, they took poffeffion of Mount Independence, and fummoned the garrifon in Ticonderoga to furrender. This was gallantly refufed, and the fortrefs bravely defended, by brigadier general Powell. The Americans made feveral efforts to ftorm the garrifon; but repulfed with refolution and valor, they found themfelves not in force fuffi-

cient for farther trial; and after a few days, they relinquiſhed the deſign, and retired. CHAP. XI. 1777.

Yet notwithſtanding the rebuff and retreat from Ticonderoga, with the advantages the Britiſh affected to claim from the action at Stillwater, and the flattering encouragement received from ſir Henry Clinton, general Burgoyne was ſtill involved in complicated difficulties. The dangers he had to encounter, increaſed on every ſide. Freſh troops of militia were continually reinforcing the army of his enemies; while his own daily leſſened by the deſertion of the Canadian militia, the provincial loyaliſts, and the defection of the Indians.

Theſe laſt grew ſullen from the diſappointment of plunder, and were irritated from the notice general Burgoyne was obliged in honor to take, of the barbarous murder of a miſs M'Crea; on which many of them drew off in diſguſt. This beautiful young lady, dreſſed in her bridal habiliments, in order to be married the ſame evening to an officer of character in Burgoyne's own regiment, while her heart glowed in expectation of a ſpeedy union with the beloved object of her affections, was induced to leave a houſe near fort Edward, with the idea of being eſcorted to the preſent reſidence of her intended huſband, and was maſſa-

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cred on the way, in all the cold-blooded ferocity of ſavage manners. Her father had uniformly been a zealous loyaliſt: but it was not always in the power of the moſt humane of the Britiſh officers, to protect the innocent from the barbarity of their ſavage friends.

General Burgoyne was ſhocked by the tragic circumſtances that attended the fate of this lovely, unfortunate girl; but he attempted to palliate the crime, though he did not neglect an endeavour to inflict due puniſhment on the perpetrators. Yet ſuch was the temper of his Indian adherents, that inſtead of inflicting death, he was obliged to pardon the guilty chiefs, notwithſtanding the cry of juſtice, and the grief and reſentment of her lover.* The

* The earl of Harrington obſerved in evidence on Burgoyne's trial, that it was his opinion and that of other officers, that when general Burgoyne threatened the culprit with death, and inſiſted that he ſhould be delivered up, that it might have been attended with dangerous conſequences. Many gentlemen of the army beſides himſelf believed, that motives of policy alone, prevented him from putting this threat in execution; and that if he had not pardoned the murderer, which he did, the total defection of the Indians would have enſued. He obſerved, that "the conſequences on their return through Canada might "have been dreadful: not to ſpeak of the weight they "would have thrown into the oppoſite ſcale, had they "gone over to the enemy, which I rather imagine would "have been the caſe."

beſt coloring that could be given the affecting tale was, that two of the principal warriors, under a pretence of guarding her perſon, had, in a mad quarrel between themſelves, which was beſt entitled to the prize, or to the honor of the eſcort, made the blooming beauty, ſhivering in the diſtreſs of innocence, youth, and deſpair, the victim of their fury. The helpleſs maid was butchered and ſcalped, and her bleeding corpſe left in the woods, to excite the tear of every beholder.

In addition to the complicated embarraſſments the Britiſh commander had to conflict, proviſions grew ſhort in the camp; he was obliged to leſſen their rations, and put his ſoldiers on allowance. The moſt he could hope, as he obſerved himſelf in a letter to ſir Henry Clinton, was to hold out to the twelfth of October, or effect a retreat before, in the beſt poſſible manner. The laſt expedient he ſoon found impracticable, by the precaution taken by general Gates, to guard all the paſſes, to cut off all ſupplies, and nearly to ſurround the Britiſh army. In this uncertain and diſtreſſed ſituation, general Burgoyne waited with all the anxiety of a faithful ſervant, and the caution and vigilance of an able commander, from the action on the nineteenth of September until the ſeventh of October, without any nearer proſpect of a diverſion in his favor. He then found it neceſſary to make a general movement, either

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to decide the fate of his brave officers and men in the field of battle, by a general engagement, or force a retreat.

General Gates equally prepared, either for attack or defence, a warm engagement enſued, which proved fatal to many of the beſt officers in the Britiſh line; but after a ſharp conflict of ſeveral hours, and the higheſt exhibitions of military proweſs, the Britiſh found it neceſſary to recover their camp before evening, which they did in ſome diſorder. They had ſcarcely entered it when it was ſtormed on every ſide. Lord Balcarras with his light infantry, and a part of the Britiſh line, were ordered to throw themſelves into the intrenchments, which they executed with ſpirit, and made a gallant and reſolute defence. But the action led on by the ardent and undaunted Arnold, who acquitted himſelf with his uſual intrepidity, was vigorouſly puſhed in ſpite of the moſt valiant oppoſition, until almoſt in the moment of victory, Arnold was dangerouſly wounded, and his party obliged to retreat. The Americans were fortunate enough to carry the intrenchment of the German reſerve, commanded by colonel Breyman, who was killed in the engagement. All the artillery and equipage of the brigade, and about two hundred officers and privates were captured.

The engagement was continued through the whole of this fated day, which clofed the fcene of conflict and mortality on many brave men, and a number of officers of diftinguifhed valor. The firft in name who fell, was brigadier general Frazier. "Before his death, general Fra-" zier requefted, that his body might be carried "to his grave by the field-officers of his own "corps, without any parade, and buried there. "About funfet, the body was brought up the "hill, attended only by the officers of his own "family. They paffed in view of the greateft "part of both armies. Struck with the humil-"ity of the fcene, fome of the firft officers of "the army joined the proceffion, as it were "from a natural propenfity, to pay the laft at-"tention to his remains.

"The inceffant cannonade during the folem-"nity; the fteady attitude, and unaltered "voice of the chaplain, though covered with "the duft which the fhot threw up on all "fides; the mute, but expreffive fenfibility on "every countenance; the growing dufkinefs "of the evening, added to the fcenery,—com-"bined to mark a character, and to furnifh the "fineft fubject for the pencil of a mafter, that "any field has exhibited."*

Colonel Breyman, and fir James Clark, aid-de-camp to general Burgoyne, were alfo killed.

* Extracted from a letter of general Burgoyne.

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Major Ackland was dangerouſly wounded, and taken priſoner. Lady Ackland, whoſe conjugal affection had led her to accompany her huſband through all the dangers and fatigues of a campaign in the wilderneſs, was a woman of the moſt delicate frame, of the genteeleſt manners, habituated to all the ſoft elegancies, and refined enjoyments, that attend high birth and fortune. Her ſufferings exhibit a ſtory ſo affecting to the mind of ſenſibility, that it may apologize for a ſhort interlude, in the moſt intereſting detail of military tranſactions.

She had accompanied major Ackland to Canada in one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſix. After which ſhe traverſed a vaſt woody country, in the moſt extreme ſeaſons, to viſit her huſband ſick in a poor hut at Chamblee. On the opening of the campaign of one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſeven, the poſitive injunction of her huſband, prevented her riſking the hazards expected before Ticonderoga. There major Ackland was badly wounded, on which ſhe croſſed the Champlain to attend him. She followed his fortune and ſhared his fatigues, through the dreary way to fort Edward, there lodged in a miſerable tent, which by accident took fire by night, when both major Ackland and herſelf were ſaved by an orderly ſerjeant, who dragged them from the flames almoſt before they awaked.

Lady Ackland loſt not her reſolution or her cheerfulneſs by the dangers ſhe had encountered; but accompanied her ſoldier to the action on the nineteenth of September. By his order, ſhe had followed the route of the artillery and baggage, where ſhe would be leaſt expoſed, until ſhe alighted at a ſmall uninhabited tent, which, when the action became general, the ſurgeons took poſſeſſion of to dreſs their wounded.

Thus, within hearing of the roar of cannon, when ſhe knew the ſituation of her beloved huſband was in the moſt expoſed part of the action, ſhe waited ſome hours in a ſituation, and in apprehenſions not eaſily deſcribed. The baroneſs of Reideſel, and the wives of the majors Harnage and Reynal were with her; but ſhe derived little comfort from their preſence. Major Harnage was ſoon brought into the tent dangerouſly wounded, accompanied with the tidings of the death of the huſband of Mrs. Reynal. Let imagination paint the miſery of this little group of diſtreſſed females. Here among the wounded and the dying, lady Ackland with her uſual ſerenity, ſtood prepared for new trials, until the fatal ſeventh of October, when her fortitude was put to the ſevereſt teſt, by the intelligence that the Britiſh army was defeated, and that major Ackland was deſperately wounded, and taken priſoner. Not

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borne down by grief or anxiety, ſhe the next day requeſted leave to attend the wounded priſoner, to the laſt moment of his life.

General Burgoyne, from whoſe narrative ſome circumſtances of lady Ackland's ſtory are ſelected, obſerves, "that though he had expe-"rienced, that patience and fortitude in a ſu-"preme degree, were to be found, as well as "every other virtue, under the moſt tender "forms, he was aſtoniſhed at this propoſal. "After ſo long an expoſure and agitation of "the ſpirits, exhauſted not only for want of "reſt, but abſolutely for want of food, drench-"ed in rain for twelve hours together, that a "woman ſhould be capable of delivering her-"ſelf to the enemy, probably in the night, and "uncertain what hands ſhe ſhould fall into, ap-"peared an effort above human nature." He adds, "he had not a cup of wine to offer her: "all with which the hapleſs lady could be fur-"niſhed, was a little rum and dirty water, an "open boat, and a few lines to general Gates."

Thus this lady left the Britiſh lines, attended only by Mr. Brudenell, chaplain to the artillery, the major's valet-de-chambre, and one female ſervant. She was rowed down the river to meet the enemy, when her diſtreſſes thickened anew. The night advanced before ſhe met the out-poſts: the centinel would neither let the boat paſs, nor the paſſengers come on

ſhore, notwithſtanding the ſingular ſtate of this heroic lady was pathetically repreſented by Mr. Brudenell: apprehenſive of treachery, the centinel threatened to fire into the boat, if they attempted to ſtir until the appearance of day. Thus, through a dark and cold night, far advanced in a ſtate that always requires peculiar tenderneſs to the ſex, with a heart full of anxiety for her wounded huſband, ſhe was obliged to ſubmit, and in this perilous ſituation, to reflect until the dawn of the morning, on her own wretched condition, and the uncertainty of what reception ſhe ſhould meet from ſtrangers in hoſtile array, fluſhed with victory, and eager to complete the triumph of the preceding day.

When general Gates in the morning was made acquainted with the ſituation and requeſt of lady Ackland, ſhe was immediately permitted to viſit her huſband, under a ſafe eſcort. The American commander himſelf treated her with the tenderneſs of a parent, and gave orders that every attention ſhould be paid due to her rank, her ſex, her character, and the delicacy of her perſon and circumſtances.* He wrote general Burgoyne, and aſſured him of her ſafety and accommodation,

* Appendix, Note No. III.

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and informed him that this line of conduct would have been obſerved, without a letter from the Britiſh commander, not only to this lady, but to others of his unfortunate friends, languiſhing under their wounds; that the American commanders needed not a *requeſt*, to excite their humanity to the unfortunate, who by the chances of war, had been thrown on their compaſſion. In the ſame letter he reminded general Burgoyne, "that the cruelties "which marked the late effort for the retreat "of his army, were almoſt without a prece-"dent among civilized nations; and that an "*endeavour* to *ruin*, where they could not con-"quer, betrayed more the vindictive ſpirit of "the *monk*, than the generoſity of the ſoldier."*

Notwithſtanding the misfortunes and the loſſes of the preceding day, general Burgoyne did not yet totally deſpair of retrieving his affairs and his honor, by another general engagement. This he endeavoured to effect on the eighth, and in this he was again diſappointed. The utmoſt bravery was exhibited on both ſides, but no decided action. Several days paſſed on in deſultory ſkirmiſhes: ſpirit and intrepidity were not wanting on either ſide; while the one had every thing to hope and in-

* General Gates's letter to general Burgoyne, October 10, 1777.

ſpirit them, the other, nothing left but a choice of inſurmountable difficulties.

In this ſituation, the Britiſh commander judged the beſt expedient was, a ſecond effort to repaſs the Hudſon, and retreat to fort Edward. To this every impediment was thrown in his way. A retreat was rendered impracticable, by the number and vigilance of the Americans: the borders of the river were lined with troops; and detachments puſhed forward to cut off all hope of retreat on every ſide. The condition of the Britiſh army grew hourly more deſperate: winter was approaching, their proviſions ſpent, the troops exhauſted by continual fatigue; and not the ſmalleſt proſpect of relief appeared from any quarter.

In this deplorable ſituation, general Burgoyne ſummoned a grand council of war, in which, as he ſtood in need of every advice, not only the field-officers, but the ſubalterns had a voice. It was unanimouſly judged moſt prudent, in the humiliated and hopeleſs condition to which they were reduced, to open a treaty of convention, and endeavour to obtain ſome honorable terms of ſurrender. General Gates was acknowledged by all, not only the valiant, but the humane and generous foe: they had no doubt he would mitigate their mortification, as far as the laws of war or of honor would permit, from the victor to the vanquiſhed.

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In consequence of this determination, the solemn negociation took place on the thirteenth of October. General Burgoyne intimated to the American commander, that he wished to send a field-officer to him, to confer on matters of the highest moment, and requested to know when he might be received. General Gates really possessed that humanity, which distinguishes the hero from the assassinator of the feelings of wounded honor. He seemed touched by the request, with that sympathy which ever resides in the bosom of generosity; and replied instantly, that an officer from general Burgoyne should be received at the advanced post of the army of the United States, at ten o'clock the next morning.

Major Kingston was accordingly sent at the appointed time, and was conducted to the head-quarters of the American army. The purport of the message was, that lieutenant general Burgoyne, having twice fought general Gates, had determined on a third conflict; but well apprised of the superiority of numbers, and the disposition of the American troops, he was convinced, that either a battle or a retreat, would be a scene of carnage on both sides. In this situation he was impelled by humanity, and thought himself justified by established principles of states and of war, to spare the lives of brave men, upon honorable terms. Should general Gates be inclined to treat upon those ideas, general Burgoyne would propose a cessa-

tion of arms, during the time neceſſary to ſettle ſuch preliminaries, as he could abide by in any extremity.

A convention was immediately opened. A diſcuſſion of ſome articles propoſed by the American commander, which appeared to the Britiſh officers inadmiſſible, occaſioned a delay of two or three days: theſe being accommodated, a treaty of ſurrender was ſigned the ſeventeenth of October, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſeven. The ſubſtance of the treaty was,

That the troops under the command of general Burgoyne, ſhould march out of their camp with the honors of war, and the artillery of the intrenchment, to the verge of a certain river, where the arms and the artillery ſhould be piled at the command of one of their own officers:

That a free paſſage ſhould be provided for the army to return to England, on condition that they ſhould not ſerve again in America, during the preſent conteſt: that tranſports ſhould enter the port of Boſton for their reception, whenever general Howe ſhould think proper to requeſt it: and that they ſhould be quartered near Boſton, that no delay might take place, when an order for embarkation arrived:

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That the Canadians of every deſcription, ſhould be permitted to return immediately, on the ſole condition of their not again arming againſt the United States:

That the army under general Burgoyne ſhould march to the Maſſachuſetts by the neareſt route: they ſhould be ſupplied with proviſions, both on their route and in quarters, at the ſame rate of rations, by order of general Gates, as that of his own army:

That the officers ſhould wear their ſide arms, and be lodged according to their rank; nor at any time be prevented aſſembling their own troops, according to the uſual military regulations:

That paſſports ſhould be granted to ſuch officers as general Burgoyne ſhould appoint, immediately to carry diſpatches to ſir William Howe, to general Carleton, and to England by the way of New York: and that general Gates ſhould engage on the public faith, that none of the diſpatches ſhould be opened.

After the ſecond article it was ſtipulated, that if a cartel ſhould take place, by which the army under general Burgoyne, or any part of it, might be exchanged, the ſecond article ſhould be void, as far as ſuch exchange ſhould be made.

Theſe and ſeveral other circumſtances of leſs moment agreed to, the convention was ſigned with much ſolemnity.

After the negociation was finiſhed and completed, by the mutual ſignature of the officers, general Gates conducted not only as an officer of bravery, punctuality, and a nice ſenſe of military honor, but with the fine feelings of humanity, and the delicacy of the gentleman. He carried theſe ideas ſo far, as to reſtrain the curioſity and pride of his own army, by keeping them within their lines, while the Britiſh were piling their arms. He did not ſuffer a man among them, to be a near witneſs to the humiliating ſight, of a haughty and once powerful foe, diſarming and diveſting themſelves of the *inſignia* of military diſtinction, and laying them at the feet of the conqueror.

Thus, to the conſternation of Britain, to the univerſal joy of America, and to the gratification of all capable of feeling that dignity of ſentiment, that leads the mind to rejoice in the proſpect of liberty to their fellow-men, was the northern expedition finiſhed. A reverſe of fortune was now beheld, that had not fallen under the calculation of either party.

It is more eaſy to conjecture, than agreeable to deſcribe, the chagrin of a proud, aſſuming foe, who had imperiouſly threatened to pene-

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trate and lay waſte cities and provinces, thus humbled by the arms of a people they had affected to hold in the utmoſt contempt, and their laurels thus faded beneath the ſword of the victorious Americans.

It was a tale without example in Britiſh annals, that ſo many thouſands* of their beſt troops, in conjunction with a large body of German auxiliaries, commanded by generals and field-officers of the firſt character, accompanied by many young gentlemen of noble family and military talents, ſhould be thus reduced, mortified, and led captive, through a long extent of country, where they had flattered themſelves they ſhould parade in triumph. They were obliged before they reached their deſtined quarters, to traverſe the pleaſant grounds, paſs through many flouriſhing towns, and growing ſettlements, where they had expected to plant the ſtandard of royalty, in all the cruel inſolence of victory, to the utter extermination of every republican principle.

The Britiſh army, with general Burgoyne at their head, was eſcorted from the plains of Saratoga, to their quarters at Cambridge, about three hundred miles, by two or three American

* Five thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-two men ſurrendered, excluſive of Canadians. Two thouſand nine hundred and thirty-three had been previouſly ſlain.

field-officers, and a handful of soldiers, as a guard. The march was solemn, sullen, and silent; but they were every where treated with such humanity, and even delicacy, that themselves acknowledged, the civil deportment of the inhabitants of the country, was without a parallel. They thought it remarkable, that not an insult was offered, nor an opprobrious reflection cast, that could enhance the misery of the unfortunate, or wound the feelings of degraded honor. Yet they were destined to a long captivity, from various circumstances that arose, relative to the punctual observance of some of the articles of the treaty of convention, which will be noticed in their place.

As soon as general Gates had finished the campaign of Saratoga, which terminated with so much *eclat* to himself, and so much glory to the arms of his country, he wrote a spirited letter to general Vaughan, who had been for some months ravaging, plundering, and burning, with unparalleled barbarity, the settlements on the North River. He informed him, that "notwithstanding he had reduced the fine village "of Kingston to ashes, and its inhabitants to "ruin; that though he still continued to rav-"age and burn all before him, on both sides of "the river; these instances of unexampled "cruelty, but established the glorious act of in-

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"dependence, on the broad basis of the general "resentment of the people." He added, "and "is it thus, sir, your king's generals think to "make converts to the royal cause? It is no "less surprising than true, the measures they "adopt to serve their master, have the quite "contrary effect. Abler generals, and much "more experienced officers than you can pre-"tend to be, are by the fortune of war now in "my hands. This fortune may one day be "your's; when it may not be in the power of "any thing human, to save you from the just "resentment of an injured people."*

After this letter, general Gates stayed only to make the necessary arrangements, and immediately moved on to the relief of the sufferers in that quarter. On the approach of the renowned conqueror of Burgoyne, the marauding parties under general Vaughan, Wallace, and governor Tryon, all retired to New York, there to give an account to administration, of their barbarous exploits against the defenceless villages.

General Clinton with three thousand troops, in conjunction with commodore Hotham, had entered the Hudson in the beginning of October. At a great expense of men on both sides,

* General Gates's letter, published in the British Remembrancer.

they took poſſeſſion of Stoney Point, Verplanks, and the forts Montgomery and Clinton.

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The poſts on the Hudſon were defended by officers of dexterity and ſkill. Governor Clinton of New York, a gentleman diſtinguiſhed for his patriotiſm, military talents, and unſhaken firmneſs in the cauſe of his country, commanded the forts Clinton and Montgomery. General Putnam, an experienced and meritorious officer, was ſtationed lower down the river. But though the works were ſtrong, and defended with courage and ability, by the American officers, they were overpowered by the number of the enemy, and obliged to retreat with precipitation. After the ſtorming of the forts Clinton and Montgomery, many of the ſoldiers, and ſome officers were made priſoners. The retreat of thoſe who eſcaped, was effected with difficulty: governor Clinton himſelf had time only to eſcape by croſſing the river in a boat.

The count Grabouſki, a Poliſh nobleman, a volunteer in the Britiſh army, fell in the ſtorm of the forts, as did major Sill, and ſeveral other officers of much military merit. General Clinton had laid waſte the borders, diſmantled the forts, burnt moſt of the houſes, and ſpread terror and devaſtation on both ſides of the Hudſon. General Vaughan was left to finiſh the buſineſs. In one of his letters tranſmitted to

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England by lord viſcount Howe, he boaſts that "he had not left one houſe, in the flou-"rifhing and induſtrious town of Eſopus;" and offers no other reaſon for reducing it to aſhes, but that "the inhabitants had the temer-"ity to fire from their houſes, on his advance" to rob them of liberty, property, and life. This is a mode of making war, that the politeneſs and civilization of modern Europe has generally agreed to criminate, though ſtill practiſed by many inhuman conquerors: but it was revived and adopted in the American ſyſtem, with all the ferocity that ſtimulated the ancient barbarians, to ſink in conflagration the Italian cities.

Theſe inſtances of ſeverity were not ſingular: the ſame mad fury was exerciſed in almoſt every place, where the ſtrength and power of Britain obtained the advantage. This became the ſource of perpetual jealouſies, and deſtroyed all confidence between Britons and Americans, even in the faith of treaties. Thus, ſome intimations from general Burgoyne while at Cambridge, that the terms of convention were not fully complied with on the part of America, and ſome equivocal conduct with regard to the embarkation of the troops, raiſed a ſuſpicion, that the Britiſh officers intended to evade their engagement, and tranſport the captured army to New York, inſtead of

conveying them directly to England, as ſtipulated.

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This was grounded on a propoſal, that the convention troops ſhould march to Newport, and there embark. This occaſioned a reſolve of congreſs, that the troops ſhould remain in "their quarters at Cambridge, until an explicit "ratification of the convention of Saratoga, "ſhould be properly notified to congreſs by the "court of Great Britain." This was heavily complained of by general Burgoyne and his officers, who ſaid that this ſtep was ſinking the dignity, and a breach of faith in that reſpected body. Political caſuiſtry frequently palliates the deviations from rectitude in public bodies. Sound policy might juſtify the meaſure, but it is yet doubtful whether there was ſufficient reaſon to believe, that Burgoyne meant to break his engagements, and throw his troops into New York, to be immediately again employed againſt the United States.

New cauſes aroſe to enhance the difficulties of their exchange, or their return to their native country. Thus this idle and diſſipated army lay too long in the neighbourhood of Boſton, for the advantage of either ſide. While there in durance, they diſſeminated their manners; they corrupted the ſtudents of Harvard college, and the youth of the capital and its environs, who were allured to enter into their

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gambling parties, and other ſcenes of licentiouſneſs. They became acquainted with the deſigns, the reſources, and the weakneſſes of America; and there were many among them, whoſe talents and capacity rendered them capable of making the moſt miſchievous uſe of their knowledge. After long altercations between general Phillips and general Heath, who commanded in that quarter, relative to the diſorders that took place among the ſoldiery of both parties, and mutual charges of breaches of the articles of convention, congreſs directed that the Britiſh troops ſhould march to Charlotteville in Virginia. They accordingly left Cambridge November the tenth, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-eight.

General Burgoyne had early requeſted leave to repair to England on parole, pleading the broken ſtate of his health, the deranged ſituation of his private affairs, and the hazard of character, if not preſent to defend himſelf on the tidings of his defeat. He was permitted by congreſs to depart, and arrived in England in May, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-eight. But he met a very ungracious reception both from the people, the miniſtry, and his king. Notwithſtanding his abilities to ſerve, and his fidelity to his maſter, he was refuſed an audience by majeſty, a court of inquiry, or a court-martial, and for ſome time a hearing in the houſe of commons.

He had left England in the ſanguine expectation of carrying conqueſt before him, wherever he appeared, of ſubduing the Americans, and reſtoring tranquillity to the revolted colonies; he had returned on parole by the favor of that authority he had ever deſpiſed, and left his army in the hands of his enemies. The debates in parliament on the occaſion, were warm and intereſting. Some law-officers of the crown inſiſted, that as a priſoner, he was bound by his firſt engagements: they ſaid, to talk of a trial without the power to puniſh, was a farce. It was urged, "that as a priſoner, "he was not capable of acting in his perſonal "capacity; and that under his preſent obliga-"tions, he was totally incapacitated for the ex-"erciſe of any civil office, incompetent to any "civil function, and incapable of bearing arms "in his country."*

Thus was the haughty Burgoyne affronted and mortified, after long and faithful ſervices to his king and country. He was ordered immediately to repair to America as a priſoner, according to his engagements; but as the ill ſtate of his health prevented his compliance, he was perſecuted until he reſigned all his employments under the crown.

* Parliamentary debates.

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After ſome time had elapſed, general Burgoyne was permitted the opportunity of ſpeaking for himſelf in the houſe of commons, where he defended his own reputation and cauſe with ability and ſpirit. In the courſe of his argument, he caſt many ſevere cenſures on the miniſtry; and did not ſcruple to pronounce them totally incapable of ſupporting the weight of public affairs, in the preſent dangerous and critical emergency, into which they had brought the nation. Nor was he without many powerful advocates, who both ridiculed and reprobated the ſeverity with which he was treated. Strong intimations had been ſuggeſted, both within and without doors, that it might be thought expedient, that the general ſhould be ſacrificed, to ſave the reputation of the miniſter. Several expreſſions of his previous to his capture, intimated his own apprehenſions. In a letter to the ſecretary of ſtate he ſaid, "my "confidence is ſtill placed in the juſtice of the "king and his council, to ſupport the general "they had thought proper to appoint, to as "arduous an undertaking, and under as poſi-"tive directions, as a cabinet ever ſigned." In the ſame letter, he gave his opinion of the number and diſcipline of the American troops, and the many difficulties he had to encounter, without the liberty of acting at diſcretion.

General Burgoyne obſerved himſelf, with regard to American bravery, when ſpeaking of

the action of the nineteenth of September, "few actions have been characterized by more "obstinacy in attack or defence. The British "bayonet was repeatedly tried ineffectually. "Eleven hundred British soldiers, foiled in "these trials, bore incessant fire from a succes-"sion of fresh troops, in superior numbers, for "above four hours; and after a loss of above a "third of their numbers, (and in one of the "regiments above two-thirds,) forced the ene-"my at last. Of a detachment of a captain "and forty-eight artillery-men, the captain and "thirty-six men were killed or wounded. "These facts are marked by a concurrence of "evidence, that no man can dispute. The "tribute of praise due to such troops, will not "be wanting in this generous nation; and it "will certainly be accompanied with a just por-"tion of shame to those who have dared to de-"preciate or sully valor so conspicuous; who "have their ears open only to the prejudice of "American cowardice, and having been always "loud upon that courtly topic, stifle the glory "of their countrymen, to maintain a base con-"sistency." He also adds, with regard to the action of the seventh of October, "if there can be "any persons, who, after considering the circum-"stances of this day, continue to doubt, that "the Americans possess the *quality* and *faculty* "of fighting, (call it by whatever name they

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"pleaſe,) they are of a prejudice that it would "be very abſurd longer to contend with." But no hazard or fatigue, bravery or misfortune, was thought a ſufficient apology for the loſs of his army.

The northern expedition had been a favorite object with the Britiſh adminiſtration. They were ſanguine enough to ſuppoſe, and the nation was led to believe, that ſucceſs in that quarter would reduce the turbulent ſpirits of Americans ſo low, as to prevent further energy of oppoſition, and bring the whole country to a due ſenſe of ſubordination, and unconditional ſubmiſſion to the authority of parliament. The low ebb of American affairs at the ſouthward, previous to the ſucceſs of general Gates, gave ſome reaſonable grounds for ſuch an expectation. It is not ſtrange that a diſappointment in this favorite object, which was calculated, if ſucceſsful, to redound much to the glory of the Britiſh arms, ſhould be equally mortifying to the pride of the miniſtry, and the high-ſpirited people of England, or that it threw the parliament and the nation into a ferment, that did not eaſily ſubſide. Many gentlemen of diſtinguiſhed talents, did honor to the feelings of the heart, and the ſagacity of their underſtanding, while it was a ſubject of parliamentary debate, by their humane, ſenſible, and judicious ſpeeches, interſperſed with pointed wit, and brilliancy of ſentiment.

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The conqueſt and capture of general Burgoyne, and the Britiſh army under his command, was undoubtedly the moſt fortunate circumſtance for the United States, that had yet taken place. It was the moſt capital and eventful military tranſaction, from the commencement to the cloſe of the American war. The termination of this expedition, opened new views to the philoſopher, the politician, and the hero, both at home and abroad. It diſſeminated a ſpirit, and produced effects throughout America, which had been neither anticipated or calculated, until her ſons paraded in the ſtyle of the conqueror, before the humiliated bands of veteran Britiſh and German priſoners.

So many thouſands of brave men and diſtinguiſhed officers, led captive through the wilderneſs, the plains, and the cities of the United States, was a ſpectacle never before beheld by the inhabitants; and the impreſſion it made on their minds, was in proportion to the novelty of the ſcene, and the magnitude of its conſequences. It was viewed as a prelude to events of the higheſt moment, both to the arms and to the future negociations of the United States. Britiſh *battalions* were no longer deemed invulnerable, even by the moſt timid and uninformed ſons of America. That formidable power which had ſpread diſmay through the colonies, they now beheld as the object of curioſity, and

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her armies were viewed more in the light of compaſſion than of terror.

Nor were the troops of the United States longer conſidered as a mere undiſciplined rabble, either by the parliament or the people of England. Their armies began to appear formidable; and conciliation was preſſed from very reſpectable characters. From the moment of their recent victory, the United States were beheld in a ſtill more honorable light by the other European powers. Moſt of them had yet ſtood undecided and wavering: none of them ſeemed determined on which ſide to declare, or whether to look coolly on, as unintereſted ſpectators, until Great Britain had ſufficiently chaſtiſed her rebellious children. It is true ſome loans of money had been obtained from France previous to this period, and the ſale of prizes had been permitted in the Gallic ports; but this appeared to be more in conſequence of the benevolence and the enthuſiaſm of the people, than the reſult of any governmental ſyſtem to aid America *effectually*, in her ſtruggle for freedom and independence.

The conſequences of the brilliant ſucceſs of general Gates, the influence of this event on the opinion of foreign nations, its operation on the councils of Britain, its effects on the policy of ſeveral European courts, and its important conſequences throughout America, will be re-

lated concifely in the fubfequent part of thefe annals.

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But it is proper before we conclude the prefent chapter, to detail a few other circumftances relative to general Burgoyne. After fome time had elapfed, and the agitation of parties fo far cooled, as to permit him the public defence of his character, he gave an affecting epitome of his feelings, his difficulties and embarraffments, in the northern expedition. He obferved, "the remembrance of what I perfonally "underwent cannot eafily be fuppreffed: and "I am fure I fhall not outgo the indulgence of "the candid, if in delineating fituations fo af-"fecting, I add feelings to juftification. The "defence of military conduct is an intereffing "point of profeffional honor; but to vindicate "the heart, is a duty to God and to fociety at "large."

"Few conjunctures in the campaign I have "been defcribing, few perhaps upon military "record, can be found fo diftinguifhed by exi-"gencies, or productive of fuch critical and anx-"ious calls upon public character and private "affection, as that which now took place."

"In the firft place, the pofition of the army "was untenable; and yet an immediate retreat "was impoffible, not only from the fatigue of

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"the troops, but from the neceſſity of deliver-
"ing freſh ammunition and proviſions."

"The loſſes in the action were uncommonly
"ſevere. Sir Francis Clarke, my aid-de-camp,
"had originally recommended himſelf to my
"attention, by his talents and diligence. As
"ſervice and intimacy opened his character
"more, he became endeared to me by every
"quality that can create eſteem. I loſt in him
"an uſeful aſſiſtant, an amiable companion, an
"attached friend: the ſtate was deprived by
"his death, of one of the faireſt promiſes of an
"able general."

"The fate of colonel Ackland, taken pri-
"ſoner, and then ſuppoſed to be mortally
"wounded, was a ſecond ſource of anxiety,
"General Frazier was expiring."

"In the courſe of the action, a ſhot had paſſ-
"ed through my hat, and another had torn
"my waiſtcoat. I ſhould be ſorry to be thought
"at any time, inſenſible to the protecting hand
"of Providence: but I ever more particularly
"conſidered, (and I hope not ſuperſtitiouſly,)
"a ſoldier's hair-breadth eſcapes as incentives
"to duty, a marked renewal of the truſt of
"being, for the due purpoſes of a public ſta-
"tion; and under that reflection, to loſe our
"fortitude by giving way to our affections, to
"be diverted by any poſſible ſelf-emotion, from

"meeting a prefent exigency with our beft fac-
"ulties, were at once difhonor and impiety."*

Perhaps no general officer ever experienced a greater variety of untoward circumftances, than general Burgoyne before the convention, and the furrender of his army to the victorious Americans. It requires a lively imagination, to comprehend a full view of the difficulty of marching an army, compofed of heterogeneous materials, from Quebec to Saratoga, to traverfe a forlorn wilderneefs, pathlefs thickets and fwamps, extenfive fheets of water, and navigable lakes defended by a refolute enemy, covered by ftrong works, that coft the wafte of many of his troops to overcome.

It is true his German allies were brave, and the ufual valor of Britifh troops needs no encomium; but the Canadians and the loyalifts could not be depended upon, and the hordes of favages that joined his train, were more the objects of terror than affiftance, even to the mafters under whom they had enlifted. They pillaged, plundered, threatened, and occafionally murdered their friends, and when the caufe grew defperate, retreated in tribes to take fhelter in their diftant forefts.

* Burgoyne's defence.

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Of the loyalists, general Burgoyne thus observes :—" Many of them had taken refuge in " Canada the preceding winter, and others had " joined us as we advanced. The various in- " terests which influenced their actions, render- " ed all arrangement of them impracticable. " One man's views went to the profit he was " to enjoy when his corps should be complete; " another, to the protection of the district in " which he resided; a third was wholly in- " tent upon revenge against his personal ene- " mies; and all of them were repugnant even " to an idea of subordination. Hence, the set- " tlement who should act as a private man, and " who as an officer, or in whose corps either " should be, was seldom satisfactorily made " among themselves; and as surely as it failed, " succeeded a reference to the commander in " chief, which could not be put by, or delega- " ted to another hand, without dissatisfaction, " increase of confusion, and generally a loss of " such services as they were really fit for; viz. " searching for cattle, ascertaining the practica- " bility of routes, clearing roads, and guiding " detachments or columns upon the march." He farther observed, that " the interests and " the passions of the revolted Americans, con- " center in the cause of the congress, and those " of the loyalists break and subdivide into va- " rious pursuits, with which the cause of the " king has little or nothing to do."

From theſe and other circumſtances above detailed, even prejudice itſelf ought to allow a due ſhare of praiſe to general Burgoyne, for maintaining his reſolution and perſeverance ſo long, rather than to wound his character by cenſure, either as a ſoldier, a man of honor and humanity, or a faithful ſervant to his king.

But talents, valor, or virtue, are ſeldom a ſecurity againſt the vindictive ſpirit of party, or the reſentment that reſults from the failure of favorite political projects. Thus, though the military abilities of general Burgoyne had been conſpicuous, and his ſervices acknowledged by his country, yet from the mortification of the monarch, the court, and the people of England, on the diſgrace of their arms at Saratoga, he was not only ſuffered, but obliged to retire.

Though the marked reſentment of adminiſtration was long kept up againſt this unfortunate officer, he did not ſpend all the remainder of his days in private and literary purſuits. It is true he never again acted in a military capacity; but time relieved the preſent oppreſſion, when he again took his ſeat in parliament, and with manly eloquence, not only defended the rights and liberties of his native iſle, againſt the arbitrary ſyſtems in vogue, but aſſerted the juſtice and propriety of American oppoſition.

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This he did with becoming dignity, and an impartiality which he never might have felt, but from the failure of his northern expedition. The reputation the American arms acquired by this defeat, not only humbled the proud tone of many British officers besides general Burgoyne, but did much to hasten the alliance with France, and brought forward events that accelerated the independence of America.

CHAPTER XII.

Obſervations on the Conduct of the Britiſh Parliament, previous to the Capture of Burgoyne.—The ineffectual Efforts of the Commiſſioners ſent to America, in conſequence of Lord North's Conciliatory Bill.—Their Attempts to corrupt Individuals and Public Bodies.—Negociation broken off.—Manifeſto publiſhed by the Commiſſioners—Counter Declaration by Congreſs.—Sir William Howe repairs to England.

WHILE America gloried in her recent ſucceſſes againſt the northern army, and was making all poſſible preparations for vigorous action at the ſouthward, the coercive ſyſtem in Britain was ſo far from being relaxed, that the moſt ſevere meaſures were urged with bitterneſs and acrimony. The ſpeeches of the king were in the ſame tone of deſpotiſm as formerly; the addreſſes of parliament were in the uſual ſtyle of compliment and applauſe; as if they had little elſe to do, but to keep each other in good humor, until alienation was complete, and the colonies ſo far connected with other powers, that there could be no hope of reconciliation.

But though a uniſon of ſentiment, and a perfect conformity to the royal will, previous to

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the news of Burgoyne's defeat, appeared in the majority of both houſes of parliament, yet the meaſures of the miniſtry were, as uſual, warmly oppoſed by ſome gentlemen of the firſt abilities in the nation. Several of the principal nobility were in the minority, and urged an accommodation before America ſhould be irretrievably loſt. It was recommended to the miniſter, "rather to forge bands of amity for the minds, "than chains for the bodies of Americans." The preſent moment of uncertainty with regard to ſucceſs, was urged as the proper ſeaſon for giving the moſt unequivocal proofs of cordiality, by requeſting his majeſty to order a ceſſation of hoſtilities, and the immediate adoption of meaſures for accommodation.*

Mr. Fox, whoſe powers of oratory were the admiration of the world, not only reaſoned againſt their meaſures, but ridiculed the miniſtry in the moſt pointed manner, for their ignorance of America from the outſet of the controverſy. He alleged, "that they had miſta-"ken the extent of the thirteen colonies, and "conſidered the Maſſachuſetts as including the "whole." Nor were they leſs miſtaken in the weight of oppoſition they had to encounter. He obſerved, "they had ever been blind to the "conſequences of their own meaſures, or they

* Debates in parliament, before the news of the termination of the northern campaign reached England.

"never would have rejected the moſt dutiful "and loyal petitions; more eſpecially that pre- "ſented by Mr. Penn, late governor of Penn- "ſylvania, even after the battles of Lexington "and Bunker hill."* He expatiated on the abſurdity and injuſtice of the bill for tranſporting Americans to England for trial, the Quebec act, the reſtraining bill, the declaratory act, and the Boſton port bill.

All papers relative to America for three years paſt, were ordered to be laid before the houſe; and the ſtate of the army, and the expenditures in the courſe of the war, loudly called for. But amidſt the ſevere ſcrutiny of the houſe, the anxiety of the nation, the perſeverance of the king, and the perplexity of the miniſter, all parties were thunderſtruck by the arrival of the intelligence of Burgoyne's defeat, and the capture of the army at Saratoga.

A general gloom overſpread every countenance: the ſevereſt cenſures were caſt on the late meaſures of adminiſtration; indignation burnt in the boſoms of thoſe who oppoſed them: clamor raged without doors; aſperity, ſarcaſm, and reproach, from the lip of truth within: and, notwithſtanding his abilities and his firmneſs, the miniſter was diſtreſſed, the mi-

* Appendix, Note No. IV.

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nority increaſed, and oppoſition was ſtrengthened.

Lord Chatham roſe with his uſual energy, eloquence, and commanding ſpirit, and reprobated both the war and the mode of proſecuting it; and with vehemence and acrimony aſſerted, "that a court ſyſtem of wickedneſs "had been adopted for the laſt fifteen years, "ſubverſive of all faith and confidence, tending "to extinguiſh all principle in the different or-"ders of the community; and that an aſcen-"dency had been obtained by worthleſs men, "the dregs of party, where no influence ought "to exiſt. That a ſpirit of deluſion had gone "forth, the people had been deceived by min-"iſters, and parliament had ſanctioned the de-"ception. Falſe lights had been held out to "the country gentlemen, impoſed on by the "ideal project of an American revenue; but "that the viſionary phantom, conjured up for "the baſeſt purpoſes of deception, was about "to vaniſh."

The miniſter,* though attacked, mortified, and embarraſſed, retreated with ability and addreſs from ground to ground, through the debates, and endeavoured to ſhift the blame from himſelf, and caſt the failure of the ſyſtem, and the odium of diſappointment, on the want of

* Lord North.

capacity in the officers employed. He manifested his regret for the unhappy differences between the two countries, in passionate expressions, and urged, that the conciliatory plan he had proposed some time before, might be immediately adopted; and that commissioners should be sent to America, with powers to restore tranquillity, without further delay. He acknowledged that he began to despair of reducing the colonies by arms, unless a disunion could be effected, and the intervention of foreign powers in their behalf, decidedly prevented.

But the people in several counties were so infatuated by the popular theme of an American revenue, that subscriptions were opened in London, Bristol, and other places, for raising and supporting a body of troops at private expense, to supply the deficiencies in the army by the convention of Saratoga. The legality of this measure was contested in both houses of parliament; and a resolve was proposed by the earl of Abingdon, "that granting monies for "private uses, and without the sanction of par-"liament, was against both the letter and the "spirit of the constitution: that obtaining "money by subscription, and applying it to his "majesty's use, in such manner as he should "think fit, was unconstitutional, and a direct "infringement of the principles of the British "constitution." But the measure was not dis-

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countenanced by authority, and the ſubſcriptions went on.

If not firſt ſuggeſted by them, theſe ſubſcriptions were encouraged by ſome of the moſt affluent of the American refugees, who had repaired to England on the retreat of general Howe from Boſton. This appearance of ſettled rancor againſt their native country increaſed the reſentment of their countrymen; and in conſequence thereof, ſome of their eſtates, which had been only ſequeſtered, were confiſcated and ſold, and the monies ariſing therefrom depoſited in the public treaſury. But many of this claſs of people, who laid their real or pretended ſufferings before adminiſtration, were afterwards amply provided for by the liberality of the Britiſh government, though not adequate to their own expectations.

All Europe had beheld with aſtoniſhment and applauſe, the exertions and the ſtruggles of the American colonies, againſt the opulence, the arms, and the intrigues of Britain. It was now three [illegible]s that they had with uncommon reſolution, and ſyſtematical deciſion, ſupported their armaments by ſea and land, without a ſingle ally.

The American congreſs had indeed, as early as the beginning of the autumn, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſix, appointed com-

mercial agents to ſeveral European courts, empowering them to procure arms, ammunition, and clothing, on the credit of the United States. They were received politely by the nation, though not publicly countenanced by the court of France, on their firſt arrival. Yet their negociations had been favorable to trade, and to the condemnation of a vaſt number of prizes, that had been taken by the Americans and ſent into the ſeveral ports of France.

Doctor Franklin was ſoon after empowered to act as an American plenipotentiary there, and arrived in France, December, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſix. The celebrity of his character, and the popularity of his miſſion, inſured him the warmeſt reception from all ranks; and the miniſter* gave him private encouragement to hope for all neceſſary aid, and a full completion of the wiſhes of his conſtituents. The Spaniſh ambaſſador likewiſe, at this time requeſted copies of his inſtructions, and a ſketch of the ſtate of America, which he forwarded to his catholic majeſty, as the two courts were determined to act in perfect uniſon, although no national compact was completed between France and America, until ear-

* The count de Vergennes.

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ly in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-eight.*

It required time to ripen a meaſure in a deſpotic court, to ſupport a ſtruggle like the preſent; a ſtruggle unparalleled in modern nations. An effort for the liberties of mankind, by colonial oppoſition to the parent ſtate, the proud and potent ſovereignty of Britain, might rationally be expected to have an influence on the political ſyſtems of the greateſt part of Europe. Beſides, the intrigues of the Britiſh cabinet, and the policy of France, might co-operate to poſtpone the event of any foreign alliance with the colonies, until American firmneſs had been tried in the ordeal of affliction, and her conſtancy and ſucceſs had rendered her more reſpectable in the eyes of older nations, and long practiſed ſtateſmen.

But the conqueſt and capture of a Britiſh army, commanded by officers of diſtinguiſhed name and abilities, was conſidered as a decided proof of the importance of the connexion, and haſtened the determination of France to conclude a treaty, that might cut off all hope of reconciliation between the colonies and the mother country. Thus on the ſixth of February, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-

* See doctor Franklin's letter to congreſs, March, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-eight.

eight, a treaty of alliance, amity, and commerce, was ſigned by the miniſter on the part of France, and by Benjamin Franklin, Arthur Lee, and Silas Deane, eſquires, on the part of the United States of America. Doctor Franklin was immediately introduced to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, as the miniſter plenipotentiary for the American ſtates: and on the May following, the Sieur Gerard arrived on the continent, in quality of ambaſſador, and was introduced in form to the American congreſs.

This mortifying event had for ſome time been predicted by the minority in the Britiſh parliament; yet the miniſter affected to diſbelieve even the probability of its taking place; and as late as March the eleventh, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-eight, deſired, "that it might be remembered he declared in "his place, that he knew of no ſuch treaty, "either in exiſtence or contemplation." Only eight days after this, the duc de Noailles, in the name of his ſovereign, announced the treaty in form; and a reſcript thereof was delivered to the king of Great Britain.

The ignorance or incapacity of the miniſter, in not obtaining more early intelligence of the conduct of the houſe of Bourbon, or his wickedneſs in concealing the information if he had received it, was echoed from the houſe to the city, and from the city through the nation.

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But there was little reason to doubt, notwithstanding the solemn declaration of the minister, that he had obtained more authentic documents than he was willing to acknowledge, of the transactions of the French cabinet. This was undoubtedly the reason, why the conciliatory bills were hurried through both houses, and sent over to lord and general Howe, before the act was completed, or commissioners named for the purpose.

Many distinguished members in both houses of parliament insisted, that an immediate suspension of hostilities, and a direct acknowledgment of the independence of America, was the only medium of safety. They justly observed, that the burning some of their fairest towns, desolating their lands, plundering their houses, and abusing their wives and daughters, had left such an acrimonious stamp on the minds of Americans, as destroyed all faith and confidence in the appearances of accommodation, or advances towards reconciliation. Others still sanguine in prosecution of measures less derogatory to the pride of Britain, urged a change of ministry, and a new arrangement of officers, in both the civil and military departments. At the same time they urged, that commissioners should be appointed to repair to America, to confer with congress as a legal body, or with the state legislatures in their present form; and that they should be authorised to offer a

ceſſation of hoſtilities, a repeal of all obnoxious bills, a free trade, a repreſentation in parliament, and in ſhort, almoſt every thing they could wiſh, except an explicit acknowledgment of independence.

This mode was adopted, and commiſſioners appointed to make overtures from the parent ſtate, that would once have been received with the higheſt tokens of gratitude. But that period was irretrievably paſſed. Probably had adminiſtration taken a cool retroſpect of the natural operations of the human mind, and reflected on the inſult and mortification, of the repeated rejection of ſincere and ardent petitions; of the commencement of hoſtilities by ſtaining the ſword with the blood of innocence; of the miſeries that awaited the unhappy victims, which the uncertain chances of war had thrown into their hands; and the numberleſs inſtances of deception, that had been practiſed on the leſs experienced politicians of America,—they muſt themſelves have been ſenſible, that all ideas of peace, on any conditions, but the moſt decided acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, were precluded.

But men impelled by a partiality for ſyſtems of their own fabricating, whether they originated in paſſion, plauſibility, or intereſt, can ſeldom bend their pride to a generous dereliction

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of their favorite object, though reason or time might have brought to their view a full conviction of its absurdity or impracticability.

Great Britain was at this time herself without allies; nor had she any reason to expect the assistance of foreigners, to facilitate the subjugation of America, except the auxiliaries she had obtained at an immense expense, from some of the petty princes of Germany. They had some time before applied to the states of Holland, to send forward a Scotch brigade in their service, in aid of their hostile operations against the colonies; but by the single voice of one of their honest republicans, it was prevented, and the proposal rejected in a style characteristic of his nation. He observed, that "it "was more proper for Britain to hire janiza-"ries for their purpose, than to apply to the "Batavians, who had so dearly purchased their "own liberties."*

Thus, while a war with France was apprehended to be the immediate and inevitable consequence of the weak, pernicious, and perverse councils of the British cabinet, the opposition declared the nation had every thing to fear from the house of Bourbon, and nothing to hope from the assistance of other European

* Speech of van der Capellen, in the assembly of Overyssel.

powers. Thefe circumftances generally known, occafioned the moft painful feelings to thofe who were actuated by the principles of juftice or humanity; nor were the minds of fuch as were influenced only by the rancor of party, much more tranquil. But the lofs of the colonies, the independence of America, her connexion with France their hereditary foe, could not yet be digefted by the king, the miniftry, or the nation; and the conciliatory propofals were voted to be carried forward on other principles than thofe of humanity or equity. The army and navy eftablifhments were augmented; and the proud difplay of war, power, and conqueft, was again to accompany the foft voice of peace and re-union.

The gentlemen appointed to undertake the arduous work of conciliation with the American ftates, after the inhumanity and irritation of a three years war, were the earl of Carlifle, fir William Eden, governor Johnftone, and fir Henry Clinton. Qualified for negociation, and determined if poffible to re-unite the revolted colonies with Great Britain, they left England with thefe flattering expectations, and arrived in the Delaware the latter part of May, amidft every preparation on both fides, for opening a vigorous campaign.

During their refidence in America, they faithfully executed their truft; and by every

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exertion, both in their joint and ſeparate capacity, they endeavoured to fulfil the expectation of their ſovereign: yet from the reception which congreſs had recently given to a previous intimation of their deſigns, the commiſſioners could have no very ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs.

General Howe had, as early as April the twenty-firſt, ſent a flag to general Waſhington, informing him of his own expectations: at the ſame time, he tranſmitted him a copy of the conciliatory bill. Theſe the general immediately forwarded to congreſs, who appointed a committee to conſider the propoſition. It did not take much time to deliberate, before the committee reported a number of reaſons, why the propoſals of the Britiſh court appeared to them fallacious; and that it was "their opinion, that the United States could with no "propriety, hold any conference or treaty with "commiſſioners on the part of Britain, unleſs, "as a preliminary, they withdrew their fleets "and armies, and in poſitive and expreſs "terms, acknowledged the independence of the "United States."

This ſpirited language, before any account of the completion of any treaty with France had arrived in America, diſcovered a due dependence on their own magnanimity and firmneſs: and by the dignity of their reſolutions, con-

greſs manifeſted a conſciouſneſs of the juſtice of their cauſe, and a reliance on that providential ſupport, they had hitherto remarkably experienced.

Perhaps at no time ſince hoſtilities had commenced, between Great Britain and the colonies, could the United States have been found leſs diſpoſed to negociate on the terms now offered by the Britiſh government, than at the preſent.

When the commiſſioners arrived, they found the news of an alliance with France, and a treaty of amity and commerce with that nation, had reached York-Town, where congreſs was ſitting, the ſecond day of May, a very ſhort time after they had rejected the propoſals ſent on by lord Howe.*

All America was appriſed of the diviſions in the Britiſh parliament, and happy in their own unanimity. An ambaſſador had been appointed to repair to America, and her independence was acknowledged by one of the firſt courts in Europe. The brilliant ſucceſſes of the laſt year,

* Theſe overtures were rejected on the twenty-eighth of April, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-eight.
See journals of congreſs.

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and the promiſing appearances on the opening the campaign of the preſent, all co-operated to lead the congreſs and the ſtate legiſlatures, to continue the high tone of ſenſibility and dignity, becoming a free and independent people, juſt emancipated from foreign domination. The commander in chief, the officers of the army, the ſoldiers in the field, and indeed every deſcription of people, felt a new degree of enthuſiaſm, enkindled from the ſanguine expectation of all neceſſary aid, in conſequence of an alliance with France, which was now completed to their wiſhes.

The commiſſioners on their arrival loſt no time: they immediately opened their correſpondencies, both public and private. The ſecretary to this commiſſion was the celebrated doctor Ferguſon, a gentleman well known in the literary world, by his elegant hiſtorical and philoſophical writings. Yet the reſpect for his character and abilities, which would have inſured his welcome, on any occaſion unconnected with political conſiderations, could not influence congreſs to grant him paſſports, as requeſted by the commiſſioners, only to deliver in perſon the credentials for opening a treaty. In conſequence of this refuſal, the king's commiſſion, and a letter from the commiſſioners, were both ſent on by the uſual military poſts.

The letter contained ſome flattering advances towards America, and many complimentary expreſſions to individuals; but it was without the ſmalleſt appearance of any recognition of the independence of the United States. Many reproachful ſtrictures on the inſidious policy of France, were interwoven in the letter: this rendered their addreſs ſtill more exceptionable in the eye of congreſs; and their overtures were generally diſguſting to the people at large.

In the preſent criſis, it was not thought either polite or politic by any one, to interlard the propoſals for an accommodation with America, with indelicate reflections on the new allies of the United States, almoſt at the moment when congreſs had received the moſt indubitable proofs of the friendſhip of the houſe of Bourbon; and when every boſom glowed with hope and expectation, of the higheſt advantages from an alliance juſt ſealed by each party, and ratified by congreſs, to the mutual ſatisfaction of both nations.

Yet allowances ought ever to be made for hereditary or national prejudices, as well as for private diſguſts. In both caſes the ſoreneſs of the human mind feels the keeneſt ſenſibility, when old wounds are probed by a hand prepared to ſtrike a mortal blow, the firſt favorable opportunity. Thus the commiſſioners and the

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Britiſh nation, beheld with indignation and bitterneſs, the arm of France their hated rival, ſtretched out to reſcue *their colonies*, now the United States, from the deſpotic views of the king and parliament of England.

When congreſs had given the propoſals for peace, offered under the ſanction of royal authority, a fair and candid diſcuſſion, a reply was conciſely drawn up and ſigned by the honorable Henry Laurens, preſident of the continental congreſs. It was obſerved in this anſwer to the propoſals, that "both the late acts "of parliament, and a commiſſion empowering "a number of gentlemen to negociate, and the "letter received by congreſs from thoſe gen-"tlemen, all went upon the ſame miſtaken "ground, on the ſuppoſition that the people of "America were the ſubjects of the crown of "Britain."

"That ſuch ideas were by no means admiſ-"ſible. Yet notwithſtanding the injuſtice of "the claim on which the war originated, and "the ſavage manner of conducting it, congreſs "was inclined to peace, whenever the king of "England ſhould manifeſt a ſincere diſpoſition "therefor, by an explicit acknowledgment of "the independence of America, and by with-"drawing his fleets and armies: that they will "then enter into a treaty of commerce, not in-"conſiſtent with treaties already exiſting."

They alſo referred the commiſſioners to their reſolves and determinations of the twenty-third of April, a ſhort time before the arrival of the treaty of alliance with France.

This drew out a ſecond letter from the commiſſioners, draughted with much art, ability, and addreſs. In this they obſerved, that "they "were not diſpoſed to diſpute about words: "that a degree of independence was admitted "in their letter of the tenth of June: that the "people of America had the privilege of diſpo-"ſing of their own property, and to govern "themſelves without any reference to Britain, "beyond what is neceſſary to preſerve a union "of force, in which mutual ſafety conſiſts." They added, "that danger from their heredi-"tary enemy, and gratitude to thoſe who had "hazarded much for their affection to Britain, "muſt for a time prevent his majeſty from "withdrawing his fleets and armies; but that "they were willing to enter on a diſcuſſion of "circumſtances, that might be neceſſary to ſe-"cure and enlarge their independence: and "that they wiſhed for a full communication of "the powers, by which congreſs was authori-"ſed to treat with foreign nations."

They intimated that there had been no reſolutions of the particular aſſemblies, conferring this power. Thus an effort was made in the beginning of negociation, to diffuſe jealouſies,

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and divide the people. In ſhort, the ſophiſtry that marked their public declarations, and the inſidious propoſals made to corrupt private perſons, were very unbecoming the negociators for peace, and inconſiſtent both with the probity of individual character, and the dignity of their maſter.

It does not appear, that the conduct of any of theſe gentlemen ſingly, was equally reprehenſible with that of governor Johnſtone. By private letters to ſome of the members of congreſs,* he endeavoured to warp their integrity with the flattering promiſes of diſtinguiſhed offices and emoluments, in proportion to their riſk in promoting the preſent views of adminiſtration. He was bold enough to ſay, "Waſhington and the preſident would have a right to every thing a grateful nation could beſtow, if they would be inſtrumental, once more in uniting the intereſts of Great Britain and America."†

His advances to Mr. Reed, an influential member of congreſs, were ſtill more openly affrontive, by offering him a direct bribe, and na-

* The principal of theſe were Joſeph Reed, and Robert Morris, Eſq. of Pennſylvania, and Francis Dana, of Maſſachuſetts.

† See governor Johnſtone's letter to Robert Morris, Eſq., laid before congreſs, June, 1778.

ming the conditions for the ſale of his honor. Governor Johnſtone doubtleſs thought he knew his men, when he ſelected Mr. Reed, Robert Morris, eſquire, and Mr. Francis Dana, to open his correſpondence with, and try the golden effects of ſecret influence, that had been ſo often ſucceſsful in his native land. He might perhaps think it ſome extenuation of the affront offered to Mr. Reed, that he had formerly fallen under ſome ſuſpicions from his countrymen.

He had been early and zealous in oppoſition to Britain; had repaired to Cambridge as aide-de-camp to general Waſhington; was afterwards appointed adjutant general; and continued in habits of intimacy and confidence with the commander in chief, until the retreat through the Jerſies, and the gloomy and deſperate ſituation of American affairs, towards the cloſe of the winter of one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſix. His fortitude then forſook him,* and deſpairing of brighter proſ-

* See Cadwallader's letters to and of Mr. Reed. They exhibit ſtrong ſuſpicions, that agitated by fear in the moſt gloomy period of American affairs, he really contemplated ſecurity for himſelf and friends, under the protection of the Britiſh ſtandard. This appeared at the time to be the apprehenſion of many of his connexions. However, if he was really as culpable as repreſented by ſome of thoſe letters, he ſoon recovered his firmneſs, his character, and the confidence of his country, and the commander in chief.

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pects to his country, more from timidity than disaffection, he was on the point of relinquishing the public cause. It was asserted he absolutely applied to count Donop at Burlington, for a protection for himself and family, on condition of his forsaking his country, in the lowest stage of her distress, and his general and friend, at a period when he most needed his assistance.

But the brilliant action at Trenton, and the subsequent successes at Princeton, and other places in the beginning of the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, restored the tone of his nerves so far, as to enable him to act with distinguished firmness, fidelity, and bravery, on many trying occasions; and disposed almost every one to throw a veil over the momentary weakness of a mind, generally well disposed to his country.*

* Mr. Reed had publickly announced his regret that a letter written by him to general Lee, in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six,* had been published to the world. He observed, that "that letter was written in haste, and written in a moment of great anxiety; "not from any diminution of affection for general Washington," whom he justly styles, "a great and good "man."

This letter was undoubtedly the result of Mr. Reed's apprehensions, at a period when there was the utmost

* See vol. I. page 393.

Theſe circumſtances were known in the Britiſh army, and probably induced governor Johnſtone to think Mr. Reed a proper ſubject for his deſigns. He propoſed as an adequate reward for his treachery, if Mr. Reed would engage his intereſt to promote the object of their commiſſion, that he ſhould have any office in the colonies in the gift of his Britannic majeſty, and the ſum of ten thouſand pounds ſterling in hand. This extraordinary propoſal was made through a lady, who had ſome connexions in the Britiſh army. Finding ſhe expected an explicit reply, and being a lady of ſo much reſpectability as to demand it, Mr. Reed anſwered, that "he was not worth the purchaſing, but ſuch as he was, the king of Great Britain was not rich enough to do it."

Mr. Johnſtone knew Mr. Morris to be a commercial character, a *ſpeculating* genius, a calculator of finances, and a confidential friend of general Waſhington. He might probably think, that if the commander in chief of the American ar-

danger, that all would be loſt to America, from various cauſes that prevented more vigorous operations. But he ever after expreſſed the higheſt reſpect for the character of the commander in chief; and obſerved that his countrymen might reſt in full confidence in the judgment, abilities, and diſcretion of general Waſhington.

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my could once be brought to listen to proposals, or to barter his fidelity, no one could make a better bargain for Britain than Mr. Morris, who had so much the ear and confidence of general Washington.

From some circumstances in Mr. Dana's former conduct, Mr. Johnstone might think himself sure of his influence, without bidding very high; and though liberal of his master's gold, it does not appear that he offered him a direct bribe. Mr. Johnstone's confidence in the success of his attempt on the fidelity of this gentleman, was probably grounded on a circumstance generally known. Mr. Dana had formerly fallen under the suspicions of many of his countrymen, that he was not friendly to their opposition of British measures.

This suspicion arose from his having repaired to England a short time before the commencement of the war: but within a year after the battle of Lexington, he had eradicated those prejudices by returning to his native country, entrusted with some secret communications from the friends of America then in England. This recommended him to favor and reconciliation with his countrymen: they laid aside their suspicions; and some characters of known integrity brought him forward, and soon after he was chosen a member of the general congress.

The above traits of character might be thought proper materials for a British commissioner to operate upon, but governor Johnstone was mistaken in the character of Americans: for, notwithstanding their passions, their foibles, or their weaknesses, there were few at that time, who would not have spurned at the idea of being purchased. They highly resented the effort to tamper with their integrity at any price, when the liberty of America was the stake.

These letters and transactions were immediately laid before congress by the several gentlemen, who thought themselves particularly insulted, by such unequivocal attempts on their honor and fidelity. This demeanor of one of the commissioners, was resented in a manner that might be expected from that respectable body. The American congress at this period, was, with few exceptions, composed of men jealous of their rights, proud of their patriotism and independence, and tenacious of their honor and probity. They resolved, that as they felt, so they ought to demonstrate the most pointed indignation, against such daring attempts to corrupt their integrity. They added, that "it was incompatible with their honor, to "hold any further intercourse with George "Johnstone, Esq., more especially to negociate

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"with him, on affairs in which the cause of "liberty was interested."*

This resolve announced in all the public papers, drew out a very angry declaration from Mr. Johnstone. He intimated, that he should decline acting in future as a commissioner, or in any other way negociating with congress. He observed, that "the business would be left in "abler hands; and that he should be happy to "find no other impediment in the way of ac-"commodation, after he was removed; but "that he was inclined to believe, the resolu-"tions of congress were dictated on similar mo-"tives to the convention of Saratoga." Mr. Johnstone alluded to a resolve of congress in reply to the offer of the commissioners, to ratify the convention of Saratoga. To this offer they had replied, "that no ratification that "may be tendered, in consequence of powers "that only reached the case by construction, "or which may subject all transactions relative "thereto, either to the future approbation or "disapprobation of parliament, can be accepted "by congress,"

* For Mr. Johnstone's private letter to the president of congress, and Mr. Laurens' reply, which was equally honorable to himself and to his country, and which breathed that spirit of dignity, independence, and virtue, which uniformly marked the character of this gentleman, the reader is referred to the journals of congress.

To the resentful language of governor Johnstone, he added, that congress acted a delusory part, contrary to the wishes of their constituents: and after many very severe reflections on their connexion with France, he avowed a total disregard either of the good or ill opinion of such a body; but acknowledged, "that "making a just allowance for men acting under "the heats of civil convulsions, he had a regard "for some individuals that composed it."

Doubtless, at the moment of this passionate declaration, Mr. Johnstone had forgotten the flattering epithets, even to adulation, that he had recently bestowed on the same body he now affected to hold in sovereign contempt. But congress persevered in their usual steady line of conduct, and took no farther notice of the letters, declarations, or addresses of the commissioners.

Thus closed their public negociations, yet they did not despair of dividing the colonies. Letters and addresses were still circulated to the governors of particular states, and to private gentlemen, and inflammatory declarations were spread throughout America. The poison of these new modes of overture for peace, between contending nations, was effectually antidoted by the spirited publications of several gentlemen of ability, in their private capacity.*

* W. H. Drayton, and others.

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The last effort made by these disappointed negociators, before they left America, was the publication of a manifesto signed by three of them, and dispersed throughout the continent. This address appeared to be dictated more by resentment and despair, than expectation or hope. It contained an endeavour to foment jealousies between the several states; and insinuated that congress were not authorized by their constituents, to reject the offers of Britain, or to enter into alliances with foreign nations. Proposals were made for separate treaties, either with the governors, the legislative bodies, or individual gentlemen; and offers of pardon were held out to any in civil or military departments, and to all descriptions of men, who should, within forty days, desert the service of their country, and enlist under the standard of Britain.

This was not the most offensive part of this extraordinary manifesto. Vindictive threatenings were denounced against all, who should continue deaf to these *gracious* and *generous* calls of their sovereign. It finished by declaring, that if America still preferred her connexion with the insidious and hereditary enemy of Britain, she must expect the operations of war

would be continued in ſuch modes, as tended moſt to *diſtreſs*, *depopulate*, and *ruin*.*

Mankind are ſeldom driven into compliance, by the haughty threats of powerful adverſaries, unleſs they feel their own weakneſs to ſuch a degree as to render them abject. But America, conſcious of her own internal ſtrength, and ſure of the aſſiſtance of foreign allies, rather ſpurned at the virulent ſpirit of this declaration. It did not increaſe their reſpect towards the negociators for peace. Nor were the Americans alone offended at the ſtyle and manner of this addreſs: it was conſidered as deficient both in policy and humanity, even by ſome officers in the Britiſh army. One of them, of high rank, immediately repaired to England, and declared with honeſt indignation in the houſe of commons, of which he was a member, that "he could not bear the attempt "to convert ſoldiers into butchers, aſſaſſins, and "incendiaries; or the abominable idea of "ſheathing his ſword in the bowels of age and "innocence. Nor would he be inſtrumental "in tarniſhing the luſtre of the Britiſh name, "by acts of barbarity, in obedience to the man-

* See the manifeſto at large in the Britiſh Remembrancer, and in the Annual Regiſter, as well as in the journals of congreſs.

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"dates of the moſt infamous adminiſtration, "that ever diſgraced a free country."*

But by the activity of officers of leſs delicacy and tenderneſs, the theory of cruelty held out by the commiſſioners, was ſoon realized by the perpetration of every crime: and the extreme rigor of war, which in modern times has been meliorated by the general conſent of civilized nations, was renewed in America, in all the barbarous ſhapes that the ingenuity, or the wickedneſs of man could invent.

Soon after the manifeſto of the commiſſioners was publiſhed, a declaration was iſſued by congreſs, though not in terms equally cruel and threatening. They however diſcovered their reſentment by the ſeverity of their language; and a ſort of licenſe was encouraged for retaliation on individuals, if the Britiſh proceeded to murder the inhabitants, and burn the houſes of private perſons. They thought themſelves juſtifiable in this from paſt ſufferings, and the preſent threatenings of officers commiſſioned to reconcile, inſtead of further irritating the injured Americans.

Congreſs reproached them with meanneſs, in attempting to carry their point by bribery, corruption, and deceit; and charged their nation

* See debates in parliament.

with making "a mock at humanity, by the "wanton deſtruction of men; a mock at religion, by impious appeals to God, whilſt in the "violation of his ſacred commands; and a "mockery of reaſon itſelf, by ſuppoſing that "the liberty and happineſs of America could "ſafely be entruſted to thoſe who had ſold "their own, unawed by a ſenſe of virtue or "ſhame." They appealed to the Searcher of Hearts for the rectitude of their intentions, and obſerved, that not inſtigated by anger or revenge, they ſhould, through every poſſible change of fortune, adhere to their determinations.

In this ſtate and temper of the congreſs, the people, and the commiſſioners, ſir Henry Clinton took the command of all the royal troops in America. Previous to the opening of the ſummer campaign, ſir William Howe had obtained leave to repair to England. His intended abſence was much regretted by the Britiſh army, and as a man of pleaſure and addreſs, by the gay part of the city of Philadelphia. Every manifeſtation of reſpect was expreſſed on the occaſion, and the moſt ſuperb diſplay of modern luxury exhibited in an elegant entertainment, which drew attention from the novelty of the ſtyle. The *miſchianza* was conſidered a new ſpecies of pleaſure; but the appellation

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was only an additional decoration to an effort designed to pay the highest compliment and respect, both to the military and the private character of general Howe.

Notwithstanding this and other testimonials of the affection of his officers and his army, he was censured by the ministry on his arrival in England, and a public clamor prevailed against his general conduct, during his command in America. In consequence of the ill temper excited against him, he published a long narrative in his own defence, and urged a free examination of his conduct in the house of commons.

But the minister appeared averse to strictures that might lay open too many of the secrets of the cabinet. However, several distinguished gentlemen of the army were at last called to examination, and on the whole gave a favorable testimony to the military character and operations of general Howe, and extenuated the failure of particular manœuvres, by the difficulty and embarrassment of his situation, in a country where it was impossible for him to know, whether he was surrounded by friends or foes, and where he often found himself deceived by the misrepresentations of the loyalists. In order to invalidate the evidence of lord Cornwallis and other respectable characters, the party against sir William Howe procured the examination and evidence of Joseph Galloway, and

ſome others of the moſt inveterate refugees, who had fled from America, and were diſappointed that the ſubjugation of their country was thus long delayed.

Much cenſure fell on the miniſtry for their reſorting to the teſtimony of American refugees, penſioners, and cuſtom-houſe officers, whoſe places, penſions, and exiſtence, depended on their adherence to miniſterial meaſures, to invalidate the evidence of military men of high rank and great profeſſional knowledge.

Sir William Howe was not again veſted with command during the American war. Some other officers, either diſguſted or diſcouraged, returned to England after the ſummer campaign. Several of them were advanced and ſent out again in the ſucceeding ſpring, to purſue the work of ſlaughter, or to humble the haughty ſpirit of Americans at the feet of monarchy. A number of theſe ill-fated officers, whoſe merits were conſpicuous in their line, did not again return to the boſom of their native country, the beloved iſland of Britain; where their ſurviving friends were left to weep at the recollection of the aſhes of the brave, ſcattered over the heights and plains of the American world.

CHAPTER XIII.

Evacuation of Philadelphia.—Battle of Monmouth.—General Lee cenſured.—General Clinton reaches New York.—The Count de Eſtaing arrives there—Repairs to Rhode Iſland—Expedition unſucceſsful.—French Fleet rendezvous at Boſton, to refit after the Damages ſuſtained by a Storm.—Lord Howe leaves the American Seas.—Marauding Exploits of General Grey.—Deſtruction of Wyoming.—Expedition into the Indian Territories.

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THE new commiſſion with which ſir Henry Clinton was now veſted, was prompt, arduous, and replete with conſequences of the higheſt magnitude to his country, and to his own reputation. The Trident man of war had arrived in the Delaware early in the month of June, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-eight. In this ſhip came the Britiſh commiſſioners for conciliation; and through the hand of ſir William Eden, general Clinton received peremptory orders to evacuate the city of Philadelphia, within ſix days after their reception. Accordingly the whole Britiſh army decamped, and began their march toward New York on the eighteenth of June.

The ſudden deſertion of a city that had been ſo much the object of their warmeſt

wiſhes, tended at once to diſhearten the adherents to the royal cauſe, and to invigorate the operations of their antagoniſts. It could not be expected, that general Waſhington would remain a quiet ſpectator of this movement of the Britiſh troops. He immediately diſpatched a reconnoitering party under general Maxwell, to haraſs their march.* The marquis de la Fayette alſo marched at the head of a detachment, to meet them and impede their progreſs; and general Lee with two brigades, was ordered to follow and ſupport him.

The Britiſh commander prepared for this interruption, ſuddenly attacked and routed the cavalry under the marquis. By this the infantry were deranged: and general Waſhington, finding an action of moment was likely to enſue, poſted himſelf, after ſeveral military movements, as advantageouſly as poſſible, near the heights of Monmouth.

The Americans ſpirited and courageous, the Britiſh reſolute, brave, and deſperate, a ſharp

* Before general Waſhington moved, he called a council of officers to conſult on the expediency of attacking the Britiſh on their march. They were almoſt unanimouſly oppoſed to the meaſure, as the failure of ſucceſs would be ruin to the American army. But the American commander, with two or three of his beſt officers, had no reluctance at hazarding the conſequences of a general action.

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conflict ſucceeded. The military game of death and retreat, of recovery and ſlaughter, was kept up for ſeveral hours without deciſion. But a miſunderſtanding on a diſobedience of orders by general Lee, occaſioned ſuch a derangement on the American ſide, as gave the opportunity for a ſafe retreat to the royal army, in ſpite of the valor and intrepidity of their opponents. Many on both ſides fell by the intenſe heat of the weather. It was one of thoſe days not unuſual in the ſouthern clime, when the ſtroke of the ſun is inſtantaneouſly fatal to human life, without the agitation and fatigue inſeparable from the hour of battle.

Some warm expreſſions in the heat of engagement from general Waſhington, drew ſeveral letters from Lee, that could not be paſſed over in ſilence. For theſe, and for his deportment through the events of the day of action, he was ſuſpended from his command, and afterwards tried by a court-martial. The exigencies of affairs, as well as his miſconduct, made it *neceſſary*, that he ſhould lie under cenſure for diſobedience, and diſreſpect to the commander in chief:* yet many of his brother officers advocated, or at leaſt extenuated his conduct.

* The court-martial adjudged, that he ſhould retire from the army, and lie under ſuſpenſion for one year.

Perhaps it might not have been either treachery, cowardice, envy, or any other unworthy motive, that influenced the conduct of general Lee. He had but recently recovered his liberty after he was captured at Hackinsack. Previous to that time, the American army was too justly considered by him, an undisciplined rabble. They had indeed, in his absence, made great improvements in the art of war, and the necessary arrangements of military discipline; however, he had not yet a proper confidence in the infant troops he commanded, when opposed to the superiority of British battalions, actuated by necessity in addition to constitutional bravery. He might retreat mere from the cautious prudence of an experienced officer, than from any design to betray, or disobey the orders of the commander in chief: but it is certain he did not on all occasions, discover a due respect, either for the character or talents of general Washington.

General Lee was never again employed in American service; and undoubtedly died a martyr to chagrin, disappointment, and personal abuse, in consequence of the ingratitude of some of his former friends, arising from the popularity of a more favored, fortunate, and meritorious officer.

After his trial and suspension, general Lee retired to a little farm in Baltimore, where he

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lived in the moſt coarſe and ruſtic manner. Totally ſecluded from all ſociety, he converſed only with a few favorite authors and his dogs, until the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-two; when weary of his ſequeſtered ſituation, he left his retreat, and repaired to Philadelphia. But out of command, he found himſelf without friends, without reſpect, and ſo far from that independence congenial to his mind, and to his years, that he was almoſt without the means of ſubſiſtence. In a ſhort time, he ſickened and died in obſcurity, though in a city where he had been uſed to receive the higheſt marks of applauſe and reſpect.

After the battle of Monmouth, both parties boaſted their advantages, as is uſual after an indeciſive action. It is certain, Waſhington and his brave troops gained only honor and applauſe,* whilſt ſir Henry Clinton muſt have thought himſelf fortunate indeed; on the one

* Even the Britiſh themſelves acknowledged, that the Americans behaved with great ſpirit and intrepidity. In this action, a corps commanded by colonel Dearborn, acquitted themſelves with ſuch undaunted bravery, that they attracted particular notice. A ſouthern officer of rank rode up to Mr. Dearborn, and inquired "who they "were, and to what portion of America that regiment "belonged?" The colonel replied in this laconic and ſoldierly manner:—"*Full-blooded Yankees, by G–d, ſir, "from the ſtate of New Hampſhire.*"

hand he escaped a pursuing army, and on the other, a fleet commanded by the count de Estaing, which had just arrived in the Chesapeake.

The design of the French admiral was to shut up the British army in Philadelphia; but from the inclemency of the weather, and contrary winds, a long passage prevented his arriving seasonably to effect so desirable an object. When sir Henry Clinton left Philadelphia, he could scarcely expect, or entertain a hope, that he could conduct his army in safety, through such an extent of country, to their destination at New York; but after surmounting many embarrassments, he arrived there with his troops, nearly at the same time when the French squadron appeared at the entrance of the Delaware.

It was a happy circumstance for Clinton, that the count de Estaing did not at first direct his course to New York: however, within a few days after the arrival of the British troops, he appeared unexpectedly off Sandy Hook; and to the inexpressible mortification of British pride, they found themselves blocked up in their own harbor, by the hereditary enemy of their nation. Old antipathies revived; irritation and resentment were wrought up to the

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highest pitch, by new provocations; and nothing could exceed the indignation raised by the idea, that the king of France was sending out his fleets and armies, to aid and support the *rebellious colonies*.

From the situation of the two fleets before New York, an engagement was thought by all to be inevitable. A spirit was diffused through all ranks of the royal army and navy, expressive of the vigor, valor, and activity of British soldiers and seamen. Such was the popularity of lord Howe, the importance of the cause, and their resentment towards France, that the soldiers, scarce recovered from their wounds and fatigue, in the late action and retreat, were solicitous and impatient to face their Gallic enemy; and the British seamen in private service were equally emulous, and solicited eagerly, and even contested the honor of employment in the navy.

Prepared for action, and confident of success, they ostentatiously boasted, that the name of *Howe*, and the terror of the British flag, must intimidate Frenchmen in the moment of danger; as the recollection of former defeats would officiously obtrude, in spite of their most brilliant designs. This opinion was in some measure sanctioned by the inactivity of the count de Estaing, who, after lying eleven days without the smallest advance to action, left his

ſtation at Sandy Hook, and proceeded northward.

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It is difficult to ſay, whether the joy or the ſurpriſe of his enemies preponderated on this occaſion. They juſtly conſidered it a very fortunate circumſtance, as within two or three days, five ſhips of the line belonging to admiral Byron's ſquadron, arrived ſingly in ſo ſhattered a condition, that probably they, with the remainder of the fleet, muſt without a blow, have fallen into the hands of the French, had they continued before New York.

This unexpected manœuvre of the count, was in conſequence of a preconcerted plan, that all naval operations ſhould be ſuſpended at the ſouthward, and that with all poſſible diſpatch, the French fleet ſhould repair to Rhode Iſland. This was in order to favor an expedition for the recovery of that beautiful ſpot, which had been ſeized October, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſix, and held by the Britiſh troops, now commanded by ſir Robert Pigot. There, under cover of a number of frigates, they had reſted in ſafety nearly two years. Detachments from the army at Newport and its environs, had frequently made incurſions to the main, burnt a part of the town of Briſtol, and greatly annoyed both Providence and all the adjacent country.

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The count de Eſtaing arrived before Newport the ninth of Auguſt; and within a few days, a large body of militia from the neighbouring ſtates, commanded by general Hancock, and a detachment of continental troops under the command of general Sullivan, landed on the iſland.

The American troops, healthy, active, and vigorous, fluſhed with the hope of victory, not only from their own ſpirit and bravery, but from expectations derived from the preſence of their new allies, with a powerful naval force to aid their operations, were ſanguine, confident, and impatient for action. But to their unſpeakable diſappointment, the very day on which they landed, the French fleet again put to ſea, their commander having received intelligence that lord Howe had left Sandy Hook, in full force to engage him, and to prevent the diſlodgement of the royal troops, who were ſtrong and well fortified in every part of the iſland.

Count de Eſtaing judged it prudent to meet and fight the Britiſh ſquadron at ſea, rather than ſuffer lord Howe to make an effort to gain the harbor. His force was ſuperior, his officers equally brave; there was a mutual ardor for engagement in the ſeamen, and a mutual ambition for glory, in both the Britiſh and French commanders. But the unforeſeen operations

of nature, that ſo often impede the deſigns of man, again defeated the proud expectations of triumph in both parties. A ſevere ſtorm that raged forty-eight hours, ſeparated the two fleets; and ſuch was the violence of a gale ſcarcely paralleled in thoſe ſeas, that lord Howe in a very ſhattered and broken condition, was obliged to repair to New York to refit; and the French commanders thought themſelves happy to reach Boſton, in a very wretched and diſabled ſtate. The admiral's own ſhip was diſmaſted: the Cæſar of ſeventy-four guns, commanded by monſieur de Booves, met the Iſis, a Britiſh ſhip of war of only fifty guns; a ſharp conflict enſued; but the Cæſar having loſt all her maſts in the ſtorm, darkneſs approaching, moſt of his men being ſlain, and his own right arm ſhot off, monſieur de Booves found it neceſſary to ſheer off for Boſton, where the whole fleet arrived in a few days.

The count was oppoſed in the meaſure of leaving the harbor of Newport, by all the American, and many of the French officers, but by none more ſtrenuouſly than the brave marquis de la Fayette, who followed him to Boſton with the utmoſt celerity, to endeavour to expedite his return.* This misfortune

* Zealous to promote the ſame object, the commiſſioners of the navy-board at Boſton, with great diſpatch repaired, watered, victualled, and equipped the ſhips under

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damped the ardor of the militia, ſome of whom had, more from oſtentation than bravery, voluntarily engaged in this expedition. Near three thouſand men relinquiſhed their poſts, and left the iſland in a day. Many of them were influenced to this precipitate deſertion, by the conduct of major general Hancock, who, in ſpite of the remonſtrances of friends, and forgetful of the hazard of popularity, left all in the moment of danger, and repaired to Boſton.

General Sullivan, not diſheartened by theſe unexpected events, nor diſcouraged by the untoward accidents that hitherto attended his operations, kept his ſtation fourteen days after the ſeceſſion of ſo large a part of his forces. Nor did he ſuffer his troops to be idle: ſeveral ſkirmiſhes took place, that kept up apprehenſion on the one ſide, and a military ardor on the other; but none of more importance than an action on the morning of the twenty-ninth, when a cannonade began early on both ſides, and continued ſome hours with doubtful ſucceſs. A detachment of the Britiſh troops under colonel Campbell, was routed and fled in confuſion, leaving many dead on the field, among whom a favorite nephew of the commander was killed by his ſide. After this,

the command of the count de Eſtaing. It not being practicable to return to Rhode Iſland, he in a few weeks after, ſailed in complete order for the Weſt Indies.

Sullivan and his officers, judging it not prudent to attack a ſuperior force entrenched within their lines, withdrew to their own camp, while the Britiſh employed the enſuing night in ſtrengthening and fortifying theirs.

Within three days after this rencounter, an expreſs arrived from general Waſhington with information, that lord Howe had again ſailed from New York, and that ſir Henry Clinton had himſelf embarked with four thouſand men, for the relief of Rhode Iſland. On the ſame day the marquis de la Fayette returned from Boſton, and reported it impoſſible for the count de Eſtaing to arrive there again, timely for any operations of conſequence: and as nothing effectual could be done without the aid of naval force, general Sullivan thought proper to withdraw his troops from the iſland.

His retreat was conducted with ſuch ſecrecy, ſilence, and dexterity, as diſcovered the judgment and ability of the experienced commander. He had in his council ſome officers of diſtinguiſhed name, who fully juſtified his conduct through the whole of this unſucceſsful expedition. Greene, la Fayette, and Laurens,*

* The noble, diſintereſted ſentiments of this gentleman, who was then aid-de-camp to general Waſhington, were exhibited in his reply to congreſs, who for his diſtinguiſh-

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Fleury, Wade, Glover, Knox, Livingston, and Talbot, with many other excellent officers, had the mortification to quit the field, without the laurels so fair a prospect of military glory had waved in view.

This disappointment occasioned some temporary murmurings against the conduct of de Estaing, and even the connexion with France. A squabble soon after the fleet arrived at Boston, between some French and American sailors, heightened the uneasiness. But the most respectable people, disposed to view with a favorable eye, and to place the utmost confidence in their untried allies, all censure was hushed; and a discreet silence in the more prudent, prevented or counteracted all invidious observations from the less candid.

Lord Howe arrived in the harbor of Newport, with an hundred sail of ships of war and transports, the morning after Sullivan's retreat.

ed bravery in this and other actions, had advanced him to the rank of lieutenant colonel. Mr. Laurens' acceptance would have superseded some officers in the family of the commander, earlier in commission. Apprehensive that it might create some uneasiness among them, he declined the honor. He observed, "that having been a spectator "of the convulsions occasioned in the army by disputes of "rank, he held the tranquillity of it too dear, to be instru- "mental in disturbing it."

Admiral Byron was hourly expected to join him. Thus, so superior in strength, there was every reason to expect Boston would be the next object of attack. In consequence of this appearance, the count de Estaing, who found it would require time to victual, water, and equip his shattered fleet for a second cruise, judged it necessary to fortify several advantageous islands in the harbor, and thus be in readiness for the reception of the British fleets, if they should be again disposed to visit Boston.

Lord Howe before he returned to New York, went round and looked into the harbor of Boston; but finding most of the ships belonging to the French fleet repaired, and Castle William and the islands in a defensible state, he did not think proper to make any hostile attempt on the town. Not perfectly pleased with the American war, and disgusted at some things relative to his own command, his lordship resigned his commission soon after this, and repaired to England. He left the American seas in September, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight.

When his lordship arrived in England, he complained publicly, that he had been deceived into the command, and deceived while in it. Tired and disgusted with the service, he had

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been compelled to resign; and that he had suffered too much ever to risk a return to any situation, that might terminate in equal mortification. He observed, that he must be excused from any employment, while the present ministry continued in office, being convinced by decisive experience, that he not only risked his own honor and professional character in the attempt, but that under such councils, he was as sensible as those who had been earlier in opposition, that no essential service could be rendered his country.

But though we see him no more on the American theatre, yet, notwithstanding his dissatisfaction with the conduct of administration, lord Howe again, before the conclusion of peace, acted a conspicuous part under the renowned flag of Great Britain.

The celebrated Bougainville, who had before explored the other side of the globe, was, with many other officers of high rank and distinction, for the first time in the American seas. They were every where welcomed as the generous friends of the United States, the patrons of liberty, and the supporters of the rights of men. But, as there had not yet been time to prove the sincerity of either party, the old officers who remembered the late war between England and France, when America hugged herself in the protection of Britain, and adopt-

ed all her opinions, looked as if they wiſhed rather than believed, all ancient prejudices obliterated.* They ſeemed ſilently to half doubt the reality of that friendſhip which appeared in the politeneſs of their reception, from a people of a different religion, language, habits, and manners; and at firſt, ſeemed reluctantly to hold back that flow of affection, which the Americans were ready to return in full meaſure.

As to the younger claſs, unconſcious of injury, ambitious for glory, and eager for the humiliation of Britain, hope danced in their eye; every feature diſplayed the wiſh of mutual confidence; and with honeſt joy, they extended their arms to embrace their new allies. Yet, the ſquadrons of the houſe of Bourbon riding in the ports, and fortifying the American harbors againſt their natural friends, the parent of the once loyal and affectionate colonies, was an event which, though precipitated by the folly of Britain, had out-run the expectations of America: nor could ſuch a circumſtance fail to excite the moſt ſerious recollec-

* Some jealouſies had ariſen while at Rhode Iſland, on ſome points of *etiquette* between the count de Eſtaing and the commander of the American forces. Theſe had been amicably adjuſted: yet the pride of older military characters, had been too much hurt for the wound to be inſtantly healed.

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tions and contemplations, both of the philoſopher and the politician.

The timely and judicious movement of general Sullivan, diſappointed the expectations of ſir Henry Clinton, who flattered himſelf he ſhould arrive ſoon enough to cut off the retreat of the American army. When he found they had withdrawn, he immediately left the neighbourhood of Rhode Iſland, and returned to New York, after he had diſpatched major general Grey at the head of a large detachment, on a marauding expedition againſt ſome defenceleſs towns in the Maſſachuſetts.

The firſt attack was on Bedford, a ſmall town on the river Acuſhnet. He landed in the evening. The inhabitants alarmed at this unexpected attack, moſt of them fled, and left their property a prey to their enemies. When they returned in the morning, they found the Britons retired; but to their inexpreſſible mortification, almoſt every thing of value was deſtroyed or carried off. Houſes, warehouſes, magazines, and ſtores, with near an hundred ſail of ſhipping, were burnt on the Bedford and Fairhaven ſides of the river.

After this feat, Grey proceeded to Martha's Vineyard, laid the inhabitants under contribution, and demanded a ſurrender of their arms. From thence he viſited Nantucket and the

neighbouring isles: and with the plunder of fifteen or twenty thousand cattle and sheep, for the use of the army at New York, he returned with his party, exulting in depredations that would have been disgraceful to an officer of much inferior character and abilitities.*

Sir Henry Clinton pleased with the success of this expedition, sent Grey immediately on to aid a similar mode of war on the Jersey coast. Lord Cornwallis had with a large body of troops, taken post between the North River and the Hackinsack: general Knyphausen with another division, was posted in a parallel position on the other side of the North River. Thus were they conveniently situated to guard their foraging parties, and distress the country by sudden depredations and continual havoc, during the remainder of the autumn.

General Grey with his usual activity had gained intelligence of the insecure situation, in which a regiment commanded by colonel Baylor, had reposed themselves for the night of the twenty-fourth of September. A party sent on with orders to give no quarter, cut off the

* A number of refugees from the state of Massachusetts, aided Grey in depredations on their countrymen and former friends. From a regard to the feelings of some of their connexions, still living in America, we forbear to name them.

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guards, and ſurpriſed the unhappy victims aſleep in an out-houſe. They awoke, ſubmitted, implored quarter, and were maſſacred in an hour. Only ten or twelve eſcaped with life, after they were barbarouſly wounded, ſtripped, and left for dead. This remnant ſo far recovered as, by favor of the darkneſs, to reach the poſt of their friends, and detail the horrid tranſaction. They agreed on oath, that they and their companions had all ſurrendered, as ſoon as they found themſelves in the enemy's hands, and aſked only for life. But the ſavage cry was, "kill them, kill them; we have orders "to give no quarter:" and the barbarous echo was kept up till every man was, or appeared to be murdered.*

A repetition of the ſame cruel policy ſoon after took place on the ſurpriſe of a party of Pulaſki's light infantry. Some deſerters had betrayed them into the hands of the Britiſh. Several hundred of theſe unhappy men were butchered without mercy, after the ſurrender of their arms. The baron de Boſe, a Poliſh nobleman, was among the ſlain. An apology was afterwards attempted, by pleading that they had received information, that count Pulaſki in or-

* See a particular detail of this tranſaction in the Britiſh Remembrancer, with the affidavits of the few ſoldiers that eſcaped the maſſacre.

ders to his legion, had enjoined that no quarter ſhould be given to any that might fall into their hands. This was denied both by the count and his officers. But had it been true, that a foreign nobleman, hardened amidſt the barbarities of Poliſh confederacies, could ſo far deviate from the laws of humanity as to give ſuch an order, the example ſhould never have been followed by the polite and gallant Engliſhmen. But in this war, they ſeemed to have loſt thoſe generous feelings of compaſſion to the vanquiſhed foe, that muſt ever be deemed honorary to the human character.

A counterpart to the conduct of the more refined, though little more humanized commanders of the predatory parties in the middle and northern colonies, was exhibited in the ſouthern borders, by their ſavage allies of the wilderneſs.

This was dreadfully realized by the inhabitants of Wyoming, a young ſettlement on the eaſtern branch of the Suſquehannah. The population of this once happy ſpot had been remarkably rapid, and when the fury of civil diſcord firſt appeared among them, it contained eight townſhips of five miles ſquare each. They were ſituated in a mild climate, in a country fertile, and beautifully diſplaying a pictureſque appearance of that kind of primitive ſimplicity, only enjoyed before the mind of man

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is contaminated by ambition or gold. But party rage had ſpread its baneful influence to the remoteſt corners of America, and political animoſities had at this period poiſoned the peace, even of the moſt diſtant villages, where ſimplicity, friendſhip, and induſtry had reigned, until the fell fiend which prompts to civil war, made its frightful appearance, attended by all the horrors imagination can paint.

The inhabitants of this favored ſpot, perhaps more zealous than diſcreet, had ſo far participated the feelings of all America, as voluntarily to raiſe and ſend forward one thouſand men, to join the continental army. This ſtep diſcloſed the embers of oppoſition that had hitherto lain concealed, in the boſoms of a number long diſaffected to the American, and warmly attached to the royal cauſe. A rancorous ſpirit immediately burſt from the latent ſpark, which divided families, and ſeparated the tendereſt connexions. Animoſities ſoon aroſe to ſuch a height, that ſome of the moſt active members of this flouriſhing and happy ſociety, abandoned their plantations, forſook their friends, joined and inſtigated the neighbouring ſavages to moleſt the ſettlements, and aſſiſted in the perpetration of the moſt unheard of cruelties.

Several outrages had been committed by ſmall parties, and many threatening appearances

had ſo far alarmed the inhabitants, that moſt of them had repaired to ſome fortreſſes early erected for their defence againſt the native ſavages. Yet there was no apprehenſion of a general maſſacre and extermination, till the beginning of July, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-eight, when an army of near two thouſand men, made its appearance on the Suſquehannah, and landed on their borders. This body was compoſed of the motley materials of Indians, tories, half-blooded Engliſhmen, and Britiſh renegadoes, headed by one Butler, who had nothing human about him, except a rough, external figure of a man.

All the inhabitants of thoſe weak, defenceleſs ſettlements capable of bearing arms, embodied, and put themſelves under the direction of a perſon of the ſame name, a near relation of the commander of the ſavages. This man, either through fear, weakneſs, or miſplaced confidence, liſtened to the offers of treaty from his more artful kinſman, and ſuffered himſelf with four hundred men, to be drawn from fort Kingſton by a deluſive flag, that alternately advanced and retired, as if apprehenſive of danger. Caught by the ſnare, he was completely ſurrounded before he had any ſuſpicion of deception, and his whole party cut off, notwith-

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ſtanding they fought with a ſpirit becoming their deſperate ſituation.

The victor immediately puſhed on, inveſted the garriſon thus indiſcreetly left, and demanded a ſurrender. The demand was accompanied by the horrid diſplay of a great number of ſcalps, juſt torn from the heads, and yet warm with the blood, of their neareſt friends and relations. In this ſituation of wretchedneſs, embittered by impotent reſentment, colonel Donniſon, on whom the command had devolved, finding reſiſtance impracticable, went out himſelf with a flag, to aſk the terms of ſurrender. To this humiliating queſtion, the infamous Butler replied, with all the *ſang-froid* of the ſavage, and the laconiſm of an ancient Greek, "*the* "*hatchet.*"

The unfortunate Donniſon returned in deſpair; yet he bravely defended the fort until moſt of his men had fallen by his ſide, when the barbarians without, ſhut up this and a neighbouring garriſon, where a number of women and children had repaired for ſafety, and ſetting fire to both, they enjoyed the infernal pleaſure of ſeeing them periſh promiſcuouſly, in the flames lighted by their bloody hands.*

* The tranſactions at Wyoming are recorded above, agreeably to the moſt authentic accounts at the time.

After this cataſtrophe, the moſt ſhocking devaſtation was ſpread through the townſhips. Whilſt ſome were employed in burning the houſes, ſetting fire to the corn-fields, and rooting out every trait of improvement, others were cruelly and wantonly imbruing their hands in the blood of their parents, their brothers, and every near connexion, who had unfortunately held different political opinions. But a particular detail of the tranſactions of ſavages, ſtimulated by the agents of more refined and poliſhed nations, with paſſions whetted by revenge, without principle to check its operation, is too painful to the writer, and too diſgraceful to human nature to dwell on. Nor is it leſs painful to the impartial hiſtorian, to relate the barbarous, though by them deemed neceſſary, vengeance, ſoon after taken by the Americans.

The conflagration ſpread over the beautiful country of the Illinois, by a colonel Clark of Virginia, equally awakes compaſſion, and was a counterbalance for the ſufferings of the miſerable Wyomings. It is true the Illinois, and other diſtant warlike tribes, were at the inſtigation of governor Hamilton,* the Britiſh commander at Detroit, generally aſſiſting in the meaſures perpetrated under Butler and Brandt, nearer the frontiers; and perhaps the law of

* Governor Hamilton was afterwards captured by Clark.

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retaliation may, in ſome meaſure, juſtify the depredations of Clark.

This intrepid ranger left Virginia in the courſe of this ſummer, with a few adventurers hardy as himſelf, and traverſed a country of eleven or twelve hundred miles in extent: and ſurmounting all the hardſhips that imagination can paint, through a wilderneſs inhabited only by ſtrolling hunters from among the ſavages, and the wild beaſts that prowled before them, through hunger, fatigue, and ſufferings innumerable, they reached the upper Miſſiſippi. The Indian inhabitants, who had there long enjoyed a happy climate, and the fruits of a fertile ſoil, under a high degree of cultivation, fearleſs of danger from their diſtance from civilized neighbours, were ſurpriſed by Clark and his party; their crops were deſtroyed; their ſettlements broken up; their villages burnt, the principal of which was Kaſkaſkias. This town contained near three hundred houſes; and had it not been ſurpriſed at midnight by theſe deſperate invaders, bold, outrageous, and near ſtarving in the wilderneſs, the natives might ſucceſsfully have defended their lives and their plantations; but not a man eſcaped ſeaſonably to alarm the neighbouring tribes.

A Britiſh officer, one *Rocheblave*, who acted as governor, and paymaſter for American ſcalps, was taken and ſent to Virginia, with many written proofs of the cruel policy of in-

citing the fury of ſavages againſt the American ſettlements. From Quebec, Detroit, Michilimackinac, &c., theſe orders every where appeared under the ſignature of the chief magiſtrates, acting in the name of the Britiſh king. Some of their principal warriors were made priſoners; the remainder who eſcaped the ſword, had only to fly farther through a tracklefs wilderneſs, if poſſible to procure ſome new lodgement, beyond the reach of civilized purſuers.

Nor did the Cherokees, the Muſkingums, the Mohawks, and many other ſavage tribes, feel leſs ſeverely than the Illinois, the reſentment of the Americans, for their attachment to the Britiſh nation, and their cruelties practiſed on the borders of the Atlantic ſtates.

An expedition entruſted to the conduct of general Sullivan, againſt the Six Nations, who had generally been better diſpoſed towards Americans than moſt of the ſavage tribes, was replete with circumſtances that muſt wound the feelings of the compaſſionate heart; while the lovers of cultivation and improvement among all mankind, will be touched by a retaliation, bordering, to ſay the leaſt, on ſavage fury. The ſudden and unexpected deſtruction of a part of the human ſpecies, enjoying domeſtic quiet in the ſimplicity of nature, awakes the feelings of the firſt: the ſecond muſt be diſturbed in his philoſophical purſuits of cultiva-

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tion and improvement, when he contemplates fire and ſword deſtroying all in their way, and houſes too well built to be the workmanſhip of men in a ſtate of rude nature, the prey of conflagration, enkindled by the hands of the cultivators of the arts and ſciences.*

The rooting up of gardens, orchards, cornfields, and fruit trees, which by their variety and growth, diſcovered that the induſtrious hand of cultivation had been long employed to bring them to perfection, cannot be juſtified; more eſpecially where there is a mind capable of looking forward to their utility, and back to the time and labor it has coſt to bring them to maturity. But general Sullivan, according to his own account in his letters to the commander in chief, to congreſs, to his friends and others, ſpared no veſtige of improvement, and appeared little leſs proud of this war upon nature, than he was of his conqueſt of the ſavages.†

The difficulties, dangers, and fatigues of the march, required courage, firmneſs, and perſeverance. Hunger and famine aſſailed them before they reached the fertile borders of the

* By the teſtimony of Britiſh writers, this deſcription is not exaggerated. See their regiſters and hiſtories.

† See general Sullivan's account of this expedition on the public records, dated Sept. 30, 1779.

pleasant and well settled Indian towns; yet general Sullivan and his party finished the expedition in as short a time as could be expected, and to all public appearance, met the approbation of congress and of the commander in chief.

Yet there were some things in the demeanor of general Sullivan, that disgusted some of his officers, and raised a censure on his conduct that made him unhappy, and led him to resign his military command. His health was indeed broken, which he imputed to the fatigues encountered on his hazardous march. Yet he lived many years after this period, and was advanced to the highest stations in the civil administration of the state of New Hampshire, and died with the reputation of a brave and active officer, both in military and civil life.

General Sullivan had acquitted himself during his military command with valor and reputation, in many instances. During the ravages of the British on the Jersey shore, in the latter part of the summer of one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, he had gained much honor by an expedition to Staten Island, concerted by himself. This he undertook without any orders from the commander in chief; and for this a court of inquiry was appointed to examine into his conduct. His reasons for such a step, without permission or command, were thought justifiable. He brought off a great number of

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priſoners, officers, ſoldiers, and tories, who had frequently made incurſions on the borders of the Jerſies, and haraſſed, plundered, and murdered the inhabitants in their ſudden depredations. It appeared that general Sullivan had conducted this buſineſs with great prudence and ſucceſs: he was, by the court of inquiry, acquitted with honor and applauſe, for planning and executing to great advantage, a deſign from which ſo much benefit had reſulted.

It may be thought by ſome, an apology ſufficient for the invaſion of Clark and Sullivan, of Pickens, Van Schaick, and others, that the hoſtile diſpoſitions of the aboriginals had always led them to imbrue their hands in the blood of the borderers. The warriors of the diſtant tribes, either inſtigated by their own ferocity and reſentment, or the influence of Europeans inimical to the United States, were ever ready to moleſt the young ſettlements. Jealous of their encroachments, the natives viewed them with ſuch an hoſtile eye, that no treaties were binding: when a favorable opportunity preſented, they always attacked the whites, perhaps from the ſame impulſe that in human nature prompts all mankind, whether civilized or ſavage, to reſiſt the invaders of his territory.

Indeed their condition and their ſufferings, from the firſt emigration of the Europeans, their corruptions in conſequence thereof, their

wars, and their extirpation from a vaſt tract of the American continent, muſt excite a ſolemn pauſe in the breaſt of the philoſopher, while he ſurveys the wretchedneſs of ſavage life, and ſighs over its miſery. Yet he is not relieved when he contemplates the havoc among civilized nations, the changes in ſociety, the proſtration of principle, and the revolutions permitted by Providence in this ſpeck of creation.

The rivers of blood through which mankind generally wade to empire and greatneſs, muſt draw out the tear of compaſſion; and every ſympathetic boſom will commiſerate the ſufferings of the whole human race, either friends or foes, whether dying by the ſword, ſickneſs or remorſe, under the ſplendid canopy reared by their own guilty hands. Theſe with equal pity look into the wilderneſs; they ſee the naked hunter groaning out his fierce ſoul on his native turf, ſlain by the tomahawk of his own ſavage tribe, or wounded by ſome neighbouring hordes, that prowl through an exiſtence little elevated above the brute. Both ſtages of ſociety excite compaſſion, and both intimate to the rational mind, that this is but the road to a more improved, and exalted ſtate of exiſtence.

But the unhappy race of men hutted throughout the vaſt wilderneſs of America, were the

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original proprietors of the ſoil; and if they have not civilization they have valor; if they have not patriotiſm they have a predilection to country, and are tenacious of their hunting grounds. However the generous or humane mind may revolt at the idea, there appears a probability, that they will be hunted from the vaſt American continent, if not from off the face of the globe, by Europeans of various deſcriptions, aided by the intereſted Americans, who all conſider valor in an Indian, only as a higher degree of ferocity.

Their ſtrenuous efforts to retain the boundaries aſſigned them by nature and providence, are viewed with contempt by thoſe deſcriptions of perſons, or rather as a ſanction to their own rapacity, and a warrant from heaven to exterminate the hapleſs race. But "the rivers, the "mountains, the deſerts, the ſavages clad in ar-"mor, with other deſtroyers of men," as well as the voice of heaven, and their natural boundaries, forbid theſe encroachments on the naked foreſter, content with the produce of nature in his own grounds, and the game that plays in his own wild woods, which his anceſtors have poſſeſſed from time immemorial.

The ideas of ſome Europeans as well as Americans, that the rude tribes of ſavages cannot be civilized by the kind and humane endeavours of their neighbours, is abſurd and un-

founded. What were once the ancestors of the most refined and polite modern nations, but rude, ignorant savages, inured to all the barbarous customs and habits of present existing tribes? Nature has been equal in its operations, with regard to the whole human species. There is no difference in the moral or intellectual capacity of nations, but what arises from adventitious circumstances, that give some a more early and rapid improvement in civilization than others. This gradual rise from the rude stages of nature to the highest pitch of refinement, may be traced by the historian, the philosopher, and the naturalist, sufficiently to obviate all objections against the strongest efforts, to instruct and civilize the swarms of men in the American wilds, whose only natural apparent distinction, is a copper-colored skin. When the present war ceases to rage, it is hoped that humanity will teach Americans of a fairer complexion, to use the most strenuous efforts to instruct them in arts, manufactures, morals, and religion, instead of aiming at their extermination.

It is true at this period, when war was raging through all the United States, few of the tribes of the wilderness appeared to be contented with their own native inheritance. They were every where stimulated by the British government to hostility, and most of the inhabitants of the wilderness seemed to be in array

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againſt their former colonies. This created a neceſſity in congreſs, to act offenſively againſt the rude and barbarous nations. Defenſive war againſt any nation, whether civilized or ſavage, is undoubtedly juſtifiable both in a moral and political view. But attempts to penetrate diſtant countries, and ſpread ſlaughter and bloodſhed among innocent and unoffending tribes, too diſtant to awaken fears, and too ſimple and unſuſpicious to expect approaching deſtruction from thoſe they had never injured, has no warrant from Heaven.

Even in the preſent war, inſtances may be adduced of the effects of civilization, which often ſoften the moſt ſavage manners; one of which may be here recorded. A part of the Muſkingum tribe had profeſſed themſelves Chriſtians of the Moravian ſect. They conſidered war of any kind as inconſiſtent both with the laws of religion and humanity. They refuſed to take any part with the numerous hoſtile tribes of ſavages, in the war againſt the Americans. They obſerved with more rationality and conſideration than is generally diſcovered in more civilized nations, "that the "Great Spirit did not make men to deſtroy, "but to aſſiſt and comfort each other."

They perſiſted in this placid deameanor, until ſome of their ſavage neighbours were ſo enraged, that they forcibly removed them from

their former ſettlement; and after committing great cruelties, and deſtroying a number of them, placed the remainder near the Sanduſky. Their removal was in conſequence of orders from the Britiſh commander at Detroit. They remained for ſome time in the enjoyment of their own ſimple habits; but ſome ſuſpicions were afterwards infuſed among the ſettlers on the Monongahela, that their diſpoſitions were not friendly to the Americans. It is painful to relate, that on this ſlight pretence, a number of Americans embodied themſelves and marched to the Moravian town, where the principal men had repaired by permiſſion, to reap the harveſt they had left ſtanding in the fields. The Americans followed them, and barbarouſly murdered the whole of this innocent and inoffenſive band.

The whites at firſt decoyed them by a friendly appearance, which induced them to collect themſelves together; when thus collected, they, without reſiſtance, ſuffered themſelves to be bound and inhumanly butchered. They died profeſſing their full expectation, that their troubles would ſoon be at an end. Thus they fell as martyrs to religion, by the hands of a people who had much longer profeſſed themſelves adherents to the principles of Chriſtianity.

This inſtance of the treachery and cruelty of the whites, is one among many other proofs, of

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the truth of an obſervation made by a gentleman* afterwards, "that the white ſavages "were generally more ſavage than the copper-"colored; and that nine times out of ten, the "ſettlers on the borders were the aggreſſors: "that he had ſeen many of the natives who "were priſoners at fort Waſhington; that they "appeared to be poſſeſſed of much ſenſibility "and gratitude: that he had diſcovered ſome "ſingular inſtances of this among them, very "honorable to the human character, before the "advantages or the examples of civilized nations "had reached their borders."

In ſhort, no arguments are neceſſary to adduce the truth, or impreſs on the minds either of the philoſopher or the politician, that it will be the indiſpenſable duty of the American government, when quietly eſtabliſhed by the reſtoration of peace, to endeavour to ſoften and civilize, inſtead of exterminating the rude nations of the interior. This will undoubtedly be attempted in ſome future period, when uncultivated reaſon may be aſſiſted; when arts, agriculture, ſcience, and true religion, may enlighten the dark corners which have been obſcured by ignorance and ferocity, for countleſs ages. The embrowned, duſky wilderneſs,

* A young American officer of great ſenſibility and penetration, who fell at the battle at the Miamis, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-one.

has exhibited multitudes of men, little diſtinguiſhed from the fierce animals they hunted, except in their external form. Yet, in a few inſtances, the dignity of human nature has been diſcovered by traits of reaſon and humanity, which wanted only the advantages of education, to diſplay genius and ability equal to any among the nations, that have hunted millions of thoſe unhappy people out of exiſtence, ſince the diſcovery of America by Europeans. But it is a pleaſing anticipation, that the American revolution may be a means in the hands of Providence, of diffuſing univerſal knowledge over a quarter of the globe, that for ages had been enveloped in darkneſs, ignorance, and barbariſm.

CHAPTER XIV.

Foreign Negociations.—Diſſenſions among the American Commiſſioners.—Deane recalled.—Mr. Adams appointed.—Mr. Lee and Mr. Adams recalled.—Spain declares War againſt England.—Mr. Jay ſent to the Court of Madrid.—Sir George Collier's Expedition to Virginia—His ſudden Recal—Ravages on the North River.—Depredations in the State of Connecticut, in aid of Governor Tryon and his Partizans.—General Waſhington ſeizes Stoney Point—Recovered by the Britiſh.—Penobſcot Expedition.—Deſtruction of the American Navy.

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IT has already been obſerved, that in an early ſtage of the American conteſt, ſome gentlemen were deputed to negociate, and to endeavour to ſecure the aſſiſtance of ſeveral European nations. This had had ſuch an effect, that at the period we are now upon, the United States were in ſtrict alliance with France, and were conſidered in a partial and reſpectful light by ſome of the firſt powers in Europe. Yet difficulties both at home and abroad, which had ſcarcely been viewed in theory were now realized and felt with poignancy, by the true friends of their country.

The objects that employed the abilities of congreſs at this period, were of ſuch magnitude,

as required the experience of ancient ſtateſmen, the coolneſs of long practiſed politicians, and the energies of virtue.

The articles of confederation offered to the conſideration of each legiſlative in the ſeveral ſtates, in one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſix, had been rejected by ſome, and ſuſpended by others. It is true they were now recently ratified by all of them, but were ſcarcely yet eſtabliſhed on a permanent baſis.*

They had to arrange, harmonize, and ſupport the new permanent army, collected from every part of the union, and now interwoven with foreign volunteers from different European nations: and in the rear of every other difficulty at home, they had to guard with all poſſible diſcretion, againſt the innumerable moral and political evils, ever the inevitable conſequence of a depreciating currency.

Abroad they had a taſk of equal difficulty, to heal the animoſities that exiſted, and to conciliate the differences that had ariſen among the American miniſters at the court of France, or to prevent the fatal conſequences of their virulence towards each other. This was ex-

* See Appendix, Note No. V.

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preſſed in ſtrong language in their letters to congreſs, nor was it a ſecret in the courts of England or France, and in ſome inſtances, perhaps it was fomented by both.

In the infancy of congreſs, in the magnitude of the new ſcenes that were opening before them, and in the critical emergencies that ſprung up on untrodden ground, they, through hurry or inexperience, had not in all inſtances, ſelected men of the moſt impeccable characters, to negociate with foreign powers. Perhaps in ſome of their appointments, they did not always look ſo much at the integrity of the heart, as at the capacity of the man for the arts of intrigue, the ready addreſs, and the ſupple accompliſhments neceſſary for the courtier, both to inſure his own reception with princes, and to complete the wiſhes of his employers, in his negociations with practiſed ſtateſmen.

Silas Deane, eſquire, a delegate to congreſs from the ſtate of Connecticut, was the firſt perſon who had been veſted with a foreign commiſſion. He embarked as a commercial agent in behalf of the United States, in one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſix; and was afterwards named in the honorable commiſſion for a treaty of alliance with the court of France, in conjunction with doctor Franklin and Arthur Lee, eſquire.

Mr. Deane had nothing to recommend him to ſuch a diſtinguiſhed and important appointment, except a degree of mercantile experience, combined with a certain ſecrecy or cunning, that wore the appearance of knowing things much beyond his ability, and the art of impoſing a temporary belief of a penetration far beyond his capacity. His weakneſs and oſtentation, his duplicity, extravagance, and total want of principle, were ſoon diſcovered by his conſtituents: but they placed the moſt unlimited confidence in the great abilities, profound knowledge, and unſhaken patriotiſm, of the venerable and philoſophic Franklin. His warm attachment to his native country, had been evinced in numberleſs inſtances, during his long reſidence in England as agent to the Britiſh court, both for the Maſſachuſetts and the ſtate of Pennſylvania.

Before he left England in one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five, he had taken unwearied pains to reconcile, on the principles of equity and ſound policy, the breach between Great Britain and America. In the beginning of hoſtilities he repaired to Philadelphia, was choſen a member of congreſs, and by his decided republican principles, ſoon became a favorite in the councils of America, a ſtable prop of her independence, and the moſt able and influential negociator they could ſend abroad.

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The character and principles of Mr. Arthur Lee, gave equal reason to expect his most energetic endeavours, to support the interest and weal of America. He had resided in England for several years, as agent for the state of Virginia. Invariably attached to his native country, and indefatigable in his efforts to ward off the impending evils that threatened it, he had communicated much useful intelligence and advantageous advice, to the patriotic leaders in various parts of America; and by his spirited writings and diligent exertions, he procured them many friends in England. He was a man of a clear understanding, great probity, plain manners, and strong passions. Though he loved America sincerely, he had at this period great respect and affection for the parent state; and his predilection in favor of Britain appeared strongly, when balanced with the idea of an American connexion with the house of Bourbon.

The celebrity of doctor Franklin has been so just and so extensive, that it is painful even for the impartial historian, who contemplates the superiority of his genius, to record the foibles of the man; but intoxicated by the warm caresses and unbounded applauses of all ranks, among a people where the art of pleasing is systematized, he appeared, notwithstanding his age and experience, in a short time after his resi-

dence in France, little less a Gallican than an American. This might be from policy. It was said however, that he attached himself to the interest of the count de Vergennes, who, though he countenanced the American revolution, and co-operated in measures that completed it, yet it was afterwards discovered, that he secretly wished to embarrass their councils, and dreaded the rising glory of the United States. Whatever suggestions there might have been, it was never supposed that doctor Franklin was led off from his attachment to the interest of America: yet this distinguished sage became susceptible of a court influence, that startled his jealous and more frigid colleague, Mr. Lee.

Thus the trio of American agents at the court of France, were designated by peculiar traits of character: yet the respectability of Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee was never lessened, either at home or abroad, notwithstanding some variation of opinion. But Mr. Deane, immersed in the pleasures of a voluptuous city, a dupe to the intrigues of deeper politicians, not awed by the aged philosopher the tool of the French minister, and the supple instrument of military characters, ambitious of rising in the fair field of glory in America, he wasted the property, and bartered away the honors of his country, by promising offices of rank to fifty gentlemen at a time. He sent many of these on to

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America, with the moſt flattering expectations of promotion, and even with ideas of ſuperſeding the previous appointments of congreſs.

Many of the French officers who arrived on the American continent at this early period, with theſe fallacious hopes, were men of real merit, military experience, and diſtinguiſhed rank; but it was impoſſible for congreſs to provide for them all according to their views, without deranging the whole army, and diſguſting many of their beſt officers. Thus diſappointed, ſome of them returned to France, under a cloud of chagrin that was not eaſily diſſipated.

The indiſcretion of Mr. Deane did not terminate with his engagements to individual ſtrangers; for while he embarraſſed congreſs and the army with his contracts, and his country by ſquandering the public monies, he had the audacity to propoſe in a letter to a perſon of influence, that a foreign prince ſhould be invited to the command of the armies of the United States.*

From the outlines of theſe heterogeneous characters, it is not ſtrange that the moſt incu-

* Deane in this letter named prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, as a ſuitable commander for the armies of the free Americans.

rable animosities took place among the commissioners, and arose to such a height as to endanger the interests of an infant republic.

Indeed the fate of America in some measure depended on the vigor, integrity, prudence, and unanimity of her ministers abroad; but dissension ran to such a pitch among them, that it exposed them not only to the censure of their country, but to the derision of Britain. Consequently, an immediate recal of some of the American commissioners became necessary, and an order passed in congress, December, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, that Silas Deane, esquire, should immediately return to America. No reasons were offered for his recal; and Mr. John Adams of the state of Massachusetts, was chosen to succeed as commissioner in behalf of the United States, at the court of France.

Mr. Deane arrived in America a short time after the treaty with France had been received, and ratified by congress. He assumed an air of importance and self-confidence; and as guilt frequently sends a hue and cry after justice, in order to hoodwink the multitude, and calls loudly for vengeance on such as are about to detect its villany, he offered a most inflammatory address to the public, complaining of ill usage, and vilifying Mr. Lee in the grossest terms. He criminated every part of his public

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conduct, charged him with betraying his truft, correfponding with gentlemen in England, impeding as much as poffible the alliance with France, and difclofing the fecrets of congrefs to Britifh noblemen. At the fame time, he caft the moft virulent and infidious reflections on his brother, William Lee, agent for congrefs at the courts of Vienna and Berlin.

He claimed much merit relative to the treaty of alliance with France, and complained heavily that congrefs delayed giving him an opportunity of vindicating his own character, by an immediate public inveftigation. By thefe bold fuggeftions and allegations, fo injurious to congrefs and to their minifters, the public mind was for a time greatly agitated. But the attack on individual character, was defeated by the exertions of fome very able writers,* who laid open the iniquitous defigns and practices of the delinquent and his abettors; while congrefs parried the abufe, they defended their own meafures, and quieted the clamors of a party againft themfelves, by calling Mr. Deane to a hearing on the floor of their houfe.

With the guife of innocence and the effrontery of guilt, he evaded the fcrutiny, by plead-

* Mr. Drayton and others. Alfo Mr. Paine, author of a pamphlet entitled Common Senfe. See fome obfervations on his character, Appendix, Note No. VI.

ing that his papers and vouchers were all left in Europe, where, he alleged, the neceſſity of his own private affairs required his immediate preſence. In ſhort, though it was obvious that he had abuſed his commiſſion, rioted long at the public expenſe, and groſsly ſlandered ſome of its moſt faithful ſervants, yet by the influence of certain characters within, and a tenderneſs for ſome without, who might be expoſed by too ſtrict an inveſtigation, congreſs were induced to ſuffer him again to leave the continent and return to Europe, though not as a public character, yet without puniſhment or judicial cenſure. He afterwards wandered from court to court, and from city to city, for ſeveral years: at laſt, reduced to the extreme of poverty and wretchedneſs, he died miſerably in England.

Parties ran very high in congreſs, relative to the diſſenſions among their miniſters. Mr. Lee had many friends in that aſſembly; Dr. Franklin had more; and it was neceſſary for ſome mercantile ſpeculators in that body, to endeavour to throw a veil over the character of Mr. Deane, that under its ſhade, the beams of clearer light might not too deeply penetrate their own.

Mr. Robert Morris, a member of congreſs from the ſtate of Pennſylvania, had undoubt-

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edly been concerned in ſome very profitable contracts, in company with ſeveral French and American gentlemen, beſides Mr. Deane; and under the ſanction of public negociations, the moſt lucrative trade was carried on, and the fortunes of individuals accumulated beyond calculation.

Monſieur Gerard, the French miniſter reſiding in Philadelphia, was warmly attached to Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane, and not leſs diſguſted with Mr. Lee. It may be obſerved, that there are few public miniſters ſo tenacious of the dignity of their own character and conduct, as not occaſionally to deſcend to rank among partizans, and exert the influence of public character to gratify private intereſt or reſentment. Thus Mr. Gerard, an idolizer of Dr. Franklin, ſupported Mr. Deane, offered penſions to take off the defenders of Mr. Lee, and inſtead of retaining the ſuperiority of an ambaſſador from one of the firſt monarchs in Europe, appeared the champion of a club of merchants and ſpeculators. He reſided but a ſhort time in America: the chevalier de la Luzerne ſuperſeded him as ambaſſador to the United States, in the ſummer of one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine. The reaſons of his recal do not appear; but it was undoubtedly a prudent meaſure in the court of France, not to ſuffer a miniſter to continue, after he had diſcovered himſelf attached to a party.

Within a few months after Congreſs had made a new arrangement of miniſters, and Mr. Adams had been ſent on in the room of Mr. Deane, both Mr. Adams and Mr. Lee were directed to repair immediately to America; and Dr. Franklin was appointed ſole miniſter at the court of France. *Americans*, it is true, were early initiated in the ſpirit of intrigue, but they were not yet ſo thoroughly acquainted with the manœuvres of courts, as to inveſtigate the neceſſity of the ſudden recal of thoſe gentlemen.

Mr. Lee had been very ſeverely cenſured by many for his want of addreſs, and his unaccommodating ſpirit at the French court. Nor had he been more ſucceſsful in his negociations with Spain. He had reſided ſome months at Madrid, as commercial agent, with powers if practicable to negociate a treaty, or to obtain a loan of money for the uſe of the United States. But he was unacceptable to the court; and though he had the abilities of a ſtateſman, he was without the addreſs of a courtier; and his negociations in Spain redounded little to the advantage of America. Yet ſuch was his integrity, that he found it not difficult on his arrival in his own country, to reinſtate himſelf fully in the good opinion of the public, and to wipe from his character the aſperſions of malice or prejudice.

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Mr. Adams returned rather disgusted at the early revocation of his commission, and the unexpected order thus speedily to leave the court of France. He did not himself repair to congress, but retired privately to his seat in Braintree, where he employed himself for a time, in preparing a concise statement of the situation and political connexions of the different powers of Europe, which he laid before congress, with his opinion of their interests and their views relative to America, and recommended the pursuance of every step, that might tend to strengthen the alliance with France. Nothing can more strongly exhibit the pride Mr. Adams felt in the Gallican alliance, and his zeal for supporting it, than the expressions contained in his own letters on this subject, on his first residence at the court of France.

But in Mr. Adams's communications to congress, he advised them strenuously and invariably "to guard against their principles in gov-"ernment, and the manners that were so op-"posite to the constitutions of America, and "the character of a young people, who might "hereafter be called to form establishments for "a great nation."* Mr. Adams continued in

* This was under the despotism of kings. It was monarchic principles and manners that Mr. Adams then admonished his countrymen to avoid. See his letter to congress, August the fourth, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine.

this retired and mortified ſituation for ſome months; but we ſhall ſee in its place, he was afterwards called upon to tranſact affairs of a very high and important nature.

It was obvious to every one, that from the family intereſt and connexion between the courts of France and Spain, the latter would undoubtedly co-operate with the views and deſigns of the former; but no treaty, alliance, or any public countenance had yet been given to the Americans, by the court of Madrid. Spain had oſcillated between peace and war for ſeveral years. She had offered herſelf as mediatrix among the contending powers: but inſulted on the ſeas, and her interference rejected by Britain, ſhe appeared in June, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine, to act a more decided part. The marquis de Almodovar, the Spaniſh ambaſſador in London, delivered a reſcript to lord Weymouth about this time, couched in language that amounted to a declaration of war.

On theſe movements in Europe, congreſs thought proper again to ſend an envoy to the court of Spain. John Jay, eſquire, a gentleman from the ſtate of New York, was appointed to this miſſion, September the twenty-ſeventh, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine. His capacity was equal to the buſineſs: he was well received, and his public character ac-

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knowledged: yet his negociations were of little consequence to America, while he resided in Spain. Perhaps apprehensive that the spirit of freedom and revolt might extend to her own colonies, Spain chose to withhold her assistance.

No treaty with the United States was effected by Mr. Jay's mission, no concessions with regard to the free navigation of the Missisippi, or any security for trade to the Bay of Honduras, were obtained. On these important points he was directed to negociate, as well as to solicit a loan of money, sufficient to assist the United States in the pursuit of their measures. But no loan of money of any consequence, was to be drawn from the frigid and wary Spaniards. Notwithstanding the necessities of America were fully exposed by her minister, the highest favor he could obtain was, the trivial loan of four or five thousand pounds.

Spain had no predilection in favor of the independence of the British colonies. She had always governed her own plantations beyond the Atlantic, with a very arbitrary and despotic hand. Their contiguity and intercourse with the North Americans led her to fear, that the spirit of freedom might be contagious, and their own subjects there so far infected, as to render it necessary to keep themselves in reserve against future contingencies. This they had done for some time after a war was an-

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nounced between Great Britain and France; but it was impoſſible for them to continue longer neutral. France was now involved in war, and decidedly ſupporting the Americans, and England, in expectation of a union of intereſts, and a modification of the ſame line of conduct, in the courts of the ſeveral branches of the houſe of Bourbon, had in various inſtances diſcovered a hoſtile diſpoſition, and ſtood in a menacing poſture, as if both her ſword and her flag were ready to meet the conjoined forces of both France and Spain.

His catholic majeſty thought it impoſſible for him longer to delay an explicit declaration of his intentions. He publiſhed a long manifeſto, giving the reaſons for a declaration of war. He ordered his ambaſſador to retire from the court of London, without taking leave, and in a ſchedule publiſhed by order, great moderation was profeſſed. In a paper delivered to lord Weymouth by the marquis de Almodovar, it was obſerved, that "the "cauſes of complaint given by the court of "London not having ceaſed, and that court "ſhewing no diſpoſitions to give reparation "for them, the king has reſolved, and orders "his ambaſſador to declare, that the honor of "his crown, the protection which he owes to "his ſubjects, and his own perſonal dignity, do "not permit him to ſuffer their inſults to con-"tinue, and to neglect any longer the repara-

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"tion of thoſe already received; and that in "this view, notwithſtanding the pacific diſpo- "ſitions of his majeſty, and even the particular "inclination he had always had and expreſſed, "for cultivating the friendſhip of his Britannic "majeſty, he finds himſelf under the diſagree- "ble neceſſity of making uſe of all the means "which the Almighty has entruſted him with, "to obtain that juſtice which he has ſolicited "by ſo many ways, without being able to ac- "quire it.

"In conſiding on the juſtice of his cauſe, his "majeſty hopes, that the conſequences of this "reſolution will not be imputed to him before "God or man; and that other nations will "form a ſuitable idea of this reſolution, by "comparing it to the conduct which they "themſelves have experienced, on the part of "the Britiſh miniſtry."

While things ſtood thus in the courts of Great Britain, France, and Spain, the indeciſive movements for a time in the ſouthern ſtates of America, engaged the public attention, and awakened anxious apprehenſions for the reſult; at the ſame time that a ſcene of rapine and plunder was ſpread through the central parts, Virginia, New York, and Connecticut.

The predatory excurſions of this year were begun early in the ſummer. An expedition to

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the Chesapeake, under the command of sir George Collier of the navy and general Matthews of the army, served no other purpose than to alarm, distress, and impoverish the towns of Portsmouth, Suffolk, and other places in the state of Virginia, that fell under their spirit of conflagration. They stayed but a short time there: after enriching themselves with the spoils of the inhabitants, and leaving many of those who had once basked in the lap of affluence, the houseless children of poverty, they left the state, by order of the British commander in chief.

The pleasant line of towns bordering on Long Island Sound, in the state of Connecticut, were the next who felt the severe consequences of this mode of war, from British troops supported and covered by the squadron under sir George Collier, who was recalled from the Chesapeake to aid similar measures farther north.

About the beginning of July, governor Tryon with a number of disaffected Americans, and general Garth with a ravaging party of British troops and German *yaughers*, landed at New Haven, took possession of the town with little resistance, plundered and insulted the inhabitants, on whom every cruelty was perpetrated, ex-

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cept burning their houſes: this was delayed from their thirſt for plunder, and the barbarous abuſe of the haplefs females who fell ſacrifices to their wanton and riotous appetites. Hurried afterwards by their avarice for new ſcenes of plunder and miſery, they left New Haven and repaired to Fairfield, where they landed on the ſeventh of the month.

This place ſuffered a ſtill more cruel and ſevere fate. Their landing at Fairfield was but feebly oppoſed: the militia indeed made a faint reſiſtance, but ſoon retreated, and left their property and in many inſtances their families, to the mercy of the enemy. This was not altogether from the want of courage, but from a conſciouſneſs of their own comparative weakneſs, and a ſtrange deluſive opinion, that the generoſity and compaſſion of the Britiſh would be exerciſed towards them, when they found only a few women, children, and aged men left, who ſeemed to have thrown themſelves on their compaſſion.

The hiſtorian would willingly draw a veil over the wanton outrages committed on the wretched inhabitants left in the town, moſt of them of the feebler ſex. Some of them, the firſt characters in the place, from a wiſh to ſave their property, and an indiſcreet confidence in the honor of governor Tryon, with whom they had been perſonally acquainted, and who had

formerly received many civilities at their houſes, riſked their own perſons and their honor, amidſt the fury of a conquering enemy, on a kind of ſham protection from a man who had forgotten the obligations of politeneſs, and the gratitude due to thoſe who had treated him with every mark of genteel hoſpitality.

The principal ladies of Fairfield, who from their little knowledge of the world, of the uſages of armies, or the general conduct of men, when circumſtances combine to render them ſavage, could not eſcape the brutality of the ſoldiery, by ſhewing their protections from governor Tryon. Their houſes were rifled, their perſons abuſed, and after the general pillage and burning of every thing valuable in the town, ſome of theſe miſerable victims of ſorrow were found half diſtracted in the ſwamps and in the fields, whither they had fled in the agonies of deſpair.

Tryon endeavoured afterwards to exculpate his own character, and made ſome futile excuſes for his conduct. He would have juſtified himſelf on the principles of policy, when he felt the indignation expreſſed againſt him for his want of humanity; but policy, reaſon, and virtue, equally revolt at modes of war, that eradicate from the mind not only the moral feelings, but the ſenſe of decency, civility, and politeneſs.

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The avidity of this party was by no means fatiated by the diſtreſſes of New Haven, and the total deſtruction of Fairfield: the neighbouring towns of Norwalk and Greenfield ſuffered a ſimilar fate: the waſte of property in ſhipping and merchandize, was there more complete. The whole coaſt equally defenceleſs and expoſed to their ravages, expected to fall in the ſame way; but, whether from compunction or policy is uncertain, whichever it might be, ſir Henry Clinton thought proper to check the career of depredation, ſo grateful to the feelings of Tryon and his partiſans, by a ſudden recal within ten days of their landing at New Haven.

Meantime general Waſhington had kept himſelf in a defenſive and reſpectable ſituation, in the central parts of America, but without a movement for any very capital ſtroke, after the derangement of a well concerted plan for an attack on the city of New York. He had expected the aid of the French ſquadron from the Weſt Indies, to facilitate this judicious meaſure: the militia of ſeveral ſtates had been collected to aſſiſt in the deſign: the army was in high ſpirits; ſanguine expectations were formed; and every thing promiſed ſucceſs to the enterpriſe. But the count de Eſtaing, perhaps ambitious to ſubjugate one of the ſtates to the arms of his maſter, and not dreaming of effectual reſiſtance to a force, both by land and

ſea, that might reaſonably be thought ſufficient for the moſt capital enterpriſe; inſtead of uniting firſt with general Waſhington, and covering his attempt on New York by a reſpectable neceſſary naval force, he thought proper to hazard the reduction of Georgia on his way, and then repair northward.

But his attack on Savannah, his unexpected repulſe and retreat, not only retarded, but totally prevented the deciſive ſtroke contemplated by Waſhington, nor leſs apprehended by Clinton, who was thereby induced to order the evacuation of Newport, and draw off all his troops from that quarter. Newport and its environs had been infeſted with the inconvenience and miſery of an army and navy on their borders, from the ſeizure of that place by earl Percy, in one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſix, to their relief in the preſent year.

The circumſtances above related, put it out of the power of general Waſhington to proſecute the feaſible ſyſtem he had meditated. The militia were diſmiſſed, and many of the continental troops returned as uſual, at the expiration of their term of enliſtment. General Clinton had made ſeveral attempts to draw the American commander from his ſtrong and defenſible poſt in the Jerſies, as well as to induce him to divide his army, to oppoſe the deſultory invaſions and depredations on the de-

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fenceleſs ſea-coaſt. But general Waſhington very well knew the advantages he might loſe by weakening the main body of his army, and was too wiſe and judicious to be enſnared by the manœuvres of the Britiſh commander.

The firſt object of ſir George Collier's ſpeedy recal from the ravage of the borders of Virginia, was to co-operate with general Vaughan, in the important movements on the North River. The principal deſign of this project was, to obtain ſome important poſts on the Hudſon. General Vaughan, who had before been diſtinguiſhed for his feats there, ſtill commanded on the Hudſon, but higher up the river. On the arrival of the ſquadron commanded by ſir George Collier, they united, and immediately made themſelves maſters of Stoney Point on the one ſide, and Verplank's Neck on the other.

After theſe places had been diſmantled the preceding autumn by ſir Henry Clinton, the Americans had in part repaired the works. In each poſt they behaved with ſpirit and reſolution; but as their numbers were inconſiderable, and their works unfiniſhed, they ſoon ſurrendered priſoners of war, on the ſingle condition of humane treatment.

Not many days after this event, general Waſhington ordered a detachment of his moſt

active troops, under the command of general Wayne, to attempt the recovery of Stoney Point. This bold and vigorous enterprise was conducted in a manner peculiarly honorary both to the officers and soldiers, but not altogether so consistent with humanity. They were directed not to load their pieces, but to depend on the bayonet: one who appeared discontented at the order, was shot on the occasion. Though this summary mode of punishment is severe, it was designed to prevent the effusion of blood: doubtless, had the British been early alarmed by the fire of the American arms, the carnage would have been greater.

The works had been repaired and strengthened with great alacrity, and two British regiments, some loyal Americans, and several companies of artillery, left in garrison by general Vaughan. On the evening of the fifth of July, after a difficult and hazardous march, Wayne reached, surprised, and recovered the post, in spite of the valiant opposition within. Colonel Fleury, an amiable, ambitious, and spirited young Frenchman, had the honor and peculiar pleasure of striking the British standard with his own hand. This youthful officer had received the thanks of congress, and the honorary rewards of the soldier, for his distinguished bravery in several previous rencounters.

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General Wayne was himself slightly wounded in this enterprise; but the united applauses of the commander in chief, of congress, and of his country, which he received, would have been ample compensation for more painful wounds, or much severer fatigue. The acquisition of this post was more honorary than important: an attempt to have held it would have been fruitless: it had been previously determined in a council of war, that on the success of Wayne, the works should be demolished, and the stores brought off.

Sir Henry Clinton immediately set his whole army in motion for the relief of Verplanks, which was momently expected to surrender to the American arms, and for the recovery of Stoney Point. He succeeded to his wishes; and after only three days possession, this contested spot a third time changed its masters; and the command of the whole river for a time, continued in the hands of the British.

Several other manœuvres took place about this time near New York, and the more central parts of the country, that kept up the spirit of enterprise, and the honor of the arms of the states: but a more consequential affair occupied the public attention, in the eastern extreme of the American territory. A colonel Maclean had been sent with a party of British troops from Halifax, to land at the mouth of

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the Penobſcot, within the juriſdiction of the Maſſachuſetts. He erected a fort, and eſtabliſhed a ſtrong poſt in a convenient ſituation for haraſſing the trade, and diſtreſſing the young ſettlements bordering on the province of Nova Scotia. When this intelligence was received at Boſton, the hardy and enterpriſing ſpirit of the men of Maſſachuſetts did not heſitate to make immediate preparation to diſlodge an enemy, whoſe temerity had led them to encroach on their ſtate.

It had been only four years ſince the commencement of hoſtilities with Britain. America was then not only without a navy, but without a ſingle ſhip of war. The idea of conſtructing and equipping a maritime force, was ridiculed by ſome, and thought chimerical and impracticable by others: but the human mind is generally capable of accompliſhing whatever it has reſolution to undertake.

By the induſtry and vigilance of public bodies and private adventurers, they had in this ſhort period acquired a navy, that a century before would have made a reſpectable figure among the moſt warlike nations: and within ten days after Maclean's attempt was known at Boſton, the Warren, a handſome new frigate of force, commanded by commodore Saltonſtall, and ſev-

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enteen other continental, ſtate, and private ſhips, were equipped, manned, victualled, and ready for ſea. They were accompanied by an equal number of tranſports, with a conſiderable body of land forces, who embarked in high ſpirits, and with the ſanguine expectation of a ſhort and ſucceſsful expedition.

This buſineſs was principally conducted by the ſtate legiſlature; nor would the gentlemen of the continental navy board conſent to hazard the public ſhips, unleſs the commanding officers were poſitively enjoined to execute their deſign immediately. They were apprehenſive that any delay might give opportunity to ſend a ſuperior force from New York. From the dilatory conduct of the Americans, after they reached Penobſcot, theſe apprehenſions were realized; and before any efficient movements had taken place, ſir George Collier with a heavy ſquadron under his command, appeared for the relief of Maclean.

General Lovell who commanded by land, was a man of little military experience, and never made for enterpriſe ſufficient to diſlodge the Britiſh from a poſt of conſequence, or in any way complete an undertaking, that required deciſion, promptitude, and judgment. Commodore Saltonſtall proved himſelf a character of as little enterpriſe, and in this inſtance, of

leſs ſpirit, than the commander of the troops deſigned to act on ſhore.

Thus by the ſhameful delay of both, and to the mortification of many brave officers who accompanied them, the expedition terminated in the diſgrace of both army and navy, and the total deſtruction of the fleet. On the firſt appearance of ſir George Collier, the American ſhipping moved up the river, with a ſhew of reſiſtance, but in reality to eſcape by land, from an enemy they ſeemed not to have expected, nor had the courage to face. Two of their beſt ſhips fell into the hands of the Britiſh: the remainder, lighted by their own hands, ſuffered a complete conflagration. The panic-ſtruck troops, after leaving their own ſhips, chagrined at the conduct of Saltonſtall, and diſguſted with the inactivity, indeciſion, and indiſcretion of Lovell, made their eſcape through the woods, in ſmall, indiſcriminate parties of ſoldiers and ſailors. On their way they agreed on nothing, but in railing at their officers, and ſuffering the natural ebullitions of diſappointment to ſpend itſelf in mutual reproaches. With fatigue, hunger, and difficulty, they reached the ſettlements on the Kennebec, and brought the intelligence of their own defeat.

It was not in the power of the infant ſtates to repair their maritime loſs during the war; and to complete the ruin of their little navy,

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ſome of their beſt ſhips were loſt in the defence of Charleſton, the year following, as will be ſeen hereafter. What added to the mortification of this laſt ſtroke was, that theſe ſhips were prepared and ready to ſail, in order to proſecute a very flattering expedition projected by the gentlemen of the navy board, in the eaſtern department, when they received an expreſs order from congreſs, to ſend them to South Carolina.

Scarcely any ſingle event during the great conteſt, cauſed more triumph to Britain, than this total demolition of the beginning of an American navy. So ſucceſsful and enterpriſing had they been, that a gentleman of the firſt information has obſerved, that "the privateers "from Boſton in one year, would defray more "than one half the expenſe of that year's "war."* By their rapid progreſs, they had given the promiſe of a formidable appearance on the ocean, that in time they might become a rival, even to the proud miſtreſs of the ſeas: but this blow gave a fatal ſtroke for the preſent to all farther attempts of the kind.

After the loſs of Charleſton, the ſhip Alliance and the Deane frigate, were the only remnants left of the American navy. Theſe were

* See letters of the honorable John Adams to Mr. Calkoen.

ſoon after ſold at public auction, the navy boards diſſolved, and all maritime enterpriſe extinguiſhed, except by private adventurers. They were alſo much leſs fortunate after the loſs of the public ſhips, than they had been at the beginning of the war: it was calculated that two out of three were generally captured by the Britiſh, after the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty. Time may again revive the ambition for a naval power there, as America is abundantly replete with every thing neceſſary for the equipment of fleets of magnitude and reſpectability.

After all it may juſtly be conſidered, that the conſtructing a national fleet, is but an addition to human miſery; for beſides the vaſt expenſe of ſuch equipments, the idle and licentious habits of a vaſt body of ſailors, a naval armament is only a new engine to carry death and conflagration, to diſtant, unoffending, innocent nations. The havoc of human life on the ocean, the great balance of evil reſulting from naval engagements, if duly weighed in the ſcale of equity or humanity, might lead the nations, with one general conſent, to their total annihilation. Yet undoubtedly, the pride of empire and the ambition of kings, will ſtill induce them to oppreſs their ſubjects, for the purpoſe of enhancing their own power, by this horrid inſtrument of human carnage; and that they will continue to waft death and deſtruc-

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tion to every corner of the globe, that their maritime thunders can reach.

It is true the etiquette of modern courts usually introduces some plausible apologies, as a sort of prelude to the opening of those real scenes of war and destruction, which they are preparing to exhibit, by that monstrous engine of misery, a naval armament. "They usually "trumpet forth the godlike attributes of jus- "tice, equity, mercy, and above all, that uni- "versal benevolence and tenderness to man- "kind, with which their respective courts or "sovereigns are supposed to be infinitely endu- "ed; and deplore in the most pathetic strains, "those very evils which they are bringing on, "and those miseries which they are exerting "their utmost powers to inflict."

But it is to be feared it will be long before we shall see a combination of powers, whatever may be their professions, whose ultimate object is the establishment of universal equity, liberty, and peace among mankind. War, the scourge of the human race, either from religious or political pretences, will probably continue to torment the inhabitants of the earth, until some new dispensation shall renovate the passions, correct the vices, and elevate the mind of mortals beyond the pursuits of time.

The world has ſo long witneſſed the ſudden and dreadful devaſtation made by naval armaments, that it is unneceſſary to expatiate thereon: it is enough to obſerve, that the ſplendid diſplay of maritime power has appeared on the largeſt theatres of human action. The proudeſt cities have unexpectedly been invaded, and the inhabitants involved in miſery, by the fire of thoſe floating engines, in too many inſtances to particularize, from the firſt building up a Britiſh navy, to the early attempt of America to ſtrengthen themſelves by following the example of the parent ſtate, in building and equipping ſhips of war, in the beginning of their oppoſition to Britiſh power.

The truth of this obſervation may be evinced by a ſingle inſtance of ſurpriſe and capture, by a little ſquadron under the command of commodore Hopkins, only the ſecond year after hoſtilities commenced between Great Britain and the colonies. The American commander of a ſhip of only thirty-ſix guns, and ſeven or eight ſmaller veſſels, ſurpriſed New Providence, captured the governor, lieutenant governor, and other officers of the crown, ſeized near an hundred pieces of cannon, and carried off all the warlike ſtores on the iſland. But not habituated to the uſual cruelties exerciſed on ſuch occaſions, though they continued there two or three weeks, they offered no inſult to the inhabitants, and took poſſeſſion of no private

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property without paying for it. This was an inſtance of lenity that ſeldom falls under obſervation, where men have been longer inured to ſcenes and ſervices that harden the heart, and too frequently baniſh humanity from the breaſt of man.

The ſmall naval armament conſtructed by the United States, did not continue long enough in exiſtence, either to attempt great enterpriſe, or to become hardened by the cruel achievements conſequent on the invaſion of cities, towns, and villages, and deſolating them by the ſudden torrents of fire poured in upon their inhabitants. Some future day may, however, render it neceſſary for Americans to build and arm in defence of their extenſive ſea-board, and the preſervation of their commerce; when they may be equally emulous of maritime glory, and become the ſcourge of their fellow-men, on the ſame grade of barbarity that has been exhibited by ſome other nations.

CHAPTER XV.

A Retrospect of some Naval Transactions in the West Indies, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, and seventy-nine.—Affairs in Georgia concisely reviewed.—General Lincoln sent to take the Command at the Southward.—The Count de Estaing's Arrival in Georgia.—Savannah closely besieged by the Combined Forces of France and America—Repulsed by General Prevost.—The Count de Estaing leaves the Southern Clime.—The Count Pulaski slain in Georgia.—Some Anecdotes of Count Kosciusko.

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FROM the concise mode of narration hitherto observed in these annals, a particular detail of naval operations will not be expected. Yet it is necessary to look a little back, and observe that an insular war had raged between the British and French in the West Indies, during the winter of one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, though they had not yet received any intelligence, that a formal declaration of hostilities between those two potent nations had taken place.

The island of Dominica was seized by the marquis de Bouille, governor of Martinico, as early as September, one thousand seven hun-

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dred and ſeventy-eight; but the terms impoſed on the inhabitants by the conqueror, were ſo mild, that they ſcarcely felt the change of ſovereignty. No licentious rudeneſs, or avaricious pillage, was permitted by the humane and honorable commander, who, through all his conduct in the Weſt Indies, exhibited a ſpecimen of that generous compaſſion always honorary to the conqueror and to human nature.

The loſs of the iſland of Dominica was peculiarly mortifying to the court of St. James, as it had been ceded to Great Britain on the laſt peace, as a kind of balance of accounts, after a very expenſive war with the houſe of Bourbon.

Admiral Barrington with a conſiderable force, lay at this time at Barbadoes, in a very anxious and inactive ſtate. He had yet no orders for hoſtile operations; but he was ſoon after relieved by the arrival of five thouſand men commanded by general Grant, convoyed by ſix ſhips of the line and a number of frigates, under the direction of commodore Hotham. The want of inſtructions, and even of intelligence that might be depended on, had exceedingly embarraſſed the Britiſh admiral: but on Hotham's arrival, an expedition to the iſland of St. Lucia was proſecuted with celerity and ſucceſs.

The chevalier de Micaud, the commandant, took all the precaution of a brave and judicious officer. The main point was to prevent the completion of the British success, until he should be relieved by the arrival of the French squadron from Boston, which he had the highest reason every moment to expect. The count de Estaing had formed the design, and was in force sufficient, to have swept all the leeward islands, before the junction of admiral Barrington and commodore Hotham. But interrupted in his military progress by a second violent gale in the American seas, and seldom a favorite of fortune, he did not appear in sight of St. Lucia until the last French flag was struck. He however made some spirited, but successless efforts for the recovery of the islands. The vigilance and valor of the British commander defeated this design: to which was added the mortification of repeated disappointment, in several valiant rencounters with the bold and resolute English.

Though the count de Estaing's ships were equal in force, and experience had shewn that neither his officers nor seamen were deficient in courage, yet after he quitted St. Lucia, he apparently declined a general engagement, and within ten days withdrew to Port Royal. He was frequently insulted while there by the appearance of challenge from the British flag; but he still adhered to his own system of inac-

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tion, determined to undertake no capital ſtroke before the arrival of freſh reinforcements from Europe. It was not until the month of June, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine, that this event took place, when the arrival of monſieur de la Motte, with every thing neceſſary for the moſt vigorous naval operations, excited the count de Eſtaing to immediate enterpriſe.

The firſt object of attack was the valuable iſland of St. Vincents, which had formerly coſt much Britiſh blood to arreſt and ſecure, by the cruel attempt to exterminate the unfortunate and innocent Caraibs. After the eaſy acquiſition of this iſland, the count proceeded to the Grenades. He there landed two or three thouſand men under the command of count Dillon, a brave Iriſh officer in the French ſervice. He alſo headed a ſtrong column himſelf, and attempted to carry the moſt defenſible fortreſs by ſtorm. His ſuperiority of ſtrength inſured his ſucceſs; and lord Macartney was obliged to offer a ſurrender, on the propoſals of capitulation he had at firſt rejected; but the count received and treated the governor's flag with an unbecoming *hauteur*. He made new and ſevere propoſals in ſuch a tone of defiance and contempt, that both the governor and the inhabitants choſe rather to ſurrender at diſcretion, than to bind themſelves to ſuch hard conditions, as neither the cuſtoms of nations nor the juſtice of courts had uſually required.

There is much reason to believe, that the count de Estaing did not exercise all the lenity that ought to be expected from a brave and generous conqueror. On the contrary, after this new acquisition, the inhabitants were plundered and distressed; an unbounded license raged among the soldiery, till their excesses were checked by the humanity of count Dillon, who paid every attention to the miseries of the people; and supported by his own regiment, he rendered the condition of the conquered island less deplorable.

The capture of St. Lucia was in a degree fatal to the conquerors. The noxious air of an unhealthy island, in a burning climate, did more than the sword of France to waste the veterans of Britain. Sickness and mortality raged and cut down the troops; and the squadron weakened by the departure of admiral Byron, to convoy the homeward bound fleet of merchantmen, nothing of consequence was attempted in his absence.

When he returned, both St. Vincents and the Grenades were in the hands of the French; but so uncertain were the accounts at first received, of the wretched situation of the Grenades, that the British commander determined to hazard an attempt for their relief. This brought on a general, though not a decisive action. It was supported on both sides with lau-

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dable ſpirit and bravery; but they finally ſeparated without victory on either. Yet the proud and gallant Britons, whoſe iſland has long aſſumed the haughty ſtyle of miſtreſs of the ſeas, who have juſtly boaſted their ſuperiority in naval engagements, could not forbear to claim the advantage in this doubtful conflict. But it is certain the wounded fleets under the admirals Barrington and Byron, found ſome difficulty in reaching St. Chriſtophers, without ſome of their ſhips falling into the hands of their enemy.

The count de Eſtaing returned to Grenada; and the lillies of France waved for a ſhort time in the Weſt Indies; and the Engliſh admirals were inſulted in their turn, by the parade of the French fleet before St. Chriſtophers, in the ſame manner lord Barrington had before manœuvred in vain at Martinico, without provoking the Frenchmen to engage. After theſe partial ſucceſſes, the count de Eſtaing ſoon left the tropical ſeas, and repaired again to the American continent, where the aſſiſtance of a naval force was by this time exceedingly wanted, to aid the operations of the Americans.

The ſouthern campaign had been opened the preceding year, by the ſeizure of the capital of Georgia. Sir Henry Clinton, late in the autumn of one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-eight, had ordered a large detachment of

Heſſian, Britiſh and provincial troops, under the command of lieutenant colonel Campbell, to Savannah, to aſſiſt major general Prevoſt in further proſecuting ſome unexpected advantages he had already gained. They were eſcorted by a ſmall ſquadron under the command of commodore Parker, and arrived in the Savannah the twenty-ſeventh of December.

The ſtate of Georgia was at this time in a very weak and defenceleſs ſituation. Their frontiers were expoſed to the depredations of the ſavages; and the rude incurſions of the wild borderers who mixed with them, had often been ſo troubleſome, as to require the call of the ſouthern militia to check their outrages. Colonel Campbell landed his troops immediately on his arrival in the river, and by ſeveral ſpirited and judicious movements, poſſeſſed himſelf of the town of Savannah, the capital of the ſtate, with little or no loſs, and obliged general Robert Howe, a gentleman of North Carolina, who commanded a party of about eight hundred militia, to retreat with precipitation.

Orders had been previouſly given by ſir Henry Clinton to major general Prevoſt, the commander in chief in Eaſt Florida, to repair with all poſſible expedition, to aid the invaſion and reduction of Georgia. This active officer immediately collected his remote cantonments, and with diſpatch and perſeverance, puſhed

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his march through a hot and barren country of great extent. Surmounting innumerable difficulties and fatigue, he reached Sunbury, and took poſſeſſion of the town and garriſon, before Campbell had poſſeſſed himſelf of Savannah.

Both military ſkill and a great degree of humanity, marked this firſt important enterpriſe in the ſouth. The Britiſh commander forbid that the inhabitants not in arms ſhould be either moleſted or plundered; and by promiſes and proclamations, encouraged them to ſubmit quietly to the authority of the parent ſtate. Some acquieſced by inclination, and many impelled by neceſſity, appeared ready to enliſt under the Britiſh ſtandard; others, of more bold and independent ſentiments, made their eſcape acroſs the river, with the hope of an aſylum in South Carolina.

Theſe ſucceſſes again encouraged the diſaffected and diſorderly people, who had long infeſted the back parts of North Carolina, to renew their incurſions. Thoſe inſurgents had been apparently ſubdued, their leaders cut off, and their ſpirits broken, in the beginning of the American convulſions; but their averſion to the reigning powers in that ſtate, ſtill rankled in their breaſts: they had impatiently waited an opportunity of diſplaying it, in all the fierce and cruel modes of ſavage war, in conjunction

with the neighbouring Indians, to whom they had attached themſelves.

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They conſidered this a favorable criſis, and again left their rural occupations. They united with ſome ſcattering parties of the ſame deſcription, on the borders of South Carolina and Georgia, embodied themſelves, and in their progreſs committed every outrage, that might be expected from an armed banditti. But on an attempt to join general Prevoſt, their main body was attacked by the provincial militia, many of them cut off, and others taken priſoners; the remainder fled to the frontiers of Georgia, where, with their old aſſociates of the wilderneſs, and all others who could be collected in the back ſettlements, they united to aid general Prevoſt in his future operations.

The hazardous ſituation of Georgia, and the imminent danger of the wealthy ſtate of South Carolina, had ſpread an alarm that awakened to immediate exertion for the recovery of the one, and the ſecurity of the other. General Lincoln had ſeaſonably been ſent forward to take the command in the ſouthern department. He reached Savannah a ſhort time after colonel Campbell's arrival there; but he found himſelf not in ſo eligible a ſituation as might have been wiſhed. The number of troops under his command fell far ſhort of expectation: the artillery and ſtores were inſufficient; and every

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difficulty was enhanced by the want of order and discipline in the militia, who refused to submit to the necessary subordination of armies: they left their posts and retired at pleasure.

General Lincoln however, consistent with his usual disposition on all occasions, endeavoured to make the best of his situation. He continued himself at Purisburgh, with the main body of his army, and ordered general Ashe, with a detachment of two thousand men, to take a strong post at a place called Briar Creek. His design was to secure the upper part of the country against the loyalists, who were every where collecting their strength.

Soon after general Ashe had taken possession of the advantageous post, that in the opinion of the principal officers, promised perfect security, general Prevost formed and executed the design of surprising him there. To facilitate this judicious measure, he made such arrangements on the banks of the Savannah, as took off the attention of general Lincoln: at the same time, he ordered his brother, colonel Prevost, by a circuitous march of fifty miles, to fall unexpectedly on Ashe's party at the creek. The success of the enterprise justified the design; the whole detachment was routed, many of them killed or captured; and thus the way was opened for the loyalists, and their copper-colored allies in the back country, to join Prevost

without moleſtation. After this action which took place the third of March, the two parties ſeparated by the river, continued quietly in their own poſts, till the latter end of the month of April, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine. Savannah, Sunbury, and ſome other towns, were in the hands of the Britiſh, and the ſtate by proclamation, laid under military government: yet the people in general conſidered themſelves as belonging to the union.

General Lincoln, zealous to procure an election of delegates to congreſs from Georgia, which he expected would be impeded by violence, left his advantageous ſituation on the lower part of the river, and moved towards Auguſta. This was rather an unfortunate movement, as, had he continued his firſt ſtation, he might have ſecured Charleſton for a time. Indeed, there was then little reaſon to apprehend any immediate danger in that quarter; yet he had the precaution to leave general Moultrie, with fifteen hundred men to guard the paſſes of the river.

The campaign in Georgia however, did not redound much to the advantage of the American arms, or to the honor of general Lincoln. It was thought by ſome, he did not diſcover himſelf a judicious and experienced commander, who had penetration to calculate on fortuitous events, or reſources at hand to extricate himſelf, when they unexpectedly took place.

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Yet he ſupported a character, cool and brave, under a variety of diſappointments. He was however, led a circuitous dance from place to place, by the rapid movements of general Prevoſt through the ſtate of Georgia, until he was obliged to move with more ſerious proſpects towards Charleſton.

The loſs of his party at Briar Creek, was no more than might have been expected from the activity and vigor of ſuch an officer as Prevoſt, attending more to his military renown, than to the political manœuvres of the ſtate. While general Lincoln was canvaſſing for the election of a delegate to congreſs,* the commander of the forces of his antagoniſt was intent only on winning ſucceſs in the field.

The active Prevoſt ſeized the moment of advantage; ſuddenly croſſed the river in different parts, and penetrated into South Carolina, with little or no oppoſition. The party under Moultrie, conſiſting chiefly of militia, on ſeeing themſelves ſurrounded on all ſides by Britiſh troops, retreated haſtily, and ſecured themſelves within the city of Charleſton.

General Prevoſt having thus ſucceeded, even beyond his moſt ſanguine expectations, in ſeve-

* There was an effort to defeat this meaſure, which general Lincoln judged it neceſſary to counteract, bearing in mind the intereſts of his country in civil as well as military matters.

ral enterprifes of confiderable moment, infpired by his own wifhes, and prompted by the importunities of the loyalifts, he formed the bolder refolution of pufhing directly for Charlefton. He arrived at the river Afhley on the eleventh of May, crofled it, and within a few days fummoned the city to furrender. Nor had he any reafon for fome time, to regret the determination. He had every affurance from the difaffected Americans, that Charlefton would furrender without refiftance, and that they had the beft authority for this decided opinion; nor did they in this inftance fo totally difappoint the expectations of their Britifh friends, as they frequently had done, and continued to do in their fubfequent informations. It is true general Prevoft did not immediately fucceed to the full completion of his hopes; but on the firft fummons to furrender, the citizens affured him, that no oppofition fhould be made, provided they might be permitted to continue in a ftate of neutrality to the conclufion of the war.

This was the only inftance in America of an offer made fo derogatory to the honor of the union. No fingle ftate, whatever might be their diftreffes, ever expreffed a wifh during the war, to be bound to a neutral repofe, while their fifter ftates were bleeding at every pore, in fupport of the general caufe. The conduct of the citizens of Charlefton cannot be account-

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ed for, but from the momentary panic to which the human mind is liable, when ſudden danger preſſes, before it has time to collect its own fortitude, and to act with deciſion and dignity, conſiſtent with previous principles.

South Carolina had been diſtinguiſhed for the bold and active part, taken by that ſtate againſt the meaſures of Britain. This was the firſt ſouthern colony, after Virginia, who adopted the propoſal of a general congreſs; nor was there now any reaſon to ſuſpect any defection in the bulk of the inhabitants, though there were numbers in the city of Charleſton, attached to the royal cauſe. Her patriots were unſhaken, her officers brave; and the ſubſequent conduct of the people at large, and the ſufferings of individuals, effaced the unfavorable impreſſions this propoſal might have left, had it not have been wiped off by the vigorous oppoſition afterwards made to a ſucceſsful foe, both in their councils and in the field, amidſt the extremes of peril, perſonal danger, and public miſery.

General Prevoſt, encouraged by ſucceſs, and animated by his own perſonal bravery, united with the hope of ſubduing Charleſton, rejected the offer of neutrality, and all further negociation ceaſed. The city immediately recovered its former ſpirit, and preparation was made on both ſides for the moſt vigorous attack and defence.

General Lincoln had been rather ſlow in his movements, having been deceived into an opinion, that Prevoſt had no farther deſign in croſſing the river Savannah, than to procure forage and proviſions. But ſoon finding more ſerious conſequences were to be expected, he haſtened on with his whole force, and made his arrangements with ſo much judgment and alacrity, that general Prevoſt thought it prudent to withdraw from before the city, leſt his retreat ſhould be cut off. He encamped his troops on the iſlands before the harbor, where he continued for ſome time, in anxious expectation of reinforcements from New York. This being delayed until the advance of the intenſe heats, and the ſickly ſeaſon of that country came on, which rendered it in ſome meaſure neceſſary to ſuſpend all vigorous operations in that quarter, little elſe was done there this year, except the indiſcriminate plunder of the wealthy inhabitants of the ſtate, who were out of the reach of the protection of their friends.

Affairs in Georgia requiring his preſence, general Prevoſt repaired there ſoon after the ſiege of Charleſton was raiſed. He left a force ſufficient in Port Royal to encourage his friends, by keeping up the appearance of ſome permanent eſtabliſhment in that province, where he meant ſoon to return. But early in the autumn, the unexpected arrival of the ſquadron

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commanded by the count de Eſtaing, on the ſouthern coaſt, gave the flattering promiſe of a new face to the affairs of Georgia and the Carolinas.

The admiral on his arrival in the Savannah, landed his troops with all poſſible expedition, and in conjunction with the Americans, laid ſiege to the capital of Georgia. On the ſixteenth of September, he demanded a ſurrender of the town to the arms of the king of France. The ſummons was in language that rather excited terror than allurement, and would have determined an officer of leſs courage and reſolution than general Prevoſt, to defend the town to the laſt. The ſituation of Savannah was indeed ſcarcely defenſible; but reſolved not to yield but in the laſt extremity, Prevoſt returned a polite, but evaſive anſwer to the French commander; and had the addreſs to obtain a truce of twenty-four hours to deliberate.

In this fortunate interval, the arrival of colonel Maitland, with a body of troops from Port Royal, put an end to deliberation. All thoughts of ſurrender were laid aſide, and a moſt gallant defence made. The town was bombarded for five days, to the great terror and diſtreſs of the inhabitants. In this predicament, general Prevoſt wrote and requeſted the count de Eſtaing, that the women and children, with his

own wife and family, might be ſent down the river, and placed under the protection of one of the French ſhips. After ſome delay, he had the mortification to receive an unpolite and cruel refuſal.

As this anſwer was ſigned by both the French and American commanders, cenſure for want of humanity fell equally on each. It is not improbable the ſevere language it contained, might be deſigned to intimidate, and haſten a ſurrender, and thereby prevent the further effuſion of blood. Yet there appeared a want of generoſity unbecoming the politeneſs of the Frenchman, and inconſiſtent with the well known humanity of the American commander. Of this they ſeemed to be ſenſible within a few days, when fortune began to change her face. Apologies were made both by general Lincoln and the count, for this indelicate refuſal: great tenderneſs was therein expreſſed for the inhabitants, and every civility offered, particularly to the general's lady and family, and a ſhip aſſigned as an aſylum for herſelf and friends. General Prevoſt replied to this offer of kindneſs, extorted by apprehenſion if not by fear, that "what had been once refuſed in terms of in-"ſult, could in no circumſtances be deemed "worth the acceptance."

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The little time gained by this ſhort parley for the purpoſes of civility, was improved by general Prevoſt to great advantage in every view. With indefatigable induſtry he ſtrengthened his old works; and, aſſiſted by the ſpirit and capacity of Mr. Moncrief, the chief engineer, he erected new ones with celerity and judgment, very honorable to his military talents, and conſiſtent with his zeal and alacrity on all occaſions.

The arrival of an officer of colonel Maitland's abilities, accompanied by a conſiderable reinforcement, was indeed a very fortunate circumſtance at this period for the commander at Savannah. Stimulated by a recent affront, and urged on by a conſtitutional activity, and a thirſt of military applauſe, general Prevoſt ſeemed to bid defiance to the combined forces of France and America, and repulſed them in every quarter.

On the eleventh of October, the beſiegers attempted to ſtorm the town, but were defeated with great ſlaughter. They however kept up the appearance of a blockade until the ſixteenth, when they requeſted a truce to bury their dead, and take care of their wounded. This was readily granted by Prevoſt. The conflict had been bloody indeed, and both ſides equally wiſhed for time to perform this charitable and neceſſary

business. Soon after the melancholy work of interring many of their comrades, the French and the Americans took the advantage of a dark and foggy night, and retreated with all possible precipitation, breaking down the bridges as they passed, to impede the pursuit of their enemies, if they should be disposed to follow them.

The count de Estaing had now an opportunity to survey the condition of his fleet; when he found the sailors sickly and dispirited; nor was the army less so, from the unhealthiness of the climate, and the failure of their late enterprise. The count himself had been wounded in the course of the siege, and several of his best officers were either killed or wounded. The loss of very many of his men in this decided repulse, with the disgrace that every commander thinks he incurs, when the expectation of success from great designs is defeated, deeply affected the mind of the French commander. Thus unfortunately disappointed in the spirited attack on the town of Savannah, he found it necessary, from a combination of untoward circumstances, to abandon the design of recovering Georgia. In a short time after this, the French commander bade adieu to the American seas.

He had never been disgraced by any deficiency in military ability, knowledge, or spirit,

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while acting in behalf of the United States: yet a series of disappointments had prevented his reaping the laurels, the just reward of bravery, or rendering much service to his allies, who had received him with the highest marks of cordiality and expectation.*

The summons of the count de Estaing to the British commander, to surrender the capital of one of the states to the arms of his most christian majesty, was neither pleasing, prudent, or productive of harmony and confidence, between the French under his command and the Americans. It occasioned some discontent at the time; and perhaps some jealous Americans did not regret, that the recovery of Georgia was left to an officer of merit in their own corps, sent forward afterwards by general Greene, who had been the favorite of fortune, of the people, and of the commander in chief.

This was done at a period of complicated difficulties, when general Greene could not leave the state of South Carolina himself, but in the abilities of general Wayne he had the utmost confidence. The event shewed that this confidence was not misplaced. We shall

* The count de Estaing was some years afterwards, one of the proscribed victims who fell by the guillotine, amidst the distractions and misery of his own country, in the infuriated reign of Robespierre.

ſee hereafter general Wayne was ſent on, and had the honor of finiſhing the war in Georgia, and the pleaſure of witneſſing the evacuation of the troops from their ſtrong holds in that ſtate, annihilating the laſt remains of Britiſh authority there, and recovering again the youngeſt of the ſiſter ſtates, to their former union.

In the repulſe before Savannah, many valorous and gallant officers fell. Among this number was the count Pulaſki, a Poliſh nobleman of great conſideration. His bravery and enterpriſing ſpirit was celebrated, not only in America, but in his own country. He had once, amidſt the fierce conteſts of the miſerable Polanders, in the height of his zeal for the recovery and ſupport of the liberties of that nation, ſeized on the perſon of the king of Poland, and for a time held him his priſoner; and though he had with him only two or three, whom he deemed truſty aſſociates, one of them relented, and betrayed him: the king was ſaved, and the count obliged to fly.* A few years after, he repaired to America, where he found a field ample enough for the exerciſe of his ſoldierly talents, to cheriſh his love of freedom, and to ſupport the military character of his anceſtors and his family, many of whom ſurvived this heroic officer.

* A full narrative of this tranſaction may be ſeen in Coxe's Travels through Ruſſia, &c. &c.

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The count Pulaſki was not the only officer of his nation who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the American war; but the count Koſciuſko, for his firmneſs, his valor, and his ſufferings, merits particular notice. He was amiable and virtuous, as well as brave, and ſupported a character that will ſeldom be paſſed over in ſilence, in a hiſtory of either Poland or America.

The kingdom of Poland had for years exhibited a moſt ſtriking monument of human miſery. Their ſtruggles for liberty, the pride of the nobles, the ignorance and barbariſm of the peaſantry, their unſtable confederacies, the uſurpation of princes, and the interference of neighbouring monarchs, rendered it a ſcene of carnage, for ſeveral ages previous to the expulſion of Staniſlaus Auguſtus, their ruin as a nation, and the partition of their country among the crowned deſpots that ſurrounded them. The ſovereign of Poland was dethroned; the kingdom partitioned among the trio combined for that purpoſe, Frederick, Catherine, and Maria Thereſa. Many of the inhabitants were ſent to plant colonies in the cold and diſtant regions of Siberia, and other parts of the Ruſſian domains. Some of the nobility ſurvived under the heavy yoke of their victorious neighbours; others had fled, and lent their valorous arms to England, France, and America.

This melancholy termination of efforts grounded in nature and reaſon, might for a time

ſmother the ſpark of freedom implanted in every human breaſt, which yet almoſt every man, when aſcending the pedeſtal of power, endeavours to extinguiſh in the boſom of all but himſelf. But the misfortunes of their country, or their own perſonal ſufferings, could not deaden the flame of liberty and independence, that burnt in the boſoms of many noble-minded Polanders: though the diſtractions of their native country obliged them to abandon it, their enthuſiaſm was cheriſhed amidſt ſtrangers, and they lent their veteran abilities to aid the emancipation of others from the degrading yoke of ſervitude.

The character of no one of this diſtinguiſhed band became more conſpicuous, than that of the count Koſciuſko, who ſurvived the fierce conflicts to which his bravery expoſed him through the revolutionary war in America.* His ſubſequent tranſactions in his native country, his valor, his misfortunes, and his renown, are too well known, and too replete with extraordinary events, to record in this place.

While we admire the patriotiſm, bravery, and other virtues, that adorned the characters of ſome individuals among the heroes of that ill-fated country, the deplorable ſituation of Po-

* See more of the count Koſciuſko in Appendix, Note No. VII.

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land ſhould forever ſtand as a *memento* to all other nations, who claim or maintain any degree of freedom. By their private animoſities, jealouſies, and diſſenſions, all confidence was deſtroyed, and all patriotiſm annihilated, except in the boſoms of a few, until their king was dethroned, the nobility laid proſtrate, the country drenched in blood, and the people driven into baniſhment by thouſands, and obliged to wear out a miſerable exiſtence, under the authority of the arbitrary ſovereigns who had completed the ruin of their liberty, their government, and their country.

The hiſtory of Poland is indeed an awful leſſon to every republic, where the ſeeds of diſſenſion begin to ſpring up among the people. Thoſe ſymptoms, when nurtured by faction, and ſtrengthened by jealouſies among themſelves, render the people an eaſy prey to foreign invaders, and too generally terminate in a tragic cataſtrophe, ſimilar to that of the Poles; who no longer continued a diſtinct nation, after the æra which has ſtained the annals of Europe by the ſhameful partition treaty, preconcerted in the cabinets of Ruſſia, Pruſſia, and Germany, and announced by the joint declaration of their ſovereigns, in one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-three.

The inhabitants of Poland were now the ſubjects and ſlaves of thoſe uſurping princes, who

had ſeized and divided the kingdom; tranſplanted the inhabitants of the territory to diſtant regions, and re-peopled the depopulated country with the ſoldiers of Pruſſia, Germany, and the northern potentates, who had long trained their own ſubjects to bend in ſilence, under the yoke of ſervility.

The partition of Poland was a ſingular event in the hiſtory of Europe, where the great powers, inattentive to the *balance* about which they had for many years expreſſed ſo much ſolicitude, viewed this extraordinary circumſtance with little or no emotion. Whatever may be the effect on the general ſtate of Europe, it is yet uncertain, whether the Poles loſt ſo much by the change as has been apprehended.

It is difficult to ſay in what period of the hiſtory of Poland, they had any proper claim to the honor of a free, republican form of government. The people had long groaned under the unbridled oppreſſion and power of a proud domeſtic ariſtocracy. The abſurd *veto*, deſigned as a check, only increaſed their diſcontents, jealouſies, rancor, and confuſion. They had indeed a nominal king, more the ſubject of a foreign power, than the ſovereign of his own country. They are now under the iron hand of foreign deſpotiſm. Whether that, or the ſcourge of

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ariſtocracy, is the moſt productive of vaſſalage and miſery, is a problem yet undecided. We leave deeper politicians to determine if they can, which is the moſt abhorrent to the feelings of humanity. But the diſcuſſion of the conſtitution of the Poles, is not a part of the buſineſs of the preſent work. Yet the ruin of Poland may be viewed as an example and a warning to other nations, particularly to thoſe who enjoy a free, elective, repreſentative government.

CHAPTER XVI.

Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot ſail for South Carolina.—Charleſton inveſted—Capitulates.—General Lincoln and his Army Priſoners of War.—General Clinton returns to New York.—Lord Cornwallis's Command and Civil Adminiſtration in Charleſton.—Mr. Gadſden and other Gentlemen ſuſpected, and ſent to St. Auguſtine.—Much Oppoſition to Britiſh Authority in both the Carolinas.—The Count de Rochambeau and the Admiral de Tiernay arrive at Newport.—Britiſh Depredations in the Jerſies.—Cataſtrophe of Mr. Caldwell and his Family.—Armed Neutrality.—Some Obſervations on the State of Ireland.—Riots in England.—Curſory Obſervations.

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FROM the unavoidable inactivity of the Americans in ſome parts of the continent, and the misfortunes that had attended their arms in others, in the ſummer of one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine, ſir Henry Clinton was left without any impediment, to proſecute a well concerted expedition to the ſouthern colonies. The opulence of the planters there, the want of diſcipline in their militia, the diſtance and difficulty of reinforcing them, and the ſickly ſtate of the inhabitants, promiſed an eaſy conqueſt and a rich harveſt to the invaders.

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The ſummer and autumn paſſed off; and it was late in the month of December, before general Clinton embarked. He had a ſtrong body of troops, and a forcible ſquadron commanded by admiral Arbuthnot, who accompanied him; but they proceeded heavily on their way; and it was not until the enſuing ſpring was far advanced, that the admiral paſſed the bar, and made himſelf maſter of the harbor of Charleſton.

The Americans flattered themſelves for ſome time, that they ſhould be able to make an effectual reſiſtance to the paſſage of the Britiſh fleet up the Cooper river: (this paſſes on one ſide, and the Aſhley runs on the other of the town of Charleſton:) but they ſoon abandoned every ground to the potent Engliſh, except the town of Charleſton, which they determined to defend to the laſt extremity.

Governor Rutledge was veſted by the legiſlature with very extraordinary powers, which he was obliged to exerciſe in their full latitude. This gentleman had acted on all occaſions with ſpirit and judgment becoming his character, both as a ſoldier and a magiſtrate. He immediately called out the militia; and publiſhed a proclamation, directing all the inhabitants who claimed any property in the town, to repair immediately to the American ſtandard, on pain of confiſcation. Though couched in ſtrong and

ſevere terms, this proclamation had little effect. The manifeſt reluctance of ſome to oppoſe the power of Britain, the dread that others felt of ſo potent an adverſary, the ill ſucceſs of the American arms in Georgia, the ſurpriſe of the cavalry and other parties that were coming to their relief, the arrival of Britiſh reinforcements, and the rapid advance they made to conqueſt, appalled the inhabitants, and obliged the citizens ſoon to abandon all hopes of even ſaving their town.

The firſt ſummons of ſurrender, on the ſixteenth of April, was rejected by the American commander, though it announced the dreadful conſequences of a cannonade and ſtorm, which would ſoon be the unhappy fate of Charleſton, "ſhould the place, in fallacious ſecurity, or the "commander, in wanton indifference to the "fate of the inhabitants, delay a ſurrender." General Lincoln replied, that he had received the joint ſummons of general Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot; that "ſixty days had paſſed "ſince it had been known, that their intentions "againſt the town of Charleſton were hoſtile; "in which, time had been afforded to abandon "it; but that duty and inclination pointed to "him the propriety of defending it to the laſt "extremity."

After this decided anſwer, the moſt vigorous operations enſued on both ſides, but with great

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advantage in favor of the Britiſh, till the eighth of May, when ſir Henry Clinton again called on the American commander, to prevent the farther effuſion of blood, by an immediate ſurrender. He warned him, that "if he refuſed "this laſt ſummons, he ſhould throw on him "the charge, of whatever vindictive ſeverity "an exaſperated ſoldiery might inflict on the "unhappy people: that he ſhould wait his an-"ſwer till eight o'clock, an hour beyond which, "reſiſtance would be temerity."

General Lincoln ſummoned a council on this occaſion, who were unanimouſly of opinion, that articles of capitulation ſhould be propoſed.* The terms offered were ſeveral of them rejected, others were mutilated; and all relaxation or qualification being refuſed by the Britiſh commander, it was as unanimouſly agreed, that hoſtilities ſhould again re-commence on the enſuing day. Accordingly, an inceſſant fire was kept up from the ninth to the eleventh, when an addreſs from the principal inhabitants of the town, and a number of the country militia, expreſſed their ſatisfaction in the terms already offered by general Clinton: at the ſame time,

* This general view of the ſiege and ſurrender of Charleſton, is principally collected from general Lincoln's defence and apology in a letter to general Waſhington, which the author was favored with the peruſal of in manuſcript, by general Lincoln.

the lieutenant governor and council requested, that negociations might be renewed, and that they might not be subjected to the horrors of a city taken by storm.

The militia of the town had thrown away their arms; the troops on the lines were worn down with fatigue, and their provisions exhausted: thus closely invested on every side, a disaffected, factious party within, no hopes of succor from without, and all possibility of retreat cut off, general Lincoln again offered terms of surrender, little variant from Clinton's proposals. They were acceded to, and signed the twelfth of May.

Though the conditions were not the most favorable to the inhabitants, or honorary to the soldier, yet perhaps they were as lenient as could be expected from an enemy confident of success, and as honorable as could be hoped, in the desperate situation to which the Americans were reduced. The continental troops were to retain their baggage, but to remain prisoners of war until exchanged. Seven general officers were among the prisoners. The inhabitants of all conditions were to be considered as prisoners on parole; but they soon experienced the severities usually felt by a conquered city. All who were capable of bearing arms, were enrolled in the British service: and the whole state laid under heavy contributions.

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The loſs of Charleſton, the great number of the captured, and the ſhipping that fell in its defence, was a ſevere blow to America. Much cenſure was caſt on general Lincoln for neglecting a timely retreat, and for attempting the defence of the town againſt ſuch ſuperior force, both by ſea and land: but it muſt be acknowledged, he did all that could be expected from an officer of courage, to ſave the capital and the ſtate; or from a man of humanity, to make the beſt poſſible terms for the inhabitants. He afterwards juſtified the meaſure by a full detail of the invaſion, and the motives for his conduct, to the ſatisfaction of the commander in chief, and of his country.

General Lincoln certainly had great merit, in many reſpects: yet it may be obſerved, few officers have been equally fortunate in keeping up the *eclat* of character, who have ſo frequently failed in enterprize: for, however unjuſt it may be, yet military fame more generally depends on ſucceſsful events, than on bold deſign, or judicious ſyſtem. Victory had ſeldom followed in the rear of any of his exploits: yet from his known bravery and patriotiſm, from his acknowledged integrity and honor, he eſcaped the cenſure frequently attached to unfortunate heroes, and which might have fallen heavily on a general of more doubtful character.

Before ſir Henry Clinton left Charleſton, ſome new and ſevere regulations took place, that could not well be juſtified, either by the letter or the ſpirit of the capitulation. All perſons in the city were forbidden the exerciſe of their commercial purſuits, excepting ſuch as were the decided friends of the Britiſh government. Confiſcation and death were threatened by proclamation, to any who ſhould be found in arms, unleſs in ſupport of royal authority. All capable of bearing arms were enrolled for Britiſh ſervice: ſuch as had families were permitted to continue near them, and defend the ſtate againſt their American brethren; thoſe who had none were required to ſerve ſix months out of twelve, in any part of the ſouthern ſtates.

Many inhabitants of the principal towns, and indeed a great part of the ſtate of South Carolina, deſpairing of any effectual reſiſtance, and unwilling to abandon their connexions and their property, laid down their arms, and ſubmitted either as priſoners of war, or ſubjects to the king of Great Britain: and even congratulatory addreſſes were fabricated, and ſigned by great numbers of reſpectable characters in Charleſton, and offered to the Britiſh commanders on the ſucceſs of their arms. Thus from motives of intereſt or fear, many who had ap-

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peared to be actuated by higher principles, ſtooped to the ſervile homage of the ſycophant, and flattered the victors on the conqueſt of their country; an acquiſition that reduced their countrymen to beggary, and themſelves to ſlavery.

Soon after theſe arrangements, ſir Henry Clinton, vainly flattering himſelf that he had entirely ſubdued one wealthy colony, at the extremity of the continent, and that every thing was in a hopeful train for other brilliant ſtrokes of military proweſs, left the command of the ſouthern department to lord Cornwallis, and repaired himſelf to New York. His lordſhip immediately detached a ſtrong body under the command of lord Rawdon, to march, to ſubjugate, and guard the frontiers, while he turned his own attention to the commercial regulations, and the civil government of the newly conquered province. But he ſoon found the aid of auxiliaries, impelled by fear, or ſtimulated by the hope of preſent advantage, is not to be depended on, and that voluntary compacts are the only ſocial ties conſidered among mankind as binding on the conſcience.

On the firſt opportunity, many perſons exchanged their paroles for certificates of their being good ſubjects, and immediately returned to the country, or to the neighbouring ſtate, and ſtimulated their friends to reſiſtance. A

remarkable inſtance of this nature was exhibited in the conduct of colonel Liſle, a brave American officer; who, after an exchange of the parole, decamped from the Britiſh ſtandard, and carried off with him a whole battalion to the aid of colonel Sumpter, and other ſpirited officers, who were in motion on the borders of both the Carolinas.

The new regulations, and the hard conditions enjoined on them by the conqueror, were highly reſented by many of the principal inhabitants of Charleſton. Their diſſatisfaction was ſo apparent, that they ſoon fell under the ſuſpicion and diſpleaſure of the commander. Some allegations were brought againſt them, though far from being ſufficiently founded. They were charged with treaſonable practices and deſigns againſt government; arreſted in their beds, ſent on board priſon ſhips, confined and treated with great rigor, and in a ſhort time ſent off to St. Auguſtine. Among this number was lieutenant governor Gadſden, a gentleman early diſtinguiſhed for his patriotiſm, his firmneſs, his republican principles, and his uniform exertions to emancipate his country from the ſhackles of Britiſh government.

Nothing appeared to juſtify the ſeverities exerciſed towards theſe gentlemen; nor was there any reaſon to believe they had forfeited their honor. The rigorous policy of a conquering

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foe, was all that was offered in vindication of this ſtep. But it is certain the Carolinians in general evinced the difficulty of holding men by political fetters, while the mind revolts at the authority that has no claim but what ariſes from the laws of conqueſt.

Lord Rawdon was extremely active on the frontiers. No exertion was wanting on the part of this valiant officer, to bring the whole country to a united ſubmiſſion to royal authority; and a diverſion was made in the Cheſapeake, under the command of general Leſlie, in favor of the operations in the Carolinas. Yet within two months after the ſurrender of Charleſton, oppoſition to Britiſh government again reſumed a ſtable appearance.

Marches, counter-marches, ſurpriſe, pillage, and maſſacre, had for ſome months pervaded the frontiers; and whichever party gained the advantage, the inhabitants were equally wretched. But a particular detail of the miſeries of the ſouthern ſtates through this period, would be more painful than entertaining to the reader, and is a taſk from which every writer of humanity would wiſh to be excuſed. Imagination may eaſily paint the diſtreſſes, when ſurveying on the one ſide, a proud and potent army fluſhed with recent ſucceſs, and irritated by oppoſition from an enemy they deſpiſed, both as Americans and as rebels; their ſpirit of revenge

continually whetted by a body of refugees who followed them, embittered beyond defcription againft their countrymen, and who were joined by a banditti who had no country, but the fpot that yielded a temporary harveft to their rapacious hands: rapine and devaftation had no check,

On the other fide, little lefs feverity could be expected from a brave and high-fpirited people, not foftened by the higheft refinements of civilization, warmed by the impulfe of retaliation, driven almoft to defpair, and under every painful apprehenfion for their lives, their property, their liberty, and their country: thefe were joined by the foldiers of fortune, and the fierce borderers, who had not yet been taught to yield quietly, either to military or civil fubordination: the moft ftriking outrages were every where committed. But no partifan diftinguifhed himfelf more on either fide, than a colonel Tarleton, who made himfelf a character in the ravage of the Carolinas, equally confpicuous for bravery and barbarity; and had the effrontery afterwards in England, to boaft in the prefence of a lady of refpectability, that he had killed more men, and ravifhed more women, than any man in America.*

* This was fo highly refented by the lady, who had before been his friend, that by her influence, fhe defeated his hopes as a candidate for a member of parliament.

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But not the loſs of their capital, the ravage of their country, the proſcription of ſome of the principal inhabitants, and the total ruin of ſome of the wealthieſt families, could ſubdue the ſpirit of independence, and the averſion to Britiſh government, that had taken deep root in the boſoms of moſt of the inhabitants of the ſouthern ſtates.

Sumpter, Morgan, Marion, Lee, Caſwell, Rutherford, and other brave officers, continually counteracted the intrigues of the loyaliſts; and attacked, haraſſed, and frequently defeated the Britiſh parties, that were detached to the various parts of the country to enforce ſubmiſſion. Nor did the repulſe in Georgia, the loſs of Charleſton, nor the armament ſent to the Cheſapeake by ſir Henry Clinton, in favor of lord Cornwallis's movements, in the ſmalleſt degree check the vigorous efforts of theſe ſpirited leaders, by whoſe aſſiſtance a new face to the affairs of their country was ſoon reſtored.

France had this year given a new proof of her zeal in favor of American independence. The count de Rochambeau arrived on the eleventh of July at Newport, with ſix thouſand land forces, under cover of a reſpectable ſquadron commanded by the admiral de Tiernay. They brought the promiſe and the expectation of farther and immediate ſupport, both by land and ſea. Some ineffectual movements were

made on both ſides, in conſequence of theſe expectations: and on the arrival of admiral Graves at New York, with ſix ſail of the line and ſome tranſports, a feint was made by ſir Henry Clinton, with the aſſiſtance of thoſe freſh reinforcements, immediately to attack the French at Rhode Iſland. This plan was diverted by general Waſhington's preparation to embrace the favorable opportunity, to ſtrike a decided blow by the reduction of New York.

All the ſtates eaſt of the Delaware diſcovered their readineſs, by all poſſible exertions to cooperate in the deſign: but amidſt all the preparation and ſanguine hope of the Americans, an account was received, equally mortifying to the United States, and to their allies already in America, that admiral de Guichen had ſailed from the Weſt Indies directly for France, inſtead of repairing with all his forces, as was expected, to aid the united operations of Waſhington and Rochambeau. The admiral de Tiernay died ſoon after at Newport. It was thought by many, that this brave officer fell a ſacrifice to chagrin and diſappointment.

After the failure of theſe brilliant hopes, little more was done through the ſummer in the middle or eaſtern department, except by ſkirmiſhing parties, which ſerved only to keep up the hope of conqueſt on the ſide of Britain, while it preſerved alive ſome military ardor in

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the American army. But so uncertain are the events of war, that the anticipation of success, the pride of victory, or the anguish of disappointment, alternately play on the passions of men, until the convulsion gives place to tranquillity and peace, or to the still solemnity of melancholy, robbed of all its joys.

General Washington found himself at this time unable to do much more, than to guard against the uncertain inroads of a powerful fleet and a hostile army. It could not be congenial to the feelings of the military character, endowed with a spirit of enterprise, to be placed in a situation merely defensive, while too many circumstances forbade any concentrated plan, that promised any decision of the important object for which the United States were struggling.

While thus situated, the British troops were frequently detached from New York and Staten Island, to make inroads, and by surprise to distress and destroy the settlements in the Jersies. The most important of their movements was about the twenty-fifth of June, when general Knyphausen with about five thousand regular troops, aided by some new levies, advanced upon the right wing of the American army, commanded by major general Greene. Their progress was slow until they arrived at Springfield, where they were checked by a party of the Americans.

They had yet done little mischief on their march, but at Springfield they burnt most of the houses in the town, and retired from thence to Elizabethtown. After some time, they advanced from Elizabethtown with the whole of their infantry, a large body of cavalry, and fifteen or twenty pieces of artillery. Their march was then rapid and compact: they moved in two columns, one on the main road leading to Springfield, the other on the Vauxhall road. Major Lee with the horse and picquets, opposed the right column, and colonel Dayton with his regiment, the left; and both gave as much opposition as could have been expected from so small a force.

General Greene observed in a letter to congress, that the American troops were so extended, to guard the different roads leading to the several passes over the mountains, that he had scarcely time to collect them at Springfield, and make the necessary dispositions, previous to the appearance of the enemy before the town; when a cannonade commenced between their advance and the American artillery, posted for the defence of the bridge.

Every prudent measure was taken by general Greene, to confront and repel the invaders, protect the inhabitants, and secure the retreat

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of his own parties, when danger appeared from ſuperior numbers. The generals Maxwell and Dickenſon, the colonels Shrieve, Ogden, and others, at the head of their regiments, exhibited the higheſt ſpecimens of American bravery: but the enemy continued to preſs on in great force. Their left column began an attack on colonel Angell, who was poſted to ſecure a bridge in front of the town. "The action was "ſevere, and laſted about forty minutes; when "ſuperior numbers overcame obſtinate brave-"ry," and forced the American troops to retire over the ſecond bridge.

After various military manœuvres, ſkirmiſhes, and retreats, general Greene took poſt on a ridge of hills, from whence he detached parties to prevent the burnings of the enemy; who ſpread conflagration wherever it was in their power, and retreated towards Elizabeth-town. This detachment from the Britiſh army finiſhed their marauding excurſion, and re-croſſed to Staten Iſland, July the twenty-third.

The outrage of innocence in inſtances too numerous to be recorded, of the wanton barbarity of the ſoldiers of the king of England, as they patroled the defenceleſs villages of America, was evinced no where more remarkably, than in the burnings and maſſacres that marked the

footſteps of the Britiſh troops, as they from time to time ravaged the ſtate of New Jerſey.

In their late excurſion, they had trod their deleterious path through a part of the country called the Connecticut Farms. It is needleſs to particularize many inſtances of their wanton rage, and unprovoked devaſtation, in and near Elizabethtown. The places dedicated to public worſhip did not eſcape their fury: theſe were deſtroyed more from licentious folly, than any religious frenzy or bigotry, to which their nation had at times been liable. Yet through the barbarous tranſactions of this ſummer, nothing excited more general reſentment and compaſſion, than the murder of the amiable and virtuous wife of a Preſbyterian clergyman, attended with too many circumſtances of grief on the one ſide, and barbariſm on the other, to paſs over in ſilence.

This lady was ſitting in her own houſe, with her little domeſtic circle around her, and her infant in her arms; unapprehenſive of danger, ſhrouded by the conſciouſneſs of her own innocence and virtue; when a Britiſh barbarian pointed his muſquet into the window of her room, and inſtantly ſhot her through the lungs. A hole was dug, the body thrown in, and the houſe of this excellent lady ſet on fire, and conſumed with all the property it contained.

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Mr. Caldwell, her affectionate husband, was absent: nothing had ever been alleged against his character, even by his enemies, but his zeal for the rights, and his attachment to his native country. For this he had been persecuted, and for this he was robbed of all that he held dear in life, by the bloody hands of men, in whose benevolence and politeness he had had much confidence, until the fated day, when this mistaken opinion led him to leave his beloved family, fearless of danger, and certain of their security, from their innocence, virtue, and unoffending amiability.

Mr. Caldwell afterwards published the proofs of this cruel affair, attested on oath before magistrates, by sundry persons who were in the house with Mrs. Caldwell, and saw her fall back and expire, immediately after the report of the gun. "This was," as observed by Mr. Caldwell, "a violation of every tender feeling; "without provocation, deliberately committed "in open day; nor was it ever frowned on by "the commander." The catastrophe of this unhappy family was completed within two years, by the murder of Mr. Caldwell himself, by some ruffian hands.

His conscious integrity of heart had never suffered him to apprehend any personal danger: and the melancholy that pervaded all, on the tragical death of his lady, who was distinguished

for the excellence and reſpectability of her character, wrought up the reſentment of that part of the country to ſo high a pitch, that the moſt timid were arouſed to deeds of deſperate heroiſm. They were ready to ſwear, like Hannibal againſt the Romans, and to bind their ſons to the oath of everlaſting enmity to the name of Britain.

But we ſhall ſee too many circumſtances of ſimilar barbarity and ferocious cruelty, to leave curioſity ungratified, or to ſuffer the tear of pity to dry on the ſympathetic cheek, as we follow the route of the Britiſh army. Agitation and anxiety pervaded the eaſtern ſtates, while rapine and ſlaughter were ſpread over the middle colonies. Hope was ſuſpended in every mind; and expectation ſeemed to hang on the conſequences of the ſtrong effort made to ſubdue the ſouthern provinces.

The preſent year was replete with the moſt active and important ſcenes, both in Europe and America. We leave the latter to wait the operation of events, and turn our eyes towards Great Britain, whoſe ſituation was not leſs perplexed and embarraſſed, than that of the United States. The ſources of concern which pervaded the patriotic part of the nation, were innumerable. A remarkable combination of powers againſt the Britiſh nation was unuſually alarming. Spain had now declared war, and acted

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with decision: and many new and great events among other nations, threatened both the maritime and internal state of Great Britain, with checks to their pride and power which they had not before experienced.

The despot of Russia, with haughty superiority, appeared at this time, umpire of the *Armed Neutrality*, set on foot by herself.* The novelty of this measure excited much observation, attention, and expectation, both in Europe and America. Some writers have robbed the empress of the honor of originating this humane project, which was thought to be levelled at the imperious sway, and the insolent aggressions of the British flag, which had long been vexatious to all the nations.

This measure has been attributed to a stroke of policy concerted by count Panin, in order to defeat the design of sir James Harris, minister from Great Britain, who had been making ev-

* Before this period, the wealth and inhabitants of the Turkish empire had been diminished, and the power of the Sublime Porte so far crippled, by the ambitious projects of Catharine, that they were unable to lend much assistance to any of their distressed neighbours. For some time after the remarkable partition of Poland, the hero of Prussia, the Germanic body, and the northern powers, breathed in a kind of truce, as if paralysed by the recollection of recent slaughter and devastation, rather than in the benign prospect of a permanent peace.

ery effort in favor of his court, to engage the empreſs to fit out a naval armament againſt Spain. Prince Potemkin, the empreſs's favorite, was fond of the meaſure of aſſiſting the court of Spain: but the determined oppoſition of the count Panin, againſt the interference of the court of Ruſſia in the war between Great Britain and the houſe of Bourbon, in conjunction with the American colonies, was ſuch, that the deſign was not only defeated, but the court of Peterſburgh took the lead in a declaration to the belligerent powers, for ſettling the principles of navigation and trade; and the armament in preparation for other purpoſes, was ſent out to ſupport the armed neutrality.*

* See Hiſtory of the Armed Neutrality by a German nobleman. A more recent work has attributed the origin of this benevolent ſyſtem, to the policy of the count de Vergennes, and has aſſerted that it was a plan of his own to counteract the operations of the Britiſh court againſt France, by this check to the power of their navy. But from the character of the count de Vergennes, as drawn by an American miniſter, his abilities were not equal to the comprehenſive ſyſtem. He obſerved, that "notwithſtanding the gazettes of Europe had been filled with pompous panegyrics of this miniſter, and ſublime ideas of his power and credit, as well as his abilities, it was but mere puff and bubble: and that notwithſtanding his long experience in courts, he was by no means a great miniſter: that he had neither the extenſive knowledge, nor the foreſight, nor the wiſdom, nor the virtue, nor the temper of a great man."

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But ſuch was the commanding genius of Catharine, and her predominant paſſion for the extenſion of her fame, that thoſe who have ſtudied her character will not deny her the capacity, nor the honor of originating this humane and novel ſyſtem. She was a woman in whom were united, the moſt ſplendid talents, a magnificent taſte, an unconquerable mind, the moſt beneficent virtues, and the moſt deteſtable crimes. But whoever was the prime mover of a ſyſtem ſo benevolent, the idea was the greateſt that ever entered into the head of a prince, ſince the days of Henry the fourth of France.* The deſign was glorious, as it might in time be ſo far improved, as to put a period to a great part of the diſtreſs brought on the trade of nations, by the ambition, intereſt, and proud uſurpation of ſome maritime powers.

The empreſs forwarded an explicit declaration of the deſign and the nature of the combination, to the ſeveral European courts. By

* Every one acquainted with the hiſtory of France, will recollect the benevolent deſign formed by Henry the fourth and his ſagacious miniſter, the duke of Sully, to put an end to the waſte of human life by war, by a combination, great, extenſive, and more humane than generally falls under the contemplation of princes. His deſign to ſettle the conteſts of nations by amicable treaty, was defeated by the hand of the aſſaſſin, which deprived him of life.

this extraordinary treaty, all neutral ſhips were to be freely navigated from port to port on the coaſts of nations at war, and the effects belonging to the ſubjects of any ſovereign, were to be ſafe in all neutral veſſels, except contraband merchandize. Thus the ſeas were to be left in the ſituation deſigned by God and nature, that all mankind might reap the benefits of a free and open intercourſe with each other.

Several other articles, humane, juſt, and favorable to trade, were ſtipulated. Their ſecurity was guaranteed by a powerful fleet, directed by a deſpotic female; while the neighbouring ſovereigns, awed by her proweſs, ſtrength, and ſtern authority, aided her meaſures.

Though this was a very unpleaſant propoſition to the court of Great Britain, it was acceded to with alacrity by the northern powers, and by moſt of the other courts in Europe. Thus Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal, united with the potent court of Peterſburgh, to guard and protect the trade of nations, while war raged among ſo many of them.

This capital meaſure was equally pleaſing to France, Spain, and America; but to Great Britain it was a grievance of magnitude: and what greatly enhanced their mortification, it

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had originated with a ſovereign whom they conſidered as a friend and an ally; one to whom they had looked forward as a powerful aſſiſtant, if the exigencies of war ſhould oblige them to ſeek the further aid of foreigners. But, as a writer obſerved, "the ſolitary court "of London was obliged to ſuppreſs her indig- "nation." Neither her reſentment, chagrin, or addreſs, could prevent a meaſure which Great Britain conſidered as particularly injurious to herſelf.

The Britiſh miniſter expoſtulated warmly with the court of Peterſburgh, on the conſtant attention and regard hitherto ſhewn on every occaſion, to the flag and commerce of Ruſſia, by Great Britain. He declared there was a continuance of the ſame diſpoſition and conduct in his court, and reminded the empreſs of the reciprocal ties of friendſhip, and the commercial intereſts, by which the two nations were mutually bound.

The confederacy too formidable for oppoſition in their preſent ſituation, an equivocal, rather than an explicit reply to the declaration of the empreſs, was ſent by the court of Great Britain to the Britiſh envoy reſident at Peterſburgh, dated April the twenty-third, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty.

While this indeciſive mode of conduct was obſerved by the court of Great Britain, the

other European powers had not only readily agreed to the propoſition for an armed neutrality, but appeared generally pre-diſpoſed to a friendly intercourſe with America, if not unequivocally to ſupport her claim to independence.

A general ſtate of danger from foreign combinations ſeemed to threaten the empire of Great Britain, with a convulſion in almoſt all its parts; at the ſame time, diſcontent and diſſatisfaction, particularly in Ireland, ſeemed to be on the point of riſing to an alarming height, and faſt approaching to a criſis.

It was obſerved by one of their own writers, that "it was not to be expected that a country "dependent on Great Britain, and much limit-"ed in the uſe of its natural advantages, ſhould "not be affected by the cauſes and conſequences "of the American war. The ſagacious in that "kingdom could not avoid perceiving in the "preſent combination of circumſtances, an ad-"vantage which was to be now improved, or "given up forever."

There now appeared a remarkable revolution in the temper of the people of Ireland, that diſcovered ſtrong ſymptoms of their wearineſs of their ſubordinate and depreſſed ſituation. Theſe were doubtleſs quickened and brought into action, by the ſtruggle of the Americans for in-

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dependence. Early in the oppoſition of the united colonies to parliamentary meaſures, congreſs had forwarded a friendly addreſs to the inhabitants of Ireland. In this they had obſerved, that "the miniſtry had for ten years, "endeavoured by fraud and violence, to deprive "them of rights which they had for many years "enjoyed:" that "at the concluſion of the laſt "war, the genius of England and the ſpirit of "wiſdom, as if offended at the ungrateful "treatment of their ſons, withdrew from the "Britiſh councils, and left that nation a prey "to a race of miniſters, with whom ancient "Engliſh honeſty and benevolence diſdained to "dwell. From that period, jealouſy, diſcon-"tent, oppreſſion, and diſcord, have raged "among all his majeſty's ſubjects, and filled ev-"ery part of his dominions with diſtreſs and "complaint."

In this addreſs to the inhabitants of Ireland, the American delegates had recapitulated their ſeveral grievances, which had driven them to oppoſition, and a ſuſpenſion of all commerce with Great Britain, Ireland, and the Engliſh Weſt India iſlands. After obſerving that they hoped from this peaceable mode of oppoſition to obtain relief, they made a friendly apology to the Iriſh, for including them in this reſtriction, aſſuring them, "that it was with the ut-"moſt reluctance we could prevail upon our-

"ſelves, to ceaſe our commercial connexions "with your iſland. *Your* parliament had done "us no wrong. *You* had ever been friendly to "the rights of mankind: and we acknowledge "with pleaſure and with gratitude, that *your* "nation has produced patriots, who have nobly "diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the cauſe of hu-"manity and America.

"On the other hand, we were not ignorant, "that the labors and manufactures of Ireland, "like thoſe of the ſilk-worm, were of little mo-"ment to herſelf, but ſerved only to give lux-"ury to thoſe who neither *toil* nor *ſpin*. We "perceived that if we continued our commerce "with you, our agreement not to import from "Britain would be fruitleſs; and were there-"fore compelled to adopt a meaſure, to which "nothing but abſolute neceſſity could have re-"conciled us. It gave us, however, ſome con-"ſolation to reflect, that ſhould it occaſion "much diſtreſs, the fertile regions of America "would afford you a ſafe aſylum from poverty, "and in time from oppreſſion alſo; an aſylum "in which many thouſands of your country-"men have found hoſpitality, peace, and afflu-"ence, and become united to us by all the ties "of conſanguinity, mutual intereſt, and affec-"tion."*

* See Appendix, Note No. VIII.

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"We offer our moſt grateful acknowledg-
"ments for the friendly diſpoſition you have
"always ſhewn towards us. We know that
"you are not without your grievances. We
"ſympathize with you in your diſtreſs; and
"are pleaſed to find, that the deſign of ſubju-
"gating us, has perſuaded adminiſtration to diſ-
"penſe to Ireland, ſome vagrant rays of miniſ-
"terial ſunſhine. Even the tender mercies of
"government, have long been cruel towards
"you. In the rich paſtures of Ireland many
"hungry parricides have fed, and grown ſtrong
"to labor in its deſtruction. We hope the pa-
"tient abiding of the meek may not always be
"forgotten: and God grant that the iniquitous
"ſchemes of extirpating liberty from the Brit-
"iſh empire, may be ſoon defeated!

"But we ſhould be wanting to ourſelves; we
"ſhould be perfidious to poſterity; we ſhould
"be unworthy that anceſtry from which we de-
"rive our deſcent,—ſhould we ſubmit with fold-
"ed arms, to military butchery and depredation,
"to gratify the lordly ambition, or ſate the ava-
"rice of a Britiſh miniſtry. In defence of our
"perſons and properties, under actual violation,
"we have taken up arms: when that violation
"ſhall be removed, and hoſtilities ceaſe on the
"part of the aggreſſors, they ſhall ceaſe on our
"part alſo. For the achievement of this happy
"event, we confide in the good offices of our
"fellow-ſubjects beyond the Atlantic: of their

"friendly disposition we do not yet despond, "aware, as they must be, that they have nothing more to expect from the same common "enemy, than the humble favor of being last "devoured."

This energetic address to the Irish may be seen in almost every public record of the transactions of congress, in one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five. This, with other addresses of the same determined body of men, to the inhabitants of England, of Canada, of the United States, comprise an epitome of the grievances complained of by Americans, of the existing opinions, and the cause of the colonies taking arms against the parent state.

The similarity of sufferings which the Irish had long felt, oppressions which had often driven them to the point of despair, a prospect of successful resistance by the colonies to the overbearing measures of the British crown and parliament, awakened in them a dawn of hope, that relief might result from union and concert among themselves, sufficient to check the present, and to prevent still greater burdens, from the usurpations of power often exercised against them, without equity or humanity.

The rising ferment in the Irish nation was justly alarming to the court of Britain. This, with the weight of foreign combinations which

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preſſed upon them, awakened apprehenſions in the higheſt degree, in the minds of the ſober and judicious, who had the welfare of the nation at heart. In addition to their concern from theſe cauſes, their differences of opinion with regard to their own internal affairs, on almoſt every ſubject, increaſed. This diſunion of ſentiment appeared in the vaſt number of petitions laid on the table of the houſe of commons, from the moſt reſpectable counties; not leſs than forty at once. Theſe brought on much debate and altercation, that promiſed much reform and produced little.

The enormous influence of the crown, the abuſe of contracts, the corruption in all departments, were diſcuſſed, and the American war again reprobated. The waſte of human life, and the treaſures of the nation, were pathetically lamented in the courſe of parliamentary debate; and this abſurd and fruitleſs war criminated in ſtrong language.

The ſtrength of party was tried to its utmoſt, on a variety of ſubjects. The increaſing and dangerous influence of the crown, was particularly dwelt upon: on this a member of the houſe* obſerved, that nothing more ſtrongly evinced its exiſtence, than the miniſter's keeping his place, "after ſo many years of loſs, miſ-

* Sir Thomas Pitt.

"fortune, and calamity, as had already marked "the fatal course of his administration." He asked, "whether that noble lord had not lost "America? whether he had not squandered "many millions of the public money, and wast-"ed rivers of blood of the subjects of Great "Britain? And yet, though the whole coun-"try, with one voice, cried out against him, "and execrated his American war, the noble "lord still held his place. Could this possibly "be ascribed to any other cause than to the "overgrown influence of the crown, along "with that daring exertion of it, which sets "the voice and the interests of the people at "nought?"

He observed that the present minister by his measures, "had sunk and degraded the honor "of Great Britain. The name of an English-"man was now no longer a matter to be proud "of: the time had been when it was the envy of "all the world; it had been the introduction "to universal respect; but the noble lord had "contrived to sink it almost beneath contempt. "He had rendered his countrymen, and their "country, despicable in the eyes of every other "person."

This session of parliament continued desultory, angry, agitated, and inconclusive, till to-

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wards the close; when all eyes were opened to immediate danger, by the distracted and incoherent conduct of lord George Gordon, at the head of the *London Associators*, who had combined expressly to defend the Protestant religion. They had taken the alarm from a motion made by sir George Saville, deemed too favorable to the Roman Catholic religion, though received with universal applause in the house of commons.

It is observable, that the pretext of religion had often rent in sunder the bands of union, and interrupted the peace of the English nation, from the conquest to the present day. Nor had persecution ever been pushed with a more severe hand in any part of the world, than among these islanders, all of whom professed themselves Christians, though divided by a variety of denominations. The popish religion had been particularly inhibited from the days of the Stuarts; but as many of the nobility still adhered to the Catholic faith, a degree of liberality and toleration was indulged, and religious distinctions, if not annihilated, had generally lain dormant among a people highly improved in politeness and erudition. Yet the same spirit of bigotry was concealed in the bosoms of many, which wanted only the contact of a torch to emblazon into the flames of persecuting fury.

This the present moment presented; and no animosities of this nature had for many years arisen to such a height of riot, confusion, tumult, and danger, as raged in the city of London in consequence of an act recently passed, entitled "an act for relieving his majesty's subjects professing the popish religion, from certain penalties and disabilities, imposed on them by an act made in the eleventh and twelfth years of the reign of king William the third." The zealous opposition in Scotland to any relaxation of the penal laws against the Papists, seems to have originated the Protestant association in England.

Though not immediately connected with American affairs, it may not be improper before we conclude this chapter, to notice, that no heat of opposition among the *insurgents* of the *colonies*, as they were termed, ever arose to such an atrocious height, as the mobs in London, in the face of the parliament of England, and under the eye of their sovereign.

The restless and turbulent spirit and conduct of lord George Gordon, gave rise to the notorious outrages committed in and about London in the month of June, one thousand seven hundred and eighty. Enthusiastically bitter against the indulgence of the Roman Catholic religion, he carried his designs and temper so far, as to spread the same intolerant spirit through a large

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body of his adherents. Fifty or ſixty thouſand perſons aſſembled in St. George's Fields, under the appellation of the *Proteſtant Aſſociators*, diſtinguiſhed by blue cockades in their hats, a badge which they endeavoured to affix to many well-meaning perſons, whom they compelled to move in their train. The paſſions of the mad multitude inflamed by various artifices, they paraded the city for ſeveral days, and ſet fire to many elegant buildings, among which lord Mansfield's houſe, furniture, library, and many valuable manuſcripts, were deſtroyed.

Lord George Saville's houſe in Leiceſter Fields, fell under the reſentment and fury of the rioters, profeſſedly for his preparing and bringing a bill into parliament in favor of the Catholics. The biſhop of Lincoln, and ſeveral other dignified clergymen, felt the effects of their ruffian and licentious hands: they were inſulted, abuſed, and treated with the utmoſt rudeneſs and indignity. In ſhort, plunder, rapine, anarchy, murder, and conflagration, ſpread in every quarter of the city. The priſoners were releaſed, and the jails ſet on fire: Newgate, King's Bench, the Fleet Priſon, and other public buildings deſtroyed. Neither the civil authority, the remonſtrances of the moderate, nor the terror of the military, were able to quell the rioters, or diſperſe the rabble, under four or five days, that the city blazed in ſo

many different and conſpicuous parts, as to threaten the conflagration of that noble capital.

As ſoon as a degree of quiet was reſtored by a diſperſion of the inflamed multitude, lord George Gordon was taken into cuſtody, and committed to the tower. After ſix or ſeven months confinement, he was tried; but as there appeared a derangement of his intellectual faculties, bordering on inſanity, he was acquitted and ſet at liberty.

It is no ſingular circumſtance that a zeal for religion, or rather for a particular mode of worſhip, ſhould diſgrace the Chriſtian ſyſtem, by the wild fanaticiſm of its real or pretended votaries. It has been obſerved, that this was the pretext for the licentious conduct of the *London Aſſociators*: their cry was *religion*; forgetful among the moſt ferocious deeds of cruelty, that the religion they oſtenſibly pretended to defend, was interwoven with the moſt rational morality, and the moſt fervent piety.

The ſame illiberal ſpirit of ſuperſtition and bigotry, has been the pretext for eſtabliſhing inquiſitions, for Smithfield fires, for maſſacres, wars, and rivers of human blood poured out on the earth, which groans beneath the complicated crimes of man. Thus, miſtaken ideas of religion have often led the multitude to deeds

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of cruelty and madneſs, enkindled the fury of the aſſaſſin to murder the monarch amidſt his guards, or the hapleſs maid in her devotional cloſet. The ignorant, the artful, or the illiberal children of men, have often brought forward the ſacred name of religion, to ſanction the groſſeſt abſurdities, to juſtify the moſt cruel perſecutions, and to violate every principle of reaſon and virtue in the human mind.

It is a melancholy truth, that the Chriſtian world too generally forgets that the mild ſpirit of the goſpel dictates candor and forgiveneſs towards thoſe who are diſſentient in opinion. The example of the good Samaritan was recorded, to impreſs the cultivation of the benevolent affections towards all mankind, without reſtriction to neighbour or to country: and the ſword of Peter was ordered into its ſcabbard, by the founder of that code of rational and juſt ſentiment, productive of order and peace in the preſent ſtage of weakneſs and error.

The mild virtues of charity and brotherly kindneſs, are the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of this benign religion: yet it is not leſs humiliating than wonderful, when we calmly reflect, that mankind have ſeemed to delight in the deſtruction of their fellow-beings, from the earlieſt records of time to the preſent ſtruggles of America, to maintain their rights at the point

of the ſword, againſt a nation long inured to the carnage of their own ſpecies.

This has been evinced, not only in the oppreſſion of Great Britain over her own colonies, and the civil convulſions on their own iſland, but from the havoc made by their enormous naval armaments, which have crimſoned the ocean with human blood, carried death to their antipodes, and deſolation round the globe.

To the univerſal regret of the moſt benevolent part of mankind, they have witneſſed, that the nabobs of India have been reduced to ſlavery, and the innocent inhabitants of the eaſtern world involved in famine, poverty, and every ſpecies of miſery, notwithſtanding the immenſe reſources of the moſt luxuriant and fertile country on earth, by the innovating, ambitious, and inſolent ſpirit of a nation, aſſuming the juriſdiction of the ſeas, and aiming at univerſal domination.

The black catalogue of cruelties permitted by the Engliſh government, and executed by their myrmidons in the eaſt, againſt the innocent natives of India, will leave a ſtain on the character of the Britiſh nation, until the memory of their deeds ſhall be blotted from every hiſtoric page. Nor was the ſyſtem of conqueſt there

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relaxed in the ſmalleſt degree: while the Ganges and the Indus were reddened with the blood, and covered with the ſlaughtered bodies of men, their armies in the weſt were endeavouring to reduce their former colonies, to the ſame ſtate of ſlavery and miſery with the inhabitants of that diſtant region.

The attempted extermination of many of the primitive inhabitants, and the waſte of human life through all Indoſtan and other parts of the eaſtern world, by the deſtroying ſword of Britain, are recollections too ſhocking for the humane and benevolent mind to dwell on. Too melancholy a picture is exhibited, when the eye of compaſſion is turned towards that ill-fated country. It muſt in tears behold the zemidars and the nabobs in chains, their princes and princeſſes of every age immerſed in poverty, ſtripped of their connexions, captured by the Engliſh, and dying in deſpair, without the cold ſolace of pity from their foes. All the ancient, well-informed, and ingenious inhabitants of that rich, populous, and favored ſpot of creation, involved in one common ruin, exhibit the moſt ſtriking and affecting view of the cruelties of man, and of the viciſſitudes of human affairs, that modern hiſtory preſents.

Theſe laſt obſervations indeed, may not appear to be connected with the deſign of the preſent work: nor have the cruelties which have

been exhibited in the Eaſt Indies by the arms of Great Britain, ariſen from a ſpirit of religious intolerance. It may however be obſerved, when the mind has for a moment left the more ſublunary purſuits of man, and adverted to the ſacred theme of religion, that nothing can be a more inſurmountable bar to the propagation of truth, either in the eaſt, the weſt, or in the dark regions of African or Aſiatic ſlavery, than the cruelties perpetrated by men, who profeſs a ſyſtem of ethics more ſublime than that of Zoroaſter, morals more refined than taught by Socrates, and a religion pure and ſimple, inculcating the moſt benign diſpoſitions, forbidding all injuries to the weakeſt of its fellow beings.

Obſervations on the moral conduct of man, on religious opinion or perſecutions, and the motives by which mankind are actuated in their various purſuits, will not be cenſured when occaſionally introduced. They are more congenial to the taſte, inclination, and ſex of the writer, than a detail of the rough and terrific ſcenes of war. Nor will a ſerious or philoſophic mind be diſpleaſed with ſuch an interlude, which may ſerve as a temporary reſting-poſt to the weary traveller, who has trodden over the field of carnage, until the ſoul is ſickened by a view of the abſurdity and cruelty of his own ſpecies.

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Theſe reflections may juſtify a ſhort digreſſion, that only means to hint at the happy conſequences that might reſult, if a nation which extends its power, and carries its arms to the extremities of the globe, would tranſmit with them, that mildneſs of manners, that juſtice, humanity, and rectitude of character, that would draw the inhabitants of the darker regions of the world, from their idolatry and ſuperſtition. Thus nations who had long been immerſed in errors, might be led to embrace a religion, admirably adapted to the promotion of the happineſs of mankind on earth, and to prepare a rational agent for ſome higher ſtage of exiſtence, when the drama on this tragic theatre is finiſhed.

CHAPTER XVII.

Diſtreſſed Situation of the Army and the Country, from various Cauſes.—General Gates ſent to the Southward —Surpriſed and defeated at Camden by Lord Cornwallis—Superſeded.—General Greene appointed to the Command in the Carolinas.—Major Ferguſon's Defeat. —Sir Henry Clinton makes a Diverſion in the Cheſapeake, in favor of Lord Cornwallis.—General Arnold ſent there—His Defection and Character.—Detection, Trial, and Death of Major Andre.—Diſpoſition of the Dutch Republic with regard to America.—Governor Trumbull's Character, and Correſpondence with the Baron Van der Capellen.—Mr. Laurens appointed to negociate with the Dutch Republic.

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THE year one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, was a year of incident, expectation, and event; a period pregnant with future conſequences, intereſting in the higheſt degree to the political happineſs of the nations, and perhaps ultimately to the civil inſtitutions of a great part of mankind. We left England in the preceding chapter, in a very perturbed ſtate, ariſing both from their own internal diſſenſions, and the dread of foreign combinations, relative to their own iſland and its former dependencies.

At the ſame time, neither the pen of the hiſtorian, or the imagination of the poet, can fully

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describe the embarrassments suffered by congress, by the commander in chief, and by men of firmness and principle in the several legislative bodies, through this and the beginning of the next year. The scarcity of specie, the rapid depreciation of paper, which at once sunk the property and corrupted the morals of the people; which destroyed all confidence in public bodies, reduced the old army to the extremes of misery, and seemed to preclude all possibility of raising a new one, sufficient for all the departments; were evils, which neither the wisdom or vigilance of congress could remedy.

At such a crisis, more penetration and firmness, more judgment, impartiality, and moderation, were requisite in the commander in chief of the American armies, than usually fall within the compass of the genius or ability of man. In the neighbourhood of a potent army, general Washington had to guard with a very inadequate force, not only against the arms of his enemies, but the machinations of British emissaries, continually attempting to corrupt the fidelity both of his officers and his troops.

Perhaps no one but himself can describe the complicated sources of anxiety, that at this period pervaded the breast of the first military officer, whose honor, whose life, whose country, hung suspended, not on a single point only, but

on many events that quivered in the winds of fortune, chance, or the more uncertain determinations of men. Happy is it to reflect, that these are all under the destination of an unerring hand, that works in secret, ultimately to complete the beneficent designs of Providence.

Some extracts from his own pen, very naturally express the agitations of the mind of general Washington, in the preceding as well as the present year. In one of his letters to a friend* he observed, "* * * * * * * * * * * * * Our conflict is not likely to "cease so soon as every good man would wish. "The measure of iniquity is not yet filled; and "unless we can return a little more to first principles, and act a little more upon patriotic "ground, I do not know when it will—or— "what may be the issue of the contest. Speculation—peculation—engrossing—forestalling "—with all their concomitants, afford too "many melancholy proofs of the decay of public virtue; and too glaring instances of its being the interest and desire of too many, who "would wish to be thought friends, to continue "the war.

* This original letter was to James Warren, esquire, speaker of the assembly of Massachusetts, March the thirty-first, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine.

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"Nothing, I am convinced, but the depreciation of our currency, proceeding in a great measure from the foregoing causes, aided by stock-jobbing and party dissensions, has fed the hopes of the enemy, and kept the arms of Britain in America until now. They do not scruple to declare this themselves; and add, that we shall be our own conquerors. Cannot our common country (America) possess virtue enough to disappoint them? With you, sir, I think, that the consideration of a little dirty pelf to individuals, is not to be placed in competition with the essential rights and liberties of the present generation, and of millions yet unborn.

"Shall a few designing men, for their own aggrandizement, and to gratify their own avarice, overset the goodly fabric we have been rearing at the expense of so much time, blood, and treasure?—and shall we at last become the victims of our own abominable lust of gain?—Forbid it Heaven!—forbid it all, and every state in the union! by enacting and enforcing efficacious laws for checking the growth of these monstrous evils, and restoring matters in some degree, to the pristine state they were in at the commencement of the war.

"Our cause is noble,—it is the cause of mankind; and the danger to it springs from our-

"ſelves. Shall we ſlumber and ſleep then, "when we ſhould be puniſhing thoſe miſcreants "who have brought theſe troubles upon us, and "who are aiming to continue us in them? "while we ſhould be ſtriving to fill our battal-"ions, and deviſing ways and means to appre-"ciate the currency, on the credit of which "every thing depends?—I hope not. * * * "* * * * * * * * * Let vigorous "meaſures be adopted to puniſh ſpeculators— "foreſtallers—and extortioners;—and above "all—to ſink the money by heavy taxes—to "promote public and private economy—en-"courage manufactures, &c.

"Meaſures of this ſort gone heartily into by "the ſeveral ſtates, will ſtrike at once at the "root of all our misfortunes, and give the *coup* "*de grace* to Britiſh hope of ſubjugating this "great continent, either by their arms or their "arts. The firſt, as I have before obſerved, "they acknowledge unequal to the taſk; the "latter I am ſure will be ſo, if we are not loſt "to every thing that is good and virtuous."

"A little time now, muſt unfold in ſome de-"gree, the enemy's deſigns. Whether the ſtate "of affairs in Europe will permit them to aug-"ment their army, with more than recruits "for the regiments now in America, and there-"with attempt an active and vigorous "campaign,—or whether with their Cana-

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"dian and Florida force, they will aid and abet "the Indians in ravaging our weſtern frontier, "while their ſhipping with detachments haraſs, "(and if they mean to proſecute the predatory "war threatened by adminiſtration through "their commiſſioners,) burn, and deſtroy our "ſea-coaſt,—or whether, contrary to expecta-"tion, they are more diſpoſed to negociate than "to either, is more than I can determine. The "latter will depend very much on their appre-"henſions of Spain, and their own foreign alli-"ances. At preſent, we ſeem to be in a chaos, "but this cannot laſt long, as I preſume the ul-"timate determinations of the Britiſh court "will be developed at the meeting of parlia-"ment, after the holidays."

An extract of another letter from general Waſhington to the governor of Pennſylvania, dated Auguſt the twentieth, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, diſcovers the ſame anxiety for the fate of the conteſt, as the above. In this he ſaid,—"To me it will appear miraculous if our affairs can maintain themſelves "much longer, in their preſent train. If either "the temper or the reſources of the country "will not admit of an alteration, we may ſoon "expect to be reduced to the humiliating con-"dition, of ſeeing the cauſe of America held up "in America by foreign arms. The diſcon-"tents of the troops have been gradually nur-"tured to a dangerous extremity. Something

"satisfactory must be done, or the army must cease "to exist at the end of the campaign; or it will "exhibit an example of more virtue, fortitude, "self-denial, and perseverance, than has perhaps "ever been paralleled in the history of human "enthusiasm."

While thus impressed with these apprehensions of the depreciation of public virtue, general Washington had to balance the parties, and to meliorate the distresses of the inhabitants, alternately ravaged by all descriptions of soldiers, in the vicinity of both armies. It was impossible for him to strike any capital blow, without money even for daily expenses, without a naval force sufficient to cover any exertions; his battalions incomplete, his army clamorous and discontented, and on the point of mutiny, from the deficiencies in their pay, and the immediate want of every necessary of life.

At the same time, the legislatures of the several states were in the utmost anxiety, to devise ways and means to supply the requisitions of congress, who had recently laid a tax of many millions on the states, in order to sink the enormous quantity of old paper money. The calls of an army, naked, hungry, and turbulent, even to the discovery of symptoms of revolt, were indeed alarming. The pressing necessities of the

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army, and the critical exigencies of the times, crowded upon them in every department, and required the utmoſt wiſdom, vigilance, and fortitude.

Nothing depictures the characters, the ſentiments, and the feelings of men, more ſtrongly than their private letters at the time. Perhaps this may be evinced, by giving the reader a paragraph of a letter from the ſpeaker* of the houſe of repreſentatives of Maſſachuſetts, to a private friend, at this critical æra of embarraſſment and perplexity.

"Our public affairs wear a moſt diſagreeable "aſpect. Embarraſſments increaſe from every "quarter. My contemplations are engroſſed by "day and by night, for the ſalvation of my "country. If we ſucceed, I ſhall have pleaſure "which a fortune cannot give: if we fail, I "ſhall feel conſolations that thoſe who are in-"tent only on making fortunes, muſt envy. In "a country abounding with men and provi-"ſions, it would torture a Sully to raiſe and "ſupport an army in the field. Every thing is "reſolved into money: but the great queſtion "is, how to get it?—Taxes, though ſo great, "and often repeated, do not bring it in faſt "enough; we cannot borrow, becauſe no one "will lend: while the army is in danger of

* The honorable James Warren, eſquire, to ********.

"ſtarving or diſbanding. If we lay more taxes, "the very people who have been uſed to tender "the one half of their property, or even their "all, for the ſervice of their country, will now "revolt at the idea of paying a two-hundredth "part; and it might perhaps create uneaſineſs "that might break the union. On the other "hand, if we do not lay more taxes, for aught "I ſee, there muſt be an end of the conteſt. "All theſe difficulties are increaſed by the ſuc-"ceſſes of the enemy, which clog our meaſures "by diſpiriting the army and the people. But "I do not deſpair. One vigorous and grand "campaign may yet put a glorious period to "the war. All depends on proper exertions. "We have to chooſe glory, honor, and happi-"neſs, or infamy, diſgrace, and miſery."

The complicated difficulties already depictured, clearly prove, that ſuch a ſpirit of avarice and peculation had crept into the public departments, and taken deep hold of the majority of the people, as Americans a few years before, were thought incapable of. The careful obſerver of human conduct will readily perceive, that a variety of concurring cauſes led to this ſudden change of character. The opulent, who had been uſed to eaſe, independence, and generoſity, were reduced, diſpirited, and deprived of the ability of rendering pecuniary ſervice to their country, by the unavoidable failure of public faith. Great part of the fortunes of the

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widow, the orphan, and the aged, were funk in the public funds; ſo that the nominal income of a year, would ſcarcely ſupply the neceſſities of a day.

The depreciation of paper had been ſo rapid, that at this time,* one hundred and twenty dollars of the paper currency was not an equivalent to one in ſilver or gold: while at the ſame time, a ſudden accumulation of property by privateering, by ſpeculation, by accident, or fraud, placed many in the lap of affluence, who were without principle, education, or family. Theſe, from a thoughtleſs ignorance, and the novelty of ſplendor to which they had been total ſtrangers, ſuddenly plunged into every kind of diſſipation, and grafted the extravagancies and follies of foreigners, on their own paſſion for ſquandering what by them had been ſo eaſily acquired.

Thus, avarice without frugality, and profuſion without taſte, were indulged, and ſoon baniſhed the ſimplicity and elegance that had formerly reigned: inſtead of which, there was ſpread in America among the riſing generation, a thirſt for the accumulation of wealth, unknown to their anceſtors. A claſs who had not had the advantages of the beſt education, and who had paid little attention to the principles

* See ſcale of depreciation.

of the revolution, took the lead in manners. Sanctioned by the breach of public faith, the private obligations of justice seemed to be little regarded, and the sacred idea of equity in private contracts was annihilated for a time, by the example of public deficiency.

The infantile state of government, the inexperience of its leaders, and the necessity of substituting a medium with only an imaginary value, brought an impeachment on congress, without voluntary deviations from probity, or willing breaches of faith. Perhaps nothing is more true, than an observation of a member of that body, that "*the necessity of affairs had often* "*obliged them to depart from the purity of their first* "*principles.*" The complaint that the fountain was corrupt, was artfully diffused: however that might be, the streams were undoubtedly tainted, and contamination, with few exceptions, seemed to run through the whole body of the people; and a declension of morals was equally rapid with the depreciation of their currency.

But a superintending Providence, that overrules the designs, and defeats the projects of men, remarkably upheld the spirit of the Americans; and caused events that had for a time a very unfavorable aspect, to operate in favor of independence and peace, and to make a new na-

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tion of the recent emigrants from the old and proud empire of Britain.

But they had yet many difficulties to ſtruggle with, which will be ſufficiently evinced as we follow the *route* of the Britiſh army, and detail the tranſactions in the Carolinas. The embarraſſments and diſtreſſes, the battles, ſkirmiſhes, and diſappointments, the alternate ſucceſſes and defeats, flight and purſuit, that took place between the contending parties there, muſt be more copiouſly related, previous to the manœuvres through the ſtate of Virginia, that led to the laſt capital ſtroke, which finiſhed with glory and renown the grand conteſt between Great Britain and her colonies, and ſealed the independence of America.

Indeed a conſiderable time had elapſed, before the diſtreſſes of the country; the ſituation of the army, naked, hungry, and clamorous; the preſſing importunity of general Waſhington; the addreſſes and declarations of congreſs; and the remonſtrances of the ſeveral legiſlative bodies, could arouſe from the purſuit of private intereſt, thoſe who thought themſelves ſecure from immediate danger.

Though from many untoward circumſtances, a cloud for a time had ſeemed to hover over the minds of many, the people again awaked, both from the dream of ſecure enjoyment in

ſome, and the dread apprehenſions in others of falling under the Britiſh yoke. The patriotic exertions and unſhaken firmneſs of the few in every ſtate, again had their influence on the many, and all ſeemed ready to ſuffer any thing, but a ſubjugation to the crown of Britain.

Not the loſs of Charleſton, a captured army, the deſtruction of their marine, the ſinking ſtate of their medium, the internal ravages of their country, and their ſea-coaſt blazing under the fire of their enemies, had the ſmalleſt tendency to bend the Americans to a dereliction of their claim to independence. A confidence in their own good fortune, or rather in that Providence, whoſe fiat points out the riſe and marks the boundaries of empire, ſupported the more thoughtful; while a conſtitutional hardineſs, warmed by enthuſiam, and whetted by innumerable and recent injuries, ſtill buoyed up the hopes of the ſoldier, the ſtateſman, the legiſlator, and the people at large, even in the darkeſt moments.

Immediately after the news reached congreſs, that general Lincoln had ſurrendered Charleſton, and that himſelf and his army were priſoners to the Britiſh commander, the baron de Kalb, a brave and experienced Pruſſian officer, who had been ſome time in the American ſervice, was ordered to Virginia, with ſanguine

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hopes of checking the further progreſs of the Britiſh arms. Though the baron de Kalb was an officer of great military merit, his command at the ſouthward was only temporary.

General Gates, the ſucceſsful conqueror in the northern, was veſted with the chief command in the ſouthern department. It was an appointment of great reſponſibility: this might be a reaſon, in addition to the great reſpect which this foreign nobleman had for general Gates, that led him to expreſs in all his letters to his friends, the peculiar ſatisfaction he felt on his arrival to take the chief command. An officer of his name and experience, at once emboldened the friends of their country, and intimidated the wavering and diſaffected. The renowned ſoldier who had captured one proud Britiſh general and his army, was at that time viewed with particular awe and reſpect by another.

Nor was it long before moſt of the Britiſh commanders were convinced of the deluſory nature of thoſe aſſurances they had received from the loyaliſts, that a general diſguſt to the authority of congreſs prevailed; that the defection, more particularly in North Carolina, was ſuch, that the people were ready to renounce all *American uſurpations*, as ſoon as the royal ſtandard ſhould be erected among them.

But experiment ſoon convinced them of the futility of ſuch expectations.

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The baron de Kalb had been ſent on earlier from head-quarters: he had with him a detachment of fourteen hundred men. He ſtayed only a few weeks in Virginia, and moved from thence to Carolina, where he ſoon after met general Gates. After the junction of general Gates and the baron de Kalb, they, with unexampled patience and fatigue, marched an army of ſeveral thouſand men through a barren country, that afforded no ſubſiſtence except green fruits, and other unwholeſome aliments. They reached the borders of South Carolina, and encamped at Clermont the thirteenth of Auguſt.

On his arrival in the vicinity of the Britiſh head-quarters, general Gates publiſhed a proclamation, inviting the patriotic inhabitants of South Carolina, "to join heartily in reſcuing "themſelves and their country, from the op-"preſſion of a government impoſed on them "by the ruſſian hand of power." In this proclamation he promiſed forgiveneſs and perfect ſecurity, to ſuch of the unfortunate citizens of the ſtate, as had been induced by the terror of ſanguinary puniſhments, and the arbitrary meaſures of military domination, apparently to acquieſce under the Britiſh government.

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He obſerved, "that they had been obliged "to make a forced declaration of allegiance and "ſupport to a tyranny, which the indignant "ſouls of citizens reſolved on freedom, inward-"ly revolted at with horror and deteſtation: "that they might reſt ſatisfied, that the genu-"ine motive which has given energy to the "preſent exertions, is the hope of reſcuing "them from the iron rod of oppreſſion, and re-"ſtoring to them thoſe bleſſings of freedom and "independence, which it is the duty and inter-"eſt of the citizens of theſe United States, "jointly and reciprocally to ſupport and con-"firm."

The ſituation of general Gates at Clermont was not very advantageous, but his deſign was not to continue long there, but by a ſudden move to fall unexpectedly on lord Rawdon, who had fixed his head-quarters at Camden. This place was about thirteen miles diſtant from Clermont, on the borders of the river Santee, from whence the communication was eaſy to the internal parts of the country.

Lord Cornwallis had gained early intelligence of the movements of the American army, and had arrived at Camden himſelf, with a ſimilar deſign, by an unexpected blow, to ſurpriſe general Gates and defeat his arrangements. His lordſhip effected his purpoſe with a facility beyond his own expectations. The two armies

met in the night of the fifteenth of Auguſt, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty. Mutually ſurpriſed by the ſudden neceſſity of action, a looſe ſkirmiſh was kept up until the morning, when a general engagement commenced.

The Britiſh troops were not equal in numbers to thoſe of the Americans, including the militia, while the renowned character of general Gates heightened the ideas of their ſtrength. But the onſet on both ſides began with equal ſpirit and bravery, and was continued with valor equally honorary to both parties, until the militia intimidated, particularly thoſe from Virginia and North Carolina, gave ground, threw down their arms, and fled with great precipitation. The order of the army was immediately broken, and fortune no longer favorable, forſook the American veteran, at the moment his reputation courted, and depended on her ſmiles. His troops were totally routed, and the general himſelf fled, rather than retreated, in a manner that was thought for a time, in ſome meaſure to ſully the laurels of Saratoga.

The baron de Kalb, an officer of great military talents and reputation, was mortally wounded in this action. He died rejoicing in the ſervices he had rendered America in her noble ſtruggles for liberty, and gloried with his

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laſt breath, in the honor of dying in defence of the rights of man. Before his death he dictated a letter to a friend, expreſſive of the warmeſt affection for the Americans, containing the higheſt encomiums on the valor of the continental troops, of which he had been ſo recent a witneſs, and declaring the ſatisfaction which he then felt, in having been a partaker of their fortune, and having fallen in their cauſe.*

The proportion of ſlain among the Americans, was much greater than that of the Britiſh. Brigadier general Gregory was killed, with ſeveral other brave officers: Rutherford and others were wounded and captured. The total *rout* of the Americans was completed, by the purſuit and deſtruction of a corps at ſome diſtance from the ſcene of the late action, commanded by colonel Sumpter. He was advancing with a ſtrong body to the aid of general Gates, but meeting the news of his defeat, he endeavoured to retreat, and being unfortunately overtaken by colonel Tarleton, his whole party was diſperſed or cut off.

* When lord Cornwallis was informed of the rank and merits of the baron de Kalb, he directed that his remains ſhould be reſpectfully interred. He was buried near the village of Camden; but no memorial of the depoſite of this diſtinguiſhed hero has been preſerved, though congreſs ſome time afterwards directed a monument ſhould be erected to his memory. Nothing was however done, except planting an ornamental tree at the head of his grave.

Cenſure for a time fell very heavily on general Gates, for the precipitation and diſtance of his retreat. He ſcarcely halted until he reached Hillſborough, an hundred miles from the field of battle. Yet neither the courage nor the fidelity of the bold and long-tried veteran could be called in queſtion: the ſtrongeſt human fortitude has frequently ſuffered a momentary eclipſe from that panic-ſtruck influence, under which the mind of man ſometimes unaccountably falls, when there is no real or obvious cauſe of deſpair. This has been exemplified in the greateſt military characters; the duke of Parma* and others; and even the celebrated royal hero of Pruſſia has retreated before them as in a fright, but recovered himſelf, defied and conquered his enemies.

General Gates, though he had loſt the day in the unfortunate action at Camden, loſt no part of his courage, vigilance, or firmneſs. After he reached Hillſborough, he made ſeveral efforts to collect a force ſufficient again to meet lord Cornwallis in the field: but the public opinion bore hard upon his reputation: he was immediately ſuperſeded, and a court-martial appointed to inquire into his conduct. He was in-

* The maſterly retreat of the duke of Parma before the king of France, was indeed a haſty flight; but he ſoon recovered himſelf, and aſked the king by a trumpet, "what "he thought of his retreat?" The king was ſo much out of humor, that he could not help ſaying, "he had no "ſkill in retreating; and that in his opinion, the beſt re-

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deed fully justified by the result of this military investigation, and treated with the utmost respect by the army, and by the inhabitants on his return to Virginia. Yet the tide of *fame* ebbed fast before him: but the impression made by his valor and military glory could never be erased.

The most exalted minds may, however, be clouded by misfortunes. Chagrined by his defeat, and the consequences attending it, the climax of his affliction was completed by the death of an amiable wife, and the loss of his only son, a very hopeful youth, who died about the same time. This honest republican, whose determined spirit, uncorruptible integrity, and military merits, had been so eminently useful to America in many critical emergencies, retired to *Traveller's Rest*, his seat in Virginia, where he continued until the temporary prejudice against him had subsided, when he again resumed his rank in the army.

After a little time had dissipated the sudden impression made by his ill success and retreat, it was allowed by almost every one, that general Gates was not treated by congress with all

" treat in the world was little better than a flight." The duke however gained, rather than lost reputation thereby. He resumed his high rank, as a commander of the first abilities, and lived and died crowned with military fame and applause.

SIEGE OF ROUEN.....*Mod. Univ. History.*

the delicacy, or indeed gratitude, that was due to an officer of his acknowledged merit. He however received the orders for ſuperſedure and ſuſpenſion, and reſigned the command to general Greene with becoming dignity.

With a generoſity and candor characteriſtic of himſelf, general Greene, who ſucceeded in the ſouthern command, on all occaſions vindicated the reputation of general Gates, who was fully reſtored to the good opinion of his countrymen; and continued to act an honorable part till the concluſion of the war. General Greene invariably aſſerted, that if there was any miſtake in the conduct of Gates, it was in hazarding an action at all againſt ſuch ſuperior forces, not in his retreating after the battle was irretrievably loſt. There was a large claſs, who from various motives, after the misfortunes of general Gates, endeavoured to vilify his name, and detract from his character.

It may be obſerved in this, as in innumerable inſtances in the life of man, that virtue and talents do not always hold their rank in the public eſteem. Malice, intrigue, envy, and other adventitious circumſtances, frequently caſt a ſhade over the moſt meritorious characters; and fortune, more than real worth, not ſeldom eſtabliſhes the reputation of her favorites, in the opinion of the undiſcerning multitude, and hands them down to poſterity with laurels on their brow, which perhaps they never earned,

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while characters of more intrinsic excellence, are vilified or forgotten. General Gates however, had the consolation at all times to reflect on the just and universal plaudits he received, for the glorious termination of his northern campaign, and the many advantages which accrued to America, from the complete conquest of such a formidable body of her foes.

Lord Cornwallis did not reap all the advantages he had expected from his victory at Camden. His severity did not aid his designs, though he sanctioned by proclamations the most summary executions of the unhappy sufferers, who had by compulsion borne arms in the British service, and were afterwards found enlisted under the banners of their country, in opposition to royal authority. Many of this description suffered immediate death, in consequence of the order of the commander in chief, while their houses were burned, and their families obliged to fly naked to the wilderness to seek some miserable shelter. Indeed little less severity could have been expected, from circumstances not favorable to the character of a British nobleman.

Whether stimulated by resentment, aroused by fear, or prompted by a wish to depopulate a country they despaired of conquering, is uncertain; it is true, however, that some of the British commanders when coming to action, observed in general orders, that they *wanted no*

prisoners: and it was said, that even lord Cornwallis had sometimes given the same cruel intimation, to troops too much disposed to barbarity, without the countenance of their superiors.

The outrages of Tarleton and other British partisans, who cruelly and successfully ravaged the Carolinas, exemplified in too many instances, that the account of this disposition is not exaggerated. Their licentiousness was for several weeks indulged, without any check to their wanton barbarities. But the people daily more and more alienated from the royal cause, by a series of unthought of miseries, inflicted and suffered in consequence of its success; the inhabitants of the state of North Carolina, as well as of South Carolina and Georgia, and indeed the settlers on the more distant borders, were, in a few weeks after the battle of Camden, every where in motion, to stop the progress of British depredation and power. For a time these fierce people were without connected system, regular discipline or subordination, and had scarcely any knowledge of each other's designs. Small parties collected under any officer who had the courage to lead them on, and many such they found, ready to sacrifice every thing to the liberty they had enjoyed, and that independence they wished to maintain.

From the desultory movements of the British after the battle of Camden, and the continual

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resistance and unceasing activity of the Americans, attack and defeat, surprise and escape, plunder, burning, and devastation, pervaded the whole country, when the aged, the helpless, the women, and the children, alternately fell the prey of opposite partisans. But the defeat of major Ferguson, a brave and favorite officer, early in autumn, was a blow that discovered at once the spirit of the people, and opened to lord Cornwallis the general disaffection of that part of the country, where he had been led to place the most confidence.

Major Ferguson had for several weeks taken post in Tryon county, not far distant from the western mountains. He had there collected a body of royalists, who united with his regular detachments, spread terror and dismay through all the adjacent country. This aroused to action all who were capable of bearing arms, in opposition to his designs. A body of militia collected in and about the highlands of North Carolina: a party of Hunter's riflemen, a number of the steady yeomanry of the country, in short, a numerous and resolute band, in defiance of danger and fatigue, determined to drive him from his strong *position* on a spot called King's Mountain. Under various commanders who had little knowledge of each other, they seemed all to unite in the design of hunting down this useful prop of British authority, in that part of the country.

These hardy partisans effected their purpose; and though the British commander exhibited the valor of a brave and magnanimous officer, and his troops acquitted themselves with vigor and spirit, the Americans, who in great numbers surrounded them, won the day. Major Ferguson, with an hundred and fifty of his men, fell in the action, and seven hundred were made prisoners, from whom were selected a few, who, from motives of public zeal or private revenge, were immediately executed. This summary infliction was imposed by order of some of those fierce and uncivilized chieftains, who had spent most of their lives in the mountains and forests, amidst the slaughter of wild animals, which was necessary to their daily subsistence.

Perhaps the local situation of the huntsman or savage, may lessen their horror at the sight of blood, where streams are continually pouring down before them, from the gasping victim slain by their own hands; and this may lead them, with fewer marks of compassion to immolate their own species, when either interest or resentment stimulates. In addition to this, all compassionate sensations might be totally deadened by the example of the British, who seemed to estimate the life of a man, on the same grade with that of the animal of the forest.

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The order for executing ten of the prisoners* immediately on their capture, was directed, as previously threatened, by a colonel Cleveland, who with Williams, Sevier, Shelby, and Campbell, were the principal officers who formed and conducted the enterprise against Ferguson.

After this victory, most of the adherents to the royal cause in the interior parts of the Carolinas, either changed sides or sunk into obscurity. Lord Cornwallis himself, in a letter to sir Henry Clinton about this time, complained, that "it was in the militia of the northern "frontier alone, that he could place the smallest "dependence; and that they were so totally "dispirited by Ferguson's defeat, that in the "whole district he could not assemble an hun-"dred men, and even in them he could not "now place the smallest confidence."†

* This step was justly complained of in a letter to general Smallwood from lord Cornwallis. He particularly regretted the death of a colonel Mills, a gentleman of a fair and uniform character; also a captain Oates, and others, who were charged with no crime but that of royalism.

† Sir Henry Clinton observed on this occasion, that "the fatal catastrophe of Ferguson's defeat, had lost lord "Cornwallis the whole militia of Ninety-Six, amounting to "four thousand men; and even threw South Carolina in-"to a state of confusion and rebellion."

There had been repeated aſſurances given by the loyaliſts in North Carolina, that their numbers and their zeal would facilitate the reſtoration of his majeſty's government in that province; but it appears by many circumſtances, that theſe promiſes were conſidered as very futile, in the opinion of ſeveral of the principal officers of the Britiſh army, as well as to the chief commander.

Soon after the affair with Ferguſon, lord Cornwallis's health was ſo far impaired, that he directed lord Rawdon to make communications to ſir Henry Clinton, and to give him a full ſtatement of the perplexed and perilous ſituation of his majeſty's forces in the Carolinas. After ſtating many circumſtances of the deception of the loyaliſts, the difficulty of obtaining ſubſiſtence in ſuch a barren country, and other particulars of their ſituation, lord Rawdon obſerved in his letter to general Clinton, that they were greatly ſurpriſed that no information had been given them of the advance of general Gates's army; and "no leſs grieved, "that no information whatever of its move-"ments, was conveyed to us by perſons ſo "deeply intereſted in the event, as the North "Carolina loyaliſts."

After the defeat of general Gates, and the diſperſion of his army, the loyaliſts were informed, that the moment had arrived when they

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ought immediately to ſtand forth, and "exert "themſelves to prevent the re-union of the "ſcattered enemy. Inſtant ſupport was in that "caſe promiſed them. Not a ſingle man how-"ever, attempted to improve the favorable op-"portunity, or obeyed that ſummons for which "they had before been ſo impatient. It was "hoped that our approach might get the better "of their timidity: yet, during a long period, "whilſt we were waiting at Charlotteburgh for "our ſtores and convaleſcents, they did not "even furniſh us with the leaſt information re-"ſpecting the force collecting againſt us. In "ſhort, ſir, we may have a powerful body of "friends in North Carolina, and indeed we "have cauſe to be convinced, that many of the "inhabitants wiſh well to his majeſty's arms; "but they have not given evidence enough, "either of their numbers or their activity, *to* "*juſtify the ſtake of this province, for the uncertain* "*advantages that might attend immediate junction* "*with them.* There is reaſon to believe, that "ſuch muſt have been the riſk."

"Whilſt this army lay at Charlotteburgh, "Georgetown was taken from the militia by "the rebels; and the whole country to the eaſt "of the Santee, gave ſuch proofs of general de-"fection, that even the militia of the High-Hills "could not be prevailed upon to join a party "of troops, who were ſent to protect the boats "upon the river. The defeat of major Fergu-

"ſon had ſo far diſpirited this part of the coun-
"try, and indeed the loyal ſubjects were ſo wea-
"ried by the long continuance of the campaign,
"that lieutenant colonel Cruger (commanding
"at Ninety-Six) ſent information to earl Corn-
"wallis, that the whole diſtrict had determined
"to ſubmit, as ſoon as the rebels ſhould enter
"it."*

While lord Cornwallis lay ill of a fever, lord Rawdon wrote to major general Leſlie, in terms of diſappointment and deſpondence. He obſerved, "that events had unfortunately taken
"place very different from expectation: that
"the firſt rumor of an advancing army under
"general Gates, had unveiled a ſpirit of diſaf-
"fection, of which they could have formed no
"idea; and even the diſperſion of that force
"did not extinguiſh the ferment which the
"hope of its ſupport had raiſed. This hour,
"the majority of the inhabitants of that tract
"between the Pedee and the Santee, are in
"arms againſt us; and when we laſt heard
"from Charleſton, they were in poſſeſſion of
"Georgetown, from which they had diſlodged
"our militia."†

* Lord Rawdon's letter to general Clinton, October the twenty-ninth, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty.

† See printed correſpondence of the generals Clinton, Cornwallis, Rawdon, &c., publiſhed in London, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-three.

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While lord Cornwallis was thus embarrassed and disappointed by various unsuccessful attempts, and the defeat of many of his military operations in the Carolinas this year, sir Henry Clinton made a diversion in the Chesapeake, in favor of his lordship's designs. A body of about three thousand men was sent on, under the command of general Leslie. He was under the orders of lord Cornwallis; but not hearing from his lordship for some time after his arrival, he was totally at a loss in what manner to proceed. But some time in the month of October, he received letters from lord Cornwallis, directing him to repair with all possible expedition to Charleston, to assist with all his forces in the complete subjugation of the Carolinas.

Sir Henry Clinton, from an idea that Cornwallis's prime object was the reduction of the Carolinas, and sensible of the necessity, at the same time, of *solid* operations in Virginia, paid all proper attention to the expedition into the Chesapeake. After general Leslie, in obedience to the orders of lord Cornwallis, had marched to the southward, the command of the armament in Virginia was given to general Arnold, who now acted under the orders of sir Henry Clinton. In consequence of his defection, he had been advanced to the rank of a brigadier general in the British army.

General Arnold had recently deserted the American cause, sold himself to the enemies of his country, and engaged in their service. He was a man without principle from the beginning; and before his defection was discovered, he had sunk a character raised by impetuous valor, and some occasional strokes of bravery, attended with success, without being the possessor of any intrinsic merit.

He had accumulated a fortune by great crimes, and squandered it without reputation, long before he formed the plan to betray his country, and sacrifice a cause disgraced by the appointment of a man like himself, to such important trusts. Proud of the trappings of office, and ambitious of an ostentatious display of wealth and greatness, (the certain mark of a narrow mind,) he had wasted the plunder acquired at Montreal, where his conduct had been remarkably reprehensible; and had dissipated the rich harvest of peculation he had reaped at Philadelphia, where his rapacity had no bounds.

Montreal he had plundered in haste; but in Philadelphia, he sat himself down deliberately to seize every thing he could lay hands on in the city, to which he could affix an idea that it had been the property of the disaffected party,

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and converted it to his own use.* Not satisfied with the unjust accumulation of wealth, he had entered into contracts for speculating and privateering, and at the same time made exorbitant demands on congress, in compensation of public services. In the one he was disappointed by the common failure of such adventures; in the other he was rebuffed and mortified by the commissioners appointed to examine his accounts, who curtailed a great part of his demands as unjust, unfounded, and for which he deserved severe reprehension, instead of a liquidation of the accounts he had exhibited.

Involved by extravagance, and reproached by his creditors, his resentment wrought him up to a determination of revenge for public ignominy, at the expense of his country, and the sacrifice of the small remains of reputation left, after the perpetration of so many crimes.

The command of the very important post at West Point, was vested in general Arnold. No one suspected, notwithstanding the censures which had fallen upon him, that he had a heart base enough treacherously to betray his military trust. Who made the first advances to nego-

* See resolutions of the governor and council at Philadelphia, February the third, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, relative to Arnold's conduct in that city.

ciation is uncertain; but it appeared on a ſcrutiny, that Arnold had made overtures to general Clinton, characteriſtic of his own turpitude, and not very honorary to the Britiſh commander, if viewed abſtractedly from the uſages of war, which too frequently ſanctions the blackeſt crimes, and enters into ſtipulations to juſtify the treaſon, while generoſity deſpiſes the traitor, and revolts at the villany of the patricide. Thus his treacherous propoſals were liſtened to, and ſir Henry Clinton authoriſed major Andre, his adjutant general, a young gentleman of great integrity and worth, to hold a perſonal and ſecret conference with the guilty Arnold.

A Britiſh ſloop of war had been ſtationed for ſome time, at a convenient place to facilitate the deſign; it was alſo ſaid, that Andre and Arnold had kept up a friendly correſpondence on ſome trivial matters, previous to their perſonal interview, which took place on the twenty-firſt of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty. Major Andre was landed in the night, on a beach without the military boundaries of either army. He there met Arnold, who communicated to him the ſtate of the army and garriſon at Weſt Point, the number of men conſidered as neceſſary for its defence, a return of the ordnance, and the diſpoſition of the artillery corps in caſe of an attack or alarm. The accounts he gave in writing, with drafts of all the works. Theſe papers

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were afterwards found in the boot of the unfortunate Andre.

The conference continued ſo long, that it did not finiſh timely for the ſafe retreat of major Andre. He was conducted, though without his knowledge or conſent, within the American poſts, where he was obliged to conceal himſelf in company with Arnold, until the enſuing morning. It was then found impracticable for Clinton's agent to make his eſcape by the way he had advanced. The Vulture ſloop of war, from whence he had been landed, had ſhifted her ſtation while he was on ſhore, and lay ſo much expoſed to the fire of the Americans, that the boatmen whom Arnold had bribed to bring his new friend to the conference, refuſed to venture a ſecond time on board. This circumſtance rendered it impoſſible for major Andre to return to New York by water; he was therefore impelled, by the advice of Arnold, to a circuitous *route*, as the only alternative to eſcape the danger into which he was indiſcreetly betrayed.

Thus was this young officer, whoſe former character undoubtedly rendered him worthy of a better fate, reduced to the neceſſity of hurrying as a diſguiſed criminal, through the poſts of his enemies, in fallacious hopes of again recovering the camp of his friends. In this painful ſtate of mind, he had nearly reached the

Britiſh, when he was ſuddenly arreſted within the American lines, by three private ſoldiers. His reflections may be more eaſily imagined than deſcribed—taken in the night, detected in a diſguiſed habit, under a fictitious name, with a plan of the works at Weſt Point, the ſituation, the numbers, and the ſtrength of the American army, with a paſs under the hand of general Arnold in his pocket-book.

He urged for a few moments, the man who firſt ſeized his horſe's bridle, to let him paſs on; told him that his name was John Anderſon; that his buſineſs was important; and that he could not be detained: but two other ſoldiers coming up, and in a peremptory manner saluting him as their priſoner, after challenging him as a ſpy, he attempted no farther equivocation, but preſented a purſe of gold, an elegant watch, and offered other very tempting rewards, if he might be permitted to paſs unmoleſted to New York. Generouſly rejecting all pecuniary rewards, the diſintereſted privates who ſeized the unfortunate Andre, had the fidelity to convey their priſoner as ſpeedily as poſſible, to the head-quarters of the American army.

Such inſtances of fidelity, and ſuch contempt for private intereſt, when united with duty and obligation to the public, are ſo rare among the common claſſes of mankind, that the names of

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John Paulding, *David Williams*, and *Isaac Vanvert*,* ought never to be forgotten. General Washington immediately informed congress of the whole business, and appointed a court-martial, consisting of the principal officers of the army, to inquire into the circumstances and criminality of this interesting affair.

The day after major Andre was taken, he wrote to general Washington with a frankness becoming a gentleman, and a man of honor and principle. He observed, that what he had as yet said of himself, was in the justifiable attempt to extricate him from threatened danger; but that, too little accustomed to duplicity, he had not succeeded. He intimated, that the temper of his mind was equal; and that no apprehensions of personal safety had induced him to address the commander in chief; but that it was to secure himself from the imputation of having assumed a mean character, for treacherous purposes or self-interest, a conduct which he declared incompatible with the principles which had ever actuated him, as well as with his condition in former life.

In this letter he added:—"It is to vindicate "my fame that I speak; not to solicit security. "The person in your possession, is major John

* These were the names of the three soldiers who detected and secured major Andre.

"Andre, adjutant general to the Britiſh army." He then detailed the whole tranſaction, from his going up the Hudſon in the Vulture ſloop of war, until ſeized at Tarry-town, without his uniform, and, as himſelf expreſſed, "betrayed "into the vile condition of an enemy within "your poſts." He requeſted his excellency that he might be treated as a man of honor; and urged, that "in any rigor policy might dic-"tate, I pray that a decency of conduct towards "me may mark, that though unfortunate, I am "branded with nothing diſhonorable, as no mo-"tive could be mine, but the ſervice of my "king; and that I was involuntarily an im-"poſtor."

After a thorough inveſtigation, the reſult of the trial of major Andre, was an unanimous opinion of the court-martial, that his accuſation was juſt. They reported, "that major Andre, "adjutant general to the Britiſh army, ought "to be conſidered as a *ſpy* from the enemy: "that he came on ſhore from the Vulture ſloop "of war, in the night of the twenty-firſt of "September, on an interview with general Ar-"nold, in a private and ſecret manner; that he "changed his dreſs within our lines, and un-"der a feigned name, and in a diſguiſed "habit, paſſed our works at Stoney and Ver-"plank's Points; that he was taken in a diſ-"guiſed habit on his way to New York; that "he had in his poſſeſſion ſeveral papers, which

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"contained intelligence for the enemy; and "that agreeable to the laws and usages of na-"tions, it is their opinion he ought to suffer "death."*

Great interest was made in favor of this young gentleman, whose life had been unimpeached, and whose character promised a distinguished rank in society, both as a man of letters and a soldier. He was elegant in person, amiable in manners, polite, sensible, and brave: but from a misguided zeal for the service of his king, he descended to an assumed and disgraceful character; and by accident and mistake in himself, and the indiscretion and basenes of his untried friend, he found himself ranked with a class held infamous among all civilized nations.

The character of a spy has ever been held mean and disgraceful by all classes of men: yet the most celebrated commanders of all nations, have frequently employed some of their bravest and most confidential officers to wear a guise, in which if detected, they are at once subjected to infamy and to the halter. Doubtless, the generals Clinton and Washington were equally culpable, in selecting an Andre and a Hale to hazard all the hopes of youth and talents, on

* The court consisted of fourteen very respectable officers, of whom general Greene was president. See trial of major Andre.

the precarious die of executing with ſucceſs, a buſineſs to which ſo much deception and baſeneſs is attached.

But the fate of Andre was lamented by the enemies of his nation: his ſufferings were ſoothed by the politeneſs and generoſity of the commander in chief, and the officers of the American army. The gloom of impriſonment was cheered in part, and the terrors of death mitigated, by the friendly intercourſe and converſe of benevolent minds; and the tear of compaſſion was drawn from every pitying eye, that beheld this accompliſhed youth a victim to the uſages of war. While the unfortunate Hale, detected in the effort of gaining intelligence of the deſigns of the enemies of his country, in the ſame clandeſtine manner, had been hanged in the city of New York, without a day lent to pauſe on the awful tranſition from time to eternity.*

This event took place ſoon after the action on Long Iſland. The dilemma to which he was reduced, and the ſituation of his army, rendered it expedient for general Waſhington to endeavour to gain ſome intelligence of the de-

* See an account of captain Hale's execution, in the Britiſh Remembrancer, and other hiſtorical records.

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ſigns, and ſubſequent operations of ſir William Howe, and the army under his command. This being intimated by colonel Smallwood to captain Hale, a young gentleman of unimpeachable character and riſing hopes, he generouſly offered to riſk his life for the ſervice of his country, in the perilous experiment. He ventured into the city, was detected, and with the ſame frankneſs and liberality of mind that marked the character of Andre, acknowledged that he was employed in a buſineſs that could not be forgiven by his enemies; and, without the ſmalleſt trait of compaſſion from any one, he was cruelly inſulted, and executed with diſgraceful rigor. Nor was he permitted to bid a melancholy adieu to his friends, by conveying letters to inform them of the fatal cataſtrophe, that prematurely robbed them of a beloved ſon.

The lives of two ſuch valuable young officers, thus cut off in the morning of expectation, were ſimilar in every thing but the treatment they received from the hands of their enemies. The reader will draw the parallel, or the contraſt, between the conduct of the Britiſh and the Americans, on an occaſion that demanded equal humanity and tenderneſs from every beholder, and make his own comment.

A perſonal interview, at the requeſt of ſir Henry Clinton, took place between the generals Robertſon and Greene; and every thing in the

power of ingenuity, humanity, or affection, was propoſed by general Robertſon to prevent the fate of the unhappy Andre. It was urged that he went from the Vulture under the ſanction of a flag; and that general Arnold had, as he had a right to do, admitted him within the American lines. But major Andre had too much ſincerity to make uſe of any ſubterfuge not founded in truth: in the courſe of his examination, he with the utmoſt candor acknowledged, that "it "was impoſſible for him to ſuppoſe he came on "ſhore under the ſanction of a flag."

The propriety and dignity with which he had written to general Waſhington, on his firſt becoming a priſoner; the acknowledgment of his rank and condition in life, the manner of his detection, the accident of his being betrayed within the American poſts; and indeed ſuch was his whole deportment, that the feelings of humanity forbade a wiſh for the operation of the rigorous maxims of war.

It was thought neceſſary, that he ſhould be adjudged the victim of policy; but reſentment towards him was never harbored in any boſom. He gratefully acknowledged the kindneſs and civilities he received from the American officers; but he wiſhed ſome amelioration of ſome part of his ſentence: his ſenſibility was wounded by the manner in which he was doomed to die.

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He wrote general Washington the day before his execution, that—"Buoyed above the terror "of death, by the consciousness of a life devo-"ted to honorable pursuits, stained with no ac-"tion that can give me remorse, I trust that "the request I make to your excellency at this "severe period, and which is to soften my last "moments, will not be rejected."

"Sympathy towards a soldier, will surely in-"duce you to adapt the mode of my death to "the feelings of a man of honor."

"Let me hope, sir, that if aught in my char-"acter impresses you with esteem towards me; "if aught in my misfortunes marks me the vic-"tim of policy, not of resentment; I shall ex-"perience the operation of those feelings in "your breast, by being informed, I am not to "die on a gibbet."

This his last and pathetic request, to die as a soldier and a man of honor, not as a criminal, the severity of military rules pronounced inadmissible; and this gallant and amiable young officer fell as a traitor, amidst the armies of America, but without a personal enemy: every tongue acceded to the justice of his sentence, yet every eye dropped a tear at the necessity of its execution. Many persons, from the impulse of humanity, thought that general Washington might, consistently with his character as

a ſoldier and a patriot, have meliorated the ſentence of death ſo far, as to have ſaved, at his own earneſt requeſt, this amiable young man from the ignominy of a gallows, by permitting him to die in a mode more conſonant to the ideas of the brave, the honorable, and the virtuous.

When general Arnold was firſt appriſed of the detection of major Andre, and that he was conducted to head-quarters, he was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment and terror, and in the agitation and agonies of a mad man, he called for a horſe, mounted inſtantly, and rode down a craggy ſteep, never before explored on horſeback. He took a barge, and under a flag he paſſed Verplank's Point, and ſoon found himſelf ſafe beneath the guns of the Vulture ſloop of war. Before he took leave of the bargemen, he made them very generous offers if they would act as diſhonorably as he had done: he promiſed them higher and better wages, if they would deſert their country and enliſt in the ſervice of Britain; but they ſpurned at the offer, and were permitted to return. Perhaps, had theſe American watermen been appriſed of the full extent of Arnold's criminality, they would have acted with as much reſolution as the *trio* who ſeized major Andre, and have ſecured Arnold, when he might have ſuffered the puniſhment he deſerved.

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After Arnold had got safe to New York, he wrote to general Washington in behalf of his wife; endeavoured to justify his own conduct, and his appointment and conference with Andre; claimed his right to send a flag to the enemy for any purposes he might think proper, while he held a respectable command in the American army; and urged the release of major Andre with art, insolence, and address. He did not stop here, but on the seventh of October, five days after the execution of Andre, he sent out an address to the people of America, fabricated under the auspices of his new masters, and couched in very insolent and overbearing language. He cast many indecent reflections on congress, on his countrymen, on the French nation, and on the alliance between America and France.

Soon after his arrival in New York, he received the price of his fidelity, ten thousand pounds sterling, in cash,—and of his honor, in a new commission under the crown of Great Britain.

The generals Clinton and Robertson did every thing to save the life of their favorite Andre, except delivering up the traitor Arnold. To this exchange, general Washington would readily have acceded; but a proposal of this nature could not be admitted; for, however beloved or esteemed the individual may be, per-

ſonal regards muſt yield to political exigencies. Thus while the accompliſhed Andre was permitted to die by the hand of the common executioner, the infamous Arnold was careſſed, rewarded, and promoted to high rank in the Britiſh army.

The American government was not remiſs in all proper encouragement to ſignal inſtances of faithful attachment to the intereſt and ſervice of their country. Congreſs ordered, that the three private ſoldiers who had rejected the offers of Andre on his detection, ſhould each of them be preſented with a ſilver medal, two hundred dollars annually during life, and the thanks of congreſs, acknowledging the high ſenſe they retained of the virtuous conduct of *Paulding*, *Williams*, and *Vanvert*.

Sir Henry Clinton had ſo high an opinion of general Arnold's military abilities, and placed ſuch entire confidence in this infamous traitor to his country, that he veſted him with commands of high truſt and importance; and for a time placed his ſole dependence on him for the ravage of the borders of Virginia. He had now the ſole command in the Cheſapeake; and by his rapacity he was qualified to ſurpriſe and plunder: his talents for proſecuting hoſtilities by unexpected attack and maſſacre, were well known in both armies. But affairs in Virginia beginning to wear a more ſerious aſpect, gene-

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ral Clinton thought it not proper to leave general Arnold to his own discretion for any length of time, without the support and assistance of officers of more respectable character, who we shall see were appointed, and sent forward the beginning of the next year.

We leave the operations of the British commanders in their several departments, for the present, and again advert to some interesting circumstances, and new disappointments, that took place towards the close of the present year, and filled the mind of every true American with the utmost concern. There had yet been no treaty or public stipulations between the United States and any foreign nation, except France; but circumstances had been ripening to bring forward immediate negociations with the Dutch republic.

Holland was at this period in a more delicate situation than almost any other European power. Great Britain claimed her as an ally, and held up the obligations of patronage and protection in strong language: but the nature of the dispute between Great Britain and her transatlantic domains, as well as the commercial views of the Belgian provinces, interested the merchants, the burgomasters, and the pensioners of Holland, in favor of America; while the partiality of the stadtholder, his family, and the court connexions, were altogether British; or at

least, the motives of interest, affection, or fear, held them up in that light.

In the intermediate time, the clandestine assistance given by the Dutch merchants was very advantageous to America; and the private encouragement of some of the magistrates of the United Netherlands, that a treaty of alliance and the strictest amity might in time be accomplished between the two republics, heightened the expectations of the American congress. None of the principal characters among the Batavians, were more zealously interested in the success of the American struggle for independence, than *Robert Jasper Van der Capellen, lord of Marsch.*

This worthy Dutchman, as early as the seventh of December, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, had solicited a correspondence with several of the most prominent characters in America. A more correct and judicious correspondent he could not have selected, than governor Trumbull of Connecticut, whose merits as a man, a patriot, and a christian, cannot be too highly appreciated. This gentleman was distinguished in each line of this triple character: as a man, his abilities were conspicuous, his comprehension clear, and his judgment correct. The sedateness of his mind qualified him

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for the patriot, and the friend of a young and growing country, whose manufactures had been checked, her commerce cramped, and their liberties (for the enjoyment of which they had fled to a distant world) curtailed; and in no instance did he ever deviate from the principles of the revolution. His uniform conduct as a christian, was not less signal; his integrity and uprightness, his benevolence and piety, and the purity and simplicity of his manners, through a long life, approached as near the example of the primitive patterns of a sublime religion, as that of any one raised to eminence of office, who, by the flatteries of their fellow-men, are too often led to forget themselves, their country, and their God.

The baron Van der Capellen was a zealous supporter of the Americans in their claim to independence, and pre-disposed many of his countrymen to unite cordially with them, and enter into treaties of amity and commerce, previous to the arrival of a minister at the Hague, to negociate on that subject.

In one of his letters to governor Trumbull he had observed, "that among other causes of "distrust, in relation to the credit of America, "was the false intelligence which the English in-"cessantly circulate, the effects of which the friends "of the Americans cannot destroy, for the want "of information: that it was of the last impor-

"tance to enable them by authentic relations, "which ſhould contain nothing but what was "*preciſely* true, and in which even the diſad-"vantages inſeparable from the chances of war, "ſhould not be concealed; in order to enable "them from time to time, to give an idea of "the actual ſtate of things, and of what is re-"ally paſſing on the other ſide of the ocean."

He added:—"If you chooſe, ſir, to honor "me with ſuch a correſpondence, be aſſured "that I ſhall make a proper uſe of it. Com-"munications apparently in confidence, have a "much ſtronger influence than thoſe which ap-"pear in public." He obſerved, that "a de-"ſcription of the preſent ſtate and advantages "of United America; of the forms of govern-"ment in its different republics; of the facility "with which ſtrangers there may eſtabliſh "themſelves, and find a ſubſiſtence; of the "price of lands, both cultivated and unimprov-"ed, of cattle, proviſions, &c; with a ſuccinct "hiſtory of the preſent war, and the cruelties "committed by the Engliſh,—would excite aſ-"toniſhment in a country, where America is "known but through the medium of the ga-"zettes."

Governor Trumbull had not heſitated to comply with this requeſt: he had detailed a ſuccinct narrative of paſt and preſent circum-

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ſtances, and the future proſpects of America; for a part of which the reader is referred to the Appendix.* The baron Capellen obſerves on the above letter of this gentleman, that "it was "to be regretted that ſo handſome, ſo energetic "a defence of the American cauſe, ſhould be "ſhut up in the port-folio of an individual: "that he had communicated it with diſcretion "in Amſterdam; and that it had made a very "ſtrong impreſſion on all who had read it."

Theſe favorable diſpoſitions among many perſons of high conſideration in the United Netherlands, whoſe anceſtors had ſuffered ſo much to ſecure their own liberties, led congreſs to expect their aid and ſupport, in a conteſt ſo intereſting to republican opinion, and the general freedom of mankind. It forbade any farther delay in the councils of America. Congreſs were convinced no time was to be loſt; but that a miniſter with proper credentials, ſhould immediately appear in a public character at the Hague; or if that ſhould be found inadmiſſible, that he ſhould have inſtructions to regulate any private negociations, according to the dictates of judgment, diſcretion, or neceſſity.

Accordingly, early in the preſent year, the honorable Henry Laurens of South Carolina, late preſident of the continental congreſs, was

* See Appendix, Note No. IX.

vested with this important commission. Perhaps a more judicious choice of a public minister could not have been made throughout the states. From his prudence, probity, politeness, and knowledge of the world, Mr. Laurens was competent to the trust, and well qualified for the execution thereof: but he was unfortunately captured on his way by admiral Edwards, carried to Newfoundland, and from thence sent to England, where he experienced all the rigors of severity usually inflicted on state criminals.

Before Mr. Laurens left the foggy atmosphere of Newfoundland, an apparent instance of the deep-rooted jealousy harbored in the breasts of the British officers, against all Americans who fell into their hands, was discovered by the refusal of admiral Edwards to permit, at Mr. Laurens's request, Mr. Winslow Warren to accompany him to Europe, in the frigate in which he sailed.

This youth was the son of a gentleman who had been vested with some of the first and most respectable offices of trust and importance in America; he was captured on his way to Europe, a few weeks before Mr. Laurens, to whom he had introductory letters from some of the first characters in America, to be delivered on his arrival at the Hague: their unfortunate meeting as prisoners on this dreary spot, gave him an early opportunity to present them. No cartel had yet been settled for the exchange of

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prisoners; and sensibly touched with compassion for their sufferings, Mr. Warren voluntarily engaged to remain as an hostage till that arrangement might take place. The admiral consented to send a great number of Americans to Boston, on Mr. Warren's word of honor, that an equal number of British prisoners would be returned.

Mr. Laurens wished to anticipate his release, from the generous feelings of his own mind, as well as from the delicacy of sentiment and the accomplished manners of Mr. Warren; and though they were both treated with the utmost politeness by admiral Edwards, he refused to gratify these gentlemen in their mutual wishes to be fellow-passengers, as they were fellow-prisoners: but the admiral permitted Mr. Warren, within three or four days after Mr. Laurens's departure, to take passage in another frigate, bound directly to England.

Mr. Laurens took an affectionate leave of Mr. Warren, and requested him to write his friends, or to tell them if he reached America before him, that "though he was an old man, "who had recently lost all his estates in Charles-"ton by the capture of that city, and had now "lost his liberty, that he was still the same; "firm, cheerful, and unruffled by the shocks of "fortune."

When Mr. Laurens arrived in England, he was committed to the tower, confined to very narrow apartments, and denied all intercourſe with his friends. There Mr. Warren ſaw him when he arrived in England, near enough to exchange a ſalute, but they were not permitted to ſpeak to each other.

It is obſervable that the defection of general Arnold, and the capture of Mr. Laurens, took place within a few days of each other. Theſe two circumſtances operated on the paſſions of men in a contraſted point of view. The treachery of Arnold was beheld with irritation and diſdain, by his former military aſſociates, and with the utmoſt diſguſt and abhorrence through all America. The fate of Mr. Laurens awakened the better feelings of the human heart. As an individual of the higheſt reſpectability, all who knew him were pained with apprehenſions, leſt he ſhould be ſubjected to perſonal danger or ſufferings. As a diplomatic officer, the firſt public character that had been ſent to the Batavian provinces, it was feared, his captivity and detention might have an unfavorable effect on the foreign relations of America, and particularly on their connexion with Holland. Indeed a variety of circumſtances that took place through the ſummer and autumn of this, did not augur the moſt propitious promiſes, relative to the operations of the next year.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Revolt of the Pennſylvania Line—Diſcontents in other Parts of the Army.—Paper Medium ſunk.—Some active Movements of Don Bernard de Galvez in America.—War between Great Britain and Spain opened in Europe by the Siege of Gibraltar.—Short View of Diplomatic Tranſactions between America and ſeveral European Powers.—Empreſs of Ruſſia refuſes to treat with the American States.

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1780.

WE have already ſeen the double diſappointment experienced by the United States, occaſioned by the capture of one army in South Carolina under general Lincoln, and the defeat of another commanded by general Gates in North Carolina, who was ſent forward with the higheſt expectations of retrieving affairs in that quarter.....We have ſeen the complicated embarraſſments of the United States, relative to raiſing, paying, and ſupporting a permanent army.....We have ſeen the pernicious effects of a depreciating currency, and the beginning of a ſpirit of peculation and regard to private intereſt, that was not expected from the former habits and profeſſions of Americans.....We have ſeen the diſappointments and delay relative to foreign negociations.....We have ſeen both the patient ſufferings of the American army under the greateſt neceſſity, and the riſing reſtleſſneſs

that ſoon pervaded nearly the whole body of the ſoldiery; and we have alſo ſeen the deſertion of a general officer, in whom confidence had been placed as a man of courage: we left Arnold ſtigmatized as a traitor, and in all the pride and inſolence of a Britiſh general, newly veſted with command in reward of villany, beginning under the Britiſh ſtandard, his career of ravage and depredation in Virginia.

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In addition to the alarming circumſtances already recapitulated, at the cloſe of the preceding year, the moſt dangerous ſymptoms were exhibited in the conduct of a part of the army, which broke out in revolt; and the ſeceſſion of the whole Pennſylvania line ſpread a temporary diſmay.

1781.

On the firſt of January, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-one, upwards of a thouſand men belonging to that line, marched in a body from the camp; others, equally diſaffected, ſoon followed them. They took an advantageous ground, choſe for their leader a ſerjeant major, a Britiſh deſerter, and ſaluted him as their major general. On the third day of their revolt, a meſſage was ſent from the officers of the American camp: this they refuſed to receive; but to a flag which followed, requeſting to know their complaints and intentions, they

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replied, that "they had served three years; "that they had engaged to serve no longer; "nor would they return, or disperse, until their "grievances were redressed, and their arrear-"ages paid."

General Wayne, who commanded the line, had been greatly beloved and respected by the soldiery, nor did he at first himself doubt, but that his influence would soon bring them back to their duty. He did every thing in the power of a spirited and judicious officer, to dissipate their murmurs, and to quiet their clamors, in the beginning of the insurrection: but many of them pointed their bayonets at his breast; told him to be on his guard; that they were determined to march to congress to obtain a redress of grievances; and that, though they respected him as an officer, and loved his person, yet, if he attempted to fire on them, "he was "a dead man."

Sir Henry Clinton soon gained intelligence of the confusion and danger into which the Americans were plunged. He improved the advantageous moment, and made the revolters every tempting offer, to increase and fix their defection. He sent several persons to offer, in his name, a pardon for all past offences, an immediate payment of their full demands on congress, and protection from the British government. He desired them to send proper persons

to Amboy, to treat farther, and engaged that a body of British troops was ready for their escort.* 1781.

How far the conduct of sir Henry Clinton is to be justified by the laws of war, we leave to the decision of military characters; but to the impartial spectator, though so often practised by officers of consideration and name, it appears an underhand interference, beneath the character of a brave and generous commander, to stimulate by those secret methods, a discontented class of soldiers, to turn the points of their swords against their country and their former friends.

But the intrigues of the British officers, and the measures of their commander in chief, had not the smallest influence: the revolted line, though dissatisfied and disgusted, appeared to have no inclination to join the British army. They declared with one general voice, that was there an immediate necessity to call out the American forces, they would still fight under the orders of the congressional officers. Several British spies were detected, busily employed in endeavouring to increase the ferment, who were tried and executed with little ceremony.

* See sir Henry Clinton's letter to lord George Germaine, January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

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The prudent conduct of the commander in chief, and the disposition which appeared in government to do justice to their troops, subdued the spirit of mutiny. A respectable committee was sent from congress to hear their complaints, and as far as possible to relieve their sufferings. Those whose term of enlistment was expired, were paid off and discharged; the reasonable demands of others satisfied; and a general pardon granted to the offenders, who returned cheerfully to their duty.

The discontented and mutinous spirit of the troops was not, however, entirely eradicated: the sources of disquietude in an army situated like the present, were too many to suppress at once. They were without pay, without clothing sufficient for the calls of nature; and not satisfied with the assurances of future compensation, their murmurs were too general, and their complaints loud and pressing.

The contagion of the mutinous example of the Pennsylvania line, had spread in some degree its dangerous influence over other parts of the army: it operated more particularly on a part of the Jersey troops, soon after the pacification of the disorderly Pennsylvania soldiers, though not with equal success and impunity to themselves. They were unexpectedly surrounded by a detachment from the main body of the army, and ordered to parade without their

arms: on discovering some reluctance to obey, colonel Sprout, of the Massachusetts division, was directed to advance with a party, and demand their compliance within five minutes. As their numbers were not sufficient for resistance, they submitted without opposition. A few of the principal leaders of the revolt, were tried by a court-martial and adjudged guilty: as a second general pardon, without any penal inflictions, would have had a fatal effect on the army, two of them suffered death for their mutinous conduct.

This example of severity put a period to every symptom of open revolt, though not to the silent murmurs of the American army. They still felt heavily the immediate inconveniences of the deficiency of almost every article necessary to life: they had little subsistence, and seldom any covering, except what was forced from the adjacent inhabitants by military power. These circumstances were aggravated by the little prospect there still appeared of filling their battalions, and establishing a permanent army. Every evil had been enhanced, and every pleasing anticipation darkened, by the general stagnation of paper money, previous to the absolute death of such a ruinous medium of intercourse between man and man. It had created suspicion and apprehension in every mind, and led every one reluctantly to part with their

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ſpecie, before they knew the fate of a currency, agonizing in the laſt pangs of diſſolution.

The ſucceſſes at the northward had indeed given a ſpring to expectation and action; but the gloomy appearances of affairs at the ſouthward, the ineffective movements in the central ſtates, and the perſeverance of the king and parliament of Britain, in their meaſures againſt the colonies, notwithſtanding their recent connexion with a potent foreign power, wrapt in the clouds of uncertainty, the final termination of the preſent conflict.

Theſe were diſcouragements that in theory might be thought inſurmountable: but *American Independence* was an object of too great magnitude, to ſink under the temporary evils, or the adventitious circumſtances of war.

That great ſource of moral turpitude, the circulating paper, which had languiſhed the laſt year until without ſinew or nerve for any effective purpoſe, died of itſelf in the preſent, without any viſible wound, except from the immenſe quantity counterfeited in New York, and elſewhere under Britiſh influence. In a confidential letter to lord George Germaine about this time, general Clinton obſerved, that "the experiments ſuggeſted by your lordſhip "have been tried; no aſſiſtances that could be "drawn from the power of gold, or the *arts* of

"counterfeiting, have been left unattempted: "but ſtill the currency, like the widow's cruiſe "of oil, has not failed."

It is true, indeed, that the currency anſwered moſt of the purpoſes of congreſs, for ſome time after the date of the letter from which the above extract is taken. When the paper ceaſed to circulate, no one mourned or ſeemed to feel its loſs; nor was it ſucceeded by any ſtagnation of buſineſs, or derangement of order. Every one rejoiced at the annihilation of ſuch a deceptive medium, in full hope that confidence between neighbour and neighbour, which this had deſtroyed, would again be reſtored.

The immenſe heaps of paper traſh, denominated money, which had been uſhered into exiſtence from neceſſity, were from equal neceſſity locked up in darkneſs, there to wait ſome renovating day to re-inſtamp ſome degree of value, on what had deceived many into an ideal opinion that they poſſeſſed property. It was not long after this paper intercourſe ceaſed, before ſilver and gold appeared in circulation, ſufficient for a medium of trade and other purpoſes of life. Much of it was brought from the hoarded bags of the miſer, who had concealed it in vaults inſtead of lending it to his diſtreſſed countrymen; and much more of the precious metals were put into circulation, by

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the ſums ſent from Europe to ſupport a Britiſh army in captivity, and for the pay of the fleets and troops of France, which were ſent forward to the aſſiſtance of the Americans.

Notwithſtanding all the baneful evils of a currency of only a nominal value, that fluctuates from day to day, it would have been impoſſible for the colonies to have carried on a war, in oppoſition to the power of Great Britain, without this paper ſubſtitute for real ſpecie. They were not opulent, though a competence had generally followed their induſtry. There were few among themſelves wealthy enough to loan money for public purpoſes: foreigners were long ſhy; and appeared evidently reluctant at the idea of depoſiting their monies in the hands of a government, with whom they had but recently commenced an acquaintance.

France indeed, after the declaration of independence, generouſly lent of her treaſures, to ſupport the claims of liberty and of the United States, againſt the ſtrong hand of Britain; but Spain kept her fingers on the ſtrings of her purſe, though as obſerved above, America had ſent ſeveral agents to the court of Madrid, to ſolicit aid: nor was it until the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-two, that even Holland opened her's to any effective purpoſe, for the pecuniary calls that accumulated beneath

the waſte of war, in which their ſiſter republic was involved.

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A few obſervations on the eventful tranſactions which took place among the nations of Europe this year, may here be properly introduced, before a farther continuance of the narrative of the war. This is neceſſary to give a clearer idea of the connection brought forward between America and ſeveral foreign nations, beſides France and Spain, before the pride of Great Britain could condeſcend to acknowledge the independence of the United States.

Previous to lord Cornwallis's laſt campaign in America, moſt of the belligerent powers in Europe had ſtood aloof, in a poſture of expectation, rather than immediate action, as waiting the events of time, to avail themſelves of co-operation when convenient, with that ſide that might offer the greateſt advantage, when weighed in the political ſcale by which the intereſt of all nations is generally balanced.

France had long ſince acknowledged the independence of America; and the whole houſe of Bourbon now ſupported the claim of the United States, though there had yet been no direct treaty between America and Spain. It had been the general expectation for ſome time

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before it took place, that Spain would finally unite with France in ſupport of the American cauſe. From this expectation, the Spaniards in South America had prepared themſelves for a rupture, a conſiderable time before any formal declaration of war had taken place, between the courts of Madrid and St. James. They were in readineſs to take the earlieſt advantage of ſuch an event. They had accordingly ſeized Penſacola in Weſt Florida, and ſeveral Britiſh poſts on the Miſſiſippi, before the troops ſtationed there had any intimation that hoſtilities were denounced in the uſual ſtyle, between the crowns of England and Spain.

Don Bernard de Galvez, governor of Louiſiana, had proclaimed the independence of America at New Orleans, at the head of all the forces he could collect, as early as the nineteenth of Auguſt, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine, and had proceeded immediately to ſurpriſe and conquer wherever he could, the unguarded ſettlements claimed by the crown of Britain. The Britiſh navy, generally maſters of the ocean, had, early after hoſtilities commenced, beaten ſome of the Spaniſh ſhips, intercepted the convoys, and captured or deſtroyed ſeveral of the homeward bound fleets of merchantmen. But by the time we are upon, the arms of Spain had been ſucceſsful in ſeveral enterpriſes by ſea: at the Bay of Honduras and

in the Weſt Indies, they alſo ſoon after gained ſeveral other advantages of ſome moment.

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Don Bernard de Galvez had concerted a plan with the governor of the Havannah, to ſurpriſe Mobille. He encountered ſtorms, dangers, diſappointments, and difficulties, almoſt innumerble. This enterpriſing Spaniard recovered however, in ſome meaſure, his loſſes; and receiving a reinforcement from the Havannah, with a part of the regiment of Navarre, and ſome other auxiliaries, he repaired to, and landed near Mobille. He ſummoned the garriſon to ſurrender, who, after a ſhort defence, hung out a white flag, and a capitulation took place, by which the Engliſh garriſon ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war.

In Europe, the war had been opened on the ſide of Spain, by the ſiege of Gibraltar. This ſtrong fortreſs had been cloſely inveſted by a powerful fleet and army, for ſome time. The piratical ſtates of Barbary, who, to the diſgrace of Europe, were permitted to war upon, or to make tributary all the nations, had been recently diſguſted with Great Britain; and ſuch a defection had taken place, that no relief could be expected from that quarter, or any ſupplies of proviſions obtained from them for the garriſon, which was reduced to ſuch diſtreſs, that they were ſeveral weeks without bread, except a few worm-eaten biſcuits, ſold at an enormous

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price: a guinea was refuſed for a calf's head, a chicken ſold for nine ſhillings ſterling, and every thing elſe proportionably ſcarce and dear; until the hardy Britiſh veterans found they could ſubſiſt on the ſcanty allowance of a jill or two of rice per day.

But by the unexampled intrepidity of general Elliot, and the equal bravery of Boyd, the ſecond in command; by the courage and perſeverance of many gallant Britiſh officers, and the ſpirit and conſtitutional valor of their troops, the garriſon was enabled to reſiſt, and to hold out amidſt the diſtreſſes of famine, and againſt the moſt tremendous attack and bombardment that perhaps ever took place. A prodigious number of cannon of the heavieſt ſize, and a vaſt apparatus of mortars, at once ſpouted their torrents of fire and brimſtone on that barren rock. With equal horror and ſublimity, the blaze was poured back by the beſieged, with little intermiſſion.

The ſheets of flame were ſpread over the adjacent ſeas and the ſhipping for three or four weeks; when the magnanimous officers in the garriſon, who had been for four days together without proviſions of any kind, except a few kernels of rice, and a ſmall quantity of mouldy bread, were relieved by the arrival of admiral Rodney, on his way to the Weſt Indies. He was acompanied by a Britiſh fleet under the

command of admiral Digby, who continued there with a number of ſhips ſufficient for defence, and for the ſecurity of a large number of Spaniſh prizes taken by admiral Rodney. He had fallen in with a fleet of eleven heavy ſhips of the line, commanded by don Juan Langara, who, after being dangerouſly wounded, and his ſhip reduced to a wreck, yielded to the ſuperiority of the Britiſh flag, as did the San Julien, commanded by the marquis Modena, and indeed nearly the whole of the Spaniſh fleet.

Notwithſtanding the reduction of Gibraltar was ſuſpended, we ſhall ſee the object was not relinquiſhed. More formidable exertions were made the next year by the combined forces of France and Spain, for the completion of this favorite project.

It was indeed ſome time after the acceſſion of Spain, before any other European power explicitly acknowledged the independence of the United States: but Mr. Izard, who was ſent to Tuſcany, and Mr. William Lee to the court of Vienna, in one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-eight, inſpired with that lively aſſurance which is ſometimes the pledge of ſucceſs, had met with no diſcouraging circumſtances.

Holland had a ſtill more difficult part to act, than France, Spain, or perhaps any other European power, who actually had adhered to, or ap-

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peared inclined to favor, the cauſe of America. Her embarraſſments aroſe in part from exiſting treaties with Great Britain, by which the latter claimed the Dutch republic as their ally, reproached her with ingratitude, and intimated that by former engagements, that republic was bound in all caſes, to act offenſively and defenſively with the court of Great Britain. Thus the meaſures of the Batavian provinces were long impeded, by the intrigues of the Britiſh miniſter and the Engliſh faction at the Hague, before their high mightineſſes acceded to the acknowledgment of American independence.

We have ſeen above, that the friendly diſpoſition of the Batavians towards America was ſuch, in the particular ſituation of both republics, as to render it at once rational and expedient, for the American congreſs to ſend a public miniſter to reſide at the Hague. Mr. Laurens, as already related, was appointed, ſent forward, captured on his way, and detained for ſome time at Newfoundland. The unfortunate capture of the American envoy, prevented for a time all public negociations with Holland. He had been veſted with diſcretionary powers, and had ſuitable inſtructions given him, to enter into private contracts and negociations, as exigencies might offer, for the intereſt of his country, until events were ripened for his full admiſſion as ambaſſador from the United States of America.

Mr. Laurens was captured at ſome leagues diſtance from Newfoundland. When he found his own fate was inevitable, he neglected no precaution to prevent the public papers in his poſſeſſion, from falling into the hands of his enemies. The Britiſh commander knew not the rank of his priſoner, until the packages ſeaſonably thrown overboard by Mr. Laurens, were recovered by a Britiſh ſailor, who had the courage to plunge into the ſea with ſo much celerity as to prevent them from ſinking.

By theſe papers a full diſcovery was made, not only of the nature of Mr. Laurens's commiſſion, but of the diſpoſitions of the Batavians to aid the exertions beyond the Atlantic, for the liberties of mankind. Their own freedom was a prize for which their anceſtors had ſtruggled for more than ſeventy years, againſt the ſtrong hand of deſpotiſm, before they obtained the independence of their country.

In Mr. Laurens's trunk, thus recovered, was found a plan of a treaty of alliance between the States of Holland and the United States of America; alſo, letters from the penſioner of Amſterdam, with many communications and letters from the principal gentlemen and merchants in that and many other cities in the Dutch provinces.

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Admiral Edwards considered the capture of Mr. Laurens as so important, that he immediately ordered a frigate to England for the conveyance of this gentleman, and the evidences of the commission on which he had been sent out. These important papers received in England, sir Joseph Yorke, the British minister resident at the Hague, was directed by the king his master, to lay the whole of these transactions before their high mightinesses the states-general of the United Provinces.

The British minister complained loudly, and in terms of high resentment, of the injuries and insults offered to Great Britain, by the ungrateful conduct of the republic of Holland. He urged, that secretly supplying the *rebellious colonies* with the accoutrements for war, was a step not to be forgiven: that what had been suspected before, now appeared clearly; and that he had the evidences in his hand, and the names of the principal conspirators: that the Belgic provinces were countenancing public negociations, and on the point of executing treaties of amity and commerce with the *revolted Americans*. He informed the states-general, that the king of England demanded prompt satisfaction for these offences: that as a proof of their disavowal of these measures, he required immediate and exemplary punishment to be inflicted on the pensioner Van Berkel, and his accom-

plices, as disturbers of the public peace, and violaters of the law of nations.

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Notwithstanding the resentment of the British envoy, the conduct of the Dutch court remained for some time so equivocal, that neither Great Britain or America was fully satisfied with their determinations. It is true, a treaty with the United States was for some time postponed; but the answer of their high mightinesses to the memorial and remonstrances of sir Joseph Yorke, not being sufficiently condescending and decided, his disgust daily increased. He informed his court in very disadvantageous terms, of the effect of his repeated memorials, of the conduct of their high mightinesses, and of that of the principal characters of the Batavian provinces at large.

Great Britain soon after, in the recess of parliament, amidst all her other difficulties, at war with France, Spain, and America, and left alone by all the other powers of Europe, to decide her own quarrels, announced hostilities against the Netherlands; and a long manifesto from the king was sent abroad in the latter part of December, one thousand seven hundred and eighty.

A declaration of war against the republic of Holland, by the king of Great Britain, was very

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unpleasing to most of the northern powers. The baron Nolken, the Swedish ambassador resident at the court of London, remonstrated against it in a state paper, in which he observed, "that the flame of war, kindled in another "hemisphere, had communicated to Europe; "but the king of Sweden still flattered himself, "that this conflagration would not extend be-"yond its first bounds; and particularly that a "nation entirely commercial, which had made "neutrality the invariable foundation of its con-"duct, would not have been enveloped in it: "and yet, nevertheless, this has happened, al-"most in the very moment when that power "had entered into the most inoffensive engage-"ments, with the king and his two northern "allies.

"If the most exact impartiality that was ever "observed, could not exempt the king from "immediately feeling the inconveniences of "war, by the considerable losses sustained by "his commercial subjects, he had much greater "reason to apprehend the consequences, when "those troubles were going to be extended; "when an open war between Great Britain "and the republic of Holland multiplied them; "and to conclude, when neutral commerce was "about to endure new shackles, by the hostili-"ties committed between those two powers." He added:—"The king could not but wish sin-"cerely, that the measures taken by the empress

"of Ruſſia, for extinguiſhing this new war in "its beginning, might be crowned with the "moſt perfect ſucceſs."

But, indifferent to the remonſtrances and memorials of the potentates of Europe, Great Britain, hoſtile, wealthy, powerful, and proud, appeared regardleſs of their reſentment, and ready to bid defiance, and ſpread the waſte of war among all nations.

The capture of Mr. Laurens was however no ſmall embarraſſment to the Britiſh miniſtry. Their pride would not ſuffer them to recogniſe his public character; they dared not condemn him as a rebel; the independence of America was too far advanced, and there were too many captured noblemen and officers in the United States to think of ſuch a ſtep, leſt immediate retaliation ſhould be made; and his buſineſs was found too conſequential to admit of his releaſe. He was confined in the tower, forbidden the uſe of pen, ink, and paper, and all ſocial intercourſe with any one; and was even interdicted any converſe with a young ſon, who had been ſeveral years in England for his education.

There he ſuffered a long impriſonment at his own expenſe, until many months had elapſed, and many unexpected events had taken place, that made it expedient to offer him his liberty without any equivalent. This he refuſed to ac-

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cept, from the feelings of honor, as congreſs at that time, had offered general Burgoyne in exchange for Mr. Laurens.

The integrity of Mr. Laurens could not be warped either by flatteries or menaces, though his health was much impaired by his ſevere and incommodious confinement. It was intimated to him at a certain period of his impriſonment, that it might operate in his favor, if he would adviſe his ſon, colonel John Laurens, to withdraw himſelf from the court of France, where he was then executing with ſucceſs, a commiſſion from congreſs to negociate a loan of money, and ſolicit farther aid both by ſea and land, in behalf of the American States.

The firmneſs of Mr. Laurens was not ſhaken by the propoſal. He replied with equal confidence, both in the affection of his ſon and the delicacy of his honor. He obſerved, that "ſuch "was the filial regard of his ſon, that he knew "he would not heſitate to forfeit his life for his "father; but that no conſideration would in-"duce colonel Laurens to relinquiſh his honor, "even were it poſſible for any circumſtance to "prevail on his father to make the improper "requeſt."

Immediately after the news of Mr. Laurens's capture, impriſonment, and detention in England, the American congreſs directed *John*

Adams, esquire, who had a second time been sent to Europe in a public character, to leave France and repair to Holland, there to transact affairs with the states-general, which had before been entrusted to the fidelity of Mr. Laurens. Mr. Adams's commission was enlarged: from a confidence in his talents and integrity, he was vested with ample powers for negociation, for the forming treaties of alliance, commerce, or the loan of monies, for the United States of America. Not fettered by instructions, we shall see he exercised his discretionary powers with judgment and ability.

Thus in strict amity with France and Spain, on the point of a treaty of alliance with the Batavian republic, Sweden and Denmark balancing, and nearly determined on a connexion with America, her foreign relations in general wore a very favorable aspect.

The empress of Russia only, among the European nations where an intercourse was opened, refused peremptorily to receive any minister at her court, under the authority of the congress of the United States of America. Overtures were made to the haughty sovereign of the Russian empire, early enough to evince the high consideration in which her arms and her character were viewed in America, as well as in Europe; but without the least shadow of success. Determined to maintain her indepen-

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dent dignity, and hold the neutral position she had chosen, she did not even deign to see the person sent on by congress, to act as agent at the court of Petersburgh: but she concluded the business with the policy of the statesman, the address of her sex, and the superiority of the empress Catharine.

It was indeed doubted by many at the time, whether Mr. Dana was qualified to act as envoy at the court of Russia, and to negociate with such a potent state. He was undoubtedly a man of understanding, with a due share of professional knowledge, having been for several years an attorney of eminence. But it was thought that he had not either the address, the penetration, the knowledge of courts, or of the human character, necessary for a negociator at the court of a despotic female, at the head of a nation of machines, under the absolute control of herself and her favorites.

It requires equanimity of temper, as well as true greatness of soul, to command or retain the respect of great statesmen and politicians. Distinguished talents and a pleasing address, were peculiarly necessary for a negociator at the court of Russia, both from the character of the nation and the monarch. The Russians were sanguine and revengeful, and ready by their precipitate counsels to aid their arbitrary mistress, in her bold designs and despotic mandates;

while ſhe, as the dictatreſs of Europe, determined the ruin of princes, and the annihilation of kingdoms.

On the earlieſt notice of an application from the congreſs of the United States, the empreſs, after ſeveral expreſſions of civility, containing a reſpectful regard to the intereſts of the American ſtates, made all proper acknowledgments to them for the attention paid to herſelf. She had before granted them the free navigation of the Baltic, in ſpite of the remonſtrances of the Britiſh miniſter reſident at Peterſburgh, againſt it.

She, however, ordered her miniſter to inform the American envoy, that "as mediatrix with "the emperor of Germany and the king of "Pruſſia, relative to the diſputes ſubſiſting be-"tween France, Spain, and Great Britain, ſhe "thought it improper for her to acknowledge "the independence of America, until the reſult "of the mediation was known; becauſe the "proviſional articles depended on the definitive "treaty." That "when the latter was com-"pleted, ſhe ſhould be ready to proceed in the "buſineſs: but that it would be highly im-"proper for her to treat with America as an "independent ſtate, by virtue of powers or cre-"dentials iſſued previous to the acknowledg-"ment of American independence, by the king "of Great Britain." That "her delicacy was

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"a law to her, not to take before that time, a "ſtep which might not be conſidered as correſ-"ponding with thoſe which have characteriſed "her ſtrict neutrality, during the courſe of the "late war: notwithſtanding which, the empreſs "repeats, that you may enjoy, not only for "your own honor, but alſo for your country-"men, who may come into her empire on com-"mercial buſineſs, or otherwiſe, the moſt favor-"able reception, and the protection of the laws "of nations."

This declaration placed the American agent in a very unpleaſant predicament: totally at a loſs what further ſteps to take, not able to obtain even an audience of the empreſs, he ſoon after returned to America.*

The failure of this negociation might not be entirely owing to a want of diplomatic ſkill or experience in the agent employed at the court of Ruſſia. Though the choice of the congreſſional miniſter was perhaps, not ſo judicious as it might have been, many concurring circumſtances prevented his ſucceſs. The intrigues of

* It was a ſingular circumſtance at the court of the empreſs Catharine, for any foreign miniſter or agent to be refuſed an interview with her majeſty. She had always, from pride, curioſity, or policy, condeſcended to converſe herſelf, with ſtrangers who viſited her court on public buſineſs.

Britain, the arts of France, and the profound policy of the court of Peterſburgh, probably all combined to defeat a meaſure, which, from the ſituation of ſome of the belligerent powers, and the known character of the empreſs, could not rationally have been expected, at that time, to meet the wiſhes of congreſs. It was alſo ſuggeſted, that the double-dealings of ſome Americans of conſideration, had their weight in fruſtrating the negociation, and preventing a treaty between one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed and influential powers in Europe, and the United States of America.

The above is a ſummary ſketch of the views, the diſpoſitions, and connexions, of the moſt important European powers, while the manœuvres in Virginia and the other ſouthern ſtates, were ripening events which brought forward accommodations, that not long after terminated in a general pacification, among the nations at war. The narration of naval tranſactions, connected with or influential on American affairs, both in the Weſt Indies and in the European ſeas, is poſtponed to a ſubſequent part of this work; while we proceed to ſome further detail of military operations by land.

CHAPTER XIX.

General Gates ſurrenders the Command of the Southern Army to General Greene, on his Arrival in South Carolina.—Action between General Sumpter and Colonel Tarleton.—General Morgan's Expedition—Meets and defeats Colonel Tarleton.—Lord Cornwallis purſues General Morgan.—Party of Americans cut off at the Catawba.—Lord Cornwallis arrives at Hillſborough—Calls, by Proclamation, on all the Inhabitants of the State to join him.—Battle of Guilford—Americans defeated.—Lord Cornwallis marches towards Wilmington—General Greene purſues him—General Greene returns towards Camden.—Action at Camden.—Lord Rawdon evacuates Camden, and returns to Charleſton.—Barbarous State of Society among the Mountaineers, and in the back Settlements of the Carolinas.—Attack on Ninety-Six—Repulſe—General Greene again obliged to retreat.—Execution of Colonel Hayne.—Lord Rawdon leaves the State of South Carolina, and embarks for England.—Action at the Eutaw Springs.—General Greene retires to the High-Hills of Santee.—Governor Rutledge returns to South Carolina, and reſumes the Reins of Government.

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AFTER the misfortune and ſuſpenſion of general Gates, immediate ſteps were taken by congreſs and the commander in chief, to reſtore the reputation of the American arms, to check the progreſs of the Britiſh, and defeat their ſanguine hopes of ſpeedily ſubduing the ſouthern

colonies. Major general Greene was ordered on to take the command in that quarter. He arrived about the middle of autumn, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, at the headquarters of general Gates; soon after which, every thing seemed to wear a more favorable appearance, with regard to military arrangements and operations in the American army.

General Gates surrendered the command with a dignity and firmness becoming his own character, conscious that his disappointment and defeat did not originate in any want of courage or generalship, but from the unavoidable and complicated difficulties of existing circumstances. General Greene succeeded him, received the charge of the army, and took leave of general Gates, with a delicacy and propriety that evinced the high respect he felt for his predecessor.

All the prudence and magnanimity, valor and humanity, that adorned the character of general Greene, were necessary in the choice of difficulties that attended his new command. He had succeeded a brave, but unfortunate officer, whose troops were intimidated by recent defeat, dispirited by their naked and destitute situation, in a country unable to yield sufficient subsistence for one army, and which had for several months been ravaged by two.

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Lord Cornwallis's army was much ſuperior in number and diſcipline, his troops were well clothed and regularly paid, and when general Greene firſt arrived, they were fluſhed by recent ſucceſſes, particularly the defeat of general Gates. It is true, the death of major Ferguſon and the *rout* of his party, was a ſerious diſappointment, but not of ſufficient conſequence to check the deſigns and expectations of a Britiſh army, commanded by officers of the firſt military experience.

The inhabitants of the country were indeed divided in opinion; bitter, rancorous, and cruel, and many of them without any fixed political principles. Fluctuating and unſtable, ſometimes they were the partiſans of Britain, and huzzaed for royalty; at others, they were the militia of the ſtate in continental ſervice, and profeſſed themſelves zealots for American independence. But general Greene, with remarkable coolneſs and intrepidity, checked their licentious conduct, and puniſhed deſertion and treachery by neceſſary examples of ſeverity; and thus in a ſhort time, he eſtabliſhed a more regular diſcipline.

Skirmiſhing parties pervaded all parts of the country. No one was more active and buſy in theſe ſcenes, than the vigilant Tarleton. An affray took place in the month of November, between him and general Sumpter. After vic-

tory had ſeveral times ſeemed to change ſides, the continental troops won the field without much loſs. General Sumpter was wounded, but not dangerouſly. The Britiſh loſt in wounded and killed, near two hundred.

The Britiſh troops had yet met with no check, which had in any degree damped their ardor, except the defeat of major Ferguſon. The moſt important movement which took place for ſome time after this affair, was an action between general Morgan on the one part, and colonel Tarleton on the other, in the month of January, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-one. General Morgan was an early volunteer in the American warfare: he had marched from Virginia to Cambridge, at the head of a body of riflemen, to the aid of general Waſhington, in one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five. He continued to ſtand ready to enter on the poſt of danger, in any part of the continent, where the defence of his country required the aſſiſtance of the moſt valorous leaders. General Greene, convinced that no man could more effectually execute any command with which he was entruſted, ordered general Morgan with a conſiderable force, to march to the weſtern parts of South Carolina.

Lord Cornwallis having gained intelligence of this movement, diſpatched colonel Tarleton in purſuit of general Morgan. In a few days,

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they met near the river Pacolet. General Morgan had reason to expect, from the rapid advance of colonel Tarleton, that a meeting would have taken place sooner; but by various manœuvres he kept his troops at a distance, until a moment of advantage might present, for acting with decided success. The Americans had rather kept up the appearance of retreat, until they reached a spot called the Cow-pens: fortunately for them, Tarleton came up, and a resolute engagement ensued; when, after a short conflict, to the great joy of the Americans, the British were routed, and totally defeated.

Colonel Tarleton, as one of the most resolute and active of the British partisans, was particularly selected by lord Cornwallis, and ordered to march with eleven hundred men, to watch the motions of Morgan, impede his designs, and keep in awe the district of Ninety-Six, toward which he found a detachment of the American army was moving. The unexpected defeat of Tarleton, for a time threw him into the back ground in the opinion of many of the British officers; nor was lord Cornwallis himself much better satisfied with his conduct.*

* Sir Henry Clinton observed afterwards, "that the "unfortunate action at the Cow-pens, diminished lord "Cornwallis's army nearly one fourth." If this was true,

The name of Tarleton and his ſucceſſes, had ſo long been the terror of one ſide, and the triumph of the other, that neither had calculated on a derangement or defeat of his projects. But three hundred of his men killed in the action at Cow-pens, five hundred captured, and himſelf obliged to fly with precipitation, convinced the people that he was no longer invincible. The militia of the country were inſpirited, and many of them flocked to the American ſtandard, who had heretofore been too much intimidated to rally around it.

Colonel Tarleton was ſeverely cenſured by the Britiſh officers, for ſuffering himſelf to be defeated, with his advantages of diſcipline, numbers, and every thing elſe that in all human probability might have inſured him victory. They did not tax him with a want of perſonal bravery; but ſome of them would not allow, that he had talents for any thing ſuperior to the requiſites for "a captain of dragoons, who might "ſkirmiſh and defeat in detail." However, he had certainly been conſidered by moſt of them in a higher point of view, before this misfortune: but his flight, and the loſs of his light troops, left a tarniſh on his military character,

it muſt have been by deſertion, or by a ſudden defection of the inhabitants of the ſtate, who had previouſly aided him.

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that could not be easily wiped off, or forgiven. The loss of these light troops, so peculiarly necessary in the present service, was felt through all the succeeding campaign. But Tarleton soon recovered himself, and returned from his flight: he appeared within a day or two, not far from the ground from which he had been beaten, and resumed his usual boldness and barbarity.

Tarleton's defeat was a blow entirely unexpected to lord Cornwallis, and induced him to march himself from Wynnesborough to the Yadkin, in pursuit of general Morgan, with the hope of overtaking him, and recovering the prisoners. The British troops endured this long and fatiguing march under every species of difficulty, over rivers, swamps, marshes, and creeks, with uncommon resolution and patience. What greatly enhanced their hardships and inconveniences, the path of their *route* was, as lord Cornwallis expressed it, "*through one of the most rebellious tracts in America.*"

General Greene, on hearing that his lordship was in pursuit of Morgan, left his post near the Pedee under the command of general Huger, and with great celerity marched with a small party of friends and domestics, one hundred and fifty miles, and joined general Morgan before lord Cornwallis arrived at the Catawba. In

this purſuit, lord Cornwallis cut off ſome of the ſmall detachments, not in ſufficient force for effectual oppoſition. It is true, general Davidſon made an unſucceſsful ſtand on the banks of the Catawba, with three or four hundred men; but the Britiſh fording the river unexpectedly, he was himſelf killed, and his troops diſperſed; and the croſſing the river by the Britiſh army, was no farther impeded.

General Greene had ordered the colonels Huger and Williams, whom he had left ſome days before at the Pedee, to join him with their troops: however it was but a very ſhort time after this junction, before general Greene had the higheſt reaſon to conclude, that the ſafety of his troops lay only in retreat; nor was this accompliſhed but with the utmoſt difficulty, as the way he was obliged to traverſe, was frequently interrupted by ſteep aſcents and unfordable rivers. But he remarkably eſcaped a purſuing and powerful army, whoſe progreſs was, fortunately for the Americans, checked by the ſame impediments, and at much leſs favorable moments of arrival. Though we do not aſſert, a *miracle* was wrought on the occaſion, it is certain from good authority,* that the freſhets

* See general Greene's own letters, and the letters of other officers.

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ſwelled, and retarded the paſſage of the Britiſh, while they ſeemed at times, to ſuſpend their rapidity in favor to the Americans: and the piety of general Greene in ſeveral of his letters, attributed his remarkable eſcapes, and the protection of his little army, to the intervention of a ſuperintending Providence.

Thus after a flight and a chace of fifteen or twenty days, ſupported by the moſt determined ſpirit and perſeverance on both ſides, general Greene reached Guilford about the middle of February, where he ordered all the troops he had left near the Pedee, under officers on whom he could depend, to repair immediately to him.

Lord Cornwallis at or near the ſame time, took poſt at Hillſborough, and there erected the royal ſtandard. General Leſlie had according to orders left Virginia, and marched further ſouth. He had arrived at Charleſton about the middle of December. He without delay marched with fifteen hundred men, and ſoon overtook and joined lord Cornwallis, in the extreme part of the ſtate. He had found the Britiſh commander immerſed in cares, perplexity, and fatigue, endeavouring with all his ability, to reſtore by force the authority of his maſter, among a people, the majority of whom, he ſoon found to his mortification, were totally averſe to the government and authority of Great Britain. General Leſlie continued with

him until ſome time after the battle of Guilford, and by his bravery and activity was eſſentially ſerviceable to the royal cauſe.

At Hillſborough, lord Cornwallis, by proclamation, called upon all the faithful votaries to the crown of Britain, to repair immediately to his camp with ten days proviſions, to aſſiſt in the full reſtoration of conſtitutional government. Numbers from all parts of the country, liſtened anew to the invitations and threatenings of the Britiſh commander, and moved with all poſſible diſpatch towards his camp. But many of them fell on their way, by the fatal miſtake of miſapprehending the characters and connexions of the partiſans about them. It muſt be extremely difficult in a country rent in ſunder by civil feuds, and in arms under different leaders of parties oppoſed to each other, to know at once, in the hurry and confuſion of croſſing and re-croſſing to join their friends, whether they were not encircled by their enemies.

Tarleton himſelf had ſometimes miſtaken his own partiſans for the friends of congreſs: thus many of the royaliſts, as they were haſtening to take protection under the banners of their king, were cut down by the ſame hand that ſpread ſlaughter and deſolation among the oppoſers of the monarch. Many unfortunate victims of the ſword, drew deſtruction upon themſelves by

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ſimilar miſtakes. An inſtance of this, among others ſhocking to the feelings of humanity, was the maſſacre of three or four hundred of this deſcription of perſons, headed by a colonel Pyles. They accidentally fell in the way of a continental detachment, commanded by general Pickens. The royaliſts miſtaking the republicans for Tarleton and his party, whom Pickens was purſuing, they acknowledged themſelves the ſubjects of the crown, made a merit of their advance, and called on colonel Tarleton as their leader: nor were they undeceived but by the blow that deprived them of life. It is indeed to be much lamented, that they were treated with as little mercy, and all cut down with equal cruelty, to any that had been experienced by the Americans from the moſt remorſeleſs of their foes.

While in this ſtate of confuſion and depredation through the whole country, general Greene and lord Cornwallis lay at no great diſtance from each other: but Greene kept his poſition as much as poſſible concealed, as he was not yet in a ſituation to venture a deciſive action: and though he was obliged to move earlier towards the Britiſh encampment, no engagement took place until about the middle of March. In the mean time, by his ability and addreſs, he eluded the vigilance of his enemies, and kept himſelf ſecure by a continual change of poſts, until ſtrengthened by freſh reinforcements of the

North Carolina and Virginia militia. The few continental troops he had with him, joined by these, and a number of volunteers from the interior mountainous tracts of the western wilderness, induced him to think he might risk a general action.

On the fifteenth of March, the two armies met at Guilford, and seemed at first to engage with equal ardor; but as usual, the raw militia were intimidated by the valor and discipline of British veterans. Almost the whole corps of Carolinians threw down their arms and fled, many of them without even once discharging their firelocks. This of course deranged the American army; yet they supported the action with great spirit and bravery for an hour and a half, when they were entirely broken, and obliged to retreat with the utmost precipitation. Both armies suffered much by the loss of many gallant officers, and a considerable number of men.

Lord Cornwallis kept the field, and claimed a complete victory; but the subsequent transactions discovered, that the balance of real advantage lay on the other side. His lordship, immediately after the action at Guilford, proclaimed pardon and protection to all the inhabitants of the country on proper submission: yet at the same time, he found it necessary to quit his present ground. He had previously taken

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the determination, to try the ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms in North Carolina and Virginia. He formed this reſolution early; and would have proſecuted it immediately after Ferguſon's defeat, in October, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, had he not been detained by ſickneſs. After his recovery he purſued the deſign; and for this purpoſe had ordered general Leſlie to leave Virginia, who (as has been obſerved) joined him with a large detachment of troops, about mid-winter. His lordſhip however, thought proper ſtill to poſtpone his original deſign, with the hope of bringing general Greene to a decided action, and thereby more firmly uniting the inhabitants of the country to the royal cauſe.

After the action at Guilford, and the diſperſion of the American troops, lord Cornwallis found it difficult to procure forage and proviſions ſufficient for the ſubſiſtence of his army. He left the late field of action, and moved onwards a few miles, and halted at Bell's Mills, where he ſtaid two days, and gave the troops a ſmall ſupply of proviſions. From thence he moved ſlowly on account of his ſick and wounded, to Croſs-Creek.

It appears by his own letter to lord George Germaine, that he had intended to continue thereabouts for ſome ſhort time; but a variety of diſappointments that occurred, induced him

to alter his resolution. In this letter he observes :—"From all my information, I intended to have halted at Cross-Creek, as a proper place to refresh and refit the troops: and I was much disappointed on my arrival there, to find it totally impossible. Provisions were scarce; not four days forage within twenty miles; and to us the navigation of the Cape Fear river to Wilmington, impracticable, for the distance by water is upwards of one hundred miles. Under these circumstances, I was obliged to continue my march to this place."*

Lord Cornwallis having decamped from the neigbourhood of his late military operations, marched with all possible expedition toward the more eastern parts of North Carolina. He found many difficulties on his way, but pursued his route with great perseverance, as did his army; they cheerfully sustained the severest fatigue; but as they had frequently done before, they marked their way with the slaughter of the active, and the blood of the innocent inhabitants, through a territory of many hundred miles in extent from Charleston to York-Town. It was afterwards computed, that fourteen hundred

* See earl Cornwallis's letter to lord George Germaine, dated Wilmington, April eighteenth, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

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widows were made during this year's campaign, only in the ſingle diſtrict of Ninety-Six.*

After the defeat at Guilford, general Greene availed himſelf of his religious opinions to obtain relief and aſſiſtance from the neighbouring country. He had been educated in the Quaker denomination of Chriſtians, but not too ſcrupulouſly attached to their tenets to take arms in defence of American liberty. The inhabitants in the vicinity of both armies, generally belonged to that ſect: in the diſtreſs of the retreating army, he called them out to the exerciſe of that benevolence and charity, of which they make the higheſt profeſſions. He wrote and reminded them, that though they could not conſcientiouſly, conſiſtently with the principles they profeſſed, gird on the ſword for the uſual operations of war, yet nothing could excuſe them from the exerciſe of compaſſion and aſſiſtance to the ſick and wounded; to this they were exhorted by their principles; and an ample field was now diſplayed to evince their ſincerity by every charitable act.

His letters were more influential on this mild and unoffending body of people, than the proclamations of lord Cornwallis. They united to take care of the ſick, to dreſs the wounded, and make collections of proviſions for the relief of

* General Greene's letters authenticate this fact.

the flying army. This was a very eſſential advantage to general Greene, whoſe confidence in the ſimplicity and kindneſs of this body of people, relieved him from any anxiety and embarraſſment, relative to the ſick and wounded he was obliged to leave behind.

Their example probably had an influence on others of different denominations, and indeed on moſt of the people in the circumjacent villages, whom we ſhall ſoon ſee quitting the royal ſtandard, and following the fortune of the routed commander and his army, notwithſtanding the high hopes which had been entertained for a ſhort time by the Britiſh, that this defeat would put an end to any other effective operations of the *rebel general Greene*, as they ſtyled him in their letters.

In conſequence of the action at Guilford, general Greene had to lament the loſs of ſeveral valuable officers, among whom were the generals Stephens and Huger, dangerouſly wounded. But thoſe who were faithful to the ſervice, on principles of ſupporting the general liberties of their country, loſt no part of their vigor or fortitude under the ſharpeſt diſappointments and misfortunes; but rallied anew, and ſet their hardy faces againſt the moſt adverſe circum-

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ſtances, that might ariſe in the dangerous and uncertain conflict.

This, general Greene atteſted in all his letters: yet the ignorance of the people in general, the little knowledge they had of the principles of the conteſt, the want of ſtable principles of any kind among the generality of the inhabitants, rendered dependence on their fidelity very uncertain, on both ſides the queſtion, and put it beyond the calculation on events, as neither the Britiſh or American commanders could make an accurate ſtatement of numbers from day to day, that belonged to their own army. Self-preſervation often led both parties to deception; and the danger of the moment, ſometimes, more than the turpitude of the heart, prompted them to act under diſguiſe.

The letters and accounts of all the general officers, on both ſides of the queſtion, portray theſe difficulties in a ſtyle and manner more deſcriptive, than can be done by any one, who did not feel the complicated miſeries which involved both armies, and the inhabitants of the Carolinas, at this period. To them the reader is referred, while we yet follow the American commander through perplexity, embarraſſment, and fatigue, too complex for deſcription.

After the defeat at Guilford, general Greene was far from being diſcouraged or intimidated

by the victorious triumph of his enemies. He retreated with a ſteady ſtep, and retired only ten or fifteen miles from the ſcene of the late action. He had every reaſon to expect a ſecond rencounter with the Britiſh army, who boaſted that their victory was complete, though it was acknowledged by lord Cornwallis, that the action at Guilford was the bloodieſt that had taken place during the war.* Yet when lord Cornwallis withdrew from the late ſcene of action, it did not appear ſo much the reſult of a ſyſtematic deſign of an able general, as it did that of the retreat of a conquered army.

This, with other circumſtances, induced general Greene, after he had collected moſt of his ſcattered troops, to follow his lordſhip rather than to fly further. The inhabitants of the country (ſingular as it may appear) from this time more generally flocked to the camp of the defeated, than to that of the conquering general. A more thorough diſaffection to Britiſh government hourly appeared, and a more impreſſive alarm from the apprehenſions of ſubjugation, ſeemed to diſcover itſelf from the day of the retreat at Guilford. Numbers from all quarters came forward; and general Greene ſoon found himſelf in a ſituation to purſue in his turn.

* See lord Cornwallis's letter to ſir Henry Clinton, in Clinton's Narrative, page 9.

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He accordingly followed the Britiſh army through croſs roads and difficult paths, for about ten days; when finding his lordſhip declined meeting him again, and that by the rapidity of his movements their diſtance widened, general Greene thought it beſt to halt, and not further attempt to impede the route of the Britiſh commander toward Wilmington; and prepared himſelf to proſecute his previous deſign of relieving the ſtate of South Carolina, without farther delay.

Within a few days he began his march toward Camden, the head-quarters of lord Rawdon, on whom the command had devolved, and who was there encamped with only nine hundred men. General Greene's approach was rather unexpected to Rawdon; but by a ſudden and judicious advance, he fell on the Americans before they were in readineſs for his reception. Notwithſtanding this ſudden attack, which took place on the twenty-fifth of April, general Greene, always cool and collected, ſuſtained a ſevere conflict with his uſual intrepidity; but was again obliged to retreat, though his numbers were ſuperior. Yet he obſerved about this time, that he was not ſo amply ſupported as he might have expected, by aids from Virginia, Maryland, or elſewhere; and that in North Carolina, ſuch was the fluctuation of opinion, the operation of fear, and a too general want of principle, that he could not place

the ſtrongeſt confidence in many who accompanied him.

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Lord Rawdon attempted ſoon after to bring general Greene to a ſecond engagement; but he too well underſtood the advantages he might gain by declining it. The conſequences juſtified his conduct; as lord Rawdon, in a few days after the action at Camden, burnt many of the mills, adjacent private houſes, and other buildings, and evacuated the poſt and moved toward Charleſton, where he judged his preſence was more immediately neceſſary. This ſudden evacuation of Camden inſpirited the *Continentals*, and inſpired them with a dangerous enthuſiaſm, that for a time could not be reſiſted. The banks of the rivers and the country were ſcoured by various partiſans, in purſuit of forage and proviſions, which were generally ſecured by the Americans, after ſkirmiſhing and fighting their way through ſmall parties of the enemy, too weak for ſucceſsful oppoſition.

Sumpter, Marion, and other leaders, general Greene obſerved, "have people who adhere to "them, and appear cloſely attached; yet, per-"haps more from a deſire, and the opportunity "of plundering, than from an inclination to "promote the independence of the United "States." General Greene was attended and ſupported by many brave, humane and valiant officers, in his peregrinations through the Car-

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olinas, but their followers were generally licentious beyond deſcription. This ſometimes impelled him to ſeverities that wounded the feelings of the man, though neceſſary in the diſcipline of an army.

A detail of all the ſmaller rencounters that took place in this hoſtile period in both the Carolinas, might fatigue, more than it would gratify, the humane or inquiſitive mind. It is enough to obſerve, that the Americans, under various leaders and ſome capital commanders, were continually attacking, with alternate ſucceſs and defeat, the chain of Britiſh poſts planted from Camden to Ninety-Six: and as general Greene himſelf expreſſed his ſentiments in their embarraſſed ſituation,—"We fight, get beaten; "riſe, and fight again: the whole country is "one continued ſcene of ſlaughter and blood. "This country may ſtruggle a little longer; "but unleſs they have more effectual ſupport, "they muſt fall."*

It is to be lamented, that very many in this day of general diſtreſs, ſuffered themſelves to be governed either by vindictive paſſions, or their feelings of reſentment for perſonal injuries. Many took advantage of the public confuſion, to gratify, if not to juſtify, their own private revenge, a ſtronger ſtimulus with ſome, than

* General Greene's letter to the chevalier de la Luzerne.

any public or political principle. Besides these, there were numbers who seemed to enlist under the banners of liberty, with no views but those of rapine, assassination, and robbery; and after they had for a time rioted in the indulgence of those infernal passions, they frequently deserted, and repaired to the British camp, and renewed each scene of villany against the party they had just left. They were indeed well calculated to become instruments in the hands of the British officers, to perpetrate the cruelties they were too much disposed to inflict on the steady adherents to the American cause. Thus, whether they pretended to be the partisans of the one side or the other, rapacity and violence raged among a fierce people, little accustomed to the restraints of law and subordination.

The manners of the mountaineers and borderers of the Carolinas, exemplified too strongly the native ferocity of man. Though descended from civilized ancestors, it cannot be denied, that when for a length of time, a people have been used to the modes of savage life common to the rude stages of society, not feeling themselves restrained by penal laws, nor under the influence of reason or religion, nor yet impressed by apprehensions of disgrace, they sink into the habits of savages, and appear scarce a grade above the brutal race. Thus it required a very severe military discipline, to reduce to order the rude peasantry that poured down from the

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mountains, and collected from the most rough, uncultivated parts of the country.

Dissension, mutiny, robbery, and murder, spread to an alarming degree. There were too many instances of villany and barbarity, to render it necessary to adduce more than a single fact, that may convey an idea of the hazard of life without the risk of battle. We mention therefore only the death of a colonel Grierson, a distinguished loyalist, because this circumstance is particularly noticed by the commanders of both armies. This gentleman was shot by an unknown hand, after he had surrendered his arms to the Americans. Great exertion was made to discover the perpetrator of this cruel deed: general Greene offered a reward of one hundred guineas for the detection of the murderer, but without effect: private assassination had become too familiar a crime in that hostile country, for the perpetrators to betray each other.

Perhaps few officers could have extricated themselves, and recovered from the unforeseen embarrassments that attended him through the southern campaign, with the facility, judgment, and perseverance, that marked the conduct of the American commander in the Carolinas. His mind was replete with resources in the greatest difficulties, and his resolution equal to the severest enterprise. While the humanity of

his disposition led him to soften as much as possible the horrors of war, the placidity of his manners engaged the affections of his friends, and the esteem and respect of his enemies. Yet he was obliged to make some severe examples of atrocious characters, and to punish by death, several who were detected under the description of deserters and assassins.

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After the action at Camden, Marion, Pickens, and Lee, with their partisans, attacked and carried a number of small forts in the district of Ninety-Six, with little or no effectual opposition, until they crossed the Santee, and attacked fort Cornwallis, commanded by colonel Brown, who defended it with great spirit and gallantry. As the Americans approached, the British garrison, for their own better security, nearly covered themselves under ground. They obstinately refused to surrender, until every man who attempted to fire upon the besiegers, was instantly shot down; but after a siege of twelve or fourteen days, the fort, with about three hundred men, was surrendered by capitulation.

Brown had been so barbarous and ferocious a partisan, that he was hourly apprehensive of meeting with summary vengeance from the hands of some of those who had suffered, either in their persons or their friends. Many he had

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murdered in cold blood; others he had cruelly delivered into the hands of the ſavages, to ſuffer longer torture. But the victor, feeling compaſſion for individual ſuffering, ſent him under an eſcort for his better ſecurity, to Savannah. Without this indulgence, he muſt have fallen an immediate ſacrifice, as he had to paſs through a long tract of country, where he had been active in perpetrating the ſevereſt cruelties, accompanied by a number of loyaliſts, between whom and the adherents to the American cauſe, there raged ſuch an infernal ſpirit of bitterneſs, that extermination ſeemed to be equally the wiſh of both parties.

The leaders of the American partiſans were frequently checked by the humane advice of general Greene. He exhorted them, that it was more their duty by their lenity to induce thoſe in oppoſition, to unite with them in ſupporting the cauſe of freedom, than it was to aim at their extermination. In a letter to Pickens he obſerved, that "the principles of "humanity as well as policy required, that "proper meaſures ſhould be immediately taken, "to reſtrain abuſes, heal differences, and unite "the people as much as poſſible."

While theſe deſultory excurſions were kept up, general Greene was endeavouring to concentrate his forces for the proſecution of more important objects. Many occurrences had re-

dounded much to his honor, though ſome of them were unfortunate. But his misfortunes did not impair his military reputation; nor was his courage or ability called in queſtion on his aſſault on Ninety-Six, though it did not terminate agreeably to his hopes. The garriſon was defended with the greateſt ſpirit and ability by lieutenant colonel Cruger. They ſuſtained a ſiege with almoſt unexampled bravery, from the twenty-fourth of May to the eighteenth of June.

Notwithſtanding the valor of the Britiſh troops, and the fortitude of their commander, they were reduced to the point of ſurrender, when by the addreſs of an American lady, prompted by a laudable affection for her huſband, a Britiſh officer within the garriſon, ſhe found means to convey a letter to colonel Cruger, with the pleaſing intelligence, that if they could hold out a ſhort time longer, their deliverance might be certain: that reinforcements were at hand; that lord Rawdon was marching to their relief with two thouſand freſh troops, who had arrived within ſeven days from Ireland.

It was happy for general Greene, that he obtained early information that this ſtrong body was on their way, and was hourly expected by his antagoniſts; but it was very affecting to the feelings of honor, patriotiſm, or pride, to find

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himſelf obliged to raiſe the ſiege, almoſt in the moment of victory, and to retreat with precipitation from a ſpot, where but a day before, he had reaſon to flatter himſelf he ſhould reap the laurels of conqueſt. This unexpected turn of affairs was truly diſtreſſing to the American commander. It was painful and humiliating to be compelled again to fly before a purſuing enemy, to the extreme parts of a country he had recently trodden over with ſo much fatigue and peril.

Some of his aſſociates were ſo much diſheartened by the untoward circumſtances of the campaign, that they adviſed him to fly from Carolina, and to endeavour to ſave himſelf and the remainder of his troops, by retreating to Virginia. To this advice, general Greene replied, in the laconic ſtyle of the Spartan, with the ſpirit of a Roman, and the enthuſiaſm of an American,—"*I will recover this country, or* "*periſh in the attempt.*" His ſubſequent conduct and ſucceſs juſtified his noble reſolution. He ſoon collected the militia from the diſtant parts of the ſtate, called in his detachments, and inſpirited his troops ſo far, as to recover his uſual confidence in them. This encouraged him to offer battle to lord Rawdon on the twelfth of July.

His lordſhip, ſtrongly poſted at Orangeburgh, and ſtrengthened by additional troops from ſev-

eral quarters, declined the challenge. This was not becauſe he did not think himſelf in ſufficient force to accept it: he had previouſly determined to return to Charleſton, as ſoon as circumſtances would permit. His preſence was there neceſſary, not only on account of military arrangements, but from the confuſion and diſorder of civil affairs, the animoſities of the citizens of different deſcriptions, the inſolence of the loyaliſts, and the complaints of thoſe who had been compelled to a temporary ſubmiſſion.

When lord Rawdon withdrew from Orangeburgh, he left a ſufficient number of troops for its defence; and making due arrangements for the ſecurity of other poſts, he haſtened to Charleſton. On this, general Greene detached a part of his own army to march towards the capital, and returned himſelf with the remainder, and took poſt on the heights near the Santee. From thence he continually haraſſed the Britiſh by ſmall parties, who alternately returned theſe aggreſſions. Skirmiſh and defeat, plunder, ſlaughter, and devaſtation, were every where diſplayed, from the extremity of the country to the environs of the city. Several weeks elapſed before the operations of either army were more concentrated.

While the military operations againſt the Americans were vigoroufly purſued without, the devoted city of Charleſton ſuffered miſery

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beyond deſcription within. Severity, cruelty, and deſpair, raged for a time without check or control. A ſingle inſtance of inhumanity, in the ſacrifice of one of the victims of their reſentment, will be ſufficient to evince the rigor and impolicy of Britiſh meaſures. The execution of colonel Hayne will leave a ſtain on the character of lord Rawdon, without exhibiting any other proofs of barbarous ſeverity.

This gentleman had been a diſtinguiſhed and very active officer in the American ſervice, previous to the ſubjugation of Charleſton. When this event took place, he found himſelf called to a ſeparation from his family, a dereliction of his property, and ſubmiſſion to the conqueror. In this ſituation he thought it his duty to become a voluntary priſoner, and take his parole. On ſurrendering himſelf, he offered to engage and ſtand bound on the principles of honor, to do nothing prejudicial to the Britiſh intereſt until he was exchanged; but his abilities and his ſervices were of ſuch conſideration to his country, that he was refuſed a parole, and told he muſt become a Britiſh ſubject, or ſubmit to cloſe confinement.

His family was then in a diſtant part of the country, and in great diſtreſs by ſickneſs, and from the ravages of the loyaliſts in their neighbourhood. Thus he ſeemed impelled to acknowledge himſelf the ſubject of a government

he had relinquiſhed from the pureſt principles, or renounce his tendereſt connexions, and leave them without a poſſibility of his aſſiſtance, and at a moment when he hourly expected to hear of the death of an affectionate wife, ill of the ſmall-pox.

In this ſtate of anxiety, he ſubſcribed a declaration of his allegiance to the king of Great Britain, with this expreſs exception, that he ſhould never be required to *take arms againſt his country.* Notwithſtanding this, he was ſoon and repeatedly called upon to arm in ſupport of a government he deteſted, or to ſubmit to the ſevereſt puniſhment. Brigadier general Patterſon, commandant of the garriſon, and the intendant of the Britiſh police, a Mr. Simpſon, had both aſſured colonel Hayne, that no ſuch thing would be required; and added "that "when the royal army could not defend a coun-"try without the aid of its inhabitants, it "would be time to quit it."*

Colonel Hayne conſidered a requiſition to act in Britiſh ſervice, after aſſurances that this would never be required, as a breach of contract, and a releaſe in the eye of conſcience, from any obligation on his part. Accordingly he took the firſt opportunity of reſuming his

* See a repreſentation of colonel Hayne's caſe, laid before congreſs after his death.

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arms as an American, assumed the command of his own regiment; and all fond of their former commander, colonel Hayne marched with a defensible body to the relief of his countrymen, then endeavouring to drive the British partisans, and keep them within the environs of Charleston. He very unfortunately in a short time fell into the hands of a strong British party, sent out for the recovery of a favorite officer,* who had left the American cause, and become a devotee to British government.

As soon as colonel Hayne was captured, he was closely imprisoned. This was on the twenty-sixth of July. He was notified the same day, that a court of officers would assemble the next day, to determine in what point of view he ought to be considered. On the twenty-ninth he was informed, that in consequence of a court of inquiry held the day before, lord Rawdon and lieutenant colonel Balfour had resolved upon his execution within two days.

His astonishment at these summary and illegal proceedings can scarcely be conceived. He wrote lord Rawdon, that he had no intimation of any thing more than a court of inquiry, to determine whether he should be considered as

* This was a general Williamson, captured within seven miles of the city, by a small reconnoitering party sent out by colonel Hayne.

an American or a Britiſh ſubject: if the firſt, he ought to be ſet at liberty on parole; if the laſt, he claimed a legal trial. He aſſured his lordſhip, that on a trial he had many things to urge in his defence; reaſons that would be weighty in a court of equity; and concluded his letter with obſerving,—"If, ſir, I am refuſ-"ed this favor, which I cannot conceive from "your juſtice or humanity, I earneſtly entreat "that my execution may be deferred; that I "may at leaſt take a laſt farewell of my chil-"dren, and prepare for the ſolemn change."*

But his death predetermined, his enemies were deaf to the voice of compaſſion. The execution of his ſentence was haſtened, though the reputation and merits of this gentleman were ſuch, that the whole city was zealous for his preſervation. Not only the inhabitants in oppoſition to Britiſh government, but even lieutenant governor Bull at the head of the royaliſts, interceded for his life. The principal ladies of Charleſton endeavoured, by their compaſſionate interference, to arreſt or influence the relentleſs hand of power. They drew up and preſented to lord Rawdon, a delicate and pathetic petition in his behalf. His near rela-

* See a more full account of the treatment of colonel Hayne in his own papers, afterwards preſented to congreſs.

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tions, and his children, who had juſt performed the funeral rites over the grave of a tender mother, appeared on their bended knees, to implore the life of their father. But in ſpite of the ſupplications of children and friends, ſtrangers and foes, the flinty heart of lord Rawdon remained untouched, amidſt theſe ſcenes of ſenſibility and diſtreſs. No amelioration of the ſentence could be obtained; and this affectionate father took a final leave of his children in a manner that pierced the ſouls of the beholders. To the eldeſt of them, a youth of but thirteen years of age, he delivered a tranſcript of his caſe, directed him to convey it to congreſs, and ordered him to ſee that his father's remains were depoſited in the tomb of his anceſtors.

Pinioned like a criminal, this worthy citizen walked with compoſure through crowds of admiring ſpectators, with the dignity of the philoſopher, and the intrepidity of the chriſtian. He ſuffered as a hero, and was hanged as a felon, amidſt the tears of the multitude, and the curſes of thouſands, who execrated the perpetrators of this cruel deed.

Soon after this tranſaction, lord Rawdon, on account of the broken ſtate of his health, obtained leave to repair to England. Captured on his paſſage by the count de Graſſe, he was detained a ſhort time; but ſoon after his arri-

val on the ſhores of Great Britain, his ſingular treatment of colonel Hayne was the topic of every converſation; and was proved to have been ſo pointedly ſevere, as to be thought worthy of parliamentary diſcuſſion. The ſtrictures of the duke of Richmond thereon were pointed with ſeverity. He thought the dignity and humanity of the nation, called loudly for a court of inquiry on high-handed executions, without trial, or any opportunity given for legal defence.

This motion however, was productive of no conſequences, except the ebullitions of lord Rawdon's reſentment; who, it was obſerved, conducted more with the violence of a ſoldier of untutored manners, than with the urbanity or the politeneſs of the gentleman. He wrote to the noble duke in high and offenſive language, little if any thing ſhort of a direct challenge; but his grace did not deign to think himſelf accountable to an individual, for defending the principles of equity, and the cauſe of the injured, in the freedom of parliamentary debate and inveſtigation.

After lord Rawdon had taken leave of America, and embarked for England, the command of the Britiſh army in Charleſton devolved on colonel Balfour. This officer, though a brave man, was not diſtinguiſhed for his humanity; nor did he ſeem more diſpoſed, on a new ac-

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quisition of power, to soften the rigors of war, than his predecessors in command.

It had, previous to the present period, appeared by the letters of colonel Balfour, that his apprehensions relative to the southern campaign, and the termination of the war, had been clouded to a considerable degree. He had written to sir Henry Clinton on the sixth of May, that "their situation was exceedingly distressing and dreadful, notwithstanding lord "Rawdon's brilliant successes; that the enemy's parties were every where; that the "communication with Savannah by land was "every where cut off; that the colonels Brown, "Cruger, and others, at different important "posts, were in the most critical situation." He added in the same letter:—"Indeed I "should betray the duty I owe your excellency, "did I not represent the defection of this province so universal, that I know of no mode, "short of depopulation, to retain it. The "spirit of revolt is kept up by the many officers, prisoners of war: I should therefore "think it advisable to remove them, as well "as to make some striking examples of such as "had taken protections, yet snatch every occasion to rise in arms against us."

Whether colonel Balfour wished to be the executioner of this cruel policy or not, he justified it in his answer to general Greene, who

demanded the reason of Hayne's execution. Balfour replied, that it took place by the joint orders of lord Rawdon and himself, in consequence of lord Cornwallis's directions, to put every man to death who might be found in arms, if he had been received as a subject of Great Britain, after the capitulation of Charleston in one thousand seven hundred and eighty.

General Greene threatened retaliation; but his humanity led him to the suspension of such severities, though he felt wounded at the treatment of a person of such real merit as colonel Hayne, and the premature stroke that robbed his country and his family of this brave, unfortunate man. He pointedly criminated the authors of his death, as acting an unjust, inhuman, and an illegal part. In a letter to colonel Balfour he observed, that he was happy for the honor of colonel Hayne, that nothing could be found against him to warrant his execution, but "the "order of lord Cornwallis, given in the hour "of victory, when he considered the lives, lib-"erties, and property of the people, prostrate "at his feet. But I confess I cannot repress my "astonishment, that you and lord Rawdon "should give such an extraordinary example of "severity, upon the authority of that order, "under such a change of circumstances, so long "after it had been remonstrated against by my-"self, in a letter to lord Cornwallis. I inform-"ed his lordship, that his orders were cruel and

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"unprecedented; and that he might expect re-
"taliation from the friends of the unfortu-
"nate."*

Indeed it was the universal voice, that the conduct of Rawdon and Balfour in this affair, could be justified by no law, civil or military, and was totally repugnant to the spirit of humanity, or to divine injunctions. General Greene declared in the most solemn manner, that he had never authorised or countenanced executions on such principles; that he had done all in his power to soften resentment, to conciliate the inhabitants of different descriptions, and to prevent as much as possible all private assassinations, which had too frequently taken place, in spite of discipline or humanity; and that he sanctioned no public executions, but for the crimes of desertion and murder; crimes which by no construction could be charged on colonel Hayne.

But the death of this worthy man, the victim of resentment, was not avenged by retaliation, as threatened. It was postponed from the humanity and generosity of the American commander, as well as from the uncertainty of all human events, and the impossibility of calculating from

* General Greene's letters to lord Cornwallis and colonel Balfour, in his dispatches to congress at the time.

the chances of war, which party might be the greateſt ſufferers, by a determined ſpirit of retaliation and execution on both ſides.

Fierce rencounters were ſtill kept up between the Britiſh detachments poſted on advantageous heights, and on the banks of deep and unfordable rivers which interſected each other, and the hardy chieftains who led the Carolinian bands, over mountains, declivities, ſwamps, and rivers, to the vicinity of the city. Thence they were often obliged to retreat back from the borders of civilization and ſofter habitations, again to ſeek ſafety in the dreary wilderneſs, to which they were purſued by their enemies, who were ſometimes repelled, at others ſucceſsful in cutting off the little parties of Americans; until the Britiſh, wearied by the mutual interchange of hoſtilities without deciſion, drew in their cantonments, and took poſt about the beginning of September, at the Eutaw Springs, which were ſituated at the diſtance of only fifty miles from Charleſton.

General Greene had, when near the waters of the Congaree, while they were ſeparated at the diſtance of only fifteen miles, attempted to bring them to a cloſer engagement; but there appeared at that time no inclination in the Britiſh to meet him. He found they were about to take a new poſition. This induced him to follow them by a circuitous march of

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ſeventy or eighty miles. Deſultory ſkirmiſhes continued during the month of Auguſt; but on the eighth of September, general Greene again renewed his challenge, fought and obtained an advantage, that was an over-balance for the many ſucceſsleſs rencounters, that had long kept the public mind in ſuſpenſe and apprehenſion, and Greene's army in ſuch a continual fluctuation, that there was no calculating its numbers or its ſtrength, from day to day.

General Greene advanced to the Springs, where the main body of the Britiſh troops were collected. He had with him only about two thouſand men; but theſe were commanded by ſome of the beſt of his officers. They attacked and routed the Britiſh encampment. The action was ſevere. Great numbers of the Britiſh officers and ſoldiers were either ſlain or captured. Yet the Americans ſuffered ſo much, that colonel Stuart, the Britiſh commander, claimed the advantage. Indeed, general Greene ſuffered the loſs of many brave ſoldiers, and ſome very valuable officers. A colonel Campbell of Virginia, fell toward the termination of the action, and had time after the mortal wound only to obſerve, that "as the Britiſh fled, he "died contented."

Colonel Stuart wrote ſir Henry Clinton a detail of the affair, in the pompous ſtyle of victory: but notwithſtanding he arrogated ſo

much on the occaſion, the action at the Eutaw Springs put a period to all farther offenſive operations in that quarter; and the Britiſh troops after this, ſeldom ventured far beyond the boundaries of Charleſton. Beſides the numbers ſlain in this action, four or five hundred of the Britiſh troops were made priſoners of war. The Americans ſuffered equally, and perhaps in greater proportion to their numbers, than the Britiſh: not leſs than five hundred men, and upwards of ſixty officers, were killed or captured, beſides the wounded. After this action, general Greene retired again for a time, to the heights bordering on the river Santee.

A new face to affairs now ſoon appeared in the city. The royal army had been ſo much reduced by the vigilance and activity of general Greene, that what has been denominated by ſome writers, a re-action of events, began to operate. The Britiſh adherents to monarchy in Charleſton, and the power and influence of royal government, were in a ſhort time brought very low. Conſequently, the ſufferings of thoſe who had triumphed in the depreſſion and ſubjugation of their own countrymen, were felt with almoſt equal rigor and ſeverity, to that which had been inflicted on the oppoſers of Britiſh authority, when their commanders in all the inſo-

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lence of conquest, contemplated the certainty of the subjugation of the southern states.

Governor Rutledge had left the state of South Carolina and repaired to Philadelphia, after the surrender of Charleston. He now returned, and re-assumed the reins of government. Soon after his arrival in his native state, the governor published a proclamation offering pardon, on certain conditions, to all who had been aiding in British service, except such as had signed addresses, and voluntarily taken commissions to support the arms and authority of Great Britain.

The injunctions contained in this proclamation, dated the twenty-seventh of September, were rigorously executed. All those who were implicated as opposed either in principle or practice, to the interests or to the arms of their own country, felt heavily the reverse of a change of masters. The governor, feeling not only the miseries in which his native state had been so long involved, but the highest indignation at the treatment received by individuals, and the inflictions imposed on many by the severity of Rawdon and Balfour, suffered his resentment to fall indiscriminately on all the partisans of royalty.

Many who had reaped the sweets of changing with the times, by availing themselves of

the property of thoſe who had fled, were now compelled by the governor to fly from their agreeable plantations. This deſcription of people had ſeized the *villas* of thoſe who had taken their ſtandard under congreſſional protection, rather than relinquiſh their independence, by becoming ſubjects of the king of England.

They had occupied without the city, the beſt accommodated ſituations which had before belonged to the captured or exiled inhabitants, who had oppoſed the Britiſh invaſion. This claſs of perſons were now reduced to the neceſſity of removing into a town ſtill occupied by foreign troops. Drivén into the city, and ſhut up with their families in inconvenient huts, the reverſe of the eaſy accommodations to which they had lately been uſed, and the affluence which ſome of them had formerly poſſeſſed, many of them fell a prey to ſickneſs, and the concomitant miſeries of war.

Nor leſs aggravated were the diſtreſſes of thoſe inhabitants within the city, whoſe fidelity to their country could not be ſhaken, and whoſe connexions were in arms without. They ſuffered every kind of diſtreſs, yet with the moſt heroic firmneſs; and even the ladies, in many inſtances, gave a glorious example of female fortitude. They ſubmitted patiently to inconveniences never before felt, to hardſhips they had never expected; and wept in ſecret

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the miſeries of their country, and their ſeparation from their tendereſt connexions, with whom they were forbidden all intercourſe, and were not permitted the ſoft alleviation of the exchange of letters. With becoming dignity, they had ſecluded themſelves from the gaieties of the city; and refuſed on all occaſions, to partake of any amuſements in company with Britiſh officers; while with a charitable hand, they viſited and ſoothed, whenever poſſible, the miſerable victims crowded on board priſon ſhips, and thruſt into jails.

Their conduct was reſented by the officers of the army, who themſelves affronted them, and expoſed them to inſults of every kind, inſtead of defending the tender and helpleſs ſex, as is juſtly expected, and required by the laws of civilization and humanity. But the buſy hand of time was ripening events, that put a period to their afflictions; at leaſt, for ſuch of them as lived through the perils and hardſhips of the ſiege, the capture of their city, the waſte of their property, the exile from their families, and ſufferings too many to recount, which are uſually inflicted on the vanquiſhed, by the conqueror.

Among thoſe who lived to return from their baniſhment to St. Auguſtine, was the venerable Gadſden, who, through all the ſhocks of fortune, and the rotation of events which he ex-

perienced, was never ſhaken in his principles. He had always deſerved and retained the confidence of his country. A firm, uniform republican, he was choſen a member of the general congreſs which met at New York in one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-five. He was a worthy delegate in the reſpected aſſembly which aſſumed and declared the independence of the United States, in one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſix. He had no predilection in favor of kings, and was ever averſe to monarchic inſtitutions and uſages. This was probably a reaſon why he ſuffered ſuch particular ſeverities from the Britiſh commander. Notwithſtanding his long confinement in the caſtle of St. Auguſtine, and his own perſonal ſufferings, he lived to exemplify his humanity and generoſity, toward perſons who had been acceſſary, if not principals, in inſtigating the Britiſh officers to cruelties toward him, which they would not otherwiſe have practiſed.

The general aſſembly of the ſtate was called upon to meet at Jackſonborough, the beginning of the enſuing year. Their conſtitution required a rotation of office, which rendered Mr. Rutledge ineligible to ſerve longer as their firſt magiſtrate. In conſequence of this, Mr. Gadſden was choſen governor; but his advanced age and declining health, induced him to refuſe the laborious taſk. This was a period of peculiar difficulty, in the adminiſtration of the civil

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affairs of the ſtate. In the ſeſſions at Jackſonborough, there was little lenity exerciſed toward that deſcription of perſons who had taken Britiſh protections, or had in any manner abetted their meaſures, either in the city or the field. Their property was confiſcated, many of their perſons condemned to baniſhment, and the moſt rigorous proſecutions commenced againſt all ſuſpected perſons.

Though Mr. Gadſden had declined acting as governor of the ſtate, he did not ſit down an inactive ſpectator of the infringements of humanity or juſtice in ſociety, into which perſons might be hurried by an over-heated zeal, or the want of a proper reſtraint on the prejudices and paſſions of men. He vigorouſly oppoſed the proceedings of the aſſembly, which cut off the loyaliſts from returning to their allegiance, even if they wiſhed it, and ſitting down quietly in the boſom of their country.

It is now time to leave for the preſent, the deranged ſtate of their civil police, and the hoſtile confuſion which ſtill pervaded the two moſt ſouthern colonies, South Carolina and Georgia, and purſue the narrative of the march of the Britiſh army through North Carolina. The ſlaughter that accompanied this route, through every ſtage of its progreſs, is an unpleaſant tale. There appeared few interludes of humane and generous deportment toward the miſerable,

from the borders of South Carolina, until lord Cornwallis reached the important ſtand in Virginia, which finiſhed his career of military fame and ſucceſs, and again humbled the proud glory of the Britiſh arms, beneath the ſtandard of the Americans.

But before we follow the conqueror of Charleſton, in his purſuit of new victories in the more central part of the union, we will juſt obſerve, that no one of the thirteen United States felt more ſeverely the fatal conſequences of revolutionary convulſions, than that of South Carolina. Many of the beſt of its citizens periſhed in the conflict; others, from independence and opulence were reduced to the loweſt grade of hopeleſs penury, while they beheld with aſtoniſhment, the ſudden accumulation of fortune by thoſe whom they had viewed as a ſubordinate claſs, now grown up to incalculable wealth, amidſt confuſion and depredation. The convenient ſituations for commerce which they had formerly occupied, were ſoon after poſſeſſed by Britiſh agents, ſent on at the cloſe of the war to reap the gleanings of property, by the demands of a ſpeedy liquidation of old Britiſh debts.

Thoſe debts could not be diſcharged by men whoſe plantations were ruined, their ſlaves enticed or ſtolen away, and every other ſpecies of property waſted in the general pillage. Their

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capital had been held for a conſiderable time as a conquered city, by the invaders of life, liberty, and property, ſanctioned by the authority of the king of England. It is obvious, that his patronage and protection ſhould forever have nurtured the peace, proſperity, and growth of the American colonies. Both intereſt and policy dictated the wiſdom of this line of conduct, which would have prevented the irretrievable blow, which rent in ſunder the empire of Britain.

But as a *wounded limb*, pruned or bent downwards, yet not deſtroyed by the hand of the rude invader, ſometimes revives and flouriſhes with new vigor, while the parent ſtock is weakened, and its decay accelerated, by the exuberance of its former luxury and ſtrength, ſo may ſome future period behold the *United Colonies*, notwithſtanding their depreſſion, and their energetic ſtruggles for freedom, revivified, and raiſed to a degree of political conſideration, that may convince the parent ſtate of the importance of their loſs. They may perhaps be taught to dread any future rupture with a people grown ſtrong by oppreſſion, and become reſpectable among all nations, for their manly reſiſtance to the tyrannous hand ſtretched out to enſlave them.

CHAPTER XX.

Lord Cornwallis marches to Wilmington.—Marquis de la Fayette ſent to Virginia.—Death of General Phillips.—Lord Cornwallis moves from Peterſburgh to Williamſburgh—Diſſonant Opinions between him and Sir Henry Clinton—Croſſes James River—Takes Poſt at Portſmouth.—Indeciſion of Sir Henry Clinton—Meditates an Attack on Philadelphia—The Project relinquiſhed.

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IN the firſt moments of victory, the mind is generally elate with the expectation of applauſe, and the proſpect of additional fame. This was exemplified in the conduct of lord Cornwallis, when the retreating Americans had turned their faces from the field at Guilford, and left him to publiſh proclamations, invitations, and pardon to the inhabitants of the ſouth. The ſceptre of mercy was held out to them, on condition that they were ſufficiently humbled to become the obedient ſubjects of thoſe, who had deſtroyed their liberty, their property, and the lives of their friends, to obtain inglorious conqueſt, and arbitrary dominion.

He was a man of underſtanding and ſagacity, though not ſo thoroughly acquainted with the

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natural feelings of mankind, as to escape a disappointment from the conduct of the Carolinians. They revolted at the idea of seeing one American state after another, subdued and laid low at the feet of foreign conquerors. Many, whose minds had been held in a neutral state, previous to this period, now repaired with great precipitation to the congressional officers, and enlisted under their banners, for the defence of their native country.

Lord Cornwallis, after the action at Guilford and the retreat of general Greene, lost no time in expediting his previous plans of military arrangements; and, consistently with his own character, he soon moved to endeavour to prosecute them with success. He had reason to calculate, that when he had finished a long and fatiguing march which lay before him, that he should meet general Phillips in Virginia, with a large body of troops, and by their junction impede all resistance, and re-establish the authority of their master in that *rebellious* state. Instead of a completion of these expectations, he had when he arrived there, only to witness a fresh instance of the uncertainty of human hope, followed by a train of new disappointments.

The British commander immediately hastened by the most convenient route to Wilmington, and from thence to Petersburgh. Innumerable difficulties had attended lord Corn-

wallis and his army, in his march from Guilford to Wilmington; but in his judgment, the march was abſolutely neceſſary. Such was the ſituation and diſtreſs of the troops, and ſo great were the ſufferings of the ſick and wounded, that he had no option left after they had decamped from the field of battle, and moved to Croſs-Creek. The army was obliged to paſs a long way through a perfect deſert, where there were neither proviſions for their ſubſiſtence, nor water ſufficient to carry the mills, even could they have procured a ſupply of corn. At the ſame time, he had reaſon to expect, that the whole country eaſt of the Santee and Pedee would be in arms againſt them, notwithſtanding his previous proclamation and promiſe of pardon, on his leaving Guilford.

He wrote ſir Henry Clinton after his arrival at Wilmington, that he had reaſon to ſuppoſe, many who had taken part in the rebellion had been convinced of their error, and were deſirous to return to their duty and allegiance:—That he had promiſed them pardon, with few exceptions, on the ſurrendering of themſelves, their arms, and ammunition: and that they ſhould be permitted to return home, on giving a military parole:—That their perſons and properties ſhould be protected from violence: and as ſoon as poſſible, that they ſhould be reſtored to all the privileges of legal and conſtitutional government.

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Thefe fpecious promifes had little effect on the alienated inhabitants: no allurements could induce them to join heartily, in affifting the Britifh commander to fubjugate their native land. Their defection daily increafed; and a more thorough averfion to the defigns and the authority of the Britifh government, almoft univerfally appeared. This, his lordfhip himfelf atteftED. He obferved afterwards in a letter to fir Henry Clinton, that "after the complete "victory at Guilford, his numbers did not in-"creafe, though he had ftaid two days near the "field of action." His lordfhip acknowledged, that though he had marched through the part of the country where he had reafon to fuppofe he had the moft friends, he found himfelf equally difappointed and mortified. He obferved, that—"Many of the inhabitants rode into "camp, fhook me by the hand, faid they were "glad to fee me, and to hear that we had beat-"en Greene, and then rode home again; for "I could not get an hundred men in all the "*Regulators' country* to ftay with me, even as "militia."*

This muft have been a very unpleafant prelude to his lordfhip's march through a forlorn wilderneefs, interfperfed with deep rivers, which muft greatly impede an army encumbered with

* See lord Cornwallis's letter to fir Henry Clinton, April 10, 1780.

ſick and wounded, who were many of them obliged to travel in waggons, while all were ſcantily provided with clothes, ſhoes, or proviſions. But notwithſtanding all impediments, they reached Wilmington the ſeventh of April.

There, the commander found new ſources of anxiety: he felt his apprehenſions increaſed on account of the ſituation of lord Rawdon, on whom the command had devolved, when lord Cornwallis left Guilford. He had left with him only nine hundred men: but whatever dangers his little army might be expoſed to from the purſuit of general Greene, which was now aſcertained, it was impoſſible for lord Cornwallis to tread back his ſteps to their aſſiſtance. Theſe conſiderations determined his lordſhip to take the advantage of general Greene's having left the back part of Virginia open, to march immediately into that ſtate.

As he had received expreſs injunctions from ſir Henry Clinton, to leave the Carolinas as ſoon as poſſible, and repair to Virginia to the aid of general Phillips, it was his opinion, that his own movements were not optional. This officer had been ſent forward to the Cheſapeake with a reinforcement, in order to ſupport the meaſures ſir Henry Clinton had, early in the preceding winter, adopted, and for a time had entruſted general Arnold to proſecute.

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Previous to lord Cornwallis's removal from Wilmington, he wrote general Phillips, that he was in great diſtreſs at the reflection, that general Greene had taken the advantage of his abſence, and had marched towards South Carolina: that he had endeavoured to warn lord Rawdon of this danger; but that he had reaſon to think, his diſpatches had been intercepted. He obſerved, that "the mountaineers and militia had "poured into the back parts of that province; "and he much feared, that lord Rawdon's poſts "would be ſo diſtant from each other, and his "troops ſo ſcattered, as to put him into the "greateſt danger of being beat in detail: and "that the worſt of conſequences might happen "to moſt of the troops out of Charleſton. By "a direct move towards Camden, I cannot get "there time enough to relieve lord Rawdon; "and ſhould he have fallen, my army would "be expoſed to the utmoſt dangers, from the "great rivers I ſhould have to paſs, the exhauſt-"ed ſtate of the country, the numerous militia, "the almoſt univerſal ſpirit of revolt which pre-"vails in South Carolina, and the ſtrength of "Greene's army, whoſe continentals alone are "almoſt as numerous as I am."

His lordſhip ſeemed however determined to make a feint in favor of lord Rawdon, by moving towards Hillſborough; yet he did not ſeem to expect much advantage could reſult therefrom. His ſituation was ſuch, that he appeared

embarraſſed in his deciſions; nor could he eaſily determine, under the difficulty of exiſting circumſtances, what line of conduct would beſt promote the general cauſe in which he was engaged. In lord Cornwallis's letter to general Phillips, from which an extract is given above, dated Wilmington, April 24th, 1781, he informed him, that an attempt to march from thence to Virginia was exceedingly hazardous; and that many unforeſeen difficulties might render it totally impracticable; that he ſhould however endeavour to ſurmount them, and as ſoon as poſſible attempt to march to the Roanoke. In the mean time, he cautioned general Phillips to take no ſteps that might expoſe the army with him to ruin, if in any event their junction ſhould be retarded. He urged him to tranſmit the earlieſt intelligence from time to time, until circumſtances ſhould admit of his meeting him at Peterſburgh.

General Waſhington, ſoon after Arnold's embarkation from New York, had ordered a detachment of continental troops, under the command of the marquis de la Fayette, to follow, to watch the motions, and if poſſible to defeat the ſanguinary purpoſes of this newly converted agent, to execute the deſigns of their enemies, and waſte the blood of his countrymen.

A French ſquadron had lately arrived at Rhode Iſland, a part of which it was expected

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would ſoon repair to the Cheſapeake, under an able and experienced naval commander, the count de Barras. High expectations were formed by every claſs of Americans, that the aſſiſtance of France this year, would be ſufficient to enable the armies of the United States to counteract, if not to defeat, the deſigns of the Britiſh commanders in their ſeveral departments.

Sir Henry Clinton, appriſed of theſe circumſtances, and very apprehenſive for the ſafety of his friends in Virginia, judged it neceſſary, there ſhould be no further delay in ſending a more reſpectable force to that quarter, to ſtrengthen the hands of general Arnold. Arnold had, on his firſt arrival in Virginia, landed at Weſtover, and marched to Richmond, deſtroying all before him, with little or no oppoſition. He was aſſiſted in his marauding exploits by colonel Simcoe, who marched from Richmond to Weſtham, and there deſtroyed one of the fineſt founderies for cannon in all America. They burnt, plundered, and deſtroyed every thing before them as they moved. Yet ſir Henry Clinton was convinced, that their numbers were not ſufficient to facilitate his wiſhes and ſubdue the ſtate, without a more ſtrong and reſpectable force. In conſequence of this determination, he had ordered major general Phillips, with four thouſand men, to repair immediately to Virginia to ſuccor Ar-

nold. He likewiſe had directed lord Cornwallis to form a junction with general Phillips, as ſoon as the affairs of Carolina would admit of his transferring his command there, and leaving that ſtate. By ſome expreſſions in the order, it ſeemed to be left diſcretionary with his lordſhip, to move when and where he thought proper: yet in conſequence of this call, and the reaſons annexed thereto, he thought himſelf obligated to haſten his march to meet general Phillips, according to the directions of ſir Henry Clinton.

Lord Cornwallis, notwithſtanding all the diſcouraging circumſtances which he had encountered, and which at times ſtill ſeemed to increaſe before him, did not loſe ſight of the objects of conqueſt, victory, and glory, to be acquired in Virginia. So prone is man to anticipate the completion of his own wiſhes, that he continues to cheriſh them, even after probabilities ceaſe to exiſt. Thus the confidence his lordſhip had in the military abilities of lord Rawdon, the repeated defeat of general Greene, and the broken ſtate of his army, from the frequent inſtances of flight and deſertion, ſtill flattered him with ideas, that the Carolinas might yet be ſubdued.

Theſe conſiderations induced him to haſten his march toward the ſtate of Virginia. His

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troops were indeed in a miſerable condition for a march of three hundred miles, in a hoſtile country, where they could not avail themſelves of its produce, however neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, without being impeded by ſkirmiſhing parties. Both the cavalry and infantry were in a very deſtitute ſituation, with regard to forage, proviſions, and clothing; but theſe were not impediments ſufficient to ſtop the progreſs of veteran troops, with an able commander at their head. They began their march on the twenty-fifth of April, and arrived at Peterſburgh on the twentieth of May.

The route from Guilford to Wilmington, and from Wilmington to Peterſburgh, was attended with unuſual fatigue and difficulty; yet lord Cornwallis moved with cheerfulneſs and alacrity, ſupported by the ſanguine expectation and pleaſing idea of triumph in the reduction of Virginia, in addition to the conqueſt of the Carolinas. Groundleſs as were theſe expectations, his lordſhip at that time flattered himſelf, that the work of ſubduing the Carolinas was nearly finiſhed, and that they ſhould ſoon only have to take meaſures, for retaining in obedience thoſe turbulent and refractory ſtates. But when he had completed his march, and arrived at the deſtined ſpot, that opened to his imagination new ſcenes of glory and victory, he found on every ſide, embarraſſments that he had not contemplated, and diſappointments that

wounded both his perſonal feelings as a friend, and his military pride as an officer.

He met at Peterſburgh the melancholy tidings of the death of general Phillips, from whoſe acknowledged military talents and experience, he had reaſon to expect advice and aſſiſtance in every exigence. This brave and judicious officer, who had ſo often ſtaked his life in the field of battle, fell a victim to ſickneſs. Lord Cornwallis had no opinion of Arnold; he deſpiſed him as a man, or an officer, and hated him as a traitor. He wrote ſir Henry Clinton, that experience had made him leſs ſanguine; and that more arrangements were neceſſary for ſo important an expedition as the preſent, than had ever occurred to *general Arnold.* To this his lordſhip added many other expreſſions of contempt and diſguſt, for this new favorite of the Britiſh commander in chief.

It is not ſtrange, that many officers among the gallant troops of Great Britain, men of name and diſtinction, ſhould be much chagrined at the rank given to, and the confidence placed in, this unprincipled minion.

Before his death it had appeared, that major general Phillips, who had formerly ſuffered by the bravery of Arnold and his aſſociates, was manifeſtly piqued at the attention paid to his advice, and the anxiety ſhewn by ſir Henry

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Clinton for his safety. Phillips had but recently obtained his liberty, after the convention of Saratoga: exchanged for general Lincoln, this expedition to Virginia was his first command, of any magnitude, after his release. He found in the orders received from general Clinton, some mortifying expressions, and a letter that accompanied them contained still more. Clinton had indiscreetly intimated therein to general Phillips, that "the security of Arnold and "his troops, at Elizabeth River, was the prin-"cipal object of Phillips's expedition to Vir-"ginia." For this expression, general Clinton found himself afterwards obliged to apologize. It was deemed grosly affrontive to an high-spirited officer, of the rank, merits, and military abilities, possessed by general Phillips.

From the circumstances already related, it appears clearly, that lord Cornwallis's route from Charleston to Virginia, was long, hazardous, and fatiguing. He had not traversed less than eleven or twelve hundred miles, when he reached Cobham on James River, including the necessary circuitous marches he was obliged to make, to avoid rivers, rapids, mountains, and other impediments to ease or expedition in travelling.

From this place he wrote some of his most desponding and discontented letters to general Clinton. He found the British troops scattered

in ſmall detachments, and poſted at a diſtance from each other in various parts of the country. He obſerved to ſir Henry Clinton:—"One maxim appears to me to be abſolutely "neceſſary, for the ſafe and honorable conduct "of this war—which is, that we ſhould have "as few poſts as poſſible; and that wherever "the king's troops are, they ſhould be in re-"ſpectable force. By the vigorous exertions "of the preſent governors of America, large "bodies of men are ſoon collected: and I have "too often obſerved, that when a ſtorm threat-"ens, our friends diſappear."

Before lord Cornwallis left Cobham, he obſerved in a letter to general Clinton, that "he "wiſhed to call his attention to the inutility of "a ſtand at an offenſive poſt, that could have "no influence on the war that ſtill exiſted in "Carolina, and that only gave them a few "acres of unhealthy ſwamp in Virginia, liable "at any time to become a prey to the enemy, "without any ſuperiority of force."*

From his firſt arrival in Virginia, he had declined acting with general Arnold; but he was not long mortified with the ſight or the ſociety of a man he ſo much deteſted. He did not reach Peterſburgh till the twentieth of May,

* Lord Cornwallis's letter from Cobham, James River.

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and in the beginning of June, he was relieved from an aſſociate ſo diſagreeable to the feelings of a man of honor, by Arnold's return to New York.

Sir Henry Clinton had various reaſons for the recal of this officer: theſe he did not announce: but he doubtleſs thought, that from his conſtitutional boldneſs, and the deſperate ſituation in which he would be found if defeated by the Americans, that Arnold would be a uſeful agent if New York ſhould be ſeriouſly attacked. But the principal deſign appeared ſoon after, to be that of employing him in a buſineſs for which he was peculiarly calculated; the ſurpriſe, the plundering, and burning the plantations and defenceleſs towns, on the ſea-coaſt of the ſtate of Connecticut, and other places.

The unexpected and much lamented death of general Phillips, and the recal of general Arnold, a man held odious by Cornwallis in every point of view, left his lordſhip the ſole reſponſibility for events in Virginia: and perhaps the movements and termination of the campaign there, were conducted with as much judgment, ability, and military ſkill, as could have been exhibited by any officer, involved in ſimilar difficulties and embarraſſments.

It was not many weeks after lord Cornwallis arrived in Virginia, before the intelligence he

received from the ſouthward, filled him with the moſt ſerious and alarming apprehenſions for the ſafety of lord Rawdon. He found by the moſt authenticated accounts, that general Greene had taken the advantage of his abſence, and had moved with all poſſible expedition toward the environs of Charleſton; that ſucceſs had attended his manœuvres in various inſtances; and that lord Rawdon had as frequently been diſappointed in his ſyſtems. To return, and follow him, was impracticable; though in his opinion, the Carolinas were in the utmoſt danger of being loſt to Great Britain. Yet the work aſſigned him in Virginia, required the talents and the vigilance of the ableſt commander.

On his arrival in that ſtate, he found the Americans in high ſpirits, and their troops ſtrongly poſted on the moſt convenient grounds. He found that general Arnold had done little to facilitate the conqueſt of Virginia. He had indeed burnt ſeveral houſes, deſtroyed ſome ſtores, and murdered many of the inhabitants: but no conſiſtent plan of conqueſt appeared to have been either arranged or executed. His lordſhip alſo felt heavily the death of general Phillips, from whom he expected much information and advice, in the critical emergencies that opened upon him the farther he advanced.

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The orders of general Clinton were peremptory, and to Cornwallis appeared inſcrutable: and in addition to the liſt of perplexities and diſappointments that daily thickened upon him, he received orders from ſir Henry Clinton, to ſend on a part of his troops for the defence of New York, which he ſtill apprehended would ſoon be attacked by the combined armies of France and America.

Thus, embarraſſed on every ſide, his own ſyſtems deranged, his judgment ſlighted, and his opinions diſregarded by the commander in chief, his lordſhip was evidently chagrined; yet he loſt not the vigilance or activity of an officer of diſtinguiſhed valor; and ſoon made an effort to concentrate his troops, and to place the main body of his army in the poſts he judged beſt calculated for defence. In this he differed widely in opinion from ſir Henry Clinton; but finally took his ſtand at York-Town, in obedience to the orders of the commander in chief.

The marquis de la Fayette had not been idle before the arrival of lord Cornwallis; and afterwards aided by the judgment and experience of the baron de Steuben, who arrived in the month of June, he kept the Britiſh troops in play for ſome time. But the number of his troops was inconſiderable, and moſt of them militia-men: they were eaſily routed in detached

bodies, by the more experienced partisans who opposed them. Besides many officers of superior name and character, in the train of lord Cornwallis, he was attended with very many who had no higher description of talent, than what was necessary for sudden and bold invasion of the weak and defenceless, without any relentings, or compassionate feelings toward the victims who fell into their hands. In a war like the present, they had many opportunities of indulging their propensities, and exhibiting those talents.

The violent and cruel vigilance of colonel Tarleton is already too well known to require any comment. Among other British partisans of notoriety, was a colonel Hamilton, who had distinguished himself for his activity and his severity, from Georgia to Virginia. Not less active than either of the above, was a colonel Simcoe, more remarkable for intrigue, stratagem, and surprise, than for the cool operations of the commander of magnanimity. The courage which is accompanied by humanity, is a virtue; but bravery that pushes through all dangers to destroy, is barbarous, is savage, is brutal.

These were the principal officers at this time, that headed the detachments in most of the

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marauding parties that infested the state of Virginia. Simcoe had distinguished himself in this way through the Jersies, until taken prisoner by the Americans. When he recovered his liberty, he pursued the game; and became so perfect in the art of *coup de main*, that in one of his excursions in Virginia, he eluded even the vigilance of the baron Steuben, so far as to oblige him to remove with precipitation from an advantageous post, not without considerable loss.

Lord Cornwallis himself detailed some of the heroic feats of this *trio*, in a letter to sir Henry Clinton, dated Williamsburgh, June 30th. The principal design of his lordship was by their movements to prevent the junction of general Wayne, who was marching through Maryland to the assistance of the marquis de la Fayette. He pushed his light troops over a river in haste, in order to effect this if possible. Finding it impracticable, and that in spite of all his efforts general Wayne had made good his march, and reached his intended post, he took the advantage of the marquis's passing the Rappahannock, and detached lieutenant colonels Simcoe and Tarleton, to disturb the assembly of the state, then sitting at Charlotteville. The result of this excursion was the capture of several of the members of the assembly, and the waste of the continental stores in that quarter. They destroyed at Charlotteville, and on their return,

one thouſand ſtand of arms, five hundred barrels of powder, and a large quantity of other military accoutrements and proviſions.

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The baron Steuben had his ſtation at this time, at the point of Fork: he was ſurpriſed and obliged to retreat, after a ſhort rencounter. Simcoe followed, and uſed every exertion to attack his rear guard: not effecting this, he deſtroyed as uſual all the continental ſtores which lay in their way. There, and in the places adjacent, the Americans loſt three or four thouſand ſtand of arms, and a large quantity of powder and other ſtores. The baron had with him in this affray about eight hundred men, moſtly militia.

After this, lord Cornwallis moved himſelf to Williamſburgh. There he gave fully and freely to ſir Henry Clinton, his opinion of the only mode of effecting the ſecurity of South, and the reduction of North Carolina, which he found was expected from him both in England and America. He obſerved, that, in his judgment, "until Virginia was ſubdued, they could "not reduce North Carolina, or have any cer-"tain hold of the back country of South Caro-"lina; the want of navigation rendering it "impoſſible to maintain a ſufficient army in "either of thoſe provinces, at a conſiderable "diſtance from the coaſt; and the men and "riches of Virginia furniſhing ample ſupplies

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"to the rebel ſouthern army. I will not ſay "much in praiſe of the militia of the ſouthern "colonies; but the liſt of Britiſh officers and "ſoldiers killed and wounded by them ſince "laſt June, proves but too fatally, that they are "not wholly contemptible."*

It appears from all the correſpondence and conferences between ſir Henry Clinton, general Phillips, and other officers, that the Britiſh commander in chief had ſeriouſly contemplated an excurſion to Philadelphia. He intimated in one of his letters to general Phillips, not long before his death, that they probably had more friends who would co-operate with them in the ſtate of Pennſylvania, than either in Maryland or Virginia. He ſeems to have been led to this opinion, by the repreſentations of a colonel Rankin. He urged this as an experiment that would redound much to the advantage of lord Cornwallis's operations in Virginia. General Clinton clearly diſcovered that he had a predilection, himſelf, in favor of the project. He aſked the advice of the generals Phillips and Arnold on the ſubject, after he had appeared to be predetermined to make the experiment.

When it was diſcloſed to lord Cornwallis, by general Phillips's letters falling into his hands,

* See lord Cornwallis's letter to general Clinton, dated Williamſburgh, June 30, 1781.

he did not hesitate to remonstrate against drawing off four thousand men from Virginia, for service in the Delaware, in this critical exigence of affairs in all the more southern colonies. He observed in the same letter from which an extract is given above, that sir Henry Clinton being charged with the weight of the whole American war, his opinions of course were less partial, and were directed to all its parts; and that to those opinions it was his duty implicitly to submit.

He then adds, that—" Being in the place of " general Phillips, I thought myself called upon " by you, to give my opinion on the attempt " upon Philadelphia. Having experienced much " disappointment on that head, I own I would " cautiously engage in measures, depending " materially for their success on the active as- " sistance from the country: and I thought the " attempt on Philadelphia would do more harm " than good to the cause of Britain; because, " supposing it practicable to get possession of the " town, (which, besides other obstacles, if the " redoubts are kept up, would not be easy) we " could not hope to arrive without their having " had sufficient warning of our approach, to " enable them to secure specie, and the greatest " part of their valuable public stores, by means " of their boats and shipping."

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The difficulty of discriminating friends from foes in Philadelphia, the improbability that they could continue long there if they succeeded, the stronger necessity for all the troops that could be spared from New York to act in Virginia, and the hazard that would attend an attack on Philadelphia, were circumstances, that induced lord Cornwallis very judiciously to portray them in his letters to sir Henry Clinton, as an object where the balance of the risk far outweighed any promise of advantage.

It may easily be supposed, that those free opinions and advice, which he considered as obtruded, could not be very acceptable to the commander in chief at New York; more especially, as it was evident there had long existed heart-burnings and jealousies between sir Henry Clinton and lord Cornwallis. These were heightened by the warm altercations between them, with regard to the most convenient and advantageous posts for defence, as well as the arrangements for offensive operations.

The encampment of the marquis de la Fayette was at this time about eighteen or twenty miles from Williamsburgh. He had with him about two thousand men. This was a number far too short for any offensive movements against such a strong and forcible British army, as was then posted in Virginia. He was in impatient

expectation of reinforcements, which he had now reason to conclude as certain, from the junction of the American and French troops commanded by the count de Rochambeau. But the marquis was obliged to act again, before there was time for his relief by the arrival of his friends.

Lord Cornwallis endeavoured before the middle of July, to cross James River and pass his army to Portsmouth. The marquis de la Fayette sent forward the Pennsylvania line, with some other detachments, to impede their passage. This brought on a smart engagement, which terminated with considerable loss on both sides. The approach of evening, with other disadvantageous circumstances, obliged the Americans to retreat, leaving the few cannon they had with them behind: the darkness of the night prevented a pursuit. The next day the British passed the river; but not without some difficulty from its width, which was about three miles.

The marquis la Fayette, through the difficulties which he had to encounter in Virginia, had on all occasions conducted with more valor, caution, prudence, and judgment, than could have been expected from so young an officer. When the baron de Steuben joined him in the month of June, he had few men under his command, except the militia, whose numbers were indeterminate,

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and the time of their continuance in ſervice always uncertain. Yet much generalſhip and military addreſs had been ſhewn on various occaſions, both by the young hero and the aged veteran. They through all the ſummer, oppoſed the vigilance and ſuperior force of lord Cornwallis, with great courage and dexterity.

Lord Cornwallis had made ſeveral judicious attempts to ſurpriſe the marquis with his little armament, conſiſting, as his lordſhip occaſionally obſerved, "moſtly of unarmed peaſantry." But wary and brave, his ability and judgment had ſupplied the deficiencies, and balanced the weakneſs of his detachment; and before the arrival of the generals Waſhington and Rochambeau, the marquis de la Fayette had rendered very eſſential ſervice to the American cauſe, by his valor and firmneſs in the ſtate of Virginia.

Lord Cornwallis had been but a few days at Portſmouth, before he received a letter from ſir Henry Clinton, cenſuring him in direct terms for attempting to paſs James River, and taking his ſtand at Portſmouth, though he had before recommended this to general Phillips, as a convenient poſt. He obſerved, that he had flattered himſelf, until he had the honor to receive his lordſhip's letter of the 8th of July, "that "upon re-conſidering the general purport of our "correſpondence, and general Phillips's papers "in your poſſeſſion, you would at leaſt have

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"waited for a line from me, in anſwer to your "letter of the 30th ultimo, before you finally "determined upon ſo ſerious and mortifying a "move, as the repaſſing James River, and retir-"ing with your army to Portſmouth. And I "was the more induced to hope that this would "have been the caſe, as we both ſeemed to "agree in our opinion of the propriety of tak-"ing a healthy ſtation on the neck between "York and James Rivers, for the purpoſe of "covering a proper harbor for our line of bat-"tle ſhips."

Through all his correſpondencies, orders, commands, countermands, and indeciſion, during the preſent ſummer, no man ever appeared more embarraſſed, or more totally at a loſs how to arrange his military manœuvres, than did general Clinton. He appeared at times to conſider the reduction of Virginia as a primary object, and that it was of the higheſt importance that lord Cornwallis ſhould be there ſtrengthened and ſupported, both by ſea and land: at other periods, he treated the operations there in ſo light a manner, that his ideas could not be comprehended, even by ſo intelligent an officer as lord Cornwallis.

It was not more than three or four weeks previous to the date of the above letter, that

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ſir Henry Clinton had preſſed his lordſhip, as if in a ſudden fright, to ſend him two thouſand troops to aid in the defence of New York: and, as if under ſome panic-ſtruck influence, he ſaid,—"The ſooner they are ſent the better; "unleſs your lordſhip may have adopted my "plan to move to Baltimore, or the Delaware "Neck, and put yourſelf in a way to co-operate "with us; but even in that caſe, you can ſpare "us ſomething I ſuppoſe. From all the letters "I have ſeen, I am of opinion, if circumſtances "of proviſions, ſtores, &c., turn out as they "wiſh, that the enemy will certainly attack "this poſt. As for men for ſuch an object, in "this (circumſtanced as they ſuppoſe it to be) "it cannot be doubted that they can raiſe a ſuf-"ficient number."

Sir Henry Clinton had found by an intercepted letter, that there were eight thouſand men collected at Weſt Point, and that others were coming in very faſt. He informed Cornwallis, that he had certain intelligence that admiral Barras had ſailed from Rhode Iſland; that many circumſtances had put it beyond a doubt, that the deſign was to form a junction between him and general Waſhington, and that they meditated an attempt on the poſt at New York.

It is needleſs to detail much more of the correſpondencies of the Britiſh officers acting at

this time in America: their characters are sufficiently elucidated, not only by their own letters, but by subsequent transactions. It is enough to observe, that by the correspondence of the general officers, afterwards published in England, it clearly appears, that they did not harmonize in opinion: their councils at this time were confused, and their plans indecisive.

Yet it is worthy of notice, that distrust, dissension, and vilification, were kept up equally between some of the British naval commanders and sir Henry Clinton. In one of his confidential letters he complained, that "all opportunities of advantage were impeded or lost, by the "slowness and obstinacy of the admiral." He observed, that "his strange conduct had, if possible, been more inscrutable than ever: at one "time, he declared he was immediately going "home; at another, he had sworn that he "knew nothing of his recal."

In a secret and confidential letter to general Phillips, sir Henry Clinton assured him, that "if "he was not better satisfied by the next post, "relative to the recal of admiral Graves, he "should probably leave the management of him "solely to lord Cornwallis."* In this letter he censured his lordship in direct terms, for leaving the Carolinas but half subdued, to pursue the chi

* See general Clinton's vindicatory letter

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merical project of doubtful conquests in Virginia. He asserted, that his invitation, not his commands to his lordship, to come to the Chesapeake, was on the supposition that every thing was settled in the Carolinas, agreeably to the wishes of administration, and the designs of the government of England.

Sure of the confidence of general Phillips, sir Henry Clinton expressed the utmost astonishment, that "with nine British battalions, a legion of infantry, a detachment of yaughers, "five Hessian and several provincial battalions, "some American light-horse, and large detach-"ments of artillery and dragoons, that lord "Cornwallis should yet pretend that he want-"ed forces sufficient for the most solid opera-"tions in Virginia."*

He sneered at his lordship's idea, that it was impossible to act with his army in Carolina, without the assistance of *friends*. This reflection alluded to a letter received by him, in which lord Cornwallis observed, that the *royal cause* had few *friends* in that country, and that when a storm threatened, even those few disappeared. An historian has observed, that "Chosroes relinquished the Colchian war in

* General Clinton's letter to major general Phillips, April, 1781, printed in England with his other letters.

"the just persuasion, that it is impossible to hold "a distant country, against the wishes and ef- "forts of its inhabitants."* His lordship might probably be of the same opinion. This opinion was justified by his own experience, in too many mortifying instances for the tranquillity of a man of his sensibility.

It has been above observed, that by the sudden death of general Phillips, all these letters fell into the hands of lord Cornwallis, with several others of the same style and tenor. This circumstance greatly aggravated the dissension and disgust, between the commanding officers in New York and Virginia. Yet notwithstanding the implied censure or reproach which they contained, in most of sir Henry Clinton's letters afterwards to lord Cornwallis, he had written with great complaisance, and had expressed the highest confidence in his lordship's abilities and judgment. But the breach became irreconcileable.

Through the whole business, lord Cornwallis constantly affirmed, that his force was insufficient even for defensive operations. He took the liberty to intimate to sir Henry Clinton, that notwithstanding there had been a call for a part of his troops for the defence of New York, that he had never been under any apprehensions

* Gibbon on the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

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for the ſafety of that city. With the ſame freedom, he remonſtrated againſt a plan that had been meditated by the commander in chief at New York, for an attack on the city of Philadelphia.

His lordſhip aſſerted with ſome degree of warmth, that it appeared to him highly imprudent, that any part of his army ſhould be detached for that or any other purpoſe. But he obſerved further, that in his ſubordinate ſituation, unacquainted with the inſtructions of adminiſtration, ignorant of the forces under the command of his excellency general Clinton, and without the power of making arrangements, he could only offer his opinion: that plans of execution muſt come from himſelf, who had the materials for forming, as well as the power of executing.

Theſe remonſtrances had little weight with the Britiſh commander in chief. It appears through all their correſpondence, that theſe gentlemen differed very widely in opinion, with regard to the modes of action, the numbers neceſſary for effective execution, the beſt poſts for defence, and indeed in the general plan of all their operations. However, ſir Henry Clinton ſtill kept up the idea of ſupporting the war in Virginia, and of aiding lord Cornwallis to the utmoſt, notwithſtanding he had ſent an order to draw off a part of his troops.

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After he was thoroughly alarmed at the hazardous ſituation of the commander in Virginia, he relinquiſhed his chimerical project of attacking Philadelphia; he countermanded the orders for drawing off a conſiderable part of the troops; and endeavoured to haſten on a ſmall ſquadron of Britiſh ſhips then lying at Sandy-Hook. He flattered himſelf that a few ſhips under the flag of Britain, might intercept the fleet, and interrupt the deſigns of admiral Barras, who had ſailed from Rhode Iſland; or retard a ſtill more important object, the arrival of the count de Graſſe in the Cheſapeake, where he was hourly expected. He made ſome other ineffectual efforts for the relief of the Britiſh army, which was ſoon after cooped up by a large French fleet that arrived within the Capes.

The diſſenſion, diſcord, and diviſion of opinion, among the Britiſh officers, was not all that occaſioned the fatal delay of ſtrengthening lord Cornwallis in Virginia; it may be aſcribed more to that atmoſphere of doubt in which ſir Henry Clinton was involved. Irreſolute meaſures are ever the reſult of a confuſion of ideas. The vaſt object of reducing ſuch a wide extended country, and ſetting the wheels of operation in motion, ſo as to work with equal facility, from Georgia to Virginia, from Virginia to the north, and from Canada to the eaſtern extreme,

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was of too wide an extent for the compaſs of his ability.

His mind ſeemed for a time to be plunged in a chaos, uncertain where to begin, in the complicated difficulties of his official duties, or where to ſet the ſtrongeſt materials of his machinery to work in all its parts, in a manner that would produce a complete ſyſtem of conqueſt through the United States. There was no deficiency of courage, ardor, or fidelity to their maſter, among the officers of the crown, however diſſentient in opinion with regard to the modes of execution. But theſe diſſenſions prevented that ready co-operation in action, which is neceſſary both to defeat the deſigns of their enemies, and to complete their own ſyſtems by judicious and prompt deciſion, and the immediate execution of well digeſted plans.

The movements of the continental and French army, had alarmed ſir Henry Clinton to ſuch a degree, that he long perſiſted in his determination of recalling a part of the troops from Virginia, for the immediate defence of New York. He informed lord Cornwallis, that general Waſhington had with him eight or ten thouſand men, beſides the French battalions; and obſerved, that every one acquainted with the diſpoſition of the inhabitants eaſt of the Hudſon, muſt be ſenſible in what manner their

appearance would affect the numerous and warlike militia of the New England ſtates.

Sir Henry Clinton, doubtful of the farther ſucceſs of lord Cornwallis, apprehenſive of an immediate aſſault on New York, and reaſonably calculating the numbers in array againſt him, as very far ſuperior to his own, loſt ſight for a time, of the dangerous ſituation of lord Cornwallis and the army in Virginia. To complete the agitation of his mind, he was now trembling for his ſinking reputation, which had been ſeverely attacked in England. From theſe circumſtances, his deſpondency was nearly equal to his irreſolution. Yet, apparent neceſſity awakened his energy for the defence of the city of New York; and every poſſible ſtep was taken, to meet the combined troops in a manner becoming a Britiſh veteran commander.

Lord Cornwallis, with very different ideas, was parrying the attacks of the Americans then in Virginia, and preparing, as far as poſſible, for the reſiſtance of ſtronger bodies of enemies. He was perſuaded, that general Waſhington and the count de Rochambeau, aided by a powerful French fleet, had deeper laid ſyſtems, and were on the point of diſcloſing deſigns of higher magnitude, and more important conſequences, than had ever been apprehended by ſir Henry Clinton.

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The variety of ſmaller ſkirmiſhes, retreats, repriſals, and unexpected rencounters, that took place on the different rivers and poſts in Virginia, may at preſent be left, to advert more particularly to the difficulties lord Cornwallis had to contend with, and the dangers he had to combat, previous to the deciſion of his fortune in that quarter. He had for a time taken his ſtand at Portſmouth, but he left that ſtation as ſoon as poſſible; and, according to orders from the commander in chief, concentrated his forces at York-Town and Glouceſter, towards the cloſe of ſummer, much againſt his own judgment.

We have ſeen, that by the indeciſion of general Clinton, the delay of reinforcements both by land and ſea, and the general defection and diſguſt of the Virginians to any appearance of the authority of the crown of Britain, there were cauſes ſufficient to diſcourage an officer who was ambitious to act with vigor and promptitude. But theſe were far from compriſing the whole of the gloomy proſpect which lay before lord Cornwallis. He had the higheſt reaſon to expect the approach of general Waſhington, accompanied by the experienced and renowned Rochambeau. At the ſame time, he had well-grounded expectations of a French fleet in the Cheſapeake, to counteract any naval operations on the part of Britain. This combination of dangers, added to the inconvenient and inde-

fenſible poſt his lordſhip was impelled to take, reduced him to the moſt perplexed and embarraſſed ſtate of mind. Yet he ſupported himſelf with firmneſs and magnanimity, until new and inextricable difficulties led him to deſpair of the ſucceſs of the campaign. This was apparent by the tenor of his letters, as well as by his general deportment, for ſome time previous to the cataſtrophe of the fatal day, which reduced a nobleman of the firſt rank, an officer of the higheſt military fame and pride, to the condition of a priſoner.

END OF VOL. II.

APPENDIX

TO VOLUME SECOND.

NOTE No. I. Page 16.

General BURGOYNE's *Instructions to Lieutenant Colonel* BAUM.

"THE object of your expedition is,—to try the affec-
" tion of the country; to disconcert the councils of the
" enemy; to mount the Reidesel dragoons; to complete
" Petre's corps; and to obtain large supplies of cattle,
" horses, and carriages.

" The several corps, of which the inclosed is a list, are to
" be under your command.

" The troops must take no tents; and what little bag-
" gage is carried by the officers, must be on their own bat-
" talion horses.

" You are to proceed from Batten Kill to Arlington, and
" take post there, till the detachment of the provincials,
" under the command of captain Sherwood, shall join you,
" from the southward.

" You are then to proceed to Manchester, where you
" will again take post, so as to secure the pass of the moun-
" tains, on the road from Manchester to Rockingham:
" from thence you will detach the Indians and light troops

" to the northward, towards Otter Creek. On their return, " and receiving intelligence that no enemy is upon the " Connecticut River, you will proceed by the road over the " mountains to Rockingham, where you will take poſt. " This will be the moſt diſtant part of the expedition, and " muſt be proceeded upon with caution, as you will have " the defiles of the mountains behind you, which might " make a retreat difficult. You muſt therefore endeavour " to be well informed of the force of the enemy's militia, " in the neighbouring country; ſhould you find it may " with prudence be effected, you are to remain there, while " the Indians and light troops are detached up the river: " and you are afterwards to deſcend the river to Brattle- " borough; and from that place, by the quickeſt march, " you are to return by the great road to Albany.

" During your whole progreſs, your detachments are to " have orders to bring in to you, all horſes fit to mount " the dragoons under your command, or to ſerve as bat- " talion horſes for the troops, together with as many ſaddles " and bridles as can be found. The number of horſes " requiſite, beſides thoſe neceſſary for mounting the regi- " ment of dragoons, ought to be thirteen hundred; if you " can bring more, for the uſe of the army, it will be ſo " much the better. Your parties are likewiſe to bring " in waggons and other convenient carriages, with as many " draught oxen as will be neceſſary to draw them; and all " cattle fit for ſlaughter, (milch cows excepted, which are " to be left for the uſe of the inhabitants.) Regular re- " ceipts in the form hereto ſubjoined, are to be given in all " places, where any of the above articles are taken, to ſuch " perſons as have remained in their habitations, and other- " wiſe complied with the terms of general Burgoyne's " manifeſto; but no receipt to be given to ſuch as are " known to be acting in the ſervice of the rebels. As you " will have with you perſons perfectly acquainted with the " country, it may perhaps be adviſable, to tax the ſeveral " diſtricts with the portions of the ſeveral articles, and " limit the hours for the delivery; and ſhould you find it

"neceſſary to move before ſuch delivery can be made, "hoſtages of the moſt reſpectable people ſhould be taken, "to ſecure their following you the next day.

"All poſſible means are to be uſed to prevent plunder-"ing. As it is probable that captain Sherwood, who is "already detached to the ſouthward, and will join you at "Arlington, will drive a conſiderable quantity of cattle "and horſes to you, you will therefore ſend in theſe cattle "to the army, with a proper detachment from Petre's "corps, to cover them, in order to diſencumber yourſelf; "but you muſt always keep the regiment of dragoons "compact. The dragoons themſelves muſt ride, and take "care of the horſes of the regiment. Thoſe horſes that "are deſtined for the uſe of the army, muſt be tied in "ſtrings of ten each, in order that one man may lead ten "horſes. You will give the unarmed men of Petre's corps "to conduct them, and inhabitants whom you can truſt.

"You muſt always keep your camps in good poſition, "but at the ſame time where there is paſture; and you "muſt have a chain of centinels around your cattle when "grazing.

"Colonel Skeene will be with you as much as poſſible, "in order to diſtinguiſh the good ſubjects from the bad, to "procure the beſt intelligence of the enemy, and chooſe "thoſe people who are to bring me the accounts of your "progreſs and ſucceſs.

"When you find it neceſſary to halt a day or two, you "muſt always intrench the camp of the regiment of dra-"goons, in order never to riſque an attack or affront from "the enemy.

"As you will return with the regiment of dragoons "mounted, you muſt always have a detachment of captain "Frazer's or Petre's corps in front of the column, and the "ſame in the rear, in order to prevent your falling into an "ambuſcade, when you march through the woods.

"You will uſe all poſſible means to make the country "believe, that the troops under your command are the "advanced corps of the army, and that it is intended to "paſs to Connecticut on the road to Boſton: you will like-"wiſe inſinuate, that the main army from Albany is to be "joined at Springfield, by a corps of troops from Rhode "Iſland.

"It is highly probable, that the corps under Mr. War-"ner, now ſuppoſed to be at Mancheſter, will retreat before "you; but ſhould they, contrary to expectation, be able to "collect in great force, and poſt themſelves advantageouſ-"ly, it is left to your diſcretion to attack them or not; al-"ways bearing in mind, that your corps is too valuable "to let any conſiderable loſs be hazarded on this occaſion.

"Should any corps be moved from Mr. Arnold's main "army, in order to interrupt your retreat, you are to take "as ſtrong a poſt as the country will afford, and ſend the "quickeſt intelligence to me; and you may depend on "my making ſuch movements as ſhall put the enemy be-"tween two fires, or otherwiſe effectually ſuſtain you.

"It is imagined, the progreſs of the whole of this expe-"dition may be effected in about a fortnight: but every "movement of it muſt depend on your ſucceſs in obtaining "ſuch ſupplies of proviſions as will enable you to ſubſiſt "for your return in this army, in caſe you can get no more. "And ſhould not the army be able to reach Albany, be-"fore your expedition ſhould be completed, I will find "means to ſend you notice of it, and give your route an-"other direction.

"All perſons acting in committees, or any officers under "the direction of the congreſs, either civil or military, to "be made priſoners.

"I heartily wiſh you ſucceſs; and have the honor to be, "ſir, your humble ſervant,

"JOHN BURGOYNE, *Lieut. Gen.*

"*Head Quarters, Auguſt* 9, 1777."

NOTE No. II. Page 19.

It was feveral years after the confederation of the thirteen American ſtates, before Vermont was added to the union. The inhabitants kept up a long and ſevere altercation with the ſeveral governments, who claimed both territory and authority, until on the point of deciſion by the ſword, both parties appealed to the general congreſs. This was a buſineſs that divided and embarraſſed, and was not terminated until the agents of Britain interfered, and offered advantageous terms to the Vermonteſe, if they would withdraw from the confederated ſtates, and become a province of Britain.

From their love of liberty, and their attachment to their country, theſe offers were rejected, though they complained heavily of the delays and evaſions of the congreſs. Rough as their native mountains, and ſtrong and flinty as the rocks that ſurrounded them, they bid defiance to dangers; and equally deſpiſed the intrigues of Britain, the ſubterfuges of the claimants on their territory, and the ſuſpenſion in which they were held for a time by congreſs. They reſiſted obſtinately the interferences and the claims of the neighbouring governments: their alienation from them, and their hatred to the ſtate of New York in particular, daily increaſed: and in ſpite of all oppoſition, they continued their claims and ſupported their rights to be conſidered a free, independent, and ſeparate ſtate, entitled to the ſame privileges as the thirteen old colonies.

Colonel Ethan Allen, one of their principal leaders; a man of courage and ferocity, of pride without dignity, a writer without learning, a man of conſequence merely from a bold preſumptive claim to a capacity for every thing; without education, and poſſeſſed of little intrinſic merit; wrote to congreſs on this occaſion, and obſerved, "that

"Vermont has an indubitable right to agree to terms of a "ceſſation of hoſtilities with Great Britain, provided the "United States perſiſt in a rejection of her application for "a union with them. But not diſpoſed to yield to the "overtures of the Britiſh government," he added, "I am "as reſolutely determined to defend the independence of "Vermont, as congreſs are that of the United States; and "rather than fail, will retire with hardy Green Mountain "Boys into the deſolate caverns of the mountains, and "wage war with human nature at large."

After long ſuſpenſion and many impediments, congreſs thought proper, in order to prevent the effuſion of blood among themſelves, which this occaſion threatened, to accede to the reaſonable demands of theſe legitimate ſons of freedom,—who choſe delegates for congreſs, maintained their independence, and were a ſtrong link in the confederated chain, againſt the encroachments and the power of Britain.*

NOTE No. III. Page 33.

The afflictions of this extraordinary lady did not terminate in America. By the aſſiduity of the phyſicians, and the tender care of a moſt affectionate wife, major Ackland partially recovered from his wounds in a ſhort time, and was permitted to repair to New York. It was not long before his health was ſufficiently reſtored to embark for England: but his wounds incurable, and his mind depreſſed, he was led to habits of intemperance, that ſoon put a period to his life.

* A further deſcription of the ſettlement and progreſs of the Hampſhire Grants, may be ſeen at large in a late accurate hiſtory of Vermont, written by doctor Samuel Williams. This work is replete with moral and philoſophical obſervations, which are honorary to the very ſenſible writer, and at once entertain and improve the reader.

The death of her husband, and the domestic afflictions of the family of lord Ilchester, the father of lady Ackland, all combined to overpower the heroism of a mind superior to most of her sex, and involved this unfortunate lady in a deep and irretrievable melancholy.

NOTE No. IV. Page 61.

Governor Penn was the last proprietary governor of the state of Pennsylvania. After the revolution, different modes were adopted. The patent granted by the crown to the celebrated PENN, the founder of that colony, included a vast territory; but the enormous claims of the family were extinguished by an act of the legislature of Pennsylvania. This was not in consequence of any political delinquency of the late governor, who had acquitted himself with ability and address, and retained his patriotism and attention to the interests of his country, to the end of the contest. The heirs of the family voluntarily relinquished their extensive claims, in consideration of a very handsome sum of money paid to the claimants by the legislature, in lieu of all quit-rents that might hereafter be demanded.

NOTE No. V. Page 120.

Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States of *New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina,* and *Georgia.*

ARTICLE I.

The style of this *CONFEDERACY* shall be, "THE "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA."

ARTICLE II.

Each ſtate retains its ſovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, juriſdiction, and right, which is not by this confederation expreſsly delegated to the United States in congreſs aſſembled.

ARTICLE III.

The ſaid ſtates hereby ſeverally enter into a firm league of friendſhip with each other, for their common defence, the ſecurity of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare; binding themſelves to aſſiſt each other, againſt all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, ſovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

ARTICLE IV.

The better to ſecure and perpetuate mutual friendſhip and intercourſe among the people of the different ſtates in this union, the free inhabitants of each of theſe ſtates, (paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from juſtice excepted) ſhall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the ſeveral ſtates; and the people of each ſtate ſhall have free ingreſs and regreſs to and from any other ſtate; and ſhall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, ſubject to the ſame duties, impoſitions, and reſtrictions, as the inhabitants thereof reſpectively; *provided*, that ſuch reſtrictions ſhall not extend ſo far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any ſtate, to any other ſtate of which the owner is an inhabitant; *provided alſo*, that no impoſition, duties, or reſtrictions, ſhall be laid by any ſtate on the property of the United States, or either of them.

If any perſon guilty of, or charged with, treaſon, felony, or other high miſdemeanors, in any ſtate, ſhall flee from juſtice, and be found in any of the United States, he ſhall, upon demand of the governor or executive power of the ſtate from which he fled, be delivered up, and removed to the ſtate having juriſdiction of his offence.

Full faith and credit ſhall be given in each of theſe ſtates, to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings, of the courts and magiſtrates of every other ſtate.

ARTICLE V.

For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates ſhall be annually appointed, in ſuch manner as the legiſlature of each ſtate ſhall direct, to meet in congreſs on the firſt Monday in November, in every year; with a power reſerved to each ſtate, to recal its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to ſend others in their ſtead for the remainder of the year.

No ſtate ſhall be repreſented in congreſs by leſs than two, nor by more than ſeven members: and no perſon ſhall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of ſix years: nor ſhall any perſon, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or another for his benefit, receives any ſalary, fees, or emolument of any kind.

Each ſtate ſhall maintain its own delegates in a meeting of the ſtates, and while they act as members of the committee of the ſtates.

In determining queſtions in the United States in congreſs aſſembled, each ſtate ſhall have one vote.

Freedom of ſpeech and debate in congreſs, ſhall not be impeached or queſtioned in any court or place out of congreſs: and the members of congreſs ſhall be protected in their perſons from arreſts and impriſonments, during the time of their going to and from, and attendance on, congreſs, except for treaſon, felony, or breach of the peace.

ARTICLE VI.

No ſtate, without the conſent of the United States in congreſs aſſembled, ſhall ſend any embaſſy to, or receive any embaſſy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, al-

liance, or treaty with, any king, prince, or ſtate: nor ſhall any perſon, holding any office of profit or truſt under the United States, or any of them, accept of any preſent, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign ſtate: nor ſhall the United States in congreſs aſſembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

No two or more ſtates ſhall enter into any treaty, confederation, or alliance, whatever between them, without the conſent of the United States in congreſs aſſembled, ſpecifying accurately the purpoſes for which the ſame is to be entered into, and how long it ſhall continue.

No ſtate ſhall lay any impoſts or duties, which may interfere with any ſtipulations in treaties entered into by the United States in congreſs aſſembled, with any king, prince, or ſtate, in purſuance of any treaties already propoſed by congreſs to the courts of France and Spain.

No veſſels of war ſhall be kept up in time of peace by any ſtate, except ſuch numbers only as ſhall be deemed neceſſary by the United States in congreſs aſſembled, for the defence of ſuch ſtate or its trade: nor ſhall any body of forces be kept up by any ſtate, in time of peace, except ſuch number only as, in the judgment of the United States in congreſs aſſembled, ſhall be deemed requiſite to garriſon the forts neceſſary for the defence of ſuch ſtate; but every ſtate ſhall always keep up a well regulated and diſciplined militia, ſufficiently armed and accoutred; and ſhall provide, and conſtantly have ready for uſe, in public ſtores, a due number of field-pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition, and camp equipage.

No ſtate ſhall engage in any war, without the conſent of the United States in congreſs aſſembled, unleſs ſuch ſtate be actually invaded by enemies, or ſhall have received certain advice of a reſolution being formed by ſome nation of Indians to invade ſuch ſtate, and the danger is ſo imminent as not to admit of a delay, till the United States in congreſs

assembled can be consulted: nor shall any state grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States in congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or state, and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in congress assembled; unless such state shall be infested by pirates; in which case, vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States in congress assembled shall determine otherways.

ARTICLE VII.

When land forces are raised by any state for the common defence, all officers of, or under, the rank of colonel, shall be appointed by the legislature of each state respectively, by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such state shall direct; and all vacancies shall be filled up by the state which first made the appointment.

ARTICLE VIII.

All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence, or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several states, in proportion to the value of all land within each state, granted to or surveyed for any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated, according to such mode as the United States in congress assembled shall, from time to time, direct and appoint. The taxes for paying that proportion, shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several states, within the time agreed upon by the United States in congress assembled.

ARTICLE IX.

The United States in congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the Sixth Article;

or ſending and receiving ambaſſadors; entering into treaties and alliances; (*provided*, that no treaty of commerce ſhall be made, whereby the legiſlative powers of the reſpective ſtates, ſhall be reſtrained from impoſing ſuch impoſts and duties on foreigners, as their own people are ſubjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any ſpecies of goods or commodities whatſoever;) of eſtabliſhing rules for deciding in all caſes, what captures on land or water ſhall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the ſervice of the United States, ſhall be divided or appropriated; of granting letters of marque or repriſal in times of peace; appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high ſeas, and eſtabliſhing courts for receiving and determining finally, appeals in all caſes of captures; (*provided*, that no member of congreſs ſhall be appointed a judge of any of the ſaid courts.)

The United States in congreſs aſſembled, ſhall alſo be the laſt reſort on appeal, in all diſputes and differences now ſubſiſting, or that hereafter may ariſe, between two or more ſtates, concerning boundary, juriſdiction, or any other cauſe whatever; which authority ſhall always be exerciſed in the manner following:—Whenever the legiſlative or executive authority, or lawful agent, of any ſtate in controverſy with another, ſhall preſent a petition to congreſs, ſtating the matter in queſtion, and praying for a hearing, notice thereof ſhall be given by order of congreſs to the legiſlative or executive authority of the other ſtate in controverſy, and a day aſſigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who ſhall then be directed to appoint by joint conſent, commiſſioners or judges to conſtitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in queſtion: but if they cannot agree, congreſs ſhall name three perſons out of each of the United States; and from the liſt of ſuch perſons each party ſhall alternately ſtrike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number ſhall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not leſs than ſeven nor more than nine names, as congreſs ſhall direct, ſhall in the preſence of congreſs be drawn out by lot; and the perſons whoſe names

ſhall be ſo drawn, or any five of them, ſhall be commiſſioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controverſy, ſo always as a major part of the judges who ſhall hear the cauſe ſhall agree in the determination; and if either party ſhall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without ſhewing reaſons, which Congreſs ſhall judge ſufficient, or being preſent ſhall refuſe to ſtrike, the Congreſs ſhall proceed to nominate three perſons out of each ſtate, and the ſecretary of Congreſs ſhall ſtrike in behalf of ſuch party abſent or refuſing; and the judgment and ſentence of the court to be appointed, in the manner before preſcribed, ſhall be final and concluſive; and if any of the parties ſhall refuſe to ſubmit to the authority of ſuch court, or to appear or defend their claim or cauſe, the court ſhall nevertheleſs proceed to pronounce ſentence, or judgment, which ſhall in like manner be final and deciſive, the judgment or ſentence and other proceedings being in either caſe tranſmitted to Congreſs, and lodged among the acts of Congreſs for the ſecurity of the parties concerned; provided that every commiſſioner, before he ſits in judgment, ſhall take an oath to be adminiſtered by one of the judges of the ſupreme or ſuperior court of the ſtate, where the cauſe ſhall be tried, "well and truly to hear and determine the matter in queſtion, according to the beſt of his judgment, without favour, affection, or hope of reward:"—provided alſo that no ſtate ſhall be deprived of territory, for the benefit of the United States.

All controverſies concerning the private right of ſoil claimed under different grants of two or more ſtates, whoſe juriſdictions as they may reſpect ſuch lands, and the ſtates which paſſed ſuch grants are adjuſted, the ſaid grants or either of them being at the ſame time claimed to have originated antecedent to ſuch ſettlement of juriſdiction, ſhall on the petition of either party to the Congreſs of the United States be finally determined as near as may be in the ſame manner as is before preſcribed for deciding

disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different states.

The United States in Congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective states—fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States—regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the states, provided that the legislative right of any state within its own limits be not infringed or violated—establishing and regulating post offices from one state to another, throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office—appointing all officers of the land forces, in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers—appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States—making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

The United States in Congress assembled shall have authority to appoint a committee, to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated "*A Committee of the States*," and to consist of one delegate from each State; and to appoint such other Committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction—to appoint one of their number to preside, provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of President more than one year in any term of three years;—to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses—to borrow money, or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half year to the respective states an account of the sums of money so

borrowed or emitted—to build and equip a navy—to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requiſitions from each ſtate for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in ſuch ſtate; which requiſition ſhall be binding, and thereupon the legiſlature of each ſtate ſhall appoint the regimental officers, raiſe the men, and clothe, arm, and equip them in a ſoldier-like manner, at the expenſe of the United States; and the officers and men ſo clothed, armed and equipped, ſhall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congreſs aſſembled:—But if the United States, in Congreſs aſſembled ſhall, on conſideration of circumſtances, judge proper that any ſtate ſhould not raiſe men, or ſhould raiſe a ſmaller number than its quota, and that any other ſtate ſhould raiſe a greater number of men than the quota thereof, ſuch extra number ſhall be raiſed, officered, clothed, armed, and equipped, in the ſame manner as the quota of ſuch ſtate, unleſs the legiſlature of ſuch ſtate ſhall judge that ſuch extra number cannot be ſafely ſpared out of the ſame, in which caſe they ſhall raiſe, officer, clothe, arm, and equip as many of ſuch extra number as they judge can be ſafely ſpared. And the officers and men ſo clothed, armed, and equipped, ſhall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congreſs aſſembled.

The United States in Congreſs aſſembled ſhall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and repriſal, in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor aſcertain the ſums and expenſes neceſſary for the defence and welfare of the United States, or any of them; nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States; nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of veſſels of war, to be built or purchaſed, or the number of land or ſea forces to be raiſed, nor appoint a commander in chief of the army or navy, unleſs nine ſtates aſſent to the ſame; nor ſhall a queſtion on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day, be determined, unleſs by the votes of a majority of the United States in Congreſs aſſembled.

The Congreſs of the United States ſhall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, ſo that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the ſpace of ſix months, and ſhall publiſh the journal of their proceedings monthly, except ſuch parts therof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as in their judgment require ſecrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each ſtate on any queſtion ſhall be entered on the journal, when it is deſired by any delegate; and the delegates of a ſtate, or any of them, at his or their requeſt, ſhall be furniſhed with a tranſcript of the ſaid journal, except ſuch parts as are above excepted, to lay before the legiſlatures of the ſeveral ſtates.

ARTICLE X.

The committee of the ſtates or any nine of them, ſhall be authorized to execute, in the receſs of Congreſs, ſuch of the powers of Congreſs as the United States in Congreſs aſſembled, by the conſent of nine ſtates, ſhall from time to time think expedient to veſt them with; provided that no power be delegated to the ſaid committee, for the exerciſe of which, by the articles of confederation, the voice of nine ſtates in the Congreſs of the United States aſſembled is requiſite.

ARTICLE XI.

Canada acceding to this confederation, and joining in the meaſures of the United States, ſhall be admitted into, and entitled to all the advantages of this Union; but no other colony ſhall be admitted into the ſame, unleſs ſuch admiſſion be agreed to by nine ſtates.

ARTICLE XII.

All bills of credit emitted, monies borrowed, and debts contracted by, or under the authority of Congreſs, before the aſſembling of the United States, in purſuance of the preſent confederation, ſhall be deemed and conſidered as a charge againſt the United States, for payment and ſatisfaction whereof the ſaid United States, and the public faith are hereby ſolemnly pledged.

ARTICLE XIII.

Every ſtate ſhall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congreſs aſſembled, on all queſtions which by this confederation are ſubmitted to them. And the articles of this confederation ſhall be inviolably obſerved by every ſtate, and the union ſhall be perpetual; nor ſhall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them; unleſs ſuch alteration be agreed to in a Congreſs of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the legiſlatures of every ſtate.

Theſe articles ſhall be propoſed to the Legiſlatures of all the United States, to be conſidered, and if approved of by them, they are adviſed to authorize their delegates to ratify the ſame in the Congreſs of the United States; which being done, the ſame ſhall become concluſive.

By order of Congreſs,
HENRY LAURENS, *Preſident.*

NOTE No. VI. Page 136.

The name of THOMAS PAINE has become ſo generally known both in Europe and America, that a few ſtrictures on his character may not be unintereſting.

Mr. Paine was a native of England, but he had reſided in America ſome time before the American Revolution took place. He warmly advocated the cauſe of the Colonies, and wrote in the ſpirit of the times with much applauſe. Several of his bold publications diſplayed a conſiderable ſhare of wit and ingenuity, though his arguments were not always concluſive. His *Criſis*, his *Common Senſe*, and ſome other writings were well adapted to animate the people, and to invigorate their reſolutions in oppoſition to the meaſures of the Britiſh adminiſtration.

Though not generally considered a profound politician, yet as it was then thought he wrote on principles honorable to the human character, his celebrity was extensive in America, and was afterwards disseminated in England; and his merit as a writer for a time appreciated by a work entitled the *Rights of Man*, which was replete with just and dignified sentiments on a subject so interesting to society.

His celebrity might have been longer maintained, and his name have been handed down with applause, had he not afterwards have left the line of politics, and presumed to touch on theological subjects of which he was grossly ignorant, as well as totally indifferent to every religious observance as an individual, and in some instances his morals were censured.

Persecuted in England he repaired to France, some time before *monarchy* was subverted in that nation. There, after listening to the indigested rant of infidels of antecedent date, and learning by rote the jargon of the modern French *literati*, who zealously laboured in the field of *scepticism*, he attempted to undermine the sublime doctrines of the gospel, and annihilate the Christian system.* Here he betrayed his weakness and want of principle, in blasphemous scurrilities and impious raillery, that at once sunk his character, and disgusted every rational and sober mind.

It is no apology that this was done at a period, when all principle seemed to lie prostrate beneath the confusions and despotism of the *Robespierrian reign*. It is true, this insignificant theologian, who affected to hold in contempt all religion, or any expectations of a future state, was at this time trembling under the terrors of the *guillotine*; and while imprisoned, he endeavoured to ingratiate himself

* "The infidel has shot his bolts away,
"Till his exhausted quiver yielding none,
"He gleans the blunted shafts that have recoiled,
"And aims them at the shield of truth again." COWPER.

into the favor of the ruling faction of France, by levelling his sarcastic pen against opinions that had been for ages held sacred among mankind.

The effusions of *infidelity*, entitled the *Age of Reason*, would not have been thought worthy of a serious refutation, had not much industry been employed, to disseminate this worthless pamphlet among the common classes of mankind. The young, the ignorant, the superficial and licentious, pleased with the attempt to let loose the wild passions of men by removing so efficient a guard as is contained in the sacred scriptures, this pernicious work was by them sought for, and read with avidity. This consideration drew out the pens of men of character and ability, to antidote the poison of licentious wit.

No one had more merit in the effort than the learned, pious, and excellent Dr. Richard Watson, bishop of Landaff. His works have always been read with pleasure and applause, by every man of genius, virtue, and taste, in whatever branch of literature he drew his pen. His observations on the writings of Paine, his letters to Mr. Gibbon, with a concluding address to young gentlemen, will be read with delight and improvement by every person who adores the benignity of divine government, long after the writings of infidels of talent and ingenuity are sunk into oblivion.

Men of discernment are ever better pleased with truth, in its most simple garb, than with the sophisticated, though elegant style of wit and raillery, decorated for deception; and the name of Voltaire, with other wits and philosophers of the same description will be forgotten, and even the celebrated Gibbon will cease to be admired by the real friends of the Christian dispensation, while its defenders will be held in veneration to the latest ages.

The lovers of liberty on reasonable and just principles, were exceedingly hurt, that a man so capable as was Mr.

Paine, of exhibiting political truth in a pleasing garb, and defending the rights of man with eloquence and precision, should prostitute his talents to ridicule divine revelation, and destroy the brightest hopes of a rational and immortal agent.

Mr. Paine out-lived the storms of revolution both in America and in France, and he may yet add one instance more of the versatility of human events, by out-living his own false opinions and foolish attempts to break down the barriers of religion, and we wish he may by his own pen, endeavour to antidote some part of the poisons he has spread.

NOTE No. VII. Page 183.

The count Kosciusko was a gentleman of family without the advantages of high fortune. His education, person, and talents, recommended him to the king of Poland, by whom he was patronized and employed in a military line.

Early in life he became attached to a lady of great beauty, belonging to one of the first families in the kingdom. The inequality of fortune prevented his obtaining consent from her parents to a union, though the affections of the lady were equally strong with his own. The lovers agreed on an elopement, and made an attempt to retire to France; pursued and overtaken by the father of the lady, a fierce rencounter ensued. When Kosciusko found he must either surrender the object of his affection, or take the life of her parent, humanity prevailed over his passion, he returned the sword to its scabbard, and generously relinquished the beautiful daughter to her distressed father, rather than become the murderer of the person who gave being to so much elegance and beauty, now plunged in terror and despair from the tumult of contending passions of the most soft and amiable nature.

This unfortunate termination of his hopes was one means of lending this celebrated hero to the assistance of America. Wounded by the disappointment, and his delicacy hurt by becoming the topic of general conversation on an affair of gallantry, he obtained leave from his sovereign to retire from Poland. He soon after repaired to America, and offered himself a volunteer to general Washington, was honorably appointed, and by his bravery and humanity rendered essential services to the United States. After the peace took place between Great Britain and America, he returned to his own distressed country.*

His sufferings and his bravery in his struggles to rescue his native country from the usurpations of neighbouring tyrants, until the ruin of the kingdom of Poland and the surrender of Warsaw, are amply detailed in European history. Wounded, imprisoned, and cruelly used, his distresses were in some degree ameliorated by the compassion of a Russian lady, the wife of general Chra-cozazow, who had been a prisoner and set at liberty by the count. This lady could not prevent his being sent to Petersburgh, where he was confined in a fortress near the city; but he surmounted imprisonment, sickness, misery, and poverty, and afterwards revisited America, where he was relieved and rewarded, as justice, honor, and gratitude required.

NOTE No. VIII. Page 213.

The cruel oppressions long suffered by the kingdom of Ireland from the haughty superiority of British power, induced the wretched inhabitants to avail themselves of this invitation, and to resort by thousands to America after the

* It was a question in a literary society afterwards in London, which was the greatest character, lord Chatham, general Washington, or count Kosciusko. ANALYTICAL REVIEW.

peace took place between Great Britain and the United States. After this, the confusions and distractions in Ireland arose to such a height as rendered a residence there too insupportable for description. The miserable inhabitants who escaped the sword, the burnings, and the massacre of the English, had flattered themselves, that if they could retreat from their native country, they should receive a welcome reception to an asylum to which they had formerly been invited, by the congressional body who directed the affairs of America. There they justly thought their industry might have been cherished, their lives and properties be secure, and their residence rendered quiet; but a check was put to emigration for a time, by an alien law enacted by Congress in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-eight.

This was very contrary to the policy and to the principles expressed by governor Trumbull of Connecticut to Baron R. J. Van der Capellen, "Seigneur du Pol, Membre "des Nobles de la Provence D'Overyssel, &c." dated Lebanon, August 31, 1779.

He observes, that "the climate, the soil, and the pro-"ductions of a continent extending from the thirtieth to "the forty-fifth degree of latitude, and in longitude an "unknown width, are various beyond description, and the "objects of trade consequently unbounded. There is "scarce a manufacture, whether in the useful or ornament-"al part of life, of which you will not here find the mate-"rials, collected, as it were, in an immense magazine. In "every requisite for naval armaments we abound, our for-"ests yielding prodigious quantities of timber and spars; "our mountains, vast mines of iron, copper, and lead; "and our fields producing ample crops of flax and hemp. "Provisions of all kinds are raised in much greater quan-"tities than are necessary for our own consumption; and "our wheat, our rye, our cattle, and our pork, yield to "none in the world for quality.

"The price of cultivated lands is by no means extrava-
"gant; and of uncultivated, trifling; twelve thousand
"acres, situated most advantageously for future business,
"selling for three hundred guineas English, *i. e.* little more
"than six pence sterling the acre. Our interests and our
"laws teach us to receive strangers from every quarter of
"the globe, with open arms. The poor, the unfortunate,
"the oppressed from every country, will here find a ready
"asylum; and by uniting their interests with ours, enjoy,
"in common with us, all the blessings of liberty and plenty.
"Neither difference of nation, of language, of manners,
"or of religion, will lessen the cordiality of their reception,
"among a people whose religion teaches them to regard
"all mankind as their brethren."

NOTE No. IX. Page 276.

Governor Trumbull observed thus: "The only obsta-
"cle which I foresee to the settlement of foreigners in the
"country, will be the taxes, which must inevitably for a
"time run high, for the payment of the debts contracted
"during the present war. These, indeed, will be much
"lightened by the care which has been taken, to confine
"these debts as much as possible among ourselves, and by
"emitting a paper currency in place of borrowing from
"abroad. But this method, though it secures the country
"from being drained hereafter, of immense sums of solid
"coin, which can never return, has exposed us to a new and
"very disagreeable embarrassment, by its monstrous de-
"preciation. An evil which had its rise in, and owes all
"its rapid increase to the single cause of our not having
"provided at a sufficiently early period, for its reduction
"and payment by taxes. This measure was indeed ren-
"dered impracticable, at the proper time, by the radical
"derangement of the system of government, and conse-
"quently of revenue in many of the United States; and its

" neceſſary delay till the removal of theſe impediments, " gave time for avarice and ſuſpicion to unite in ſapping " the foundations of our internal credit."

He adds, " I am no advocate for internal or foreign " loans. In my opinion, they are like cold water in a " fever, which allays the diſeaſe for a moment, but ſoon " cauſes it to rage with a redoubled violence; temporary " alleviations, but ultimately real additions to the burden. " The debts which we have already contracted, or may " hereafter be neceſſitated to contract abroad, I have not a " doubt, but will be paid with the utmoſt punctuality and " honor; and there can be no ſurer foundation of credit, " than we poſſeſs in the rapidly increaſing value and im- " portance of our country.

" In ſhort, it is not ſo much my wiſh that the United " States ſhould gain credit among foreign nations, for the " loan of money, as that all nations, and eſpecially your " countrymen in Holland, ſhould be made acquainted " with the real ſtate of the American war. The importance " and greatneſs of this riſing empire, the future extenſive " value of our commerce, the advantages of colonization, " are objects which need only to be known, to command " your attention, protection, and ſupport.

" Give me leave moſt ſincerely to expreſs my grief, that " the efforts you have made for the removal of oppreſſion " in your own country, and for extending the bleſſings of " liberty and plenty to the poor, ſhould have met with ſo " ungrateful a return of perſecution and inſult. Unhappy " ſtate of man! where opulence and power conſpire to " load the poor, the defenceleſs, and the innocent, with ac- " cumulated miſery; where an unworthy few join to em- " bitter the life of half their fellow men, that they may " wallow in the exceſs of luxurious debauch, or ſhine in " the ſplendid trappings of folly."