HISTORY

OF THE

RISE, PROGRESS AND TERMINATION

OF THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

INTERSPERSED WITH

Biographical, Political and Moral Obſervations.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

BY MRS. MERCY 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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CHAP. XXI. 1781.

THE additional weight of maritime force that appeared in the American ſeas in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-one, was

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ſerious and eventful. In the view of every ſagacious eye, this appearance portended events of magnitude, that might haſten to a deciſion, the long diſputed point between Great Britain and the United States. The European nations conſidered the preſent period a criſis of expectation, and that the exertions of this year would either extinguiſh American hopes, or eſtabliſh their claims as an independent nation.

Before the arrival of admiral Barras, the naval power of Britain in the American waters was much ſuperior to any thing that had yet arrived from abroad, that could give aſſiſtance to the United States. The acquiſition of ſtrength, by the arrival of a ſquadron under the command of ſir Samuel Hood, might have given an irreſiſtible preponderance to the Britiſh flag, had not the count de Graſſe fortunately reached the Cheſapeake a few days before him.

There was now juſt reaſon to expect the moſt violent naval concuſſions would take place, between the Bourbon fleets and the ſtill more powerful ſquadrons of Britain. They were ſoon to meet near the American ſhores, where they were deſtined to diſpute the deciſion of an object, that, from the emulation of power, the long exiſting jealouſies between two potent ſovereigns, and the proſpect of a new face of affairs from the reſiſtance of America, equally intereſted the kings of England and France.

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On the part of Britain, their armies were bold, their troops well appointed, and the pride of conquest urged to prompt execution to insure success. The Americans, inured to fatigue, became disciplined from necessity: naturally sanguine and brave, conscious of the justice of their cause, and persuaded of the favor of Heaven, they were ready to engage in defence of their country and their lives, which they were sure would be the certain forfeit if defeated. Both, determined and valorous, and perhaps both equally weary of the contest, they might equally wish for some capital stroke of military prowess, some honorable action, which might lead to equitable and amicable decision.

In this attitude of expectation, hope, and uncertainty, of the two original parties, now combined with the strangers and aliens of different nations, who had adopted the ardor of conquest equal to their employers, nothing less could be anticipated than new scenes of carnage. The auxiliaries on the part of Britain, were the feudal vassals of despotic lords, the mere *automatons* of German princes, who held them as their hereditary property. The allies of America were *Frenchmen*, who had long felt the weight of the chains of *Le Grand Monarque*: they were commanded by polite and erudite officers, who just beheld the dawn of freedom rising on their native land.

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Thus the two armies finally met in the Virginian fields, the germ of the new world, the first British plantation in America; a state dignified for its uniform adherence to, and its early and firm defence of, the natural rights of mankind. Here they were to decide the last stake for the freedom of nations, a game which had been beheld with interest and expectation, by many of the officers before they left Europe, and which might eventually have an extensive influence, to enlighten and free the more enthralled parts of the world.

Previous to the junction of the French and the American armies, general Washington, the count de Rochambeau, and several other distinguished officers, had met and held a conferencæ at Weathersfield, in Connecticut. In consequence of this interview, it was reported and believed for a time, that the combined armies would immediately attempt the reduction of New York. This was a favorite object with the Americans, who generally viewed the dislodgement of the British forces from that stand, as a measure that would expedite relief to every other quarter invested or oppressed by their fleets and armies. Accordingly, great preparations were made, and high expectations indulged through most of the summer, that the army under the immediate command of sir

Henry Clinton, weakened by detachments for the ſouthern ſervice, and no reinforcements yet arriving from England, would ſoon be driven from the important poſt of New York.

General Waſhington had neglected no argument to impreſs the neceſſity of immediate and vigorous exertions in all the ſtates, to enable him to act with deciſion. He urged the expectation of the allied army, commanded by officers of the firſt abilities, of the higheſt military character, ſome of them of the prime nobility of France, and all ambitious of glory and eager for action. The diſappointment they would feel if any languor appeared in the United States, was obvious; and every conſideration was urged and enforced, that might induce the whole body of the people to aid in facilitating the meaſures adopted by the military commanders, which could not be executed without union and prompt deciſion in all the legiſlatures.

Preparations were accordingly made, and on the ſixth of July, the junction of the French and American armies took place at White Plains. They ſoon after took a nearer poſition, with every preparation for, and all the appearance of, a formidable attack on the city. But notwithſtanding the ſanguine hopes of the Americans on this occaſion, and the well founded ap-

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prehenſions of the Britiſh commander in chief, a combination of circumſtances prevented an enterpriſe, which both the army and the people thought was not only deſigned, but had calculated that it would be effected without much difficulty.

Nor was this leſs expected by ſir Henry Clinton, who had no idea that any ſyſtem had been formed for the combined armies to move toward Virginia. He had taken every meaſure to obtain the moſt correct information: in this he ſucceeded: the letters of general Waſhington were intercepted. His diſpatches taken by the agents employed for the purpoſe, were conveyed to New York, by which the Britiſh commander obtained intelligence which alarmed his apprehenſions for the ſafety of New York, and led him to forget all danger in any other quarter.

While the mind of the Britiſh commander remained in this ſituation, a ſudden reverſe took place on the part of America: their meaſures were diſconcerted, their operations ſlow; and for a time they appeared as indeciſive in their determinations, though not ſo divided in their councils, as the commanders of the Britiſh troops. The energies of a few leading characters were not ſufficient to control the

many in the ſeveral ſtates, who in their preſent diſconnected police muſt all be conſulted.

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In ſpite of the exertions and the zeal of individuals, the requiſitions from the reſpective ſtates came in for ſome time but ſlowly. Many of thoſe which were ſent on to complete the battalions, were very far from being ſtrong, effective men. Some companies appeared to be a rabble of boys; others, very unfit for immediate ſervice; and the numbers far ſhort of the calculations in the Britiſh camp, where imagination had multiplied them almoſt to a Ruſſian army.

In ſhort, it was found that it was impoſſible to eſtabliſh an army at a call, fit for duty at the moment of their entrance in the field. Nor was it leſs difficult, in the exiſting circumſtances of the infant republic, to provide at once for the exigencies which the magnitude of military enterpriſe at this time required. The deſign, if it ever was really intended, of aſſaulting that poſt and reducing New York, was a ſecond time relinquiſhed. The apprehenſions of ſir Henry Clinton, that a ſimilar enterpriſe would have been attempted the preceding winter, had not continued long, before other objects intervened, which opened new views to both the Britiſh and American commanders.

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A different ſyſtem was adopted from that expected by both ſides, on the opening of the ſummer campaign. This might probably have been owing in part to the information recently given by colonel Laurens, who had lately arrived from France. He had immediately repaired to the ſouthward, and reached the head-quarters of the combined army in the month of Auguſt. The moſt intereſting part of this intelligence was, that an alliance had been renewed between the emperor of Germany and the king of Great Britain; that the emperor had ſent out a conſiderable reinforcement to the aid of the Britiſh commanders in America, and that additional troops were to follow; that this had greatly encouraged the court of Britain, and was not a pleaſing circumſtance to France.

It yet remains doubtful, whether it was a ſtroke of generalſhip, or the neceſſity of taking new ground, that induced the count de Rochambeau and general Waſhington, ſecretly to draw off moſt of the continental and French troops, at a period when they momently expected orders for an attack on the city of New York. It is ſucceſs oftener than judgment, that crowns the military character: and as fortune followed their footſteps, few, if any, doubted the ſuperiority of genius that dictated the meaſure. The movement was ſudden, and the march rapid. The combined army croſſed the North River on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt:

they moved on haſtily to Philadelphia; and by a difficult and fatiguing route, reached Williamſburgh in Virginia on the fourteenth of September. CHAP. XXI. 1781.

Sir Henry Clinton, apprehenſive only for New York, had not the ſmalleſt ſuſpicion of this manœuvre. By the addreſs of a few Americans left behind for that purpoſe, every appearance of an attack on New York was for a time kept up. The deception was ſo complete, and the manœuvres of the American commander ſo judicious, that the Britiſh themſelves acknowledged, their own was fairly *outgeneralled.* The illuſion was ſo well calculated for the purpoſe, that its effects were fully adequate to the deſign: the Britiſh commander continued his diligence in preparing for the reception of the combined armies.

The intelligence, at this time, of an alliance between his Britannic majeſty and the emperor of Germany, and the arrival of two or three thouſand German troops, gave an exhilaration of ſpirits to the city, to the ſoldiers, and to the general, who, from the protraction of the illuſion without, had the higheſt reaſon to expect, the aſſault of their works would not much longer be delayed by the Americans. Though general Clinton had received intelligence that

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the French ſquadron had left Rhode Iſland, he did not yet dream that they were deſtined to the Cheſapeake, or that Waſhington and Rochambeau had adopted a new ſyſtem. It was long before he could be perſuaded to believe, that they were concentrating their forces, and moving ſouthward, with deſign effectually to defeat all farther attempts on Virginia, and ſtop the progreſs of the Britiſh arms in the Carolinas.

It was indeed too long for the intereſt of the crown of Great Britain, before ſir Henry Clinton could prevail with himſelf to look beyond the defence of New York. But when he found the allied armies had in reality marched toward Virginia, he did not neglect his duty. He countermanded the orders to lord Cornwallis, of ſending a part of his troops to New York, and made all poſſible preparations to ſupport him. He ſent on a freſh detachment of troops, and made arrangements to follow them himſelf, with a hope of being timely enough for the relief of his lordſhip.

In the mean time, the fortunate arrival of the count de Graſſe in the Cheſapeake, haſtened the deciſion of important events. A ſhort paſſage from the Weſt Indies tranſported the French fleet under his command ſafely to the Capes of Virginia, where they arrived on the thirtieth of Auguſt. No intelligence of his near approach

had reached the Britiſh quarters; nor could any thing have been more unexpected to the Britiſh naval commander, ſir Samuel Hood, who arrived ſoon after in the Cheſapeake, than to find a Gallic ſquadron of twenty-eight ſail lying there in perfect ſecurity.

Commodore Hood, who arrived from the Weſt Indies ſoon after the middle of Auguſt, with near twenty ſail of the line, joined the ſquadron under admiral Graves before New York. He was ſolicitous to have ſailed immediately to the Cheſapeake, with all the naval ſtrength that was not neceſſary to be left for the defence of New York. But an unaccountable delay took place, which in his opinion could not be juſtified; and however it counteracted his inclination, it was too late before he ſailed. He did not reach the Cheſapeake until the fifth of September, ſix days after the arrival there of the count de Graſſe. The French fleet had not been diſcovered by the Britiſh commander, nor had he gained any intelligence that de Graſſe was on the American coaſt, until the morning of the fifth of September, when the Engliſh obſerved them in full view within Cape Henry.

Nothing could have been more mortifying to a man of the ſpirit and enterpriſe of ſir Samuel Hood, than to find ſo reſpectable a French fleet had arrived in the Cheſapeake before him. The

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national rivalry, prejudices, and hatred, of the Britiſh commanders, and the gallant Engliſh ſeamen, could not be ſuppreſſed on ſuch an occaſion. Theſe were a ſtrong ſtimulus to immediate action, which had their full effect. The pride and valor of a renowned Britiſh commander could not admit of the ſmalleſt delay; and the boldneſs of Engliſh ſeamen urged all with the utmoſt alacrity to prepare for an engagement.

The Britiſh maritime force that had now arrived, was nearly equal to the French ſquadron under the count de Graſſe. Both fleets immediately moved, and a ſpirited action enſued: equal gallantry was exhibited, but neither ſide could boaſt of victory. The ſhips on both ſides were conſiderably injured, and one Britiſh ſeventy-four rendered totally unfit for ſervice; to this they ſet fire themſelves. The loſs of men was on the uſual average of naval action. The Engliſh indeed were not beaten, but the French gained a double advantage; for while the count de Graſſe remained at a diſtance, watched by the Britiſh navy, he ſecured the paſſage of the count de Barras from Rhode Iſland, and gained to himſelf the advantage of firſt blocking up the Cheſapeake. The count de Barras brought with him the French troops from Rhode Iſland, amounting to about three thouſand men. Theſe joined the marquis la Fayette, whoſe numbers had been greatly reduced. This rein-

forcement enabled him to ſupport himſelf by defenſive operations, until, in a ſhort time, they were all happily united under the command of the valiant Rochambeau.

The Britiſh fleet continued a few days in the Cheſapeake. Their ſhips were much injured; and in a council of war it was determined to be neceſſary for the whole fleet to return to New York, to reſit and prepare for a ſecond expedition. This they had reaſon to flatter themſelves would be more ſucceſsful, as they were ſure of a great acquiſition of ſtrength on the arrival of lord Digby, who was hourly expected with a reinforcement from England.

While ſir Henry Clinton remained in ſuſpenſe with regard to the operations in the Cheſapeake, his anxiety prompted him to endeavour to obtain immediate intelligence. He had no ſuſpicion that he ſhould receive this by the return of admiral Graves, and the reſpectable ſquadron under his command; and before the untoward circumſtances which occaſioned this had reached New York, his impatience had urged him to ſend on a gallant officer with letters to lord Cornwallis. Major Cochran executed this buſineſs at no ſmall hazard. The Britiſh fleet had left the Capes of Virginia before his arrival; but at every riſk, he ran through the whole French fleet in an open boat. He landed ſafely, delivered his diſpatches, and

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immediately had his head ſhot off by a cannon-ball. Thus this unfortunate officer had not a moment to rejoice in the ſucceſs of his bravery.

After the return of the fleet to New York, it might reaſonably have been expected, that ſir Henry Clinton would have acted with more deciſion and energy. Previous to this unfortunate tranſaction, it had been determined in a council of war, to ſend five thouſand men to the aid of lord Cornwallis. But the ſpirit of delay ſtill pervaded the mind of the Britiſh commander: he thought proper yet further to poſtpone this wiſe meaſure, from a motive which he doubtleſs conſidered juſtifiable. This was, to wait a little longer for the arrival of admiral Digby; whoſe junction with the forces already in New York, he judged would inſure victory over the combination of France and America, both by ſea and land.

Flattering letters were again ſent on to lord Cornwallis; but promiſes and diſtant expectations were far from being adequate to the relief of a mind borne down by diſappointment, and the failure of the means of ſupporting his own military character. He was alſo ſenſible, that the dignity of command, and the royal cauſe, were ſuffering by delay, indeciſion, and, as he thought, from leſs juſtifiable motives. He was exhorted to hold out till about the twelfth of October, when ſir Henry Clinton thought it

probable he might receive assistance, if no unavoidable accident should take place; or at farthest by the middle of November. At the same time, he intimated, that if his lordship should be reduced to the utmost extremity, before the arrival of reinforcements, he himself would endeavour to make a diversion by an attack on Philadelphia, in order to draw off a part of Washington's army.* These all appeared to lord Cornwallis, very indigested, absurd, and inconsistent ideas. He immediately informed sir Henry Clinton, that he saw no means of forming a junction with him, but by York River, and that no meditated diversion toward Philadelphia, or any where else, could be of any use.

Lord Digby however arrived at New York on the twenty-ninth of September. One of the princes† of the blood had taken this opportunity to visit America, probably with a view of sovereignty over a part, or the whole of the conquered colonies. This was still anticipated at the court of St. James: and perhaps, in the opinion of the royal parents, an American establishment might be very convenient for one of their numerous progeny.

* See sir Henry Clinton's letter to lord Cornwallis, dated Sept. 30, 1781.

† This was prince Henry, the duke of Clarence.

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Lord Digby was ſeveral days detained at New York, before arrangements were made for the embarkation of the troops to reinforce lord Cornwallis, and for the ſailing of the mighty naval armament for the Cheſapeake. In the mean time, ſir Henry Clinton buſied himſelf in writing letters full of ſpecious promiſes, as if artfully deſigned to buoy up the hopes of lord Cornwallis, by ſtrong aſſurances that no time ſhould be loſt in ſending forward a force ſufficient for his relief. He informed him, that a fleet under the command of lord Digby, who had recently arrived at New York, would ſail for the Cheſapeake by the fifth of October; that himſelf was nearly ready to embark with a large body of troops; and in the moſt ſanguine terms, exhorted his lordſhip to endeavour to keep his opponents in play, and to hold out againſt every diſcouragement, until he ſhould receive the needful aſſiſtance, which another Britiſh fleet, and the addition of a body of troops headed by himſelf, would ſecure.

Theſe flattering aſſurances and preſſing entreaties from the commander in chief, induced lord Cornwallis to evade a general action. It was his opinion, that when the combined troops arrived, he could only attempt the defence of York-Town. He was poſted there by general Clinton's expreſs orders, contrary to his own judgment. He had always (as has been before obſerved) thought this an ineligible ſituation,

and far from being long defenſible, without much larger reinforcements both by land and ſea, than he had reaſon to expect would arrive ſeaſonably.

His ſituation had been for ſome time truly diſtreſſing. Embarraſſed between his own opinion and the orders of his ſuperior in command, flattered by the promiſe of timely relief, and that in ſuch force as to enable him to cope with the united armies of France and America, he thought it his duty to wait the reſult, and not ſuffer himſelf to be impelled by contingent circumſtances, to riſk his army beyond the probability of ſucceſs. This prevented any advance to action, at the ſame time that it forbid his endeavouring to retreat from Virginia, until too late, when he had only to wait ſuſpended between hope and fear, the uncertain chances of war. He acknowledged afterwards, that had he ſeaſonably retired toward Carolina, though the attempt would have been difficult, he might have ſaved his army from their impending fate.

Though the courage and the inclination of lord Cornwallis might prompt him in his preſent circumſtances, to lead out his troops and hazard an engagement in the open field, yet his judgment or his prudence could not juſtify the riſk, while he had the ſmalleſt hopes, that a few

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days might place him in a ſituation to combat on more equal terms. His deſtiny often marked by diſappointment, he had at the ſame time much reaſon to deſpair of a ſucceſsful termination of the campaign, even if the forces from New York ſhould arrive in ſeaſon. Yet, he obſerved to ſir Henry Clinton, that "if he had no "hopes of relief, he ſhould rather riſk a general "action, than attempt to defend his half-finiſh-"ed works. But, as you ſay Digby is hourly "expected, and promiſe every exertion to aſſiſt "me, I do not think myſelf juſtified in putting "the fate of the war on ſo deſperate an at-"tempt."

The Britiſh commander was fully appriſed of the difficulties that would attend his armament under exiſting circumſtances, even if the troops from New York ſhould arrive before his fate was decided. The mouth of the river was blocked up by a very large French fleet; the American army in high health and ſpirits, ſtrengthened by daily recruits, led on by *Waſhington*, in whom they had the higheſt confidence, in conjunction with a fine army of Gallicans, headed by the count de Rochambeau, an officer of courage, experience, and ability, were making rapid advances. On the twenty-eighth of September they had left Williamſburgh, and on the ſixth of October they opened their trenches before York-Town.

His lordſhip determined however, notwithſtanding the choice of difficulties that preſſed upon him, to make the beſt poſſible defence. His army was worn down by ſickneſs and fatigue, but there was no want of reſolution or valor; his officers were intrepid, and his men brave. They acquitted themſelves with ſpirit; and kept their ground from the ſixth to the ſixteenth of October; when they became convinced, that the abilities and the experience of the count de Rochambeau, the cool equanimity of general Waſhington, and the vigor and valor of their officers and troops, rendered the united army irreſiſtible in the preſent ſituation of their opponents.

Lord Cornwallis had now only to chooſe between an immediate ſurrender or an effort to eſcape, and ſave a part of his army by flight. He contemplated either a retreat ſouthward, or an endeavour to force his way through the ſtates between Virginia and New York, to join general Clinton. But, equally hazardous, he determined on the laſt expedient. For this purpoſe, he with the utmoſt ſecrecy, paſſed in the night of the ſixteenth, the greateſt part of his army from York-Town to Glouceſter, leaving only a detachment behind to capitulate for the town's people, the ſick, and the wounded.

But fortune did not favor the enterpriſe. It is true the boats had an eaſy paſſage, but at the

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critical moment of landing his men, his lordſhip obſerved, that "the weather ſuddenly "changed from moderate and calm, to a vio-"lent ſtorm of rain and wind, that carried the "boats down the river, with many of the troops "who had not time to diſembark. It was ſoon "evident, that the intended paſſage was im-"practicable; and the abſence of the boats ren-"dered it equally impoſſible to bring back the "troops that had paſſed, which I had ordered "about two in the morning."* Here the ſerious mind will naturally reflect, how often the providential interference of the elements defeat what appears to be the moſt judicious deſign of the ſhort-ſighted creature, man.

The ſtate of lord Cornwallis's mind at this time, the inſurmountable difficulties of his ſituation previous to his ſurrender, and the ſubſequent conſequences, may be ſeen at large in his letter to ſir Henry Clinton, dated October twenty-firſt, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-one.†

In this letter he details the circumſtances of his diſappointment, in the laſt mode adopted for the ſafety of his army. It has been obſerved, that his troops were diſperſed by the ſtorm

* Lord Cornwallis to general Clinton.

† Appendix, Note No. I.

by which the boats were driven down the river, though ſome of them returned to York-Town the enſuing day. Deſperate as was the ſituation of the Britiſh troops, a feint of reſiſtance was ſtill made, by an order to lieutenant colonel Abercrombie, to ſally out with four hundred men, to advance, attack, and ſpike the cannon of two batteries which were nearly finiſhed. This excurſion was executed with ſpirit and ſucceſs, but attended with no very important conſequences.*

The combined armies of France and America had continued their vigorous operations without the ſmalleſt intermiſſion, until prepared for the laſt aſſault on the town, which they began at the dawn of the morning after the circumſtances above related had taken place. In this hopeleſs condition, his own works in ruins, moſt of his troops ſick, wounded, or fatigued, and without rational expectation of relief from any quarter, the Britiſh commander found it neceſſary, in order to eſcape the inevitable con-

* Several reconnoitering parties on both ſides met and ſkirmiſhed during the ſiege. In one of theſe, colonel Scammel, a brave American officer, who was reſpected and beloved for the excellence of his private character, was captured by ſome Britiſh partiſans. He ſurrendered, and delivered his ſword, the uſual ſignal of ſubmiſſion, after which he was mortally wounded by one of the Britiſh. He expired after languiſhing a day or two.

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ſequences of further reſiſtance, to propoſe terms of ſubmiſſion.

Lord Cornwallis, confident of the humanity and politeneſs of his antagoniſts, made propoſals on the ſeventeenth to the commanders of the combined army, for a ceſſation of hoſtilities for twenty-four hours. This was granted: but toward the expiration of the term, general Waſhington, in a letter to the Britiſh commander, acquainted him, that deſirous to ſpare the farther effuſion of blood, he was ready to liſten to ſuch terms of ſurrender as might be admiſſible; and that he wiſhed, previous to the meeting of any commiſſioners for that purpoſe, to have his lordſhip's propoſals in writing. At the ſame time he informed lord Cornwallis, that after the delivery of this letter, only two hours of ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities would be granted for conſideration.

The time limited being thus ſhort, the Britiſh commander, without a detail of many particulars, propoſed terms of capitulation in a very conciſe manner.

General Waſhington, equally perſpicuous and deciſive, in a few words intimated to his lordſhip the only terms that would be accepted: that if his propoſals were rejected, hoſtilities would be re-commenced within two hours of the delivery of thoſe terms.

In consequence of these negociations between the commanders, commissioners were immediately appointed to prepare and digest the articles of capitulation. It is not easy to conceive or to relate the mortification his lordship must have felt, at seeing his troops conquered by superior prowess and good fortune, and laying down their arms at the feet of the victorious Washington. This chagrin was undoubtedly much heightened, by the necessity of submitting to terms imposed in conjunction with the servants of a rival power, whom the kings of Great Britain, and the nation they govern, had viewed for many centuries with hatred and detestation.

The gentlemen appointed on the part of America to draw up the articles of capitulation, were the count de Noailles, a French nobleman who had served as an officer in the defence of the United States for a considerable time, and colonel John Laurens, a distinguished character, a son of the unfortunate ambassador who had been deputed to negociate in behalf of America at the Hague, but at this time was confined in the tower of London, and very severely treated.

The singularity of some circumstances relative to this gentleman, cannot be passed over unnoticed in this place. He was suffering a rigorous imprisonment in England: he had presented a

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petition for ſome amelioration of the ſeverities exerciſed againſt him; this was rejected; his veracity diſputed by the miniſter; and his detention juſtified by lord Mansfield, as legal, politic, and neceſſary, to prevent the accompliſhment of his pernicious projects.*

By a ſtrange concurrence of events, the earl Cornwallis, conſtable of the tower of London, was now on the point of becoming a priſoner, and ſubmitting to articles of ſurrender for himſelf and his army, under the dictation of the ſon of Mr. Laurens, the ſame gentleman heretofore alluded to, when an attempt was made by the Britiſh adminiſtration, to corrupt the integrity of both father and ſon. By the capitulation, his lordſhip was reduced to the humiliating condition of a priſoner to the American congreſs, while the father of colonel Laurens remained ſhut up in the tower, a priſoner to the captured earl.

However, as ſoon as circumſtances permitted, an interchange of priſoners took place. The noble lord, who with his army fell into the hands of the American commander, was reſtored to liberty by an exchange for Mr. Laurens, who had long languiſhed in the tower of London. The court of Britain had before rejected

* See Parliamentary Debates.

the propoſal that Mr. Laurens ſhould be exchanged for general Burgoyne; but they were ſoon after this glad to receive an officer of equal rank to almoſt any in the nation, in exchange for the American miniſter.

A detail of the particular articles of capitulation may not be neceſſary; for them the reader is referred to the Appendix:* it is enough to obſerve at preſent, that the Britiſh army was permitted only the ſame honors of war, that lord Cornwallis had granted the Americans on the ſurrender of Charleſton the preceding year. The officers were allowed their ſide-arms, but the troops marched with their colors caſed, and made their ſubmiſſion to general Lincoln, preciſely in the ſame manner his army had done to the Britiſh commander, a few months before.

Here we cannot but pauſe a moment, to reflect on the viciſſitudes of human life, the accidents of war, or rather the deſignations of Providence, that one day lift to the pinnacle of human triumph, and another, ſmite the laurel from the brow of the conqueror, and humble the proud victor at the feet of his former priſoner.

* Appendix, Note No. II.

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As general Lincoln had recently felt the mortification of yielding himself and his troops into the hands of the royal army, he was selected to conduct the military parade, and receive the submission of the British veterans. This might be thought by some, to wear rather too much the air of triumph; but it was judged a kind of compensation for his own military misfortunes, while it might call into exercise the feelings of benevolence. These ever operate more strongly on the human character from the experience of sufferings, except in such ferocious minds as are actuated only by the principles of revenge.

This was far from being the spirit of Americans: their victories were generally accompanied with so much moderation, that even their enemies acknowledged their generosity. General Burgoyne and others had often done this; and lord Cornwallis now expressed both pleasure and surprise, at the civility, kindness, and attention, shewn by the victor to the vanquished foe. In a letter to sir Henry Clinton, after mentioning the Americans in very handsome terms, his lordship observed, that "he could "not describe the delicate sensibility of the "French officers on this occasion;" and that "he hoped their conduct would make an im-"pression in the breast of every British officer, "when the fortune of war might again put any

"prisoners, either American or French, in the "power of that nation."

Thus terminated the efforts of administration to reduce the United States, by first conquering the southern colonies. On the nineteenth of October, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, a second British army yielded themselves prisoners to the confederated states of America. The humiliation of the present captured army, as above observed, was enhanced by the circumstances that made it necessary for the British battalions, to bow beneath the banners of their hereditary enemies of France, in conjunction with the stars of America.* One of these armies, before its capture, had ostentatiously anticipated the conquest of the north; the other had enjoyed the cruel triumph of devastation and spoil, through the warmer latitudes of the south.

With incredible fatigue and fortitude, and no less zeal and havoc, had the British army, and the royal partisans belonging to the American states who had joined them, harassed and spread terror and desolation for many months, from the borders of Georgia to the extremities of Virginia.

* The American standard at this time was ornamented with only thirteen stars.

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Within five days after the ſurrender of all the poſts that had been held by lord Cornwallis, a Britiſh fleet from New York, under the command of lord Digby, with ſir Henry Clinton and ſeven thouſand troops on board, entered the bay of Cheſapeake in full confidence of ſucceſs; but to their inexpreſſible mortification, they had only to appear and retreat.

By the capitulation, all the ſhipping in the harbor was left to the diſpoſal of the count de Graſſe, with the exception only of the Bonetta ſloop of war. This was granted to lord Cornwallis to carry his diſpatches to New York. It included the liberty of conveying as many of his troops as was convenient, to be exchanged for an equal number of American priſoners. His humanity prompted him to avail himſelf of this liberty, to ſhip off, inſtead of ſoldiers, the moſt obnoxious of the loyaliſts, terrified beyond deſcription at the idea of falling into the hands of their countrymen, againſt whom they had made every exertion, both by their influence and their arms. After the return of the Bonetta, as ſtipulated, ſhe alſo was to be delivered at the order of the French admiral.

The delay of reinforcements both by ſea and land, until lord Cornwallis and his army were irretrievably loſt, was a misfortune and a neglect that could not eaſily be excuſed or forgiven, either by the miniſtry, the nation, or the nu-

merous friends of this unfortunate nobleman. Much altercation took place afterwards between ſir Henry Clinton and lord Cornwallis, with little ſatisfaction to the wounded feelings of the laſt, and as little advantage to the ſinking character of the firſt.

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The ſurrender of lord Cornwallis's army was an event that produced more conviction in the minds of men, that the American colonies could not be conquered by the arms of Great Britain, than any circumſtance that had previouſly taken place. It was aſſerted by ſome Britiſh writers at the time, that "this was an "event which carried a kind of irreſiſtible con-"viction with it, even to thoſe who were the "leaſt inclined to the admiſſion of ſo humiliat-"ing a truth. When it was ſeen, that the moſt "diſtinguiſhed and ſucceſsful general that had "engaged in the royal cauſe, was obliged to ſur-"render himſelf and his whole army priſoners "of war, the generality even of thoſe who had "been the moſt earneſt for the ſubjugation of "America, began now to be convinced, that "it was totally impracticable. But thoſe who "had a ſincere regard for the honor and inter-"eſts of Great Britain, could not reflect but "with the utmoſt regret, that nearly one hun-"dred millions of money ſhould have been ex-"pended, and ſo many thouſand valuable lives "loſt, in this unhappy conteſt; in a conteſt "which had produced nothing but the loſs of

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"our American colonies, an accumulation of "the public debt, an enormous load of taxes, "and a great degree of national dishonor; and "which had afforded too much ground for the "triumph and exultation of our most inveterate "enemies."*

The defence of York-Town and Gloucester had always appeared chimerical to the British commander in Virginia; yet from the printed correspondence afterwards in every hand, he appeared perfectly right in his adherence to the orders of general Clinton, and justifiable in his endeavours to support himself there, until the promised reinforcements should arrive.

No man ever appeared more embarrassed when dangers approached, or more indecisive in many instances of his conduct, through the course of his American command, than sir Henry Clinton. Yet he was not deemed deficient in point of courage; though he never discovered, either in design or execution, those traits of genius or capacity, that mark the great man or the hero.

He had often been mistaken in his calculations, as had most of the British commanders, with regard to the ability, vigor, and valor of

* British Annual Register for one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

American troops. But combined with an European army, commanded by officers of the firſt military knowledge and experience, and the numbers that flocked with alacrity to the American ſtandard, as they moved ſouthward, in the fulleſt confidence in the judgment and abilities of general Waſhington, were circumſtances ſufficient to have eradicated thoſe opinions, and to have quickened the movements of the commander at New York, in the ſame ratio that it awakened the apprehenſions of an officer of more judgment in Virginia.

But whatever impreſſion a combination of French and American troops might at that time make on the mind, yet the hereditary hatred of the one, and the affected contempt of the other, had always led the commanders of Albion armies, to hold the haughty language characteriſtic of the national pride of Britain. After this period, the defeat of their armies and their moſt renowned officers, taught them a more humble deportment; and more juſt and modeſt accents were dictated from the lip of their captured generals.

The comparative military merits of the diſtinguiſhed Britiſh characters that figured and fell in America, may be left to the maſters in tactics to decide; but it may not be improper to obſerve, that the tribute of applauſe, both for generalſhip and abilities, may be more juſtly

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attributed to lord Cornwallis than to ſir Henry Clinton. Notwithſtanding the unfortunate concluſion of his lordſhip's ſouthern campaign, he was doubtleſs a man of underſtanding, diſcernment, and military talents, better qualified to act from his own judgment, than as ſubordinate to general Clinton.

Nothing of the kind could exceed the exhilaration of ſpirits that appeared throughout America, on the defeat at York-Town and the capture of the Britiſh army. The thanks of congreſs were given, and recorded on their journals, to the count de Rochambeau, general Waſhington, and the count de Graſſe; expreſſive of the ſenſe they had of their merits, and the high eſteem they felt for the ſervices they had rendered to the United States. Public rejoicings were every where diſplayed by the uſual popular exhibitions; thankſgivings were offered at the ſacred altars; and the truly religious daily poured out their oraiſons of praiſe, for the interpoſition of Divine Providence in favor of the American ſtates.

By other deſcriptions of perſons, little leſs gratitude and devotion was expreſſed toward Waſhington, Rochambeau, and the count de Graſſe. They were the ſubjects of their eulogies and their anthems; the admiration of the brave, and the idols of the multitude: and in the complimentary addreſſes of all, they were

designated the instruments of their salvation, the deliverers from impending ruin, and the protectors from the concomitant evils of protracted war.* CHAP. XII. 1781.

Among the horrors that attend the operations of hostile armies, the situation of those unfortunate men captured by their enemies, is none of the least. There has yet been no attempt in these annals, at a particular description of the sufferings of those victims of misery. The compassionate heart would rather draw a veil over those principles in human nature, which too often prompt to aggravate, rather than to relieve, the afflictions of the wretched, who are thrown into the hands of their enemies by the uncertain chances of war.

In consequence of the capture of lord Cornwallis and his army, and some other decided strokes of success in the southern states, a general exchange of prisoners soon after took place between the hostile parties. There were doubt-

* The Americans did not soon forget the merits or the services of the count de Grasse. Their gratitude and respect for his memory was exhibited by congress, who generously pensioned four of his hapless daughters, who arrived in the Massachusetts in extreme poverty, after the ruin of their family in the general wreck of nobility, and the destruction of monarchy in France.

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leſs many inſtances of individual cruelty and unjuſtifiable rigor exerciſed toward priſoners who fell into American hands. Impartiality forbids any extenuation of ſuch conduct on either ſide. It has been alleged by ſome, that inſtigated by the ſhocking inhumanity inflicted on their countrymen, retaliation and ſummary puniſhment was in ſome inſtances neceſſary; but this will not excuſe a deviation from the laws of benevolence, and is far from being a ſufficient plea for the victor to enhance the ſufferings of the vanquiſhed.

Yet it muſt be allowed, that the general treatment of this unhappy claſs of men by the contending powers, will not bear a comparative ſurvey. Many of the captured Americans were ſent to Great Britain, where they were for a time treated with almoſt every ſeverity ſhort of death. Some of them were tranſported to the Eaſt Indies; others put to menial ſervices on board their ſhips: but after ſome time had elapſed, thoſe in general who were conveyed to England, might be deemed happy, when their ſufferings were contraſted with thoſe of their countrymen who periſhed on board the priſon ſhips in America, under the eye of Britiſh commanders of renown, and who in many reſpects were civilized and polite.

No time will wipe off the ſtigma that is left on the names of Clinton and Howe, when poſ-

terity look over the calculations, and find that during ſix years of their command in New York, eleven thouſand Americans died on board the Jerſey, a ſingle priſon ſhip, ſtationed before that city for the reception of thoſe victims of deſpair. Nor was the proportion ſmaller of thoſe who periſhed in their other jails, dungeons, and priſon hulks.

It is true that in England, the language of government held up all the American priſoners as rebels, traitors, inſurgents, and pirates; yet this did not prevent the compaſſionate heart from the exerciſe of the benign virtues of charity and brotherly kindneſs. The lenient hand of many individuals was ſtretched out for their relief: ſubſcriptions were repeatedly ſet on foot, and very liberal donations made by ſeveral characters of high rank; and many well diſpoſed perſons exhibited the moſt generous proofs of compaſſion to the languid priſoner.

This charitable deportment was not confined within the circle of thoſe, who had either ſecretly or openly avowed themſelves the friends, or had advocated the principles, of the American oppoſition. For ſome time before peace took place, more lenient meaſures were obſerved by government toward thoſe who were captured and carried to England. They were conſidered and treated as priſoners of war; compaſſion was every where extended to the unfortunate

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ſtrangers; and the liberal contributions of various claſſes ameliorated their ſufferings in a diſtant land, where no tender connexions could extend the hand of pity. While their ſorrows were thus ſoftened, their brethren in America, in the neighbourhood of parents, children, and the moſt affectionate partners, not permitted to receive from them the neceſſary relief, were dying by thouſands, amidſt famine, filth, and diſeaſe.

Great efforts had been made for earlier relief to many of the ſufferers of every condition, but without effect. Not even general Burgoyne had yet been exchanged: from the many difficulties that aroſe with regard to the convention at Saratoga, he was ſtill held on parole as a priſoner. The various delays and equivocations relative to the detention of this gentleman, and the refuſal of the miniſter to exchange him for Mr. Laurens, had induced congreſs to ſummon him to return to America, agreeable to his parole. The ill ſtate of health to which this unfortunate officer was reduced, from his fatigue of body in long military ſervices, and his vexation of mind in conſequence of the ill treatment of his employers, prevented his compliance with this requiſition. General Clinton endeavoured, as far as in his power, to procure his exchange; but as no officer of equal rank was then in the hands of the Americans, it had been ſtipulated, that one thouſand and forty men ſhould be

given for his ranſom. This was humoroufly ſaid by a member of parliament,* to be a fair equivalent—" a quantity of ſilver for a piece of " gold."

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General Burgoyne very juſtly thought himſelf highly injured by the treatment of the miniſtry; but he obſerved himſelf in the houſe of commons, in the beginning of the ſeſſions of the enſuing winter, that he had not complained, though every officer in the army, down to the ſerjeants, had been exchanged. He ſaid, however, that he acceded to the propriety of this, becauſe he had reſigned his commiſſion, and thereby put himſelf into a ſituation, which rendered it impoſſible for him to be of any ſervice to his country in a military capacity. He alſo obſerved, that he thought it more proper, that thoſe ſhould be firſt exchanged, from whoſe exertions in the field the nation might receive advantage. But, with the ſpirit of a man of honor and an officer of reſolution, he declared, that " ſooner than condeſcend either to ſeek or " to receive the ſmalleſt favor, from the hands " of men who had heaped the groſſeſt injuries " upon his head, he would even return to " America, be locked up in the gloomieſt dun- " geon which the congreſs might aſſign him, " and devote himſelf as that ſacrifice, which his

* Mr. Burke.

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"enemies had long endeavoured to offer up to "their resentment."*

General Burgoyne observed, that the circumstances of the *Cedars men*, which had been the subject of so much altercation, was well known to the ministry; and that he thought all who knew the resolution of congress on that subject, as well as himself, must be convinced, that the conduct of the ministry in this matter was very singular and extraordinary. The determined spirit of that body was so well known, that a second proposition to exchange the Cedars men for him, could be calculated only to delay or prevent his release. He added, "that it was "surely singularly hard, that he should be the "only one of all the army that had surrendered "at Saratoga, who had not been included in "the exchange of prisoners, and restored to lib-"erty. It was an injustice beyond all example, "that every officer and every man in the army "should have received the valuable privilege of "freedom, and that he alone, who was com-"mander in chief on that occasion, should still "be continued a prisoner."

The dispute in point was concisely this:—The British government insisted, that a party of Americans who, some time before the conven-

* Parliamentary Debates.

tion at Saratoga, had been taken at a place called the Cedars, and had made their eſcape, ſhould ſtill be conſidered as their priſoners; and offered them as a part of the number ſtipulated for the exchange of general Burgoyne. This, congreſs peremptorily refuſed; and demanded the whole number agreed on, excluſive of the Cedars men, for the releaſe of the Britiſh commander from his parole. They did not conſider the party at the Cedars, who had been ſurpriſed, but not held in dureſs, as the deſcription of men to be exchanged for a Britiſh general.

The mutual charges of breaches of the articles, between congreſs and the Britiſh commander, occaſioned a long and grievous captivity to the convention troops. As each ſide juſtified their own conduct, and no compromiſe could be made in the ſtate of things which had long exiſted, theſe unfortunate men had been removed by order of congreſs from Cambridge, and conducted to the interior parts of one of the ſouthern ſtates. There they remained until the auſpicious events above related, returned them to the boſom of their country and friends, in lieu of an equal number of Americans, who had many of them languiſhed for as long a period, in the dreary apartments aſſigned the priſoners in New York, Charleſton, and wherever elſe Britiſh head-quarters were eſtabliſhed, in any part of the United States.

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The American congreſs, in a few weeks after the termination of the campaign in Virginia, reſolved, that as a preliminary to the diſcharge of the convention troops, all accounts of expenditures for their ſupport ſhould be immediately ſettled and diſcharged. At the ſame time, they authoriſed general Waſhington to ſet lord Cornwallis at liberty, on condition of the complete liberation of Mr. Laurens. Theſe ſeveral propoſals and demands were made and received in England in the beginning of the winter, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-two.

On the offer of the congreſs of the United States, immediately to releaſe lord Cornwallis on fair and honorable terms, Mr. Burke, with his uſual dexterity of combining and bringing into view, objects the moſt ſtriking and impreſſive on the paſſions of men, obſerved, that the Britiſh miniſtry had been brought to ſome ſenſe of juſtice in a moment; "warned by a ſtar that "had ariſen, not in the eaſt, but in the weſt, "which had convinced them of the danger of "longer perſevering in their unmanly, revenge-"ful, and rigid treatment of Mr. Laurens. "This was no other than the news arriving, "that the ſon of Mr. Laurens, a brave, worthy, "and accompliſhed officer in the American ſer-"vice, had earl Cornwallis in his cuſtody; and "that his treatment of his noble priſoner, was "directly the reverſe of that experienced by "Mr. Laurens's father, who was then locked up

"in *that tower*, of which lord Cornwallis was "the conſtable."

Mr. Burke, in a very pathetic ſtyle, detailed the variety of ſufferings, hardſhips, and injuſtice, which had been inflicted on Mr. Laurens during his long impriſonment. This, with other inſtances of ſevere and injudicious treatment of priſoners, he made the ground-work of a propoſed bill, to obviate the difficulties ariſing from the preſent mode of exchanging the American priſoners; a mode which, he remarked, was at once diſgraceful and inconvenient to the government of the kingdom. He urged, that "motives of humanity, of ſound "policy, and of common ſenſe, called loudly for "a new law, eſtabliſhing a regulation totally "different from the preſent, which was funda-"mentally erroneous." However, Mr. Laurens obtained his releaſe from the circumſtances above mentioned, before any new regulation of the Britiſh code of laws, relative to priſoners or any other object, took place.

CHAPTER XXII.

General Wayne ſent to the Southward.—Embarraſſments of General Greene in that Quarter.—Recovery of Georgia, and Evacuation of Savannah by the Britiſh.—Death and Character of Colonel Laurens.—Character of General Greene.—Conſequent Obſervations.

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IMMEDIATELY after the ſucceſsful operations in Virginia, the count de Graſſe took leave of his American friends, and conformably to orders received from his court before he left France, ſailed for the Weſt Indies. He left the continent in the beginning of November, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-one. He was accompanied with the gratitude and good wiſhes of almoſt every individual in the United States; nor was this more than juſtice required.

A moſt extraordinary reverſe of fortune and proſpects had taken place in America, after the arrival of this brave commander and the auxiliaries of his nation, who had come forward and lent their aid to the Americans. This aſſiſtance was received by the United States, at a period when her armies, and America herſelf, ſtood in the moſt ſerious and ſolemn point of her diſtreſs.

Decorated with the laurels of military fame, ſeveral of the principal officers withdrew from Virginia, and repaired to other quarters. General Waſhington, laden with the ſplendid trophies of victory, went on to Philadelphia, where, by particular requeſt of congreſs, he continued ſome time. There he received a perſonal and complimentary addreſs from that body, and the applauſes of all conditions of men, in a degree ſufficient to ſtimulate the leaſt ambitious mind to purſue the path of victory, until time ſhould bring a period of reſt to the purſuits of war.

The marquis la Fayette, deſirous to reviſit his native country, which had been ſeveral years involved in a war with Great Britain, embraced the preſent opportunity and returned to France. He was complimented by congreſs with an advance of rank in the army, and the higheſt expreſſions of eſteem for his bravery and good conduct in their ſervice. With a ſtrong attachment to the inhabitants, and the moſt friendly diſpoſition toward the United States, he promiſed to return again to America with further aids, if it ſhould be found neceſſary to try the fortune of another campaign, before the conteſted object ſhould be completely obtained.

After the capture of the Britiſh army, the ſurrender of their ſhipping in the Cheſapeake,

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and the restoration of tranquillity in the state of Virginia, general Wayne was ordered on with the Pennsylvania line, to march with the utmost dispatch to South Carolina, to the aid of general Greene, who had yet many difficulties to encounter in that quarter. The distance from the central states, and the long service at the southward, had exposed the American commander, and the army there, to sufferings indescribable.

After the action at the Eutaw Springs, we left general Greene on the High-Hills of Santee, where he thought it necessary to repair, to secure and recruit the remainder of his army, and to wait the exigencies that might again call him forward to the more active scenes of the field. He did not continue there long, before he thought proper to move forwards toward Jacksonborough. There the light troops from Virginia, that had been commanded by the colonels Laurens and Lee, joined him: but the whole army was so destitute of ammunition, and every other necessary for an advance to any action, that they had scarcely the means of supporting themselves in a defensive condition: of consequence, only some small skirmishes ensued, without much advantage to either party. It was happy for the Americans, that their enemies were now almost as much reduced in numbers as themselves. Yet the variegated causes of

diſtreſs among this ſmall remnant of continental ſoldiers, were almoſt innumerable.

They were in an unhealthy climate, always unfriendly to northern conſtitutions. They were deſtitute of many of the neceſſaries for carrying on war with advantage, and almoſt without the means of ſupporting human life. In addition to this, the general had to combat diſaffection, diſcontent, and mutiny, in his own army. The Maryland line particularly, had indulged a mutinous ſpirit to an alarming extreme, which required all the addreſs of the commander in chief to ſuppreſs. At the ſame time, he had to encounter dangers of every kind from a valiant enemy, ſtimulated to cruelty by many circumſtances that led them almoſt to deſpair of their own cauſe.

On the other hand, the diſaffection of moſt of the inhabitants of Charleſton, and the ſicklenefs of the country on which he had depended, had been indeed diſcouraging circumſtances to lord Rawdon. Not willing to riſk his conſtitution longer in that inſalubrious latitude, he had embarked for England in the ſummer, was captured on his paſſage by the count de Graſſe, but was ſoon after reſtored to his native country. The troops he left behind were not in want of food, clothing, or warlike ſtores; while the little American army under general Greene, was naked to that extreme, that they

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had ſcarcely rags left to veil them from the moſt indecent appearances.*

In this wretched ſituation, general Greene and his little army continued through the winter; and ſuch was the ſevere and vigilant duty of the officers, that for ſeven months the general himſelf was not able to take off his clothes for a night. This is ſufficient to prove the aſſertion in one of his letters, that the army was ſo deſtitute of every thing, that it was not able to make a march of a day.

General Leſlie had again, by proclamation, called on all who had ſtill any remains of attachment to the Britiſh government, to adhere firmly to the royal cauſe. He aſſured them of the ſtrongeſt ſupport in his power, notwithſtanding the acts of disfranchiſement, confiſcation, and baniſhment, which took place after governor Rutledge had again reſumed the adminiſtration of civil government. However, Leſlie did not receive any new additions of ſtrength by his proclamations, or his letters of altercation with the governor who ſucceeded Mr. Rutledge, relative to the civil police of the country. Nor (as obſerved) was general Greene able to advance, or take a ſingle ſtep further, to put a period to the power of the Britiſh arms in that

* General Green[illegible] letters at this period to general Waſhington and others.

ſtate. But it was not long before general Leſlie propoſed a ceſſation of arms. The citizens were ſickly, the loyaliſts diſheartened, and his own troops reduced. Every circumſtance, and every party, required a reſpite from the diſtreſſes of war. As general Greene had not yet been authoriſed by congreſs to accede to the propoſal, he did not immediately comply.

The advance of general Wayne with his detachment from the army in Virginia, which reached South Carolina before the cloſe of the preſent year, was a neceſſary acquiſition, and had been impatiently expected. Without this, it would have been impoſſible for general Greene to have held out much longer. Some proviſions, clothing, and other neceſſaries, reached the army in the enſuing ſpring. This partially relieved the American commander from the complicated diſtreſſes he had ſuffered the preceding winter. It reſtored more order and ſatisfaction among his troops; the diſcontents and mutinous diſpoſition among ſome of them were diſſipated; and he was able, with truth, ſoon afterwards to obſerve in general orders, that—" It is his happineſs that he has the honor " to command an army, that has not been leſs " diſtinguiſhed for its patience, than bravery: " and it will add no ſmall luſtre to your char- " acter to ſay, that you have rejected with ab- " horrence, the practice of plundering and the " exerciſe of cruelty, although urged by your

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"necessities to the former, and by the example "of your enemies to the last. United by principle, and connected by affection, you have "exhibited to the world a proof, that elevated "souls, and persevering tempers, can triumph "over every difficulty."

General Wayne did not stay long in South Carolina, but marched forward by order of general Greene, to cross the Savannah. He was reinforced by a party from Augusta, sent forward to his aid. Though the state of Georgia was considered by the British as completely subjugated to their power, yet there was a considerable number of the inhabitants who still co-operated with congress, and continued a delegation of members to that body, through all the hostile movements or changes, that had for several years been shifting the prospects of the inhabitants, who had been generally the subjects of the British crown, more in name than reality; and the greater their distance from the centre of British operations, the less were they disposed to submit to British authority. A few other troops besides those from the neighbourhood of Augusta, who had been stationed at different posts, but retained their attachment to the American cause, joined the troops collected under the command of general Wayne.

Thus the state of Georgia was relieved at a time when they least expected it. Animated

by the ſucceſſes in Virginia, and ambitious for the honor of relieving the ſtate of Georgia, the advance of general Wayne was rapid, and his arrival on the borders very unexpected to general Clarke, who commanded at Savannah.

On the firſt rumor of the march of this party of victorious Americans, orders were given by general Clarke to the officers commanding the Britiſh out-poſts, to burn and deſtroy every thing on the fertile banks of the river, and to retire with the troops, within the works in the ſuburbs of the town.

After this waſte of property, and the deſtruction of their crops, the Georgians and the few American troops there to ſupport them, had more to endure than at any period before, from hunger, fatigue, the attacks of Britiſh partiſans, the irruptions of the Creek Indians, and other ſavages in Britiſh ſervice. We have ſeen the ſufferings of that ſtate had been grievous for ſeveral years, from invaſion, ſlaughter, and conqueſt. Their ſubſiſtence now totally deſtroyed in the conflagration of the borders, the inhabitants were reduced to deſpair, until the arrival in Georgia of Wayne's detachment.

This happy event revived their ſinking ſpirits, and invigorated them to new exertions in de-

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fence of their country. The inhabitants from every quarter repaired immediately to the assistance of general Wayne; who, soon after he had crossed the river, was attacked by colonel Brown, who had marched with a considerable party from Savannah. With this body of troops, he fell suddenly on and attacked general Wayne. They fought with great spirit and valor, but were soon defeated, and driven back by the Americans.

A few days after this, a very large body of the Creek Indians, accompanied by their principal warriors and chieftains, headed by a British officer, attempted in the night to surprise general Wayne in his quarters. He, ever vigilant, and defying all personal danger, was in greater readiness for their reception than was expected. The assailants gained little advantage by this sudden onset. The affray was fierce, but did not continue long, before the Indians were willing to retreat, having lost a number of their principal associates.

But the capture of lord Cornwallis and his army, the low state of British affairs in the Carolinas, and the advance of a body of American troops, were circumstances so discouraging, that the British did not think proper to make any vigorous resistance. A period was soon put to those hostilities that had for several years ravaged the state of Georgia, and destroyed or

driven away many of its former inhabitants.

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General Wayne was an officer of high military reputation. His prudence and judgment had been conſpicuous, in the trying ſcene which called out his talents in one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, on the mutiny and ſeceſſion of the Pennſylvania line, which he commanded. His valor had been ſignalized at Stoney Point and in Virginia, as well as in many other places where decided action was neceſſary. He now had the honor of terminating the war in the ſtate of Georgia.

On the expectation of the Britiſh leaving Savannah, ſome propoſals were made to general Wayne by the merchants and others, for the ſecurity of their property; and every reaſonable indulgence was promiſed by him, to thoſe who choſe to remain there. He engaged, that thoſe merchants who did not owe allegiance to the United States, ſhould be permitted to remain there a reaſonable time, to diſpoſe of their property and ſettle their affairs; and that they ſhould be protected by the military, until delivered into the hands of the civil authority.

Thus, in a few months after the events above mentioned, the whole ſtate of Georgia was evacuated by their formidable enemies. This was early in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred

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and eighty-two. Not a ſingle Britiſh ſoldier was left in the pay of the king of England, except ſuch as were priſoners to the Americans. Much to the honor of general Clarke, he quitted the poſt without any injury to the town of Savannah, and left the works ſtanding that had been erected by the induſtry of the royal troops.

This defeat of the efforts of the Britiſh government to hold the ſtate of Georgia in ſubjection, fully juſtified the obſervations of lord Maitland, who had ſerved his country with ability and applauſe in ſeveral parts of America. By his exertions, in conjunction with general Prevoſt, the ſtate of Georgia had been long retained, againſt the combined force of an American army under general Lincoln, and a French fleet commanded by the count de Eſtaing.

The ſum of lord Maitland's ſpeech in the Britiſh parliament, on his return to England afterwards, was, that thoſe men who had brought the nation into its preſent ſtate, had come into life at a time, when the arms of their country were carried to an unprecedented height of ſplendor and glory; when the empire was under the benefit of wiſe councils, and of a vigorous ſyſtem; great and reſpectable abroad, opulent and happy at home; when her trade covered every ſea, and filled every port in the world; and when

her navy claimed and enjoyed the proud and enviable dominion of the ſeas.

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He obſerved, that "their predeceſſors had "come into life with gay proſpects, and with "pleaſing hopes; but how different was the "fate of himſelf, and thoſe who entered into "public life at the preſent moment? They "came upon the ſtage of public action, at a "time when their country was perhaps upon "the eve of diſſolution; when it certainly was "fallen from the high conſideration in which "it ſtood a few years before, and when every "proſpect of grandeur was vaniſhed; when "every incitement to great and laudable ambi-"tion was extinguiſhed, and when they had "not even the conſolation to believe, that the "efforts of their youth could ſnatch their coun-"try from impending ruin." His lordſhip added, "that the proſecution of the war againſt "America was criminal and abſurd beyond ex-"preſſion; and that nothing ſhort of the im-"mediate diſcontinuance of it, could ſave the "nation from irretrievable deſtruction. It was, "therefore, the duty of that houſe, to raiſe "their ſinking country, which lay proſtrate at "their feet, and ſought, amidſt the bitterest "hours of calamity, their aid to ſnatch her "from impending ruin."

Though the ſtate of Georgia was now happily relieved from the oppreſſion of its foreign

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foes, South Carolina continued ſome time longer in a ſtate of hoſtility. They remained ſeveral months expoſed to the ravages of ſmall parties of the Britiſh, ſent out for various purpoſes; the moſt important of which was, to collect proviſions for their own immediate neceſſities.

Among the moſt painful events which took place on theſe occaſions, and which was juſtly regretted by all America, was the death of colonel John Laurens. No one acquainted with his merits, can forbear to drop a tear over the memory of ſo worthy an officer. His zeal for the intereſts of his country and the cauſe of freedom, had often been exhibited by his exertions in the field; nor was he leſs diſtinguiſhed as an able negociator in France, where he had repaired in ſome of the darkeſt days of America. There he rendered his country the moſt eſſential ſervice, by procuring a loan of money, and expediting by his addreſs, the troops and the navy that came to its relief, in the year one theuſand ſeven hundred and eighty.

Colonel Laurens was a gentleman, not only of great military talents and public virtues, but was endeared to every one by his affability of manners, his polite accompliſhments, refined underſtanding, and the moſt amiable private character.

Immediately after the capture of lord Cornwallis, colonel Laurens returned to the ſtate of South Carolina, to exert his talents in emancipating his native ſtate from the power and oppreſſion of its enemies. His zeal and activity ever prompted him to go forward on ſmaller, as well as the greateſt occaſions that required his aſſiſtance. He met his premature fate in one of the many deſultory ſkirmiſhes that took place not far from the environs of Charleſton. General Leſlie had ſent out a party to march toward the Combahee River, to ſecure rice and other proviſions, which his army greatly wanted. They were followed by a detachment ſent on by general Greene. In this party, colonel Laurens was a volunteer. He was mortally wounded in a ſevere rencounter, almoſt at the moment when victory declared in favor of the party commanded by general Giſt.

His death was univerſally lamented. The tears of his country were but a juſt tribute due to his own merits; while grief was heightened in every compaſſionate boſom, when reflecting on the ſorrow this premature ſtroke muſt occaſion to his reſpected father, juſt releaſed from the calamities of a long impriſonment in England.

The work to be completed in the ſtate of South Carolina was yet arduous. The ſufferings of general Greene and his little army have

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been already portrayed. A more ample detail of these may be seen in his own letters, if curiosity is not sufficiently gratified. The distressing accounts from his own hand, above referred to, were not ameliorated, nor did his military conflicts cease, until the final embarkation of the British troops from Charleston. Such had been the deranged state of affairs there, and such the distance of South Carolina from the central states, as had rendered it impossible for him to procure support, supplies, and pay, for his own army. He was obliged, in order to procure subsistence for them, to enter into large contracts on his own private security: this embarrassed him the remainder of his life.

As general Greene had now nearly finished his military drama, it may not be improper to observe here, that this worthy officer survived the war but a few years. He died in Georgia by a *coup de soleil*, or sudden stroke of the sun, not unusual in the southern parts of America, which instantly puts a period to human life. His property was afterwards seized by his creditors, and his family, after his death, left to the mercy of the public.

It would not be doing justice to his memory to pass unobserved, that general Greene conducted the whole campaign at the southward with the most consummate prudence, courage, and ability, notwithstanding the innumerable

difficulties that lay in his way. He entered on the command under every disadvantage: he superseded a brave, unfortunate, popular officer, just beaten from the field: the country was divided in opinion, and intimidated by the power of Britain. His troops unprovided, naked, and desponding, had to march a long way through a barren and inhospitable country, stripped of its small produce by the previous march of the British army. They had to attack and retreat, to advance and to fly, over rivers, swamps, and mountains, in opposition to a conquering foe, flushed with recent success, who considered at that time, South Carolina and Georgia as already subdued, and North Carolina on the point of submission to royal authority.

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Cities have often contended for the honor of giving birth to men of eminence: and when a great degree of celebrity has been acquired, it awakens a curiosity in every one to inquire after their origin. General Greene was a native of the state of *Rhode Island*. He was a gentleman of moderate fortune, who, previous to the American war, had lived in the plain and sober habits in which he was educated, which were in that simplicity of style that usually marks the manners of those denominated Quakers.

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It is well known, that the religious tenets of that ſect are averſe to all the operations of offenſive war. The ſituation of America was then ſuch, that no man of principle could balance on the line of conduct which duty impelled him to take. The natural and civil rights of man invaded, and all the ſocial enjoyments interrupted, he did not think himſelf bound to ſit a quiet ſpectator of the impending diſtractions and diſtreſſes of his country. He viewed the oppoſition to the oppreſſions of Great Britain, in the light of neceſſary and defenſive war.

On theſe rational principles, he early girded on the buckler and the helmet; and with the pureſt intentions in his heart, and the ſword in his hand, he came forward; nor did he reſheathe it, until he had, without the ſmalleſt impeachment of reputation, paſſed through many of the moſt active and arduous ſcenes, as already related, and in conjunction with many others of the ſame patriotic and heroic feelings, eſſentially aided in delivering his country from foreign domination.

His valor and magnanimity, humanity and probity, through all his military career, need no other encomium than a juſt detail of his tranſactions, to complete the character of a brave and accompliſhed officer, formed for the command of armies, by the talents and re-

ſources of his own mind, which were diſcoverable in a variety of inſtances.

Beloved by the ſoldiery, eſteemed by his country; a confidential friend of the commander in chief; endowed by nature with a firmneſs of mind that in great characters runs parallel with hazard and fatigue; and poſſeſſing that *amor patriæ* that bids defiance to danger and death, when contraſted with the public ſafety; general Greene did not leave the ſouthern department, until the Britiſh troops were beaten from poſt to poſt, their proud deſigns of conqueſt and ſubjugation extinguiſhed, the whole country recovered, and the inhabitants who ſurvived the ſevere convulſion again reſtored to the quiet poſſeſſion of their plantations. This was not finally completed until the latter part of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-two, when the laſt remnant of Britiſh troops in the ſouthern ſtates, embarked under the command of general Leſlie. This finiſhed the invaſion of the Carolinas, and the inglorious ravage of ſo fair a part of America.

Savannah and Charleſton evacuated, the Britiſh troops driven from the Carolinas, and captured in Virginia; the ſouthern ſtates were reſtored to that kind of repoſe, which is felt after a frightful and turbulent dream, which exhauſts the ſtrength, and ſo far unnerves the ſyſtem, that the energies of nature cannot be

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immediately called into exercise. After such a total derangement of government, of civil order, and the usual course of business, it must require a considerable lapse of time to awake from a kind of torpor, the result of too much agitation, and from the languor which pervades the mind when former habits are interrupted, and the usual stimulants to action annihilated. They had to restore confidence and justice at home, to settle equitably the demands of creditors, and at the same time, to secure the debtor from oppression on each side of the Atlantic, where a long commercial intercourse had subsisted for so many years.

This variety of difficulties must be left to the arrangements which may take place, when the independence of America shall be acknowledged by foreign powers. We shall here only observe, that by the invasion of America, and the attempts of the British government to reduce the colonies by conquest, the narrow prejudices of national attachment were laid aside, and those ideas nearly obliterated, that by long habit had led America to view with peculiar respect the customs, manners, religion, and laws of the country whence she originated, and on whom she too partially leaned in the days of infantile weakness.

The American colonies from their first settlement, had little reason for this partial attach-

ment to the parent ſtate. Their progreſs in arts and manufactures was continually checked. They were prohibited from working up many of the raw materials which the country produced, for their own neceſſary uſe. They were reſtricted from carrying wool from one colony to another, though the coldneſs of the climate in many parts of America, required the moſt ready means of procuring and working it into clothing. In a country abounding with iron ore, they were reſtrained by act of parliament, from erecting ſlitting-mills to manufacture it for their own uſe. In inſtances too innumerable to be again recapitulated, the Britiſh government had endeavoured to cramp the growth of the young ſettlements, to keep them in poverty and dependence, and to compel them to repair to their ſtores for almoſt all the neceſſaries of life.

It was a cruel exerciſe of power, to endeavour to prohibit a great people from making all the advantages they could of their own produce, and employing their ſtock and induſtry in their own way. This, as obſerved by a writer, "is a manifeſt violation of the moſt ſacred "rights of mankind. Such prohibitions are "only impertinent badges of ſlavery, impoſed "without ſufficient reaſon, by groundleſs jeal-"ouſies." The ſame writer has obſerved,—"When the Engliſh colonies were eſtabliſhed, "and had become ſo conſiderable as to attract

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"the attention of the mother country, the first "regulations which she made with regard to "them, had always in view, to secure to her-"self the monopoly of their commerce; to con-"fine their market, and to enlarge her own at "their expense; and consequently, rather to "damp and discourage, than to quicken and "forward, the course of their industry."*

In what way therefore, it may be asked, has the policy of England contributed, either to the first establishment, or the present grandeur of America? Let the same writer reply. "In "one way, and in one way only, it has con-"tributed much. *Magna virum mater!* It bred "and formed the men who were capable of "achieving such great actions, and of laying the "foundation of so great an empire: and there "is no other quarter of the world of which the "policy is capable of forming, or has ever ac-"tually and in fact, formed such men. The "colonies owe to the policy of Europe, the ed-"ucation and great views of their active and "enterprising founders; and some of the great-"est and most important of them, so far as con-"cerns their internal government, owe it to "scarce any thing else."

The folly and misguided policy of the government of England, has dissevered the colonies

* Smith's Wealth of Nations.

from them forever. Their oppreſſions, their invaſions, and aggreſſions, firſt taught America to view the iſland of Great Britain, with an averted eye and an alienated mind. Their alienation was completed, when the king of England ſent out his fleets and his armies, ſtrengthened by ſubſidized ſtrangers, to ſubjugate, and bend to ſervile ſubmiſſion, the inhabitants of a country which has been emphatically ſtyled, by one of the firſt ſtateſmen and patriots* of the nation, "the promiſed land, the "Eden of England, her ſeminary for ſeamen: "that from thence England ſupplied the neighbouring nations with fiſh, tobacco, rice, and "indigo; thence ſhe draws all her naval ſtores; "and that the command of the ſea would give "her the dominion of the land."

The happy termination of the melancholy events which had for a ſeries of years pervaded America, ſoon after the preſent period, raiſed the United States to the zenith of their reſpectability. The world now viewed with humane ſatisfaction, millions of people, by unexampled ſufferings and ſteady perſeverance, emancipated from a foreign yoke. This pleaſure was heightened by the contemplation, that a more univerſal ſpirit of liberality, and a more perfect knowledge of the rights of man, might be diſſeminated by their ſtruggles for freedom, not only in the

* Lord Chatham.

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colonies, but through a considerable part of the civilized world.

The singular combination of events which effected a total separation, and annihilated the former political relation, between Great Britain and the colonies, may be held up by the philosopher or the statesman in various points of view; while the reflective mind, which believes and rejoices in the intervention of Divine Providence, keeps its eye on that Superintending Power which governs the universe, and whose finger points the rise and fall of empires. Nor dare a weak mortal to suggest, amidst all the confusion of the present world, that this may not be permitted in order finally to complete the beauty and harmony of the divine system. The world has recently beheld an infant nation at once arise to the vigor of manhood, and with the cool resolution of maturity, opposing the intrigues and resisting the power of Britain. In strictest amity with the hereditary foe of Britain, America has been seen leading captive the armies, and smiling at the impotent threats of the king of England, to hold her longer in bondage.

This liberation of the American colonies, was the wish of the first statesmen and politicians of the world, exclusive of Englishmen; and even among them America had many powerful friends. The great lord Chatham, whose un-

ſhaken patriotiſm, and incorruptible integrity, had braved the ſtorms of court faction and intrigue, until the frowns of majeſty, the fury of party, and the arts of ambitious courtiers, had cauſed him to retire from the helm of ſtate, ſtood at the head of the diſtinguiſhed liſt of nobles who advocated the American cauſe. But though his humanity and juſtice led him to vindicate the American oppoſition to miniſterial meaſures, it was with the utmoſt reluctance, that he contemplated the alienation of the colonies from their dependence on the crown of Britain.

The commanding and comprehenſive genius of a *Chatham*, viewed the conſequences of ſuch a diſmemberment of the empire, in a clearer light, and with ſuperior penetration, to moſt of the ſtateſmen in England. Yet he was among the moſt ſtrenuous advocates for the maintenance of the conſtitutional rights claimed by Americans; and on many occaſions had exerted his brilliant talents in oppoſition to the miniſterial meaſures relative to the colonies. He criminated the war, its proſecution, and its effects, in the moſt glowing epithets which ever marked his ſuperior elocution. It is recorded,* that he once in the houſe of lords, felt himſelf

* Life of Lord Chatham.

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ſo intereſted in the American cauſe, and ſo warmed by the ſubject, that though he had paſſed his grand climacteric, he, with the vigor of youth and the ſtrong language of maturity, expreſſed himſelf in his own peculiar manner. He aſſerted, that as "he ſaw the declining lib-"erties of England, and the growing ſpirit of "the colonies, were it not for invincible obſta-"cles, he would infallibly retire from Britain, "and ſpend the remainder of his days in that "glorious aſylum of liberty, of manlineſs, and "of virtue."

Yet his patriotiſm with regard to Great Britain, and his juſt ideas relative to the oppreſſion of the colonies, and their laudable oppoſition to miniſterial meaſures, could never reconcile him for a moment to the thoughts of a total ſeparation, and the unqualified independence of the United States. But his energies in their defence were called forth to the lateſt period of his life, when he had nearly reached the term allotted for the exiſtence of man.

Though debilitated by pain and ſickneſs, tortured by gout almoſt to the diſlocation of his limbs, and from feebleneſs of body rendered unable to ſtand alone, at a critical period of national affairs, he cauſed himſelf to be ſupported and led into the houſe of lords by his friends; where the vigor of a great ſoul was exerted, and the oratory of Greece and Rome rivalled,

by the pathos, energy, and argument, which flowed from a lip quivering on the marge of eternity. CHAP. XXII. 1781.

The ſudden ſeizure of this noble patriot in the houſe of lords, while thunder rolled from his tongue, and the acumen of his arguments, like lightning, flaſhed conviction to the boſoms of the advocates of a continuance of war, has been told and repeated with ſo many affecting circumſtances, that it it is needleſs to ſay more in this place, than that the event of his death ſeemed for a time to palſy all parties, and make a pauſe in the proſecution of public meaſures.

No example in Engliſh ſtory has exhibited a character more zealous to extricate his country, plunged in difficulties which were indeed irretrievable. To ariſe from the chamber of ſickneſs and the bed of laſſitude, while "every limb "was a rebel to his will," and with the awakened energies of a moſt vigorous mind, and the marks of a "never ebbing ſpirit," is one among the ſingular efforts of the human ſoul, to continue the elevation hoped for in immortality, when the teguments of the brittle caſement were on the verge of crumbling into duſt. One of his biographers has obſerved, that thoſe exertions of the intellectual powers, diſcoverable to the laſt, in the character of lord Chatham, "were of all others the moſt unparalleled, in "whatever view conſidered, and muſt be forever

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"admired. Thoſe inſtances in which the ſoul "burſts the bands of earth, and ſtands alone in "confeſſed eternity, are the moſt beautiful, the "moſt pathetic, the moſt ſublime exhibitions, "of which the mind of man is capable to con-"ceive."

The death of this illuſtrious champion of freedom, a juſtly boaſted ornament of the Britiſh nation, took place at a very intereſting period. It was ſoon after the misfortunes, the defeat, and the capture, of general Burgoyne and his army, and before the nation had recovered from their deep conſternation and diſmay, on the unexpected intelligence of the failure of the northern expedition. In the laſt ſpeech made by the illuſtrious character above mentioned, who will never be paſſed over in ſilence in any hiſtoric record connected with the affairs of Great Britain, he obſerved, when he adverted to the diſaſter at Saratoga, that "the preſid-"ing deities of Great Britain appeared to have "abandoned her, and that Providence militated "againſt her arms, and ſpurned with indigna-"tion at her cauſe."

But though the moſt brilliant talents were diſplayed, and the firmeſt oppoſition made by many of the beſt orators, and moſt enlightened and diſintereſted patriots of the nation, againſt the continuance of a ruinous war that produced

nothing but defeat and difgrace, yet we have feen that only a fhort time elapfed, before the king and his miniftry were again ready to profecute their hoftile intentions, and to continue defolation and carnage among the inhabitants of the United States. Reiterated barbarities have been detailed, miferies difplayed, and the tragic tale continued, until the mortifying furrender of a fecond Britifh army. The bofom of humanity was lacerated in the barbarous fcenes of protracted war; yet the breaft of his Britannic majefty feemed rather hardened by the misfortunes of the nation; and the flinty hearts of a majority in parliament ftill urged, that the fcourge of war might purfue thofe who claimed the juft rights of men, in whatever part of the globe there appeared any attempt to defend them.

This was exhibited, not only in their determined coercion of the American colonies, and their hoftile difpofitions toward the Batavian republic, but even in their refufal of affiftance to the little diftreffed ftate of Geneva, when ftruggling againft the encroachments of the ariftocratic branch of their government. The people of Geneva had borne too much to continue longer filent under their oppreffions. They had complained, that the magiftrates had encroached upon their privileges further than their conftitution authorifed. Thefe complaints only drew upon themfelves new feverities from

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an ambitious ariſtocracy. The democratic party had required a new code of laws, which ſhould be a ſtandard for the conduct of rulers, and alſo a clear deciſion on the fundamental principles of their own conſtitution, that they might thereby be excited to a prompt and willing obedience to the laws, when the foundation which demanded it was more clearly defined. Mutual confidence would have reſted upon this baſis of public order and common ſecurity, had not the intrigues of the ariſtocratic party defeated the ſalutary project.

The magiſtrates not only employed the moſt unjuſtifiable practices for the ſupport of their authority, but repreſented their internal diſputes in ſuch exaggerated colors, and in ſuch a favorable light for themſelves, that they ſucceſsfully intereſted ſeveral foreign powers to ſupport their claims. The court of France interfered; the ariſtocratic cantons of Zurich and Berne, and the king of Sardinia co-operated; and brought forward a body of twelve thouſand men, with whom they blockaded the city of Geneva. The citizens were thus compelled to admit theſe military mediators within their city. A code of laws was prepared under the point of the bayonet, for the future regulation of their government.

This was ſo inconſiſtent with the liberties of the people, or the independence of their repub-

lic, that vaſt numbers of the Geneveſe abandoned the city, to ſeek an aſylum in diſtant regions, where they might again poſſeſs that freedom their anceſtors had once enjoyed. The deſerted habitations of the citizens were converted into barracks, and a great part of the city, once flouriſhing under the benign influence of their liberal inſtitutions, reduced to a deſert. Thus, as obſerved,—"It is a juſt ſubject of regret, "that the ambition of ſome individuals, who "aimed at a degree of power to which they "had no juſt claim, ſhould have thus put a pe-"riod to the proſperity of a republic, which "has been the abode of ſo much liberty and "happineſs."

Amidſt the diſtreſſes of their ſtate, the Geneveſe had applied to the earl of Abingdon, once a reſident among them, and a known friend to the liberties of mankind in every part of the world, to employ his influence in their favor with the court of Great Britain. In this his lordſhip was ſucceſsleſs. They had beſought the noble earl to continue his friendly diſpoſition, and to urge his nation to watch over the ſituation of a little ſtate, now on the point of being ſacrificed to the principles of deſpotiſm, whoſe ſtruggles muſt be intereſting to all in whom the fine feelings of humanity were not totally extinguiſhed. He replied, that it was with much regret, that he had not ſucceeded in his appli-

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cation to the Britiſh miniſtry to afford relief to the oppreſſed ſtate of Geneva, and that there was too much reaſon to fear no aſſiſtance would be lent them.

He attributed this to the preſent ſituation of Great Britain, rent by diviſions at home, and ſurrounded by enemies abroad.* It is however probable, that their indifference might ariſe from the general ſpirit of all monarchies, to diſcountenance every effort of the people in favor of republicaniſm. It is not to be expected, there ſhould be any partial bias to thoſe liberal principles of democratic government, where a monarch ſits enthroned with all the powers of deſpotiſm in his hands, a parliament at command to enforce his mandates, and a people ready to relinquiſh their own will to the caprice or the pride of a ſovereign.

His lordſhip had obſerved in anſwer to the Genevan application, that "there was a time "when the fleets of England were the ſpeaking "trumpets to the whole world. At that pe- "riod their grievances would have been liſten- "ed to, and their redreſs would have been cer- "tain. But there was a ſad reverſe in the af- "fairs of Great Britain, which was no longer

* See the earl of Abingdon's reply to the applications of the Genevans.

"in a capacity to ſpeak to the enemies of the "liberties of mankind, in its wonted tone of "authority."

In Ireland, the emigrants from the ruined ſtate of Geneva met with the moſt liberal encouragement, from the government, from the nobility, and from the nation at large. In an aſſembly of delegates of the province of Leinſter, it was unanimouſly reſolved, "that the "virtuous citizens of Geneva who wiſhed for "an aſylum in that kingdom, from the hand of "tyranny and oppreſſion, deſerved their high-"eſt commendation; and that ſuch of them "as had eſtabliſhed themſelves amongſt them, "ſhould upon every occaſion receive their ut-"moſt attention and ſupport." Sympathy for oppreſſed ſufferers under the hand of deſpotic power, had been taught the inhabitants of Ireland from ſimilar afflictions, under which they had long groaned, and againſt which they were ſtill ſtruggling to reſcue their proſtrated rights and privileges, which were invaded by the haughty and domineering ſpirit of a more potent ſiſter kingdom.

The hiſtory of Geneva diſplays a ſtriking portrait of the means by which moſt republics have been ſubverted. This is generally done by the pride of a few families, the ambition of

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individuals, and the ſupineneſs of the people. Thus an undue authority is eſtabliſhed by a ſelect number, more mortifying to the middling claſs of mankind, and which has a tendency to render more abject and ſervile the maſs of the people, than the ſingle arm of the moſt deſpotic individual.*

* The hiſtory of Geneva has very properly been recommended to the ſtudy of every American citizen, by a political writer.

CHAPTER XXIII.

General Obſervations on the Conduct of the Britiſh King and Parliament, after the Intelligence of the Capture of Lord Cornwallis and his Army —King's Speech.—Addreſs of Thanks oppoſed.—Propoſition by Sir Thomas Pitt to withhold Supplies from the Crown.—Vote carried in Favor of granting Supplies.—General Burgoyne defends the American Oppoſition to the Meaſures of the Court.—Variety of deſultory Circumſtances diſcuſſed in Parliament.

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THE cloſe of the campaign in Virginia, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-one, was an era intereſting to the empire of Britain, and indeed to the European world, as well as to the United States of America. The period was beheld by the latter with a mixture of pleaſure and aſtoniſhment, more eaſily imagined than deſcribed; and by ſome of the former, eſpecially Great Britain, with chagrin and mortification, equal to their deſigns of conqueſt and ſubjugation. The relief of the ſouthern colonies, and the capture of lord Cornwallis and his army, was not leſs unexpected than humiliating, to the king, the miniſter, and the Britiſh nation at large; yet from their deportment there did not appear any immediate proſpect of peace.

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From the ſituation of American affairs at home, from the expected acceſſion of new allies, and the general diſpoſition of the European powers, to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and from their ſucceſſes and their perſeverance, it might rationally have been expected, that the contemplation of a general pacification among the contending powers, would at this time have originated in England: more eſpecially when the expenſes of the nation were calculated, and the misfortunes Great Britain had ſuffered during the war were conſidered.

Her national enemies abroad were accumulating; diſcontents and riots at home increaſing; the complaints of Scotland alarming; and Ireland nearly in a ſtate of inſurrection. But the pride, the ſpirit, and the reſources of the nation, appeared almoſt inexhauſtible; and the ſtake of the colonies was too great to relinquiſh, yet, though the miniſtry had hitherto played a loſing game.

Thus when the Britiſh parliament met, after the confirmation of the loſs of the army in Virginia, the capture of lord Cornwallis and his brave troops, the total defeat of the expedition to the Cheſapeake, and the declining aſpect of affairs in the more ſouthern colonies, the ſpeech from the throne was yet manifeſtly dictated by the ſpirit of hoſtility. The king, though he

lamented in the preamble of his ſpeech, the loſs of his brave officers and troops, and the unfortunate termination of the campaign in Virginia, he ſtill urged the moſt vigorous proſecution of the war, and of meaſures that might extinguiſh that *ſpirit of rebellion* that reigned in the colonies, and reduce *his* deluded ſubjects to due obedience to the laws and government of Great Britain.

"The war," he obſerved, "is ſtill unhappily "prolonged by that reſtleſs ambition which "firſt excited our enemies to commence it, "and which ſtill continues to diſappoint my "earneſt and diligent exertions to reſtore the "public tranquillity. But I ſhould not anſwer "the truſt committed to the ſovereign of a free "people, nor make a ſuitable return to my "ſubjects for their conſtant and zealous attach-"ment to my perſon, family, and government, "if I conſented to ſacrifice, either to my own "deſire of peace, or to their temporary eaſe and "relief, thoſe eſſential rights and permanent in-"tereſts, upon the maintenance of which, the "future ſtrength and ſecurity of this country "muſt ever principally depend."

The late accounts from America had in ſome meaſure weakened the influence of the miniſtry, and in proportion, ſtrengthened the party who had always execrated the American war.

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But adminiſtration, too much agitated by the deſire of revenge, and too haughty and powerful to bend to terms of pacification, flattered themſelves, that events had not yet fully ripened a general diſpoſition for peace. Of courſe, the uſual compliment of an addreſs of thanks for the ſpeech from the throne, was brought forward; but it was oppoſed with unuſual acrimony.

It was boldly aſſerted, that the ſpeech breathed nothing but "rancor, vengeance, miſery, "and bloodſhed." The war was directly charged, by the advocates for peace, to the wild ſyſtems of government adopted early in the preſent reign. They alleged, that it was ineffectual, deluſory, and ruinous; that it was founded, not in the reſtleſs *ambition* of the *Americans*, but that it ought to be charged on a miniſtry who were "a curſe to their country; who had "cut up the Britiſh poſſeſſions in the colonies, "and ſeparated England from their fellow ſub-"jects in America;" who had drawn them to the point of loſing their ſettlements both in the Eaſt and the Weſt Indies; who had diſtreſſed their commerce, robbed them of the once undiſputed ſovereignty of the ſeas, and rendered the nation the ridicule of Europe.*

* See Mr. Fox's ſpeech in the houſe of commons; alſo, ſeveral ſpeeches in the houſe of lords at this period.

This was the language of Mr. Fox. Sentiments and opinions nearly ſimilar, were expreſſed by Burke, Barre, and the ſon of the celebrated Pitt; by the lords Saville, Shelburne, Conway, and others, in the houſe of commons. The ſame temper and opinions appeared in the houſe of lords: the duke of Richmond, the lords Rockingham, Fitzwilliam, Maitland, and many others on the liſt of nobility, varied little in opinion or expreſſion from the minority in the houſe of commons. They with equal warmth oppoſed an addreſs to the king; they freely diſcuſſed the principles held up in the ſpeech, and as ſeverely cenſured the meaſures it tended to enforce.

The diſſenting lords obſerved, that "by "an addreſs of thanks, their honor might be "pledged to ſupport a war, that from near ſev-"en years' experience, a determination to pur-"ſue it, appeared in the higheſt degree frantic, "deſperate, and ruinous; that the principles of "the preſent war could never be juſtified; "that the deluſions by which parliament had "been led on from year to year to purſue it, "were criminal; that the abuſe and miſman-"agement of the marine department had occa-"ſioned the loſs in Virginia; that the miniſter "at the head of the board of admiralty might "be juſtly charged with negligence, incapacity, "and guilt."

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The character of Sandwich, first lord of the admiralty, was justly portrayed on this occasion, and exhibited in those glaring colors merited by his private life, as well as his political blunders. In short, every motion for a further coercion of the colonies, was reprobated by a large and respectable party in both departments of the great assembly of the nation. The opponents of administration in both houses of parliament, observed, that they were actuated by the same principles, and urged by the same motives, that had induced them to oppose for several years, the pernicious, destructive, and ruinous system of government, that had involved the nation in irretrievable difficulties.

It was even proposed in the house of commons, that the representatives of the nation should withhold all farther supplies of monies to the crown, until a redress of grievances should take place; and thus by a legal compulsion, oblige their sovereign and his ministers to act with more moderation and justice.

The son and the nephew of the late lord Chatham distinguished themselves in this debate. They seemed at that time to have the national interest at heart, and to inherit the graces of oratory and the fire of eloquence, that had through all his life been displayed by their admired and illustrious ancestor.

Sir Thomas Pitt called for a division of the house, on the question of withholding supplies. He declared at once, "that if he retired to the "doors of the house alone, he should withhold "his assent to entrusting any more public mon-"ies in the hands of ministers, who had already "dissipated so much wealth, and wasted such "streams of human blood, in wild and fruitless "projects, and who had yet shewn no contri-"tion for the peril and disgrace in which they "had involved their country."

On the other hand, many powerful reasons were urged against a step that would tend to disunite, and stain with dishonor, a nation which had been renowned for their unconquerable spirit. Lord North observed, that a generous grant of supplies to the crown, would convince their enemies, that no calamities could sink them into despair. He added, "that he always considered the American war "as a matter of cruel necessity, but that it was "founded on a truly British basis; that he re-"gretted it as peculiarly unfortunate for him-"self, and that he would willingly make any "personal sacrifices for the restoration of peace; "but that the refusal of supplies to the crown, "in the midst of a war raging like the present, "must inevitably lead to irretrievable calamity "and disgrace, while it gave strength, anima-

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"tion, and triumph, to France, Spain, Holland, "and America."

But the party in oppoſition, not appalled by his reaſoning, ſtood firm and immoveable. They claimed a right coeval with the inſtitution of parliament, and eſſential to a free government, to withhold ſupplies from the crown, when meaſures were adopted that threatened to involve the empire in endleſs calamities.

It is undoubtedly true, that the moſt effectual check on an arbitrary executive is, for the repreſentatives of the people to hold their hand on the ſtring of the purſe. This privilege once relinquiſhed to the will of a ſovereign of whatever name, his power is without control, and his projects and his extortions may lead to poverty, miſery, and ſlavery, beyond redemption, before a nation is appriſed of its danger. "Honeſt and generous nations periſh oftener "through confidence than diſtruſt."

To return to the queſtion in debate: it terminated according to the expectations of the obſervers of political operations. The rhetoric or the reaſonings of a member of the Britiſh parliament, ſeldom do more than diſplay the brilliancy of his genius, and the graces of elocution; his arguments on the one ſide or the other, have little influence on the pre-determinations of party; their opinions are generally

made up before the public discussion of the subject. All parties are so sensible of this, that they mutually consent, when weary of their places by protracted debate, and agree to what they call *pairing off;* that is, when one chooses to retire, a member of the opposite party retires with him. Thus the equilibrium or the balance continues the same at the conclusion of the most pathetic, interesting, and energetic debate, that it was in the beginning; the minister holds his dependents, and the popular speakers retain their adherents.

The numbers and the names of each are generally known, before they enter the dome that rings with the beauty, the harmony, the sublimity of their language, and the musical elegance of their finished periods. Thus the decision of the question is usually calculated, both within and without doors, previous to entering on debates on which depend the honor, the interest, and the fate of the nation.

This mode of conduct may be consistent enough with the present state of society in Europe. It is a fair deduction, that the result of human action is owing more to the existing state or stage of society, than to any deviations in the nature or general disposition of mankind. All political transactions were now systematized: reasoning on the principles of

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equity and truth loſt all its efficiency, if it claſhed with the meaſures of a miniſter, preconcerted in the cabinet of his prince.

A very ſenſible writer has obſerved, "that "in the ſtate of ſociety which had taken place "in America, the foundations of her freedom "were laid long before the nations of Europe "had any ideas of what was taking place in the "minds of men. Conqueſt, religion, law, "cuſtom, habits, and manners, confirmed by "military power, had eſtabliſhed a ſtate of ſo-"ciety in Europe, in which the rights of men "were obliterated and excluded. The prop-"erty and power of a nation had paſſed into "the hands of the ſovereign, nobility, and "church."

"The body of the people were without prop-"erty, or any chance of ſecuring any, and with-"out education or knowledge to form them to "any rational principles and ſentiments: with-"out property and without principle, they were "of little or no conſequence in the view of gov-"ernment: nothing was to be ſeen but one "general degradation of the people, and an un-"natural and exceſſive exaltation of thoſe who "had acquired power. This every where "tended to corrupt both, and to give the moſt "unfavorable idea of the capacity of the for-"mer, and of the diſpoſitions of the latter.

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"Thus, (he obſerves) the miniſters of "Britain at the time of the American conteſt, "were men of great eminence and ability in "managing buſineſs upon the European ſyſtem; "but they had no ideas of the ſtate of things "in America, or of a ſyſtem in which nature "and ſociety had combined to preſerve free-"dom. What they called *rebellion* was only "the tendency of nature and ſociety to preſerve "*freedom*, made more active by their oppoſi-"tion."*

Thus when the motion was made by ſir Grey Cooper for the deciſion of a queſtion that held out a ſignal for peace, or the continuance of an abſurd and luckleſs war, the vote in favor of the latter, and of generous ſupplies to the crown for its ſupport, was carried by a large majority; one hundred and ſeventy-two appeared in ſupport of adminiſtration, while only ſeventy-ſeven were counted in the minority.

It would be unjuſt to paſs over in ſilence the behavior of general Burgoyne at this period. He had recovered his ſeat in parliament, his health, and in ſome meaſure his military reputation: and no one more warmly advocated every meaſure for the immediate reſtoration of peace. He ſupported the motion for the recal

* Dr. Williams's Hiſtory of Vermont.

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of all Britiſh troops from America; he preſſed an immediate exchange of priſoners both in England and America; and ſtrenuouſly urged every pacific advance that might comport with the honor, the equity, and the dignity of the Britiſh nation. He even juſtified the principles of American oppoſition to the meaſures of adminiſtration, and parliamentary decrees. He acknowledged, that when he engaged in the ſervice againſt the United States he thought differently; but that he had been brought to conviction by the uniform conduct of the American ſtates.

He added, that it was preſumption to allege, that they were not in the right to reſiſt. He obſerved, that it was reaſon, and the finger of God alone, that had implanted the ſame ſentiments in the breaſts of three millions of people: and that comparing the conduct of the miniſtry, as time had developed their ſyſtem, he was convinced, that the American war was formed on a part of the general deſign againſt the conſtitution of Britain, and the unalienable rights of man.

Thus had the experience of ſeverity from the cabinet, of ingratitude from his king and country, and of adverſity in the wilds of *Saratoga*, taught this veteran officer, once armed for the deſtruction of her rights, and the deſolation of America, to ſtand forth a champion for her in-

vaded liberties, a defender of the principles of her resistance to the crown of Great Britain, and an advocate for the restoration of peace, which equity required, and humanity claimed.

It is true, the principles of Americans were so fixed, and the opposition to the encroachments of parliament had been so long sustained by the united colonies, with such cool intrepidity, such a spirit of perseverance, and such a defiance of danger, as had brought almost all England to wish for the restoration of peace, even on the humiliating idea of a dismemberment of the empire, and an explicit acknowledgment of American independence. Though their affection was too generally alienated from the inhabitants beyond the Atlantic, they saw the ruin of their trade and manufactures, and felt the miseries of a war protracted from year to year, without any nearer prospect of obtaining its object.

Yet, notwithstanding the disposition of the people, neither the king, the ministry, or the majority in parliament, were at all softened by the wishes or sufferings of the nation. Nothing that could touch the passions, or operate on national interest or pride, was left unessayed by the orators in favor of reconciliation and peace. A retrospect was taken of every important transaction in the course of the war; the conduct and manœuvres of the principal actors revised, scrutinized, and censured; yet

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this interesting session ended without any conciliatory prospects.

Among the variety of affairs that were brought forward relative to America, and that were discussed with masterly precision and dignity, the cruelties exhibited at St. Eustatia, which will be immediately related, were not forgotten. The injustice exercised toward the sufferers of that unhappy island, was criminated in the most pointed language.

The treatment Mr. Laurens had received, while a prisoner in the tower of London, was recollected and reprobated with equal severity. The situation of other prisoners in their jails and prison ships, was painted in colors that could not fail to excite compassion. The defeat of British armies, the degradation of their best officers, the disgrace brought on the nation by the rank given to, and the confidence placed in, the infamous Arnold, were brought into the scale of accusation. Indeed, every ministerial measure was in this session censured in the house of commons, with the acrimony of resentment, and the boldness of truth, without being softened by the delicacy of the courtier.

We have seen above, that immediately after general Arnold had forfeited his honor, betrayed his trust, and endeavoured to sell his coun-

try, he received his pecuniary reward from general Clinton, and was appointed to a diſtinguiſhed military command in the Cheſapeake. He was in a few months recalled from Virginia by ſir Henry Clinton, oſtenſibly to aſſiſt in the defence of New York, but more probably to quiet the murmurs of men of more virtue, talents, and merit, than himſelf. They could not brook the inſolence with which this dignified traitor ſuſtained the careſſes of his employers, nor the degradation felt by many officers of high rank and ſuperior genius, to ſee one placed over their heads, whom all acknowledged deſerved no elevation but by a *halter*.

The Britiſh commander in chief at New York, contrary to the old adage, appeared not to hate, but to love the traitor as well as the treaſon. Immediately on his recal from the Cheſapeake, general Clinton had veſted him with a new commiſſion, and licenſed him to ravage the borders of the ſtate of Connecticut, and to pillage and burn the fair towns that ſpread along the margin of the Sound. This was a buſineſs very congenial to the character and genius of Arnold. He was accompanied by a detachment under the command of colonel Eyre. This excurſion was attended with much ſlaughter and devaſtation: the inhabitants of ſeveral defenceleſs towns were ſhame-

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fully plundered and abuſed, without diſtinction of age or ſex.

New London was more ſeriouſly attacked; and after a ſhort and brave reſiſtance, plundered and burnt. As ſoon as the town had ſurrendered, a number of ſoldiers entered the garriſon: the officer who headed the party inquired who commanded it? the valiant colonel Ledyard ſtepped forward, and replied with eaſe and gallantry, "I did, ſir, but you do now;" at the ſame moment he delivered his ſword to a Britiſh officer. The barbarous ruffian, inſtead of receiving his ſubmiſſion like the generous victor, immediately ſtabbed the brave American. Nor was his death the only ſacrifice made in that place, to the wanton vengeance of the foes of America: ſeveral other officers of merit were aſſaſſinated, after the ſurrender of the town; while their more helpleſs connexions experienced the uſual cruel fate of cities captured by inhuman conquerors.

Some members in parliament endeavoured to extenuate the guilt, and defend the promotion of general Arnold, and the confidence placed in him by ſir Henry Clinton. But after a recapitulation of the above tranſactions, and ſome ſimilar events, Mr. Fox obſerved, that Arnold "had diſperſed his panegyrics, and "ſcattered abuſe on the characters of Britiſh "officers; but that he ſhuddered at the predic-

"ament in which his gallant countrymen were "placed, when in their military capacity they "were marked with so infamous a degradation, "as to have any thing to apprehend, either "from the reproaches or the applauses of gen-"eral Arnold: that in the character of an "American officer, he had treacherously aban-"doned his command; and now rewarded "with an active military promotion in British "service, he might probably proceed hereafter "to similar transactions, and sacrifice for lucre "the troops of Britain."

Mr. Burke was equally severe on the character of this perfidious traitor. He observed, "that such a person could not be held by any "laws, to serve with strict fidelity, the people "and the sovereign against whom he was be-"fore in arms, and to whom he had fled in the "very midst of acts of treachery to the states "whose cause he had deserted. A man whose "conduct had been marked by glaring strokes "of cruelty and perfidiousness, and which had "furnished an indubitable proof, that he who on "one side would have sacrificed an army, was "too dangerous to be trusted with the com-"mand of troops belonging to the opposing "party." He lamented that the honors of high office were thus scattered on the worthless, and frequently on men who had no inconsiderable share in the measures that tended to the disgrace and ruin of their country.

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Mr. Burke indeed, had always appeared to have a thorough deteſtation of corrupt men and meaſures. He advocated the cauſe of liberty, not only with the ability of an orator, but with an enthuſiaſm for the eſtabliſhment of freedom in all countries. He was an advocate for the diſtreſſed Iriſh; and ſtretched his genius to the eaſtern world, to ſurvey the abuſes, and to criminate the cruelties perpetrated there by his own countrymen; and, with a pathos peculiar to himſelf, brought before the tribunal of the public eye, the criminal laden with the rich ſpoils, the diamonds and jewels of the princely widows, and the immenſe treaſures of the diſtant nabobs.

He ever appeared oppoſed to the powerful oppreſſors of the people, and attached to the defenders of freedom in every nation; was the friend of Franklin and Laurens; correſponded with the firſt on American affairs, and made great exertions to mitigate the ſufferings of the laſt, while in rigorous impriſonment. But this unfortunate gentleman, notwithſtanding the influence of many powerful friends, which he had in the houſe of commons, was refuſed his liberty, and detained in the tower until near the cloſe of the war.

However, Mr. Laurens ſurvived his perſecutions in England, returned to his native country, and ſpent the remainder of his days in pri-

vate life. After ſeveral years of virtuous preparation for his exit, his only ſurviving ſon cloſed his eyes. His fond affection for his father led him to deviate from the uſual cuſtoms of his countrymen, in the manner of interring their friends. He reared an altar on which he burnt the body of the patriarch, and carefully gathered the aſhes from the hearth, depoſited them in a ſilver urn, and placed them in his bed-chamber, with reverence and veneration, where they remained to the day of his death. This circumſtance is mentioned as a peculiar inſtance of filial affection, and at once a mark of the reſpect due to the memory both of the patriot and the parent.

The celebrity of Mr. Burke for his general conduct, and his ſpirited ſpeeches in favor of the rights of man, during the revolutionary war, were juſtly appreciated throughout America. He was admired for his oratorical talents, and beloved for the part he took in the cauſe of ſuffering individuals, either American priſoners or the oppreſſed in his own country. His feelings of humanity extended to the Ganges; and by his lively deſcriptions of the miſeries of the wretched inhabitants of India, he has expanded the human heart, and drawn a tear from every compaſſionate eye. Certainly, to ſuch a man, the tribute of a tear is equally due, when he ſhall be beheld in the decline of

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life, deviating from his own principles, and drawing his energetic pen to cenſure and ſuppreſs the ſtruggles for liberty in a ſiſter kingdom.*

When we retrace the powers of the human mind, and view the gradations of the faculties, or the decline of genius, it is a humiliating reflection, that a more advanced period of life ſo often ſubtracts from the character of the man, as it ſhone in full luſtre in the meridian of his days. Perhaps in the inſtance before us, a deviation from former principles might be more owing to a decline in correct political ſentiment, than to any phyſical debility that was yet apparent.

It is an anticipation which many reaſons render excuſeable, to bring forward in this place, the ſubſequent declenſion of this gentleman's zeal in favor of the general liberties of mankind, when his flowery epithets, argumentative elocution, and flowing periods, were often equally entertaining with the beſt theatrical exhibitions. But, without further apology it is proper to obſerve, that before he finiſhed his political drama, the world was aſtoniſhed to behold Mr. Burke fulminating his anathemas againſt a neighbouring nation, who were ſtrug-

* Philippic againſt France.

gling with every nerve for the recovery of the freedom and the natural rights of man, of which they had long been robbed, and which had been trodden under foot, if not annihilated, by despotic kings, unprincipled nobles, and a corrupt clergy. It was surprising to hear a man, who had so often expressed the most humane feelings for the depression of his fellow beings of every class, afterwards regretting, in the most pathetic strains, only the sorrows of royalty, without a momentary pang for the miseries of a nation.*

If a just portrait has been drawn below, and Mr. Burke was never at heart, a genuine friend to the liberties of mankind, we will sigh over

* A political writer has observed, that "the late opin-
" ions of Mr. Burke, furnished more matter of astonish-
" ment to those who had distantly observed, than to those
" who had correctly examined the system of his former po-
" litical life. An abhorrence for abstract politics, a predi-
" lection for aristocracy, and a dread of innovation, have
" ever been among the most sacred articles of his public
" creed. It was not likely that at his age, he should aban-
" don to the invasion of audacious novelties, opinions
" which he had received so early and maintained so long,
" which had been fortified by the applause of the great
" and the assent of the wise, which he had dictated to so
" many illustrious pupils, and supported against so many
" distinguished opponents. Men who early attain emi-
" nence, repose in their first creed. They neglect the pro-
" gress of the human mind subsequent to its adoption; and

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the verſatility of human conduct, and leave him to reflect on his own inconſiſtency; while the florid diction of his oratory is admired by his contemporaries, and the generations that ſucceed him will be delighted with the brilliant periods that adorned his eloquence on every occaſion.

The admiration of the finiſhed rhetoric and faſcinating talents by which the ſpeeches of Fox, Burke, and many other Britiſh orators, were embelliſhed, has occaſioned the above digreſſion, which we now wave, and obſerve, that the agents who had brought on a ruinous war with the colonies, and defection, alienation, and hoſtility, with ſurrounding nations, had not ſufficient talent, ſubtilty, or ſophiſtry, to quiet the people of England under the ideas of a longer continuance of the war. They had long amuſed them by the muſical powers of lan-

" when, as in the preſent caſe, it has burſt forth into action, " they regard it as a tranſient madneſs, worthy only of " pity or deriſion. They miſtake it for a mountain tor- " rent, that will paſs away with the ſtorm that gave it " birth. They know not that it is the ſtream of human " opinion, *in omne volubilis ævum*, which the acceſſion of ev- " ery day will ſwell, which is deſtined to ſweep into the " ſame oblivion, the reſiſtance of learned ſophiſtry and of " powerful oppreſſion."

Mackintoſh's Vindiciæ Gallicæ, on Mr. Burke's Philippic against the French Revolution.

guage, which they alſo poſſeſſed; but they could no longer counteract the arguments and efforts of men of abilities, equal to any in the miniſterial intereſt, and poſſeſſed of more humanity, who wiſhed to put a period to the deſtructive calamities that had now for ſeven years embarraſſed and diſtreſſed the nation.

The moſt gloomy proſpect pervaded every mind on the contemplation of a further protraction of war, at the ſame time that the termination of the campaign in Virginia, had nearly defeated the flattering hopes of thoſe who had labored with ſo much zeal and fervor, to ſubjugate the united colonies of America. It was ſaid in parliament, that "the immenſe "expenſe, the great accumulation of public "debt, by the ever to be lamented conteſt with "America, the effuſion of human blood which "it had occaſioned, the diminution of trade, "and the increaſe of taxes, were evils of ſuch "magnitude, as could ſcarcely be overlooked "even by the moſt inſenſible and inattentive."

It was the unanimous opinion of thoſe who had ever been favorers of more lenient meaſures, that any further efforts to reduce the revolted colonies to obedience by force, under the preſent circumſtances, would only increaſe the mutual enmity, ſo fatal to the intereſts of Great

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Britain and America, and forever prevent a reconciliation; and that it would weaken the efforts of Great Britain against the houſe of Bourbon, and other European enemies.

It is true, that the ſtandard of reſpectability on which Great Britain had long been placed, was already ſhaken; that ſhe had in a degree loſt her political influence with, and was viewed by, ſurrounding nations through a leſs terrific medium, than at any period ſince the immenſe increaſe of power acquired by her formidable navy.

The colonies alienated, Ireland in a ſtate of deſperation, Scotland little leſs diſcontented, a conſiderable part of the Weſt Indies loſt to Great Britain, the affairs of the kingdom in the Eaſt Indies in the moſt deranged and perturbed ſtate, by the miſmanagement and avarice of their officers veſted with unlimited powers wantonly abuſed; it was impoſſible, under the load of calumny, oppoſition, and perplexity, for the old miniſtry, the oſtenſible agents of theſe complicated evils, longer to reſiſt the national will.

Many plauſible arguments were urged in vindication of the meaſures of adminiſtration, at the ſame time that the fatal conſequences were acknowledged by their defenders; but acknowledged only as the common events which have been

experienced by other nations, who have failed in their beſt concerted enterpriſes, and been humbled before the enemies whoſe deſtruction had too ſanguinely been calculated. But the miniſter was implicated by the increaſing oppoſition, as the author of all the calamities a juſt Providence had ſeen fit to inflict on a nation, who at the cloſe of the preceding reign had conſidered all the world at their feet.

The parliamentary debates indeed, were at this time very intereſting. Lord John Cavendiſh obſerved, that above an hundred millions ſterling had been expended within five years on the army and navy, and backed his aſſertion by ſeveral reſolves, criminating the miniſtry as totally deficient in point of ability, to retrieve the wretched ſtate of the nation, after they had thrown away the thirteen colonies and other appendages of the empire. However, had their talents been ſufficient to have retrieved the public misfortunes, in which their pernicious councils had involved their country, there did not appear the ſmalleſt diſpoſition in the preſent miniſtry to make the attempt, or to reſign their places.

A detail of the expenſes of the fruitleſs war with America, was laid before the houſe of commons in a very impreſſive ſtyle; and though many arguments were uſed in favor of the miniſtry, no ſubterfuge could ſcreen them, nor

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any reluctance they felt, retard the neceſſity of their reſignation. This was called for from every quarter, in terms ſevere and ſarcaſtic. One gentleman requeſted, that "whenever the "prime miniſter, to the unſpeakable joy of the "nation, ſhould really go to his ſovereign to "reſign his employments, as he had once promi-"ſed to do when parliament ſhould withdraw its "confidence from him, he hoped now that peri-"od was come, he would not forget to lay before "the king, a fair repreſentation of the flouriſhing "ſtate in which he found his majeſty's empire "when the government of it was entruſted to "his hands, and the ruinous condition in which "he was about to leave all that remained of it."

Some thought that the party in oppoſition were too ready to draw degrading pictures of the calamitous ſtate of the nation, and the blunders of its officers: it was their opinion, that thus by expoſing the national weakneſs, they might ſtrengthen the hands of their enemies, now triumphant at the misfortunes that had already befallen them. But the irreſiſtible force of truth, combined with imperious neceſſity, wrought conviction on ſome, and ſoftened the obſtinacy of others, by which a majority was obtained, and the late meaſures decidedly condemned.

The old miniſtry were ſoon after obliged to relinquiſh their places, and a new line of public

measures adopted. The hollow murmur of discontent at last penetrated the ear of royalty, and impelled the pride of majesty to listen to the general voice in favor of the immediate restoration of tranquillity; and however sanguine the king of England had long been, in favor of coercing his American subjects to unconstitutional and unconditional obedience, he could not much longer withstand the torrent of opposition to the cruel system.

Events were now nearly ripened, which soon produced a truce to the scourge of war, which had so long desolated families, villages, and cities. The energetic arguments and perspicuous reasonings, which do not always apply in their full force on the minds of those prepossessed by partial affection and esteem, covered with the veil of prejudice in favor of political opinions similar to their own, were necessarily laid aside, and the opposition to peace daily drawn into a narrower compass. Reason, humanity, policy, and justice, urged so forcibly by men of the best abilities, could not longer be withstood. Among these were many who shed the tears of sorrow over the ashes of their friends, who had fallen in the "tented fields" of America. In others, the feelings of indignation arose from a survey of the profuse expenditure, and the wanton waste of public money. Besides these, not a few persons were mortified at the eclipse of military glory, which had formerly emblaz-

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oned the laurels, and illumined the characters of Britiſh chieftains.

Indeed, America at this period was not a theatre on which generous Britons could expect, or wiſh to acquire glory. They were ſenſible that their ſucceſs muſt eradicate the noble principles of liberty, for which their anceſtors had reaſoned, ſtruggled, and fought, againſt the invaſions of their arbitrary kings, from the days of William the Norman to the Tudors, and from the laſt of the Tudor line, their adored queen Elizabeth, through the race of the Stuarts, no leſs contemptible than arbitrary, until the neceſſity of equal exertion was revived in the reign of George the third. At the ſame time, it was too evident to all, that repeated defeat had already tarniſhed the luſtre of Britiſh arms. The celebrity of ſome of their moſt renowned commanders was ſhrouded in diſappointment; their minds enveloped in chagrin doubly mortifying, as it was the reſult of exertion from enemies they had viewed with contempt, as too deficient in talents, courage, diſcipline, and reſources, to combat the prowefs and imagined ſuperiority of Britiſh veterans. From theſe circumſtances it had been calculated, that Americans might be reduced even by the terror of their approach, and the fame of that military glory long attached to the character and valor of Britiſh ſoldiers.

But He who ordains the deſtiny of man, conceals his purpoſes till the completion of the deſigns of divine government. This ſhould teach mankind the leſſons of humility and candor, inſtead of an indulgence of that fierce, vindictive ſpirit, that aims at the deſtruction of its own ſpecies, under the impoſing authority of obtruſive deſpotiſm.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Naval Transactions.—Rupture between England and France opened in the Bay of Biscay.—Admiral Keppel.—Serapis and Countess of Scarborough captured by Paul Jones—The Protection given him by the States-General resented by the British Court.—Transactions in the West Indies.—Sir George Bridges Rodney returns to England after the Capture of St. Eustatia—Sent out again the succeeding Year—Engages and defeats the French Squadron under the Command of the Count de Grasse—Capture of the Ville de Paris—The Count de Grasse sent to England.—Admiral Rodney created a Peer of the Realm on his Return to England.

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TO prevent breaking in upon and interrupting the thread of narration, through a detail of the important and interesting scenes acting on the American theatre, many great naval operations have been passed over in silence, and others but slightly noticed. A particular description of nautical war was never designed by the writer of these pages; yet a retrospect may here be proper, and a cursory survey necessary, of some of the most capital transactions on the ocean, which were closely connected with American affairs, and the interests of her allies.

The beginning of naval hostilities between Great Britain and France, took place in the

Bay of Biſcay in June, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-eight. A fleet commanded by admiral Keppel, a gentleman in whom the nation had the higheſt confidence, from his bravery, his prudence, and long experience in naval tranſactions, was at this critical period directed to ſail with diſcretionary orders. A member of parliament of eminence obſerved, "that all deſcriptions of men ſeemed pleaſed with "the choice, and to feel their own ſecurity in-"cluded in the appointment" of ſuch an able commander, at ſo anxious a moment. He met a ſquadron of thirty-two ſhips of the line, and a large number of frigates, commanded by the count D'Orvilliers, before he was in reality prepared for an interview with ſuch a formidable force on the part of France: this was indeed before any formal declaration of war had taken place between the rival nations.

Two frigates from the ſquadron of D'Orvilliers were very ſoon diſcovered near enough to prove evidently, that they were on a ſurvey of the Britiſh fleet. They were purſued, and a civil meſſage delivered to the captain of the Licorne, from the Engliſh admiral; but it was not ſo civilly returned; ſome ſhot were exchanged, and in a ſhort time the frigate ſurrendered.

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The other French frigate, called the Belle-Poule, was of heavier metal, and appearing disposed for a rencounter, captain Marshal, who commanded the Arethusa, pursued her till out of sight of the fleet. When near enough to announce his orders, he informed the captain of the Belle-Poule, that he was directed to conduct him to the British admiral. A peremptory refusal of compliance on the part of the French captain, induced captain Marshal to fire a shot across the Belle-Poule: this was returned by the discharge of a whole broadside from the Belle-Poule into the Arethusa.

A severe action ensued, which continued near two hours. Both frigates suffered much: the Arethusa was so far disabled, that she was conducted off the French coast by two British ships that accompanied the chase, and arrived in time tō tow her back to the fleet: the Belle-Poule escaped only by running into a small bay on the coast of France. The resolute deportment of the French captain, in this beginning of naval hostilities between the two nations, was much applauded by his countrymen, and munificently rewarded by the king of France.

For some time after this action, a mutual display of the strength of the two fleets was kept up: chasing, re-chasing, manœuvring, and gasconade, continued for several days, with little effective action, and no decision. During

the cruiſe, admiral Keppel diſcovered by the officer of a frigate taken after the action of the Belle-Poule and the Arethuſa, that D'Orvilliers was in daily expectation of reinforcements of ſtrength, while there was yet no formal declaration of war, while the French admiral played off, as unwilling to begin hoſtilities, and while, from many circumſtances, Keppel himſelf was in no ſituation for a general engagement. Thus, to the unſpeakable mortification of this meritorious officer, he found it convenient to turn his back on the French ſquadron, and repair to England.

His own inadequate force and equipment to meet the powerful ſquadrons of France, which had been prepared with diligence and ſyſtem for the execution of great deſigns, was viewed by him with the deepeſt regret, both for his own ſhare in the diſappointment, and the diſgrace brought on his nation by ſuch unpardonable negligence. He had however, from the diſcoveries he had made from the officers of the captured frigates, and the cauſes which had induced his immediate return, kept his opinions very much within his own breaſt, diſpoſed to think candidly of men in high office, great reſponſibility, and ſome of them endowed with ſuperior talents. He hoped, from the neceſſities of the moment, the honor of the nation, and the hazard of their own characters, they

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would adopt and adhere to more decisive and efficient measures in future.

The motives of the admiral unknown to the people at large, occasioned much censure from the lips of those who were unacquainted with the circumstances. The superiority of the French fleet under D'Orvilliers, and the additional strength he expected from several other armaments prepared to join him, rendered it impossible for admiral Keppel, with only twenty ships of the line, to make any effectual resistance, if a declaration of war should warrant an attack from the French commander, who had a fleet of between thirty and forty sail of the line, besides a great number of frigates, ready for action.

Admiral Keppel very judiciously apprehended, that the most cautious and prudent steps were necessary, not only to prevent the loss of his own fleet, but other inseparable evils to his nation, which might have been the consequence of defeat. He had certain information of the meditated designs of France, unexpectedly to strike at the trade of the nation, by interrupting their convoys, and giving a wound to the honor of the English navy, which would redound much to their own advantage in the outset of a war; while his own fleet, deficient in almost every thing necessary for any effectual

resistance, was incapable of maintaining its station.

Conscious that his conduct needed no apology, that the failure of the hopes of the English was owing to the neglect or want of judgment in the ministry, the admiralty, and other departments, he silently bore the censure of his enemies, the clamors of the multitude, and the opprobrium that often lights on character from the tacit demeanor of false friends, and prepared with the utmost dispatch again to sail, and meet the commander of the French squadron.

New exertions were made by the directors of naval affairs; and within a few days, the brave admiral was enabled again to sail with better prospects of success, in pursuit of the Brest fleet, which was also reinforced by some of the heaviest ships and most distinguished commanders in the French service. The two fleets met, manœuvred, fought, retreated, chased, bid mutual defiance, and fought again; but neither of them had a right to claim the palm of victory, from any circumstances of the interview.

The failure of this second expedition might have been owing, in part, to a misunderstanding between admiral Keppel and some of his principal officers. Other causes might co-operate. There is a delicacy of feeling in the

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mind of man, or rather a moral ſenſe, that forbids aggreſſion, and excites a reluctance to ſtriking the firſt blow, that muſt involve the human ſpecies in carnage and murder. But, when war has been denounced by regal authority, and the uſual ſanction of public proclamation, licenſed by the common formalities on ſuch occaſions, and hardened by repeated irritation and violence, the craſh of burning or ſinking ſhips, ſwallowed in the yawning deep, ceaſes to excite due compaſſion in the ſanguine boſom, inured to behold the miſeries of his fellow-men.

This diſappointment in the beginning of a war with France, occaſioned much party bitterneſs through the Engliſh nation. The odium of ill ſucceſs was bandied for ſome time between the partiſans of ſir Hugh Palliſer, rear admiral of the blue, and thoſe of the brave Keppel. Both admirals were tried by court-martial; and after long inveſtigation, the buſineſs finally terminated in the honorable acquittal of admiral Keppel, from the charge of negligence, want of ability, or miſconduct in any reſpect;* and his reputation completely reſtored, his calm dignity and cool deportment,

* For a particular detail of this intereſting affair, the trials of the two admirals, and the virulence of party on the occaſion, the reader may be referred to their trials and to other Britiſh authorities.

through many trying circumſtances, more ſtrongly attached his old friends, and procured him many new ones. He was afterwards appointed firſt lord of the admiralty. He received the thanks of both houſes of parliament for his many and eſſential ſervices to his country. Public rejoicings on his acquittal teſtified the general eſteem of the people, while the ratio of diſgrace that fell on admiral Palliſer, led him to reſign all his public employments.

There had, previous to the late engagement, been the appearance of the ſtricteſt friendſhip between admiral Keppel and ſir Hugh Palliſer, rear admiral of the blue. It is uncertain what interrupted this amity: it might have ariſen from a ſpirit of rivalry, or the pride of a ſubordinate officer, who perſecuted the aged commander with unceaſing bitterneſs, and divided the opinion of the public for a time, relative to the appropriate merits of each; but the balance continued in favor of lord Keppel to the end of his life.

A naval rencounter took place the next year, which, though of leſs magnitude than many others, is worthy of notice, from the valor of the tranſaction, and ſome circumſtances that attended it which were interwoven with the political conduct of the Dutch nation.

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Captain *John Paul Jones* had ſailed from L'Orient in the ſummer of one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine, in order to cruiſe in the North Sea. The Bon-homme Richard, which he commanded, was accompanied by the Alliance, a well built American ſhip, and two or three other ſmaller frigates.

About the beginning of September, they fell in with the Serapis, an Engliſh ſhip of ſuperior force, commanded by captain Pierſon; ſhe was accompanied by a ſmaller ſhip, the counteſs of Scarborough. They ſoon engaged: the action was valorous and deſperate, ſevere and bloody; and taken in all its circumſtances, perhaps one of the braveſt marine battles that took place during the war. Both the Engliſh ſhips were taken by the Americans. The Bon-homme Richard and the Serapis were ſeveral times on fire, at the ſame moment. The Bon-homme Richard was reduced to a wreck, and ſunk ſoon after the action, which continued long enough for the Baltic fleet of Britiſh homeward-bound ſhips, which had been under the convoy of the Serapis and Counteſs of Scarborough, to make their eſcape, and get ſafe to England. After this tremendous blaze of horror and deſtruction, the little American ſquadron repaired to the Texel to refit, carrying with them their priſoners and their prizes.

Captain Pierson acquitted himself with the gallantry of a British commander, zealous for the honor of his nation: but he was not permitted by the American officers to go on shore in Holland, and pay his respects to sir Joseph Yorke, the British ambassador resident at the Hague. This he reported in the close of his account of the engagement, received at the admiralty office. It was a circumstance grievous to himself, and highly resented by the British ambassador. He demanded of the states-general, that the Alliance and the other ships commanded by the rebel and pirate, John Paul Jones, should with their crews be stopped and delivered up.

Their high mightinesses replied to the demand of sir Joseph Yorke, that they should not take upon themselves to judge of the legality or illegality of those who had taken vessels on the open seas, belonging to other countries: that their ports were open to shelter from storms and disasters: that they should not suffer the Americans to unlade their cargoes, but should permit them to go to sea again after refitting; without taking upon themselves to judge, as they did not think they were authorised to pass an opinion on the prizes, or the person of Paul Jones.

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The naval rencounters between the nations were too numerous to particularise. Those who are acquainted with maritime affairs, the phrases of navigation, and are fond of the exhibition of sea-fights, may dwell longer on the description of single actions; while the curiosity of every inquirer may be sufficiently gratified, by the proud boasters who insolently describe the British flag as controlling the nations, and defying the universe to attack their fleets.

We shall pass over the more minute transactions, and again recur to the general expectation relating to the siege of Gibraltar, which was long kept awake before a final decision. It is however necessary, previous to the relinquishment of the conquest of that contested spot, to observe on several intervening transactions of moment. It has been related in a former chapter, that this fortress was relieved for a time by sir George Bridges Rodney, on his way to the West Indies, in one thousand seven hundred and eighty.

He had been remarkably successful in the interception of convoys, the interruption of the trade of the enemies of Britain, and the capture of the homeward-bound ships of France and Spain. He fell in with fifteen sail of merchantmen, under the convoy of a sixty-four gun ship and several frigates, bound from St. Sebastian's to Cadiz. He captured the whole fleet,

which belonged to the royal company of the Caraccas. The principal part of their cargoes was wheat and other provisions much wanted at Gibraltar, where the admiral immediately sent them. A large quantity of bale goods and naval stores, equally necessary for the use of his countrymen, he sent forward to England.

He soon after fell in with a Spanish squadron of eleven ships of the line, under the command of don Juan Langara, who declined an engagement, from the inequality of his force. But admiral Rodney, determined to pursue his success, gave chase until the enemy were nearly involved among the shoals of St. Lucar; and night approaching, the brave Spaniard was compelled to the conflict. Early in the engagement, the Spanish ship San Domingo, of seventy guns and six hundred men, blew up, and all on board perished. The English man of war with which she was engaged, narrowly escaped a similar fate.

The action was severe, and conducted on both sides with the greatest intrepidity, until the Spanish admiral was dangerously wounded, and most of his ships had surrendered; he then struck his flag, surrendered his own ship, reduced to a wreck, and submitted to the valiant English. This action continued nearly through the night; and many singular instances of valor and generosity were displayed on both sides,

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His good fortune followed him to the tropical seas; and his rencounters with the admiral de Guichen, and other brave commanders of the Bourbon fleets, always terminated in his favor. Indeed, his successes were sometimes a little variant, and his squadron frequently suffered much loss and damage, in his severe conflicts with French and Spanish fleets; yet he was always victorious. On his way to the West Indies, nothing stood before him: many of the enemies of Great Britain, both in the commercial and military line, fell into his hands.

A plan had been meditated by the combined fleets of France and Spain, to seize the rich island of Jamaica: the interference of Rodney more than once prevented the loss of this valuable spot. This was a favorite object with the French; nor was it relinquished, until fortune had frowned repeatedly on the lillies of France, and humbled the Gallican flag beneath her victorious rival, who waved her proud banners around her insular possessions, to the terror of France and the mortification of America.

From the capture of Dominica by the marquis de Bouille, in one thousand seven hundred

and ſeventy-eight, the Weſt India iſlands had been alternately agitated by the various ſucceſſes of contending fleets, until the ſeizure of St. Euſtatia by ſir George Bridges Rodney, in February, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-one.

In the autumn of one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, tempeſt, hurricane, and earthquake, had raged through all the iſlands, in a degree unparalleled in thoſe latitudes, though always ſubject to the moſt violent tornadoes. Several of the beſt of the iſlands had been nearly ruined by thoſe recent devaſtations of nature, and others rendered too weak for defence againſt leſs potent foes than thoſe who waved the flag of Britain.

The winter after the accumulated misfortunes occaſioned by thoſe convulſions, admiral Rodney arrived in the Weſt Indies with a ſtrong and potent fleet and army. The army was commanded by general Vaughan. Rodney and Vaughan in conjunction, took advantage of the weak, diſmantled ſtate to which St. Vincent's was reduced, and attempted the reduction of the iſland. But unexpectedly repulſed by the bravery of the French, commanded by the marquis de Bouille, the next enterpriſe of ſir George Bridges Rodney was againſt the rich, but defenceleſs iſland of St. Euſtatia.

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This unexpected attack on the Dutch island, was in consequence of secret orders, received before they left England, from the board of admiralty. The arrival of the British armament in the West Indies was accompanied by intelligence, not suspected by the islanders, that hostilities were denounced against the republic of Holland by a manifesto of the king of England.

The United Netherlands had not yet ratified any formal treaty with the American states, though, as has been observed, a plan for that purpose had been found among the papers of Mr. Laurens. It is true, the design of a close connexion with congress and the colonies was avowed by the principal citizens of Amsterdam: it also appeared from strong circumstances, that many of the most respectable inhabitants in other parts of the Batavian circles, were equally disposed to unite with the Americans: but it was some time after this period, before the independence of the United States of America was acknowledged by the stadtholder and their high mightinesses at the Hague.

Yet the assistance given by the merchants of some of the capital provinces, their negociations with the agents of congress, and their temporising with regard to receiving a minister, sent on after the misfortune of Mr. Laurens, to complete the terms of amity and commerce with the *rebellious subjects* of America, as they

were termed, were ſteps too bold and affrontive to the ſovereign of Britain, and to the Engliſh nation, then the ancient ally of the Batavians, to be paſſed over with impunity.

The Dutch court, as obſerved, did not openly countenance theſe proceedings; yet, we have ſeen above, that when repeatedly called upon by ſir Joſeph Yorke, in the name of his ſovereign, publicly to diſavow them, and to puniſh by inhibitions, penalties, and other ſeverities, all who held any correſpondence with congreſs, or encouraged and ſupported the revolted colonies; yet no explicit declaration for that purpoſe could be obtained. Vexed at the equivocal conduct of the ſtates-general, and there being no proſpect of the miniſter's ſucceeding to his wiſhes, he was recalled from the Hague, and reaſons were ſoon after aſſigned by manifeſto, for the commencement of hoſtilities againſt the Batavian provinces, in the uſual ſtyle of regal apology for the waſte of human life.

Thus the ſtorm burſt upon the Dutch Weſt India iſlands, before they were apprehenſive of the ſmalleſt danger from a ſtate of war. St. Euſtatia had long been conſidered, both by Europeans and Americans, as the moſt advantageous mart of any of the tropical iſlands: conſequently, their trade and their wealth had increaſed beyond all calculation. The inhabitants were generally abſorbed in their own pri-

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vate buſineſs, the bulk of the merchants affluent and ſecure, the magiſtrates at eaſe, and the Dutch officers totally unapprehenſive of an attack from any *foreign foe.* The fortreſſes in a ſtate of ruin, and the iſland weakened by the late hurricanes, they were in no condition for defence, nor did they attempt the ſmalleſt reſiſtance, on the approach of a powerful Britiſh fleet and army.

The ſurpriſe and aſtoniſhment of both the governor and the people, on the ſummons to ſurrender themſelves and their iſland, cannot be deſcribed. Their deliberations were ſhort: Mr. de Graaf, the Dutch governor, with the conſent of the magiſtrates and the principal inhabitants, returned a laconic anſwer to the ſummons of the Britiſh commander. He conciſely obſerved, "that confident of the lenity of ſir "George Bridges Rodney and general Vaughan, "the whole iſland and its dependencies ſurren-"dered: firmly relying on their honor and hu-"manity, they only recommended the town "and the inhabitants to their mercy."

This ſubmiſſion proved the conſignment of themſelves and families to immediate poverty, deſolation, and every ſpecies of miſery: all deſcriptions of perſons were at once involved in the ſame common ruin. Not only the officers of government, and the independent ſojourner in this devoted iſland, but the merchant, the

factor, the planter, and the innocent individual of every class, whether Dutch or British, Americans or Jews, were all overwhelmed in one promiscuous, unexampled insult, outrage, and plunder. Slaves were bribed to betray their masters, and inveigled to discover the smallest pittance of property, that might have been secreted by the opulent or the aged, to preserve a wretched existence after the loss of connexions, fortune, and prospects.

When obstinate resistance and high-toned language irritates the passions of men, it may be thought by some an apology, for the extreme rigor too frequently exercised by the illiberal mind, toward a conquered enemy. But when full confidence has been placed in the generosity, urbanity, and equity of the victor, and submission made without a blow, the cruel inflictions imposed on the unfortunate by the successful assailant, are violations of the feelings of humanity, and a departure from the nobler principles of the soul, that can never be justified by the laws of policy, or even the hostile usages of war. Nor can the dignity of rank, or the glittering badges of ancestral honor, prevent the indignation that must ever arise in the bosom of humanity, on a survey of the rapacity, insolence, and atrocity of conduct in the conquerors of St. Eustatia.

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Submiſſion undoubtedly entitles to protection, and the vanquiſhed have ever a claim, both for compaſſion and ſupport, from the victor. Inſtead of this juſt and generous line of action, all ſafety was precluded, by indiſcriminate abuſe and plunder. After the ſurrender of this opulent iſland, one general pillage, confiſcation, baniſhment, or death, ſucceeded; and, as obſerved afterwards by Mr. Burke in the houſe of commons, "the Dutch were robbed "and baniſhed, becauſe they were Dutch; the "Americans, becauſe they were the king's ene-"mies; the Jews, becauſe their religion was "different from that of the conquerors."

Some gentlemen of the moſt capital commercial characters, were confined as criminals of a peculiar caſt, and puniſhed in a two-fold ſenſe. An extraordinary inſtance of this nature was exhibited in the treatment of Meſſrs. Courzen and Governier, two of the firſt merchants on the iſland: as Dutchmen, their property was confiſcated; as Engliſhmen, they were ſent to England as traitors to the king, charged with correſponding with American agents, impriſoned and tried for high treaſon.

Mr. Hohen, an eminent Jewiſh merchant, a native of Amſterdam, who had reſided at St. Euſtatia twenty-five years, received notice, without any crime alleged, that he muſt quit

the iſland without a day's delay. Ignorant of the place of his deſtination, while on his way to embark, he experienced very ſevere uſage; his trunk was rifled, his clothes ripped open, and a ſmall ſum of money he had ſecreted to preſerve him from famine, taken from him, even to his laſt penny. Thus, ſuddenly robbed, and reduced from high fortune to abſolute want, when he arrived in England he petitioned the houſe of commons for redreſs, and his cauſe was ſupported by the brilliant elocution of Mr. Burke and others; yet the injured Iſraelite found no relief from the juſtice or compaſſion of the nation.

Such was the rapacity of the plunderers of this unfortunate iſland, that in many other inſtances, the garments of the aged and reſpectable were rent open in ſearch of a bit of gold, that might poſſibly have been concealed for the purchaſe of a morſel of bread for their innocent and helpleſs families. Thus, from the pinnacle of affluence, many were reduced in a day to the extreme of penury and deſpair. All the Jews on the iſland received ſimilar treatment to that above related: their ſufferings had no amelioration: they were informed, that they were all to be tranſported, and only one day was allowed to any of them for preparation, before they were robbed of their treaſures, and ſent away pennyleſs among ſtrangers.

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Indeed, there was little discrimination among the miserable inhabitants of this once wealthy spot. The whole property of the island, collected by every undue method, was exposed to public sale: and admiral Rodney, the commander of a British fleet of upwards of thirty ships of the line, and the *renowned* general Vaughan, at the head of three or four thousand troops, were engaged from the beginning of February until the May following, in the little arts of auctioneering and traffic, in a manner that would have disgraced the petty merchant, who had not renounced all pretences to honor.

The islands of Saba, St. Martin's, and others, had surrendered to some detachments from the British fleet and army, on the same easy terms; and, with similar hopes of security and protection, they suffered nearly the same merciless fate from the hands of British conquerors, that had been recently experienced by the inhabitants of St. Eustatia.

Meantime, the marquis de Bouille improved the favorable opportunity, while the British commanders were engaged in securing the plunder of the conquered isles, to reduce Tobago to the arms of the French monarch. This required a little more military prowess than had yet been called into action, by his competitors for the possession of the West India islands.

Governor Ferguſon, who commanded at Tobago, made a manly defence for eight or ten days; but receiving no ſuccors from admiral Rodney, though within twenty-four hours' ſail, and too weak to hold out longer without aſſiſtance, he was obliged to capitulate.

The terms granted by the noble Frenchman were honorable and lenient. The officers and troops in garriſon were permitted to march out with the honors of war; after which, the ſoldiers were to lay down their arms, but the officers had liberty to retain their's. The inhabitants were allowed to preſerve their own civil government, laws, and cuſtoms; to enjoy their eſtates, rights, privileges, honors, and exemptions, with a promiſe of protection in the free exerciſe of their religion, until peace ſhould take place. No other engagement was required on their part, than an oath of fidelity to the king of France, to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality until that happy event ſhould be accompliſhed. They were left at full liberty to diſpoſe of their property at leiſure, and to proceed in their commercial affairs as uſual; with this farther indulgence, that no merchant ſhips, the property of the inhabitants of the iſland or its dependencies, that might arrive from England within ſix months, ſhould be liable to confiſcation or ſeizure.

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It is obſervable, that the diſtinguiſhed traits of generoſity in the demeanor of the marquis de Bouille, were not forgotten by thoſe who witneſſed and experienced his clemency. Some time after the tranſactions above related, a large number of gentlemen in England, belonging to the ſeveral iſlands, met and unanimouſly paſſed a vote, expreſſive of their high ſenſe of gratitude for his humanity, juſtice, and generoſity, exemplified and diſplayed in his treatment of the conquered iſles: and as a teſtimony of their veneration and eſteem, they ordered a piece of plate, with an inſcription of their thanks, to be preſented him by ſir William Young, chairman of the committee.*

After this ſhort narration of the capture of the iſland of Tobago, and the moderation ſhewn to the inhabitants by the victor, a further detail is not neceſſary, to contraſt the behavior of the Britiſh and French commanders in the Weſt Indies, at this period of the war.

Many particulars through the buſy ſcene kept up in the tropical ſeas, through this and the ſucceeding year, need not here be related: though it is proper to obſerve, that it was but a few months after the ſurrender of theſe iſlands, and the ſufferings they experienced from the

* Analytical Regiſter.

ſeverity of the Britiſh conquerors, before St. Martin's, Saba, and St. Euſtatia, were ſurpriſed and recovered by the marquis de Bouille. CHAP. XXV. 1781.

It may be anticipating time, yet, to prevent the interruption of the ſtory of other events, it will not be deemed improper to continue the narration of the inſular war, that raged with unabating fury in the Weſt Indies through the ſucceeding year.

From the arrival of the count de Graſſe in theſe ſeas, with his brave, victorious fleet from the Cheſapeake, at the cloſe of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-one, not the ſmalleſt mitigation of the horrors of war took place, until after the defeat of the ſquadron commanded by him, an event which did not happen until the twelfth of April, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-two.

Soon after the entire ruin of the inhabitants of St. Euſtatia, ſir George B. Rodney had returned to England with his diſgraceful booty, the indiſcriminate ſpoils of the aged, the innocent, and the affluent. He was graciouſly received by his majeſty and the miniſtry: but, his laurels ſtained by his avarice and cruelty, it was impoſſible, either by addreſs, deception, or effrontery, to parry the ſevere reprehenſions he received from ſome of the firſt nobility in the houſe of lords, as well as from many mem-

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bers of diſtinction and talent in the houſe of commons. A particular inquiry into his conduct, and that of general Vaughan, was urged in the moſt ſtrenuous and pathetic manner, but with little effect. Notwithſtanding the general ſenſe of mankind criminated the inhumanity of their proceedings, yet the favoritiſm that generally prevails in courts overruled, as uſual, the dictates of juſtice, and all inveſtigation was poſtponed.

Admiral Rodney was again immediately ſent out in full force, with deſign to prevent the valuable iſland of Jamaica from falling under the arms of France. Indeed, the apprehenſions of the miniſtry on this point were ſufficiently grounded. Barbadoes, Antigua, and Jamaica, were all the poſſeſſions of conſequence that the Engliſh ſtill retained in the Weſt Indies; the others, as obſerved, had moſt of them been recaptured by the French; who were purſuing victory with vigilance and ſucceſs, and in ſanguine expectation of wreſting all the wealthy iſlands from the crown of Britain.

When ſir George Bridges Rodney returned to the command in that quarter, where he arrived about the middle of February, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-two, he found the French inſpirited by repeated ſucceſſes, ready for any enterpriſe, and a formidable fleet in the higheſt preparation for attack or defence.

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Jamaica was indeed the prime object of expectation, but the first important step taken by the count de Grasse, after his arrival in the West Indies, was the capture of the little island of Nevis, where he lost no time, but immediately hastened on and set down before St. Christopher's. There he found a large armament had been landed some days before his arrival, by the brave marquis de Bouille.

Sir Samuel Hood, with twenty sail of the British line, attempted the relief of that island: this brought on several rencounters between him and the count de Grasse, with various success, but with little decision.

St. Christopher's had been vigorously defended five weeks by general Frazer, a brave British officer: he acquired much honor by his gallant behavior through the whole siege. Shirley, governor of Antigua, brought forward three or four hundred militia, and fought, hazarded, and suffered, equally with his friend general Frazer, until necessity compelled them at last to yield. The island was surrendered by capitulation to the crown of France, on the twelfth of February, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two.

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The ſame lenient and generous terms were admitted by the conqueror, ; had before been granted by him to the inhabitants of Tobago, Demerara, Eſſequibo, and ſeveral other places of leſs conſequence than St. Chriſtopher's or St. Euſtatia, who had repeatedly, as well as thoſe, changed their maſters in the ſtruggle, and were now again the ſubjects of France. But the inhabitants of St. Chriſtopher's, by the moderate terms of capitulation, were ſcarcely ſenſible of a change of ſovereignty. The garriſon was permitted the honors of war in the ſtricteſt ſenſe; the troops were tranſported to England, until an exchange of priſoners ſhould take place.

By a particular article, the marquis de Bouille, as an acknowledgment of their intrepidity and valor, diſcharged brigadier general Frazer and governor Shirley, who had aided in the defence of the iſland, from the condition of being conſidered as priſoners of war. To Mr. Shirley he gave liberty to return to his government in Antigua, and to general Frazer the permiſſion of continuing in the ſervice of his country, in whatever place he choſe.

The generoſity of the marquis merited and received a large ſhare of applauſe, both from friends and foes; and the name of *Bouille* was every where reſpected, for his equitable, humane, and honorable deportment, toward all

the captured iſlands that fell into his hands. But, notwithſtanding the valor, the virtue, the magnanimity, and the repeated ſucceſſes of the marquis de Bouille, over the beſt and braveſt troops and officers that had been employed in any part of the world; notwithſtanding the fame and the valor of the count de Graſſe, and the ſtrength of the French navy; fortune ſoon changed her face, frowned on the flag of France, cauſed her lillies again to droop beneath the ſhowers of fire poured upon them by the hand of the intrepid Rodney, and, as uſual, placed her laurels on his brow.

On his ſecond arrival in the Weſt Indies, where the Bourbon flag had waved for ſome months under the moſt favorable aſpect, he found both his reinforcements and his vigilance neceſſary, to impede the blow meditated againſt Jamaica. A powerful Spaniſh fleet had arrived at Hiſpaniola, alſo a large number of land forces, amply ſupplied with every thing neceſſary, to join the count de Graſſe in the deſigned expedition: beſides theſe, there was a body of troops at Cuba for the ſame purpoſe.

Though the iſland of Jamaica ſtill belonged to the Britiſh crown, it was in no reſpect prepared for an invaſion. The iſland was naturally ſtrong and defenſible, but there were few troops in garriſon, and the inhabitants, more

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attentive to their wealth and pleasure, than tenaciously attached to a foreign sovereign of their island, security was their object, under whatever authority they held their immense estates; and conquest would have been easy to any power that should guarantee the enjoyment of fortune, luxury, and idleness.

When admiral Rodney arrived they had little to fear. He was joined by the squadron under the command of sir Samuel Hood, and another commanded by admiral Drake. Thus the British flag among the islands appeared in a capacity to challenge, not only the naval forces of France, but all the maritime powers of Europe.

Sir George B. Rodney very early and very judiciously endeavoured, by various manœuvres, to draw the French admiral into immediate action. This the count de Grasse was equally industrious to avoid: he was aware that it might defeat the important objects before him, and prevent the capture of the most valuable of the British possessions, yet remaining under their jurisdiction. But, however reluctant, he was, much against his wishes, obliged first to come to a partial, and within a few days, to a general engagement. This ruined the expectations, the enterprise, and the hopes of the house of Bourbon in this quarter, saved Jamaica

from its impending fate, and deſtroyed a con- CHAP. XXIV.
ſiderable part of the French fleet. 1781.

The conflict was long, ſevere, and bloody indeed. The count de Graſſe, the marquis Vaudreuil, the renowned Bougainville, and many other characters among the Gallic commanders, had never before experienced the mortification of defeat. They fought with the impulſe of the brave ſoldier, the enthuſiaſm of chivalry, the pride of nobility, and the dignity of the hero, confident of ſucceſs.

The order of their line was however broken by the experienced and indefatigable Engliſhmen, and ſeveral of the beſt of the French ſhips were either captured, ſunk, or blown up. This deciſive action began early in the morning, and laſted until the evening; the carnage on this occaſion, on both ſides, was ſufficient to ſhock the boldeſt heart. The ſurrender of the admiral's own ſhip, the *Ville de Paris*, of one hundred and ten guns, completed the triumph of the day. Before the count de Graſſe ſtruck his colors, he had four hundred men ſlain, and ſcarcely any one left on deck without a wound. This ſhip, aimed at as the point of victory by all the Britiſh whoſe thunder could reach her, was reduced to a wreck, and on the point of ſinking, when the admiral ſurrendered to ſir Samuel Hood at the cloſe of the day of action.

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The commanders of the other ships in the French navy conducted with equal gallantry, and suffered in equal proportion, with the Ville de Paris. The captains of the Centaur, the Glorieux, and the Cæsar, did themselves immortal honor in the eye of military glory. They kept their stations until most of their men were killed or wounded, their canvas shot away, and their ships reduced to splinters, before they submitted: and the lives of many valiant seamen, with some of their bravest officers, was the price of victory to their enemies.

On the other side, the loss of many valiant men and distinguished officers, spread a temporary gloom over the face of success. Among the number of gallant Englishmen who fell on this awful day of carnage, no one was more lamented than the commander of the Resolution, lord Robert Manners, the only son of the marquis of Granby, whose gallant and noble military exploits have perpetuated his fame; nor did his son fall short of his merit, or in any respect disgrace the memory of his heroic father.

After the surrender of the count de Grasse, which terminated the action, he was received on board a British ship with the highest marks of respect, and uniformly treated with every attention due to his distinguished character. The commanders Bougainville and Vaudreuil con-

ducted the remainder of the fleet which escaped capture or sinking, to Cape Francois; and admiral Rodney, with his wounded ships and numerous prizes, repaired to Jamaica to refit, and to secure that island from any further danger of attack, either from France or Spain.

The count de Grasse was immediately conveyed to England in the Sandwich, of ninety guns, commanded by sir Peter Parker, who had the honor of delivering this noble prisoner on the shores which had long dreaded his prowess.

The reception of the unfortunate French commander at the court of Great Britain, by his majesty, by the royal family, and by all ranks, was in the highest degree respectful. His own sword, which, according to form, had been delivered to sir George Bridges Rodney, was returned to his hand by the king himself. Apartments were provided for him in the royal hotel; and during his short residence in England, nothing was neglected that could in any degree ameliorate the mortification of a mind inured to victory, and amidst expectations of conquest reduced to a state of captivity.

All that a most sumptuous elegance and hospitality could invent was displayed, to express the general esteem of the first characters in the nation, and the high sense entertained by every class of people, of the magnanimity, merits,

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and misfortunes, of the brave and noble commander of the French navy. He indeed needed consolations superior to the efforts of politeness and humanity: he was sensible that his court was disgusted, and his nation chagrined beyond description, at the disappointment of their projects, the loss of the Ville de Paris, and the destruction of other capital ships. The wound given to national pride appeared in the countenance of every Frenchman, on this unexpected degradation of the Bourbon flag. "*The Ville de Paris in the Thames*," was mentioned with a shrug of contempt by every one; and a subscription was set on foot among the Parisians, for another ship of the same name, size, and weight of metal, to be immediately built.

Public opinion had its usual operation on military character, which seldom escapes untarnished when not accompanied by success. Thus, while the count de Grasse was oppressed by public considerations, and the odium mankind are prone to attach to misfortune, his feelings were hurt by the personal sufferings of himself and his family, and the imagined depreciation of fame; and in addition to the fear of a sinking reputation, the death of a favorite son completed the climax of his afflictions.

This amiable and promising young gentleman, unable to bear the reverse of fortune, the reproaches, however unjust, which he feared

might fall upon his father, and the incalculable consequences to his family that might take place in a despotic court, from the present misfortune,—put a period to his own existence by a pistol ball, soon after the tidings of his father's defeat.*

Thus merit languished in captivity, assailed by private sorrows, apprehensive of public censure, and uncertain of the duration of his confinement, or the grade of punishment that might be inflicted by his king: he very well knew, that in an arbitrary court, death or the *Bastile* might cover his head forever, for the failure of achievements impracticable by the valor of man. Meanwhile, the rival of his glory, or rather the conqueror of the noble count, might justly be deemed one of the favorite sons of fortune.

Sir George B. Rodney was undoubtedly a brave officer, and his repeated successes in the West Indies greatly augmented his military fame; but for his cruelty and his avarice the preceding year, he was justly and severely cen-

* The writer had the above account verbally, of the death of the son of the count de Grasse, from a gentleman then in Paris.

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ſured by every virtuous man in the nation. His accumulation of property in the plunder of the Dutch and French iſlands, was thought abundantly ſufficient to have ſatisfied the graſping hand of avarice, without the extreme of rapacity exerciſed toward every individual of the conquered plantations.

Though in the midſt of inquiry into his conduct he had again been ſent out on the moſt honorable command, his cruelty on the capture of St. Euſtatia was not forgotten in his abſence. His injuſtice toward Meſſrs. Hohen, Courzen, Governier, and others, was brought forward and criminated in the moſt pointed language. A ſcrutiny was again called for in the houſe of commons; his reputation impeached; and a ſuperſedure of his command directed.

But at the critical moment when his deſtruction was ripening, the news of his ſplendid and decided victory over ſo reſpectable a part of the French navy, huſhed at once the voice of clamor, and even of juſtice. The ſuffering iſlanders were forgotten in the exultation of national glory; his friends were emboldened, his enemies ſilenced, his intereſt re-eſtabliſhed; and inſtead of a rigid cenſure for former tranſactions, he received the thanks of parliament for his ſervices. This was accompanied by the acclamations of the people, and the applauſes of the nation, for his victory over their hereditary

enemies; a victory that secured to Great Britain her insular possessions, checked the pride of the house of Bourbon, and was felt with no small degree of mortification by the American states. The smiles of the court and the favor of the king lifted him to rank, and on his return, he was by his sovereign created a peer of the realm of England. To this dignity was added a pension of two thousand pounds sterling per annum, during his own life, and the lives of the two next successors to the title of lord Rodney.

The maritime spirit of Britain has always been encouraged and kept up by the munificent rewards of royal bounty, to all who signalize themselves by their naval prowess. This encourages the nobility to place their sons in the navy at an early period of life, as the road to preferment. The service was always deemed honorable; and the interests and the feelings of the first families in the nation, were engaged to support the respectability of marine employ. This, with many other combining circumstances, has contributed to the strength, glory, and terror of the British navy, and raised it to a pitch of elevation and fame, scarcely paralleled in any nation, either ancient or modern.

But the time may arrive, when the haughty superiority of her fleets may be checked, and their power and aggressions be restrained, by a

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combination formed on principles of justice and humanity, among all the nations that Britain has insulted and invaded, under the domination of her proud flag. She may feel an irresistible opposition; an opposition that may redound to the advantage of commerce, the peace of mankind, and the prevention of that wanton waste of human life, that has cemented her strength, and at once rendered Great Britain respected and dreaded, envied, and perhaps in a degree, hated, by all the nations; who were sometimes ready to apprehend, that the axiom formed in Greece about three thousand years ago, that—*The nation that is master at sea will become master on the continent*—might be realized in modern Europe.

CHAPTER XXV.

Continuation of Naval Rencounters.—Affair of Count Byland—Sir Hyde Parker and Admiral Zentman.—Commodore Johnstone ordered to the Cape of Good Hope.—Admiral Kempenfelt.—Loss of the Royal George.—Baron de Rullincort's Expedition to the Isle of Jersey.—Capture of Minorca.—Gibraltar again besieged, defended, and relieved.—Mr. Adams's Negociation with the Dutch Provinces.

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WHILE the active and interesting scenes in the West Indies, related in the preceding pages, commanded the attention of America, and deranged the systems of France, other objects of importance, by sea as well as by land, equally occupied the arms, the industry, and the energies of the European powers, and equally affected the great cause of freedom, and the entire independence of the United States. The French navy had indeed suffered much in the West Indies, and the Batavians there were nearly ruined by the unexpected operations of war; yet the Dutch flag still waved with honor over the ocean, and in several instances maintained the courage, the character, and the glory, won by their Van Trumps, de Ruyters, and other naval heroes distinguished in their history.

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They had been called out to try their ſtrength on the ocean, by the open hoſtilities of Britain, in conſequence of a declaration by the king, which relieved them from a ſtate of ſuſpenſe. This declaration, dated April the ſeventeenth, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, annihilated all former treaties of neutrality, friendſhip, or connexion, and ſuſpended all ſtipulations reſpecting the freedom of navigation and commerce in time of war, with the ſubjects of the ſtates-general.

A few weeks previous to the date of this declaration of war, the government of Great Britain had exerciſed its aſſumed right of ſearching the veſſels of all nations for contraband goods. This preſumptuous right they had for many years arrogated to themſelves, though no other nation had acceded to the claim; yet it had been ſubmitted to, from want of power ſufficient for an effectual oppoſition, while all conſidered it an infringement on the free trade of nations, that could not be juſtified by the laws of equity.

A number of Dutch merchantmen, laden with timber and naval ſtores for the uſe of France, had taken the advantage of ſailing under the protection of count Byland, who, with a ſmall fleet of men of war and frigates, was to eſcort a convoy to the Mediterranean. In conſequence of this intelligence, the Engliſh gov-

ernment ſent out a ſquadron of armed ſhips under the command of captain Fielding, in purſuit of them, with a commiſſion to ſearch, ſeize, and make prizes of any of the Dutch ſhips, that might have on board articles deemed contraband goods, according to the conſtruction of the Britiſh laws of trade.

The Dutch refuſed to ſubmit to the humiliating orders; notwithſtanding which, Fielding diſpatched a number of boats to execute the buſineſs. Theſe were fired upon by the Dutchmen; on which captain Fielding fired a ſhot acroſs the head of the Dutch admiral's ſhip, who returned a broadſide. This ſalute was anſwered in a manner that might have been expected from a Britiſh naval commander, and ſeveral ſhot were exchanged; but count Byland, though ſenſible that he was in force ſufficient for a ſevere action that might enſue, from the humane idea of ſaving the lives of his men, thought proper to ſtrike his colors and ſurrender to the Engliſh.*

In the meantime, moſt of the convoy, under cover of the night, made their eſcape into ſome of the ports of France: the remainder were detained; and the Dutch admiral informed, that he was at liberty to hoiſt his colors and purſue

* Britiſh Annual Regiſter.

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his voyage. He refused to leave any part of his convoy, but hoisted his colors and sailed with them to Spithead, where he continued until he received fresh instructions from his masters.

This affair enkindled much resentment in the bosoms of the Hollanders, who considered an attempt to search their ships as an act of unwarrantable insolence. This, with many other concurring circumstances which then existed, had ripened their minds for the open rupture which soon after took place between the English and Dutch governments.

Many feats of maritime bravery were exhibited on the ocean, during the existing war between the two nations. The most signal event of the kind in the European seas the same year, was an action which took place between admiral Zeutman, commander of the Dutch fleet, and sir Hyde Parker, who commanded a British squadron of superior force. They met near a place called the Dogger-Bank, as admiral Parker was returning from Elsineur with a large convoy. An engagement immediately took place: equal valor and prowess animated the officers on each side, and equal fury and bravery stimulated the sailors: an action bloody indeed, was kept up for three or four hours, but without either allowing the honor of victory to his antagonist.

After a ſhort pauſe, within a little diſtance from each other, they withdrew to their native ſhores. Admiral Zeutman was honored, careſſed, promoted, and happy in the applauſes of his countrymen; while admiral Parker returned chagrined and diſguſted: he indeed received the approbation, and was honored with a viſit from the king, and an invitation to dine with him on board the royal yacht; but he refuſed the honor of knighthood his majeſty was about to confer on him, complained heavily that he had not been properly ſupported, and attributed the eſcape of any part of the Dutch fleet to the negligence of the admiralty.

Notwithſtanding the renown of the Britiſh navy, the nation had little to boaſt from the termination of ſeveral marine adventures, through the courſe of the preſent year. Their fleets had fallen under ſome diſappointments and diſaſters, which heightened the clamor againſt the admiralty officers, and increaſed the diſcontent of the nation.

Commodore Johnſtone, with an handſome ſquadron, had been ordered to ſail for, and take poſſeſſion of, the Cape of Good Hope. Had he ſucceeded, his next enterpriſe was deſigned to ſurpriſe *Buenos Ayres*, and ſweep the Spaniſh ſettlements on Rio de la Plata, in South Amer-

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ica. But he was attacked by monſieur de Suffrein, who intercepted him near the Cape de Verd iſlands. Johnſtone was found rather in an unguarded ſituation; a conſiderable number of the officers and men were on ſhore at the iſland of St. Jago in purſuit of health and pleaſure, and many of the crews of all the ſhips were abſent, employed either in hunting, fiſhing, or plundering cattle from the iſlands.

Signals for repairing on board were made, and an action immediately enſued, but it did not redound to the honor of the Britiſh commander. After ſuffering much in the engagement, and his original deſign totally defeated, he returned homewards, with the ſmall reparation of his ill fortune by the capture of a few Dutch Eaſt India ſhips, which were at anchor in the Bay of Soldana.

The brave admiral Kempenfelt was not much more fortunate in an interview with the French fleet, which he met with in the winter, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-one. This ſquadron, commanded by monſieur Guichen, was unexpectedly to him, ſo much ſuperior to his own, that admiral Kempenfelt did not think it prudent to engage. He however captured a number of tranſports laden with all the implements of war, and upwards of one thouſand French ſoldiers and ſailors, deſigned for the Weſt Indies.

Succeſs ſo inadequate to expectation, was the occaſion of much uneaſineſs and cenſure in the nation. The firſt lord of the admiralty was charged with negligence and incapacity, in conducting the maritime affairs of England. The magnitude of the object, and the ſtrength of the combined foes of Great Britain, required the firſt abilities, penetration, and induſtry; neither of which adorned the character of lord Sandwich, the firſt miniſter in the naval department. But the great admiral Kempenfelt lived but a ſhort ſpace after his late diſappointment, either to reap the applauſes, or to fear the cenſures, that aroſe from the fortuitous or natural events of time.

His ſhip, the Royal George of one hundred and eight guns, required a ſlight repair, before he proceeded as was deſigned, to join the fleet before Gibraltar. For this purpoſe, the ſhip a little on the careen, the weather fine, and no danger to be apprehended, a great crowd of perſons of both ſexes were on board, to viſit and take leave of their huſbands, brothers, and friends, when a ſudden, ſmall guſt of wind ſtruck the ſhip, and carried her inſtantly down.

In this unfortunate moment, periſhed near one thouſand perſons; among whom was the reſpected admiral himſelf, who had ſcarcely

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time to rise from his writing desk after the alarm, before he met his watery grave.*

A few of the guards, and most of the men who happened to be on the upper deck, were picked up by boats, and saved from sharing the melancholy catastrophe of their associates.

No man could have been more justly and universally lamented than admiral Kempenfelt. Far advanced in years, he had retained a character unimpeached in his professional line, nor was he less meritorious in his deportment in private life.

The various naval rencounters among the contending powers, were too diffuse for the present design, which is meant only as a sketch of a few of the most important events, in order to give a general idea of the sources of censure or applause bestowed on the principal actors: it may also elucidate the causes of that weight of opprobrium which fell on the admiralty department in England, at the close of the war. The bravery of many of the British naval commanders was signalized, though existing circumstances so frequently combined to render abortive their valorous exertions.

* Annual Register.

Amidſt the many enterpriſes of this buſy period among the nations, it would not be juſt to paſs over the year, without recollecting the honor due to a young hero, who periſhed in the gallant defence of the iſland of Jerſey.

The unſucceſsful attempt made to reduce the place, by a number of troops commanded by the baron de Rullincort, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty, did not diſcourage a ſecond enterpriſe. This firſt attempt was finally defeated by relief from admiral Arbuthnot, who was then on his way to America. He had thought proper to ſtop, and lend his aſſiſtance to prevent the impending fate of the iſland. It is true he ſaved it from falling into the hands of the French at that time, but a very heavy balance of diſadvantage was felt in conſequence of this delay: the very large reinforcement, and the prodigious number of tranſports and merchantmen under his convoy, thus retarded, operated among other cauſes, to prevent timely ſuccors to lord Cornwallis, of which he ſtood in the utmoſt neceſſity in Virginia.

On the ſixth of January, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-one, the baron de Rullincort made a ſecond effort to recover the iſland of Jerſey. The deſign was ſo ſecret, and the attack ſo ſudden, that the out-guards were ſur-

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prised, and the avenues to the town of St. Helena seized, while the inhabitants lay in perfect security. In the morning of the seventh, in the utmost dismay, they found themselves in the hands of their enemies.

Major Corbet, the lieutenant governor, received the first intelligence that the French troops were in possession of the town, from his own servant, before he had risen from his bed. He was in a few minutes after surrounded and taken prisoner; and by the peremptory demand of the baron de Rullincort, he was so far intimidated as to sign a capitulation in behalf of the town, and issued orders, that his officers on their several stations should do the same.

A few of them obeyed: but captain Pierson, a brave young officer of only twenty-five years of age, assembled the militia of the island, and with a party of British troops withdrew to the neighbouring heights, on which the French commander, agreeably to the articles of capitulation, summoned him to surrender. Instead of a compliance, he, with the utmost intrepidity, advertised the baron de Rullincort, that unless he and his troops laid down their arms, and surrendered within *twenty-four minutes*, he should attack them in their post.

At the expiration of this short time. captain Pierson agreeably to his threat, proceeded to

the desperate enterprise. This was done with such vigor and success, that the French were driven to a decided action: the baron de Rullincort was mortally wounded; and within half an hour from the commencement of the engagement, the French troops were totally routed, and major Corbet, who was kept as a forlorn hope by the side of their commander, until Rullincort fell, was urged by the French troops to resume his command, and permit them to surrender as prisoners of war.

But the valiant Pierson did not live to enjoy the fruits of this splendid action, or the applauses of his country; he was unfortunately shot through the head, almost at the moment victory declared in his favor. The death of this brave young officer, who at so early a period had exhibited such proofs of military genius and capacity, was greatly and justly lamented. On the other hand, the passive Corbet was tried by court-martial, censured, and dismissed from further service; while engravings of the action, and the portraits of captain Pierson, were displayed through the nation, accompanied with the highest encomiums on his valor and merit.

It has been observed, that the Spaniards had never relinquished their design of subduing the strong fortress of Gibraltar, though obliged the last year to suspend it for a time. The reduc-

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tion of Minorca previous to their progreſs againſt Gibraltar, was by the Spaniards deemed an object of high importance. The iſland was inveſted by an armament under the command of the duke de Crillon, in Auguſt, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-one; but the conqueſt was not completed until the fourth of February, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-two.

Many circumſtances peculiarly affecting, accompanied the ſiege and ſurrender of fort St. Philip. Shut up by a large armament, ſurrounded by a heavy train of artillery, commanded by the moſt able and experienced officers, the garriſon was totally unable to make any effectual reſiſtance. They were reduced by an inveterate ſcurvy that had long prevailed, infected with a peſtilential fever, dyſentery, and other diſorders, without medicine for the ſick or food for the healthy: no extreme of miſery could exceed theirs before they yielded to the arms of Spain.

Yet in this condition of wretchedneſs, they diſplayed every mark of valor and fortitude, until the combined circumſtances of diſtreſs obliged the remnant of Britiſh troops, reduced to about ſix hundred, old, worn-out, emaciated ſkeletons, to lay down their arms. This they did with tears of regret, and with an exclama-

tion extorted by the pride of valor, that they "*ſubmitted to God alone.*" CHAP. XXV. 1781.

Their appearance and their behavior equally excited the ſympathy of the conqueror, and even drew involuntary tears from the victorious ſoldiers amidſt the glory of ſucceſs. The moſt compaſſionate attention was ſhewn to thoſe aged and unfortunate veterans, who had been eleven years in garriſon, by the noble Crillon, who directed every thing neceſſary to be provided for the relief of the ſick, and ample ſupplies of proviſion and clothing were furniſhed by him, for the naked troops who ſtill retained a degree of health.

We now leave events of leſs obſervation and notoriety, to purſue the termination of the intereſting ſiege of Gibraltar. In the beginning of the autumn of the preſent year, all the powers of invention were called forth, to bring into action the moſt ingenious and fatal means of deſtruction; and the moſt glorious diſplay of European valor was exhibited before the impregnable fortreſs of Gibraltar, that perhaps any age had beheld.

Battering ſhips of formidable ſize, and fireworks of the moſt curious conſtruction, awakened attention in all. The fierce ſons of *Iſhmael*,

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whose hands are against every man, and every man's hand against them, at this time held their hostile arm suspended, and only viewed the work of carnage among the tributary nations, near their own coasts.* As they took no part in the conflict, the barbarian shores of *Afric* were covered with spectators, to view the frightful engines, and the awful play of the artillery of death.

The duke de Crillon was vested with the chief command of the mighty armament destined for the reduction of this proud fortress, that thundered defiance to all the neighbouring nations. Minorca reduced, and some other impediments surmounted, the duke, in conjunction with some of the first naval commanders in Europe, opened the formidable onset about the tenth of September. He was an officer equally distinguished for his politeness and his bravery. The last was conspicuously displayed from the beginning to the termination of this

* It may be properly asked, whenever the mind adverts to the situation and circumstances of the Barbary states, how long the European world will submit to their lawless depredations? It is a strange phenomenon in human affairs, that the nations should so long have been kept in awe by their corsairs, and be compelled from time to time to purchase a temporary peace, by becoming tributary to a people so much inferior to themselves, in manners, in arts, in arms, and in every thing that aggrandizes the powers of the earth.

awful enterprise; and a signal instance of the first appeared, when he sent a supply of vegetables and other delicacies for the table of general Elliot, while the garrison was almost without the smallest means of subsistence.

This present was accompanied with the highest expressions of personal regards for the British commander: the duke de Crillon assured him, "that he cherished a hope of meriting and "meeting his future friendship, after he had "learned to make himself worthy of that hon- "or, by facing him as an enemy." General Elliot replied with equal gallantry, that however he felt himself obliged by those tenders of politeness and generosity, yet as long as his brave troops suffered, and patiently endured a scarcity of provisions, he should accept nothing for himself; that as he was determined to participate in common with the lowest of his fellow-soldiers, every hardship they might suffer, he must of consequence be excused from the acceptance of any future favor.

The count de Artois, a brother of the king, and many other princes of the blood of France, and the royal house of Spain, were in the action before Gibraltar; an action that surpassed the descriptive pen of the historian or the poet, to do ample justice to the display of military skill in both parties, to the magnificence of design, the intrepidity of execution, the grandeur of

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the scene, and the valor and magnanimity of both officers and soldiers.

Six thousand cannon shot, and upwards of one thousand shells, were discharged on one side every twenty-four hours: while an equal scale of vigor was kept up by the unceasing blaze of the other, until several of the best ships of the assailants were blown up, others enwrapped in a torrent of fire, and reduced to such a scene of misery and distress, as excited not only the pity, but the boldest exertions of the valiant English, in several instances, to snatch their enemies from destruction and death.

The intrepid captain Curtis, at the head of a brigade of marines, and at the hazard of his own life and the lives of his associates, dragged many men on the point of perishing from the burning ships of the combined fleet.

The Spanish admiral don Marino abandoned his ship but the moment before she was blown up. A number of ships, both of France and Spain, were reduced to the same distressed condition. A severe storm increased the catastrophe of the navy: but every compassionate mind will be willing to abridge a particular detail of such a period of horror; a period which portrayed images that seem to require a solemn pause, rather than a further dilation on the wretchedness of so many of our fellow-mortals.

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Lord Howe's arrival toward the termination of this tremendous ſcene, with a force ſufficient for the entire relief of the beſieged, completely defeated the hopes of the houſe of Bourbon, of obtaining the long contemplated object. Thus this ſtrong fortreſs, of which the Engliſh had been in poſſeſſion from the treaty of Utrecht, in one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-one, was again left to the triumph of the Britiſh nation. Its impregnable ſtrength had often defied the hoſtilities, and was now likely to continue the envy, of the neighbouring nations.

The memory of *Elliot* and *Boyde*, the two principal officers who ſuſtained this long and perilous ſiege, will be immortalized. They, with unexampled fortitude, endured the miſeries of fatigue and famine, until worn down by the firſt, and on the point of periſhing by the laſt. With ſkill, bravery, and reſolution, unparalleled in modern ſtory, they drove back the formidable invaders, blaſted the expectations of their enemies, and obtained the moſt ſignal victory, when all Europe had denounced the fall of Gibraltar.

It was about the middle of October when lord Howe arrived, with every thing neceſſary for the relief of the diſtreſſed garriſon. This extinguiſhed all remains of hope, that might have been indulged in the breaſts of ſome individuals among the commanders of the combin-

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ed fleet, already too much wounded and ſhattered for exertions of any kind. It is true a feint was made for an engagement with the Britiſh fleet, by don de Cordova on the part of Spain, and monſieur de Guichen the French admiral; but they ſoon diſcovered themſelves willing to retire, without any deciſive operations. The greateſt part of the ſquadron took the firſt favorable opportunity to ſheer off, and repaired with all poſſible expedition to Cadiz.

Let us now reſt a little from the roar of cannon, and the dread ſound of bombardment, thunder, and death, thoſe horrid interpreters of the hoſtile diſpoſitions of man, and liſten to the milder voice of negociation. This often aſſimilates or unites nations, by more rational and humane diſcuſſions, than the implements of ſlaughter and deſtruction produce; and political altercations are frequently terminated, before deciſions are announced by torrents of fire, ſpouted by the invention of man, to ſpread frightful deſolation over his own ſpecies.

The capture of Mr. Laurens, who had been appointed to negociate with the Dutch provinces, and the ſteps taken to effect a treaty of amity and commerce between the United States of America and the inhabitants of the Netherlands, have already been related; alſo, the manner by which his packages were recovered by an adventurous ſailor. In this depoſite was

found, when presented to the British minister, the form of a treaty of amity and commerce between the republic of Holland and the United States of America, containing thirty-four articles. These were indeed, obnoxious enough to the court of Great Britain; but it appeared that it had been a very deliberate business. These articles had been examined and weighed by William Lee, esquire, a commissioner from congress then resident in Europe. This had been done by the advice of Van Berkel, counsellor and pensionary of the city of Amsterdam, and some other judicious Dutchmen. Thus every thing had promised the speedy completion of a treaty between the two republics.*

In consequence of this discovery, orders were sent to the British minister resident at the Hague, which were acted upon by him with energy and fidelity. Sir Joseph Yorke complained and memorialized to the states-general, on the nature and form of the designed treaty: he also expatiated on the conduct of many of the principal characters in the several united provinces, and on the treacherous and dangerous nature and tendency to Great Britain, of

* See copies of these papers found in Mr. Laurens's trunk, in the British Annual Register, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, in journals of congress, and many other records.

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several other papers and letters found among Mr. Laurens's dispatches.

He repeated his complaints of the countenance and protection given by their high mightinesses to the *piratical Paul Jones*, while lying in the Texel, and recapitulated other circumstances of their conduct which had given offence to his nation; and intimated, that he expected within three weeks from the date of his memorial, some decided answer would be given, relative to the succors reclaimed eight months before; otherwise his majesty would look upon their conduct as breaking off the alliance on the part of their high mightinesses, and would not in future consider the united provinces in any other light, than on a footing with other neutral powers, unprivileged by treaty. But the minister obtained little satisfaction from the reply of their high mightinesses, or the deportment of the Hollanders.

The sum of their short reply was, that their high mightinesses were very desirous to coincide with the wishes of the king of England, but they could give no positive answer to his memorial, as it was impossible to return an answer in the short term of three weeks: they observed, that the memorial must be deliberated upon by the several provinces, and their resolutions waited for: that they were persuaded his majesty would not wish rigorously

to adhere to the afore mentioned time. They waxed the business by observing further, "that "their high mightinesses might be able to con- "clude upon an answer, in a manner conform- "able to the constitution of the republic; in "which they had no right to make any altera- "tion; and promised to accelerate the deliber- "ations upon that head as much as possible."

The final result however was, that within a short time the vengeance of Britain was denounced against the Hollanders, by an explicit declaration of war. This in some measure relieved the Batavian provinces from the constrained attitude in which they had for some time stood, between Great Britain and the United States of America. But no treaty of alliance, amity, and commerce, was settled between the two republics, until it was effected by the negociation of Mr. Adams, who was appointed by congress, and repaired to the Hague immediately after the unfortunate capture of Mr. Laurens; but the business of his mission was not completed until the present year.

On Mr. Adams's arrival in Holland, he found every thing in a happy train for negociation; the people well-disposed, and many of the most distinguished characters zealous for a treaty with the American states, without any farther

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delay. Perhaps no man was better qualified to treat with the Batavians, than Mr. Adams. His manners and habits were much more assimilated to the Dutch than to the French nation; he rendered himself acceptable to them, by associating much with the common classes, by which he penetrated their views; yet he made himself acquainted with the first literary characters among the citizens. He took lodgings at Amsterdam, for several months, at the house of Mr. Dumas, a man of some mercantile interest, considerable commercial knowledge, not acquainted with manners or letters, but much attached to the Americans, from the general predilection of Dutchmen in favor of republicanism.

Though this was the disposition of most of the inhabitants of the united provinces, yet, as has been observed, there was a party attached to the stadtholder, and to the measures of the British cabinet, that hung as a dead weight on the wishes of the generality of their countrymen, and for a time retarded the business of the American plenipotentiary.

Vigilant himself, and urged by men of the best information in the Batavian provinces, Mr. Adams, soon after his arrival in Holland, presented a long memorial to the states-general. In this he sketched some general ideas of the principles and the grounds of the declaration

of independence, and the unanimity with which it was received and supported by all the thirteen united colonies in America.*

He vindicated the American claim to independence in a very handsome manner, and represented it as the interest of all the powers of Europe, and more particularly of the united provinces of the Netherlands, to support and maintain that claim. He pointed out the natural and political grounds of a commercial connexion between America and Holland, reminded them of the similarity of their religious and political principles, of their long and arduous struggles to secure their rights, of the sufferings of their ancestors to establish their privileges on principles which their sons could never derelict. In short, he urged in the memorial every reason for an alliance, with clearness, precision, and strength of argument. He observed, "that "principles founded in eternal justice, and the "laws of God and nature, both dictated to "them, to cut in sunder all ties which had con-"nected them with Great Britain."†

Before Mr. Adams presented this memorial, he had been indefatigable in his endeavors to

* See Mr. Adams's memorial presented to the states-general one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

† Memorial.

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cherish the attachment already felt by individual characters, toward the cause of America, and to strengthen the favorable opinion that most of the Dutch provinces had adopted before his arrival in Holland.

He had at the request of a private gentleman,* given him in a series of letters, a general idea of the situation of America, before and at the present period. He drew a portrait of her temper, her manners, her views, and her deportment: he stated the universal alienation and aversion to Great Britain, that prevailed throughout the United States; their ability to endure the protraction of the war; and observed on the small proportion of people that still adhered to the royal cause: he gave a concise statement of the public debt, the resources and population of America; and asserted that they could boast a multitude of characters, of equal ability to support the American cause, either in the field or in congress, on the supposeable circumstance, that any of the officers of the one or the other should be corrupted by British gold.

In one of these letters he observed, that "they considered themselves not only contend-

* Dr. Calkoen, an eminent civilian of the city of Amsterdam.

"ing for the purest principles of liberty, civil "and religious, but against the greatest evils "that any country ever suffered; for they "knew, if they were deceived by England to "break their union among themselves, and "their faith with their allies, they would ever "after be in the power of England, who would "bring them into the most abject submission to "the government of a parliament the most "corrupted in the world, in which they would "have no voice or influence, at three thousand "miles distance."*

In another letter to the same gentleman he affirms, "that nothing short of an entire alter-"ation of sentiment in the whole body of the "people, can make any material change in the "councils or conduct of the United States; "and that Great Britain had not power or art "enough to change essentially, the temper, the "feelings, and the opinions, of between three "and four millions of people, at three thousand "miles distance, supported as they are by pow-"erful allies: that the people in America were "too enlightened to be deceived in any great "plan of policy; they understood the princi-"ples and nature of government too well, to

* See letter second to Dr. Calkoen.

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"be imposed on by any proposals short of their "object."*

These letters were published and put into the hands of influential characters, and had a powerful effect on the liberal minds of the Batavians, already pre-disposed to union and friendship with the Americans. No ready reply was made by the states-general to the judicious memorial presented by Mr. Adams: in consequence of this delay, petitions, remonstrances, and addresses, were presented to their high mightinesses from all the Dutch provinces. In these they urged both the propriety and the policy of receiving a public minister in due form, from the United States of America.

The deputies to the states-general were every where instructed to concur in the measure of receiving Mr. Adams, as ambassador from the American congress, without farther deliberation: they insisted that his letters of credence should be received, and that negociations should be immediately entered on, between him and the high authorities of the united provinces. Yet still the business lagged heavily: the intrigues of the

* Their object then was a free, independent republic, without any approximation to regal authority, or monarchic usages: there was then no sighing for rank, titles, and the expensive trappings of nobility.

duke of Brunſwick, the favorite and prime counſellor of the ſtadtholder, and the influence of the Britiſh miniſter, were for a time an overbalance for the energy of republican reſolves or entreaties.

This occaſioned great diſſatisfaction: a general murmur was heard through the ſeveral departments in the Dutch provinces: the meaſures of the court, and the duke of Brunſwick as the adviſer, were attacked from the preſſes, his diſmiſſion as field marſhal was urged, and his retirement from Holland inſiſted on. To him, in conjunction with the deſigns of England and the ſubſerviency of the ſtadtholder to the cabinet of Britain, was attributed the derangement of their marine, and the miſmanagement of all their public affairs.

Previous to this, in the aſſembly of the ſtates of Guelderland, in November, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-one, Robert Jaſper Van der Capellen, in a very ſpirited ſpeech, enforced with much preciſion, the neceſſity of oppoſing the meaſures which had created a general diſcordance through all the provinces of Holland.

He obſerved, "that a mean condeſcenſion, a "fawning compliance with the meaſures of "England, ought no longer to prevent us from

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"acknowledging the independence of a repub-
"lic, which after our own glorious example,
"has acquired its freedom by arms, and is daily
"ſtriving to ſhake off entirely, the galling yoke
"of our common enemy." He ſaid it was his opinion, that a treaty of amity between the two republics had been already too long held in ſuſpenſe, and that it was injuring both nations for their high mightineſſes to poſtpone the reception of the American miniſter, or keep back the negociation.

This was the general ſpirit of the moſt diſtinguiſhed members of the provinces, while Mr. Adams ſtill perſevered in every prudent meaſure, to facilitate the object of his miſſion. He was every where cordially received as an American, reſpected as a republican, and conſidered in the light of an ambaſſador from a new and great nation.

Mr. Adams was not indeed honored with a reply to his firſt memorial, but he was too zealous in the cauſe of his country to ſubmit long to ſuch an evaſive ſtep. Determined to bring on a ſpeedy deciſion, a ſhort time only elapſed, before the American miniſter, without waiting for a replication to his firſt, preſented a ſecond addreſs to the ſtates-general. In this he referred them to his former memorial, and demanded a categorical anſwer, that he might be able

to transmit to the authority under which he acted, an account of his negociation.* CHAP. XIV. 1782.

This second memorial was more effective in promoting the wishes of the friends of America, than any previous step. We have already seen from a variety of circumstances, that such was the desire, not only of the mercantile, but of most of the distinguished and patriotic characters in Holland, to enter into a close alliance with the American states, that it could no longer be postponed, without throwing the united provinces into distraction and confusion, that could not easily have been accommodated. The resolute and undaunted deportment of Mr. Adams, concurring with their dispositions, and with the interests and the views of the United Netherlands, at last accomplished the object of his mission, entirely to his own, and to the satisfaction of both republics, though it had been impeded by Great Britain, and not encouraged by any other power in Europe.

On the twenty-second of April, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two, Mr. Adams was admitted at the Hague, and with the usual cer-

* See Mr. Adams's address presented to Van der Sandheuvel, president of the states-general, January 9, 1782.

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emonies on ſuch occaſions, received as miniſter plenipotentiary from the United States of America.

Articles of alliance, and a treaty of amity, were ſigned by both parties, and a loan of money was ſoon offered by the Dutch, and accepted by Mr. Adams for the uſe of the United States. This treaty of alliance and friendſhip between the ſiſter republics of Holland and America, was the ſubject of much triumph to the latter, and not leſs to the miniſter who finiſhed the negociation. Every expreſſion of ſatisfaction and joy appeared in all claſſes of inhabitants through the Batavian provinces, on the confirmation of their union and alliance with a ſiſter republic.

The treaty between their high mightineſſes the ſtates-general, and the United States of America, contained twenty-nine articles. Theſe were in ſubſtance, firſt, that there ſhould be a firm, indiſſoluble, and general peace, between the *United Provinces of the Netherlands* and the *United States of America*, and the citizens, inhabitants of their reſpective ſtates. The ſecond and third articles ſtipulated mutually the duties to be paid, and the freedom of trade and navigation, without interruption by either nation, to whatever part of the univerſe their trade might be extended.

The fourth article was principally relative to the rights of commerce, the enjoyment of their own religion, and the rites of decent sepulture to the persons who might die in the territories of their allies. A number of other articles were inserted, which discovered, even in their treaties, the peculiar taste, genius, and apprehensions of republicans. They were in language and expression, in several instances, very different from the usual style and manner observed between monarchic powers, more tenacious of the obedience of their subjects, while living, than attentive to the preservation of their lives, or to the decent deposite of their ashes, when dead.

The other articles contained in this treaty, principally related to commercial intercourse between the contending powers. These were of great importance to the Dutch, whose energies were remarkable as a trading nation; nor were they of less consideration to the Americans, whose advantages promised that they might become one of the first commercial powers in the world.

The British minister, sir Joseph Yorke, sent on for the purpose, still zealously endeavoured, as he had done before, to shake the engagements of the republic of Holland, and draw them off from the interests of the American

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states. Though the court of Great Britain had been irritated until they had proceeded to the most vigorous and severe measures against the Dutch, yet on the successes of America, and the prospect of new acquisitions of strength and dignity from foreign alliances, they had condescended so far, as to permit their minister to make proposals of a separate peace with the United States of Holland.

These overtures for a separate peace, which England had recently made, might probably quicken the measures of the United States of Holland, and hasten the completion of the wishes of the Americans. They were rejected with disdain by the honest republicans: and at this period of amity between the two republics, the American minister boasted in a letter to the author, that he "should look down with pleasure from the other world, on the American "flag-staff planted in Holland."

The exultation and joy exhibited in the Batavian provinces, on signing the treaty between the two republics, was more than usually animated, and rose to an exhilaration of spirits seldom discovered in such a phlegmatic nation. Among many other instances of the general approbation of the measure, a society of citizens established at *Leon Warden*, under the motto of *Liberty and Zeal*, presented a medal to the states of Friesland, as the first public body that had

explicitly propofed a connexion and alliance with the American ftates.

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No people on earth were more paffionately enamoured with liberty, or more obftinate in the defence of freedom, than the inhabitants of Friefland: this is known from their ancient hiftory. They enjoyed their liberty, and retained a greater degree of independence than their neighbours, through a long courfe of years, even from Drufus to Charlemagne, and from Charlemagne down to the prefent time.* They have always been diftinguifhed for their free, independent fpirit; for their valor, magnanimity, and bold defence of the liberties of their province.

Though a general uneafinefs had long prevailed through every part of Holland, the deputies of Friefland had been more explicit than any of the provinces, with regard to the pernicious influence of the duke of Brunfwick. They had ftrongly expreffed their difcontent in general, with refpect to public meafures, and particularly with thofe relative to the navy department: they had written to the ftadtholder, and ftrongly expreffed the univerfal diftruft and difcontent, refpecting the manner in which the affairs of the nation had been conducted,

* See Univerfal Hiftory.

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and the consequences they apprehended, which could not fail to be highly prejudicial to public tranquillity. They attributed these disorders to the mal-administration of the duke of Brunswick, requested that he might no longer be permitted to continue either as an actor or adviser in the affairs of Holland, but that his serene highness the stadtholder, would cause him to be removed from court immediately.

This however was not done, nor was there any reason to suppose, notwithstanding he had acceded thereto, that the stadtholder and such as were attached to his family interest, and to the schemes and projects of the duke of Brunswick, were well pleased with the alliance between the United States of America and the Batavian provinces. Subsequent transactions evinced this, to the conviction of every one. But notwithstanding the secret chagrin which might pervade his, or the mind of any other individual, the great body of a nation, that had for near a century discovered an enthusiastic attachment to liberty, and who had surmounted inexpressible sufferings to maintain it, did not suppress the most lively demonstrations of general satisfaction on the happy event.

The medal above mentioned, presented by the society of *Leen Warden* to the states of Friesland, was expressive of the general sentiment of the nation, as well as of their own

alienation from England, and their attachment to America. On one ſide of it, dedicated by the ſociety of *Liberty and Zeal*, was repreſented a Frieſian, dreſſed according to their ancient characteriſtic cuſtom, holding out his right hand to a North American, in token of friendſhip and brotherly love, while with the left he rejects a ſeparate peace which England offers him.

There had been diſſenſions in Holland, which had exiſted a number of years previous to the preſent period. The people had been divided between an ariſtocratic and a republican party: the one influenced by their attachment to the ſtadtholder, the other had co-operated with the intereſts of France. In the midſt of the animoſities occaſioned by the diſſenſions of theſe two parties, a third aroſe of a ſtill more important nature, which embraced a ſyſtem more free than had yet exiſted in the republic of Holland.

This gave riſe to the obſervations in a work of celebrity, that—"Animated by the example "of North America, and by that ſpirit of liberty "and independence which has lately diffuſed "itſelf in the world, in favor of democracy, the "language of pure republicaniſm has been held "by its citizens. They have publicly talked of "chooſing delegates, and aſſerting the rights of "nature: their merchants and manufacturers "have taken to the uſe of arms, and are daily

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"improving themselves in military discipline. "To judge from the auspicious contagion that "has been caught from the revolution in America, we should be almost ready to say,—*One "more such revolution* would give freedom to the "world!"

The prevalence of this spirit in the Batavian provinces, rendered the work of negociation less arduous for the American ambassador. Yet while in Holland, Mr. Adams was in no point deficient in vigilance, nor did he neglect to fan the republican zeal, by every argument in favor of civil liberty, of the equal rights of man, and of a republican form of government, during his residence in the low countries.

His satisfaction at the successful termination of his mission, was evinced both in his public conduct, and in the private effusions of his pen. In his diplomatic character, Mr. Adams had never enjoyed himself so well, as while residing in the Dutch republic. Regular in his morals, and reserved in his temper, he appeared rather gloomy in a circle; but he was sensible, shrewd, and sarcastic, among private friends. His genius was not altogether calculated for a court life, amidst the conviviality and gaiety of Parisian taste. In France he was never happy: not beloved by his venerable colleague, doctor Franklin; thwarted by the minister, the count de Vergennes, and rid-

iculed by the fashionable and polite, as deficient in the *je ne scai quoi*, so necessary in highly polished society; viewed with jealousy by the court, and hated by courtiers, for the perseverance, frigidity, and warmth, blended in his deportment; he there did little of consequence, until the important period when, in conjunction with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jay, a treaty of peace was negociated between Great Britain and the United States of America.

Soon after the present period, Mr. Adams was summoned from the Hague by order of the American congress, directed to repair to Paris, and assist in the important work of negociating a peace between Great Britain and her former colonies, now a confederated and independent nation. In this business he acquitted himself with equal firmness, and equally to the satisfaction and approbation of his country, as he had before done in Holland. His reputation was enhanced among his countrymen, and his popularity kept up for a number of years, after the honorable part he had acted as a diplomatic character, in his treaty with Holland, and as a firm and zealous friend to the interests of his country, through the negociations for peace with his colleagues in France.

The loan of money obtained from Holland by the address of Mr. Adams, was a great relief

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to the United States. This was at a crisis when their resources were drained by a long expensive war, and a paper substitute for specie had ceased to be of any farther utility. He had so handsomely anticipated the future resources of America, and contrasted the immense public debt of Great Britain with the comparatively small expenditures for national purposes in America, that not only the Dutch government conceded willingly to the propriety of assisting the United States, by the advance of monies, but the affluent merchants, and others in possession of vast private property in that rich, commercial country, offered, with the utmost alacrity, some handsome loans, to assist and facilitate the freedom and growth of a young sister republic, from whom they expected to derive the greatest commercial advantages, when war should cease, and her independence was universally acknowledged.

Mr. Adams's opinion, at this early period, seemed to favor the idea, that America would be capable of bearing taxes to an immense amount in future, though this was a burden of which they had had, comparatively, little experience. He observed, that "the people in "America had not yet been disciplined to such "enormous taxation as in England, but that "they were capable of bearing as great taxes "in proportion as the English; and if the En-

"gliſh force them to it by continuing the war, "they will reconcile themſelves to it."*

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But it might have been obſerved, that it would require a great number of years, and many contingent events, to reconcile the inhabitants of the United States to the taxing of houſes, lands, hearths, window-lights, and all the conveniences of life, as in England. Not the neceſſity of extricating themſelves from old foreign debts, or newly-contracted expenſes for exigencies or projects, which they conſidered unneceſſary in a republican government, could ſuddenly lead a people generally to acquieſce in meaſures, to which they had heretofore been ſtrangers. The artificial creation of expenſes by thoſe who deem a *public debt* a *public bleſſing*, will eaſily ſuggeſt plauſible pretences for taxation, until every claſs is burdened to the utmoſt ſtretch of forbearance, and the great body of the people reduced to penury and ſlavery.

It does not always redound to the benefit of younger ſtates and leſs affluent nations, to become indebted to foreigners for large ſums of money; but without this aſſiſtance from ſeveral of the European powers, it would have been impoſſible for the United States, under their complicated inconveniences and embarraſſments, to have reſiſted ſo long the opulent and power-

* See letter eleventh to Mr. Calkoen.

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ful nation of Britain. America was necessitated to borrow money abroad to support her credit at home; and had not the Dutch loan been obtained, it is impossible to calculate what would have been the consequences to the United States, who had not at this period, even the weak support of an artificial medium, while their armies were unpaid, and their soldiers on the point of mutiny, for the want of immediate subsistence. His countrymen thought themselves highly indebted to Mr. Adams, for procuring this timely supply of cash, as well as for so ably negociating a treaty of amity and commerce. It gave a new spring to all their exertions, which had for some time lagged heavily, for want of the necessary sinews for the protraction of war, or for enterprise in any other line of business.

CHAPTER XXVI.

General Uneasiness with Ministerial Measures in England, Scotland, and Ireland.—Loud Complaints against the Board of Admiralty.—Sir Hyde Parker resigns his Commission.—Motion for an Address for Peace, by General Conway.—Resignation of Lord George Germaine—Created a Peer of the Realm.—Lord North resigns—Some Traits of his Character.—Petition of the City of London for Peace.—Coalition of Parties—A new Ministry.—Death and Character of the Marquis of Rockingham.—Lord Shelburne's Administration.—Negociations for Peace—Provisional Articles signed.—Temper of the Loyalists.—Execution of Captain Huddy—Consequent Imprisonment of Captain Asgill—Asgill's Release.

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WHILE new alliances were negociating between the Americans and several European powers, and the importance of the United States was appreciating in the scale of nations, the councils of Britain were confused, and the parliament and the nation split into parties.

The American war was become very unpopular in England, and discontents prevailed in all parts of the empire. Many of the favorites of the present reign had been taken from be-

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yond the wall of Adrian,* yet there was a growing dissatisfaction with all the measures of administration, and a prevailing discontent and uneasiness, through the Scotch nation; but this was owing more to some religious dissensions, than from any liberal or enlarged views of political liberty, among the class of people loudest in complaint.

Yet much less was to be apprehended from the discontents in Scotland, than from those of the oppressed Irish, driven nearly to the point of revolt. They had long and justly murmured at the high-handed measures of the parliament of England, and the degraded and inferior rank in which they were viewed at the court of St. James. The late restrictions on their commerce, a recent embargo for three years on their staple export, the inhibitions, the

* No national reflection is here designed. It is very immaterial, as observed by the great lord Chatham, whether a man was rocked in his cradle on one side of the Tweed or the other. The writer of these pages has the highest respect for the distinguished literary characters that adorn the Scotch nation. Their strength of genius, and profound investigations in philosophic, political, theological, and historic compositions, are at least on an equal scale of ability, with any of the learned luminaries of the law, or any other science, nearer the splendid beams of monarchy; and when called to distinguished office, they have perhaps, with some few exceptions, discharged their public functions with equal honor, capacity, and integrity.

disqualifications, and frequent severe penalties, laid on the great body of the Roman Catholic inhabitants, with a long list of other grievances that might be enumerated, they considered as marks of national contempt, and a sacrifice of the interest of Ireland, to favor the avarice of British contractors, speculators, and pensioners. They were sensible that no means were neglected to rivet the chains in which they were held by the prejudices of Englishmen, with regard to their commerce, their police, and their religious opinions.

Their resentment did not evaporate in unmeaning and inactive complaint: they entered into combinations against the use and purchase of British manufactures, and prohibited their importation into Ireland, under very heavy penalties: measures for defence, and military associations, were every where adopted: this they justified from the apprehension of foreign invasion, and the extraordinary weakness of the state, in consequence of drawing off the troops for active service in America, which had usually been stationed in Ireland for the defence of that kingdom.

The Irish volunteers who assembled in arms on this occasion, soon amounted to near sixty thousand men, and daily increased in number and strength. These were not composed merely

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of the middling or lower classes of people; men of fortune and character were seen in the ranks, and even many of the nobility appeared to encourage these associations.

This armament was very alarming to Great Britain, but it could not be suppressed: the inhabitants of Ireland were bold and undaunted; and, encouraged by the example of America, they strenuously supported their rights, and made use of the same arguments against a standing army in time of peace, which had been urged in the assemblies and congresses of the colonies. They resolutely refused to submit longer to such unconstitutional and dangerous measures, resisted the mutiny act, denied its validity, and opposed and prevented the magistrates in making provision for the remnant of the king's troops still left in the country.

One of their patriots* of name and ability, asserted that the act was dangerous and unconstitutional; that "the mutiny bill, or martial "law methodized, was not only different from, "but directly opposite to, the common law of "the land; it set aside trial by jury, departed "from her principles of evidence, declined her "ordinary tribunals of justice, and in their "place established a summary proceeding, arbi-

* Mr. Grattan.

"trary crimes, arbitrary punishments, a secret "sentence, and a sudden execution."

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The determinations of the Irish to recover their freedom, and maintain their native rights, were represented in the most eloquent strains of rhetoric: the strong and pointed language was dictated by the heart, approved by the judgment, and expressed in the periods of the best orators. The names of many well-informed Irish gentlemen were distinguished, and will be handed down on the conspicuous list, both for the brilliancy of their epithets, and their strength of reasoning. Among these, the celebrated Mr. Grattan was marked for his superior eloquence, learning, patriotism, and other virtues. The talents of Mr. Flood and others were called forth; and by the energies and exertions of those patriotic leaders, they obtained some amelioration of the burdens complained of. Thus by the decided spirit of many eminent characters in the nation, the British parliament was induced to take some steps that produced a temporary quiet in Ireland: more lenity was shewn toward the Roman Catholics, and some other small indulgencies granted, but nothing sufficient to restore lasting tranquillity to the country.

While the sister kingdoms were thus restless and dissatisfied, a general uneasiness discovered

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itſelf throughout England, on the diſappointment of their naval operations. After the affair on the Dogger-Bank, ſir Hyde Parker thought he had been ſo far unſupported, that his honor impelled him to reſign. The neglect of proper ſupport to the worthy Kempenfelt, and other brave naval commanders, was highly cenſured throughout the kingdom.

Mr. Fox brought a number of direct and explicit charges againſt the board of admiralty; firſt, in ſuffering the count de Graſſe to ſail to the Weſt Indies, without an effort to intercept him; ſecondly, the loſs of the St. Euſtatia convoy, when near ſixty ſail of Britiſh ſhips, with much property and many priſoners, were ſent into Cadiz by don Lewis de Cordova, who commanded the combined fleet of France and Spain at the time.

The engagement with admiral Zeutman, the failure of admiral Kempenfelt to cut off the count de Guichen, and ſeveral other diſappointments in the naval line, were all attributed to the ſame cauſe, negligence and incapacity in the firſt lord of the admiralty. An addreſs to the king was propoſed, that the earl of Sandwich ſhould be removed from his majeſty's councils forever: his character was univerſally vilified in England: a writer in that country may have delineated it more exactly than can be expected from any one at a diſtance.

He obſerves, "that future hiſtorians may do "juſtice to his moral character, but that in ſo "barren a wilderneſs, it would be happy if one "ſolitary virtue could enliven the proſpect. "But, as deſtitute of feeling as of principle, "amidſt the copious crop of vices which over-"whelmed his whole character, not even that "of cowardice was wanting, to move contempt "as well as deteſtation; and ſtrange it is, "that though his ſentiments with regard "to both natural and revealed religion were "well known, yet ſo timid was his nature, that "he never dared to be alone."

"After theſe general traits, we cannot won-"der, that he was in his political life the decid-"ed enemy of his country, and the devoted "inſtrument of a corrupt cabinet. His name, "indeed, was never mentioned, without excit-"ing ſentiments of contempt. If nature had "endowed him with talents, the courſe of diſ-"ſipation in which he was engaged, muſt have "diſqualified him for their exerciſe. He poſ-"ſeſſed an active, but not a ſtrong mind: prac-"tiſed in the intrigues of a court, and the hab-"its of parliament, he could ſpeak with facility, "but his ideas never took an extenſive range; "the paltry maxims of court intrigue finiſhed "the outlines of his character."*

* See Hiſtory of the Reign of George the Third, by Wenderburne.

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Mr. Fox's addreſs for the removal of the earl of Sandwich, was ſupported by lord Howe and admiral Keppel; they cenſured his miſmanagement and prodigality, expoſed his blunders and want of capacity, and painted in glowing colors his miſconduct, and the fatal conſequences to the navy and to the nation, by his having been thus long continued in an office of ſuch high truſt and reſponſibility: but he had his friends and defenders; and after long and warm debates, the motion for his removal was loſt by a ſmall majority.

After many deſultory grounds and circumſtances of uneaſineſs were diſcuſſed, a motion of high importance was made in the houſe of commons, by general Conway; this was for an addreſs to the king, requeſting him to put an immediate period to the deſtructive war in America. This motion was loſt only by a ſingle vote—one hundred and ninety-three were in favor of, and one hundred and ninety-four againſt it. But the object of peace was not relinquiſhed; the addreſs was again brought forward, and finally carried.

After various expedients had been propoſed, which were reprobated in ſtrong terms, lord Cavendiſh moved, that the houſe ſhould reſolve, that the enormous expenſes of the nation, the loſs of the colonies, a war with France, Spain, Holland, and America, without a ſingle ally,

was occaſioned by a want of foreſight and ability in his majeſty's miniſters, and that they were unworthy of further confidence.

In ſhort, ſuch a general reprobation of all former meaſures enſued, and ſuch a univerſal vilification of the heads of departments, and ſuch unlimited cenſure fell on every part of their conduct, through a ſeven years' war, that the old miniſtry found themſelves on the point of diſſolution.

Lord George Germaine, who had kept his ground beyond all expectation, through a very tempeſtuous ſeaſon, now found himſelf obliged to reſign his office as miniſter of the American department. Though rewarded for his ſervices by peculiar tokens of his majeſty's favor, and dignified by a peerage, he ſtood for a time in a moſt humiliating predicament. Several of the houſe of lords thought the nation diſgraced, and themſelves affronted, by the creation of a man to that illuſtrious order, who had formerly been cenſured by a court-martial, and diſmiſſed from all employment in a military line, and who had recently and obſtinately purſued meaſures in the cabinet, and ſupported a deſtructive ſyſtem, that had brought the nation to the brink of ruin.*

* The marquis of Carmarthen ſtood at the head of oppoſition againſt the promotion of lord George Germaine.

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His promotion was alſo oppoſed in the houſe of commons, from the "impolicy of rewarding, "in the preſent conjuncture of affairs, a perſon "ſo deeply concerned in the American war." It was obſerved, that it might have a tendency to defeat the purpoſes of a great and ſolemn inquiry, in which the conduct of that noble perſonage might appear to deſerve the ſevereſt puniſhment. But ſupported by royal prerogative, his lordſhip retained his high rank, and enjoyed a kind of triumph in the favor of the king, in ſpite of the reproaches of his enemies; yet, neither ribbons or ſtars could eraſe the ſtigma that hung on his character, both as a miniſter and a ſoldier.

Nor at this period could the puiſſaint nobleman at the head of the treaſury, any longer ſtand the torrent of reproach and complaint that was poured out againſt him. On the twentieth of March, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-two, lord *North* reſigned his place, and declared to the houſe of commons, that the preſent adminiſtration from that day ceaſed to exiſt.

It has been obſerved by a Britiſh writer of ability, that "lord North was educated in the "ſchool of corruption; naturally of an eaſy, "pliant temper; that that diſpoſition was in-"creaſed by the maxims he had imbibed. He "was rather a man of wit, than conſummate

"abilities; ready and adroit, rather than wise "and sagacious. He considered the faculty of "parrying the strokes levelled at him in the "house of commons, as the first qualification "of a minister. Under his administration, a "regular system of pension and contract was "adopted, more pernicious than the casual ex-"pedients of Walpole, to facilitate his meas-"ures."*

However he might merit the severities contained in the several sketches of his character, his lordship quitted his station with as much firmness, address, and dignity, as any man of understanding and political abilities possibly could have done, who had stood at the head

* See a view of the reign of George the third. Another British writer has thus sketched the character of lord North:—"It must be remarked, that a certain confused-"ness and indistinctness of ideas unfortunately pervaded "his general system of thinking: he seemed habitually to "aim at the thing that was right, but invariably stopped "short of the true and genuine standard of political pro-"priety. With the reputation of meaning well, he acquir-"ed the imputation of indecision and instability. The "general tenor of his administration must certainly be al-"lowed to exhibit very few indications of energy, wisdom, "or force of penetration. But occasionally capable of "resolute and persevering exertions, his temper was mild, "equable, and pleasant, although his notions of govern-"ment evidently appeared of the high *tory* cast."

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of adminiſtration during an unfortunate war that continued near ſeven years. At the ſame time, what had greatly enhanced his difficulties and his reſponſibility, all the other powers in Europe, were either in alliance with America, or ſtood by as unconcerned ſpectators of a combat, which augured a train of moſt important events to the political, civil, and religious ſtate of Chriſtendom, if not to the world.

His lordſhip declared, that he did not mean to ſhrink from trial; that he ſhould always be prepared to meet it; that a ſucceſſor might be found of better judgment, and better qualified for the high and arduous ſtation; but none more zealouſly attached to the intereſt of his country, and the preſervation of the Britiſh conſtitution, than himſelf.

It is indeed eaſy to believe, that his lordſhip was willing to retire, and happy to quit the helm of ſtate, which he had held with ſuch an unſucceſsful hand. He had ſent out his mandates, and proclaimed his reciſions, until the thirteen United States of America were irretrievably loſt to Great Britain; until Minorca was captured by the Spaniards....Dominica, St. Vincent's, Tobago, Grenada, and other iſlands in the Weſt Indies, by the French; and until two Britiſh armies, commanded by ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed officers in the nation, were priſoners in the American ſtates.

Thus after the blood of thousands of the best soldiers in England, of the best officers in the nation, had been sacrificed, and multitudes of Americans, formerly the best subjects to the crown of Britain, had been immolated on the altar of ambition, avarice, or revenge; after the nation was involved in expenses beyond calculation, her trade ruined, and the national character disgraced by the iniquitous principles of the war; it is not strange that the parliament was agitated, the ministry dismayed, and the people thrown into consternation and disgust. The murmur was universal, the public councils were divided, and the ministry and their measures were become the ridicule of foreign nations.

Through all the struggle between Great Britain and her colonies, not one of the powers of Europe had declared against America; but on the contrary, most of them had either secretly or openly, espoused her cause. Yet it is not to be supposed that the passive demeanor of some, and the friendly deportment of others, was the result of a general love of liberty among potent nations, or splendid courts, where the sceptre of royalty was swayed, at least in some of them, with a very despotic hand. Their interests and their ambition were united; and led them

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to anticipate and to boaſt the pernicious conſequences to England of this unfortunate war.

Doubtleſs a jealouſy of the enormous power of Britain, and the proud glory to which ſhe had arrived in the preceding reign, operated ſtrongly to cheriſh the pacific diſpoſition of ſome, and to prompt others to lend an hoſtile arm to diſſever the growing colonies from the crown and authority of Great Britain. They could not but rejoice at the diſmemberment of an empire, that had long been the dread of ſome, and the envy and hatred of other nations. It was too ſoon for them to forget, that under the wiſe and energetic adminiſtration of a Chatham, the kingdoms of the earth had trembled at the power of England; that in conjunction with the American colonies, *Britannia*, mounted on a triumphal car, had bid proud defiance to all the potentates in Europe; that the thunder of her cannon was dreaded from the eaſtern ſeas to the weſtern extreme; and that her flag was revered, and that her navy gave laws, from the Ganges to the Miſſiſippi.

The inſolence of this proud miſtreſs of the ſeas only partially checked, her glory ſhrouded, and the haughty iſlanders humbled....humbled by their own injudicious and overbearing meaſures, was a ſpectacle viewed with delight by neighbouring nations, and contemplated by France with peculiar ſatisfaction. Yet it was

perhaps, equally the policy and the intereſt of both the French and the Britiſh prime miniſters, at this period, to promote pacific meaſures. It was the wiſh of both nations to be relieved from the diſtreſſes of a long and expenſive war; and the officers in the firſt departments were convinced, more eſpecially in England, that they had little other chance to keep their places, than by a compliance with the general will of the people.

The diſcontents among the inhabitants of Great Britain, ran higher than ever. Chagrined by repeated defeat and loſſes, both by ſea and land; alarmed at the monſtrous accumulation of the national debt, the weight of taxes; the value of landed property daily ſinking, and the public burthens increaſing; many gentlemen who had been ſanguine in favor of the American war, ſeemed to awaken at once from their lethargy, and to appear ſenſible, that ruin ſtared in the face of themſelves, as well as of the nation.

From the preſent temper that diſcovered itſelf within the houſe of commons, or from appearances without, the minority had no reaſon to be diſcouraged with regard to their favorite object, which was the reſtoration of peace between Great Britain and the colonies. On the twenty-ſeventh of February, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-two, general Conway made

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a ſecond motion for addreſſing the throne, and urging that the ruinous war with America ſhould no longer be purſued.

Fortunately, a petition from the city of London was the ſame day preſented, praying that a ceſſation of hoſtilities between Great Britain and her former provinces, might immediately take place. The motion for peace was now carried in the houſe without much oppoſition: an addreſs was preſented for that purpoſe, to the king, on the firſt day of March. In this he was humbly implored to lend his ſanction to meaſures for a reſtoration of general harmony. His anſwer, though in milder language than had of late been the faſhion of the court, was not ſufficiently explicit, but it was not left open to retraction. The prompt meaſures, the zeal and vigor of an oppoſition that had long been in the minority, at laſt gained the aſcendancy, and ſecured a truce ſo much deſired by a people weary of war, and ſo neceſſary for the relief, the honor, and the reſtoration of character to a gallant nation.

In order to facilitate this happy event, a propoſal for conciliation was made, that could ſcarcely have been expected to ſucceed. A *coaleſcence of parties* where animoſities had run ſo high, and the minds of men had been ſo embittered by a ſeries of diſappointments and unceaſing irritation, was a circumſtance not

within the calculation of any one. But it was found neceſſary to bury, or at leaſt to ſuppreſs, the prejudices of party, to lay aſide private reſentment, and to unite in one ſyſtem for the general good. All were ſo convinced of this neceſſity, that the propoſal was conceded to; and after the reſignation of lord North, a complete change of miniſtry took place, compoſed of active and conſpicuous characters from each party; but according to a trite ſaying, it proved indeed, no more than a *rope of ſand.*

Sir Welbore Ellis had been appointed miniſter for the American department, immediately on the removal of lord George Germaine. But his principles and his reaſonings relative to American affairs; his general obſervations on the tranſactions of war, of the belligerent powers, of the French nation, of the American loyaliſts, of the means of harmony, and the reſtoration of peace; ſubjected him to the ſatirical ſtrokes, and the ſevere epithets of pointed ridicule, that have always flowed ſo eaſy from the lip of the oratorical Burke. The chaſtiſement alſo of his opinions by Mr. Fox and others, zealous for the termination of the conteſt between Great Britain and her colonies, ſhewed that the friend and pupil of lord Sackville did not ſtand on very firm ground.

Though it appeared to the world to be compoſed of motley materials, yet all matters were

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adjusted for the establishment of a new administration, and the nation cherished the most sanguine hopes from the change. The marquis of Rockingham stood at the head of the new arrangement. No character among the nobility of Britain, was at this time held in higher estimation than his; nor was any man better qualified for the appointment of first lord of the treasury, as a successor to lord North, whose character, principles, abilities, and perseverance, have been sketched in the course of narration.

The manners of Rockingham were amiable; his temper, mild and complacent; his rank, fortune, and personal influence, commanding; his principles, uniform in favor of the rights of man; and his capacity, and constant opposition to the American war, rendered him a fit person to stand in this high station of responsibility. He was well qualified to correct the political mistakes of his predecessor, and to retrieve the honor of the nation on the approach of negociations for peace. But as in human life the most important events sometimes depend on the character of a single actor, the sudden *exit* of such a character often blasts the hopes, clouds the minds, and defeats the expectations of contemporaries.

This observation was fully verified in the premature death of the noble marquis, who liv-

ed only three months after his appointment to the helm of adminiſtration. All eyes had been fixed on him as the band of union, and the promoter and the prop of both public and private peace; but his death, which took place on the firſt of July, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-two, involved his country in new difficulties, and created new ſcenes of diſſenſion and animoſity.

Many other departments in the new ſyſtem of miniſterial meaſures, were filled by gentlemen of the firſt character and conſideration. *Lord John Cavendiſh* was appointed chancellor of the exchequer—*The Duke of Richmond*, maſter of the ordnance—*Grafton*, lord privy-ſeal—*Admiral Keppel*, firſt lord of the admiralty—*Lord Camden*, preſident of the council—*General Conway*, commander in chief of all the forces in Great Britain—*Mr. Thomas Townſend*, ſecretary at war—*Lord Shelburne* and *Mr. Fox*, principal ſecretaries of ſtate—*Colonel Barre*, treaſurer of the navy—And *Mr. Burke*, paymaſter of the troops.

On the death of the marquis of Rockingham, lord Shelburne, to the ſurpriſe of his aſſociates in the miniſtry, had gained ſuch an intereſt as to obtain the appointment of firſt lord of the treaſury, in the room of a favorite of the nation and of the new miniſtry. To the newly coaleſced adminiſtration, the unexpected advancement of lord Shelburne to this dignified and

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important ſtation, was ſo diſguſting, that it broke the coalition. Mr. Fox and lord Cavendiſh reſigned their places. This precipitant dereliction of office at ſuch a critical period, by gentlemen of their high conſideration, was regretted by ſome, ſeverely cenſured by others, and was mortifying indeed to their friends, who, though far from being pleaſed, continued to act with the new lord-treaſurer.

The reaſons aſſigned by Mr. Fox for thus quitting his place, at ſuch a criſis, were, "that "the ſyſtem in which he conſented to unite in "the coalition, was not likely to be purſued;" that the firſt principle of this ſyſtem was, an expreſs acknowledgment of the independence of the United States of America, inſtead of making it an article in the proviſional treaty, as propoſed by ſome: to this unequivocal independence of America, he knew lord Shelburne to be oppoſed.

In reply to this, his lordſhip roſe and defended his own opinions. He declared he was not aſhamed to avow, and to act upon, the ideas of the great lord Chatham: he ſaid it was well known, that this diſtinguiſhed ſtateſman had aſſerted, that "the ſun of England's glory "would ſet, if independence was granted to "America." He added, that he "wiſhed him-"ſelf had been deputed to congreſs, that he "would then have exerted all his talents to

"convince them, that if their independence "was signed, their liberties were gone forever." He expressly declared that it was his opinion, "that the independence of the united colonies "not only threatened the extinction of their "own liberties, but the ruin of England; and "that certainly by *giving them independence*, they "would finally be deprived of that freedom "they had been struggling to secure and enjoy."

It was difficult, even at this late period, to convince many of the most intelligent gentlemen in England, that *independence* was a gift that America did not now ask; the boon was their own; obtained by their own prowess and magnanimity, in conjunction with the armies of their brave allies.

It may be proper to observe, that if England should in reality feel, that the splendor of her solar rays are eclipsed by the dismemberment of such a branch of the empire, the amputation might not yet be fatal to her prosperity and glory. They might yet prosper in a friendly alliance with the colonies, if the parliament, the nation, and their sovereign, should be in future disposed to moderation and justice, and would shew themselves sincere in promoting friendship and harmony with an infant republic. It is true this republic has been forced into pre-

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mature existence; yet she held herself in all diplomatic concerns, on a footing with any other nation, and was now ready to form alliances with them and all other foreign powers, without becoming dependent on, or tributary to any.

Affairs were now brought to a point; there was no possibility of oscillating longer between peace and war: coercion had been long enough unsuccessfully tried; negociation was now the only path to be trodden, however thorny it might appear to the pride of royalty, or to the *omnipotence* of a British parliament.

After repeated captures of the best appointed armies, composed both of domestic and foreign troops, despair of subjugating the United States had lowered down the spirit of the nation, and of the king of England so far, as to become willing to treat on terms for the restoration of amity, and to speak with some degree of temper, of the total separation and independence of America.

Lord Shelburne's opinions had been so diametrically opposite to those of the gentlemen who had seceded from the administration, that they thought themselves fully justified in withdrawing from public service, even while the important business was in agitation, and every thing ripening for new negociations, replete

with events beyond the calculations of the wiſeſt ſtateſmen and politicians. In their ſelf approbation they were confirmed, when they thought they diſcovered a degree of duplicity in the buſineſs. Notwithſtanding lord Shelburne had explicitly avowed, that his own wiſhes were of a different nature, it appeared he had directed general Carleton and admiral Digby, to acquaint the commander in chief of the American army, and to requeſt him to inform congreſs, that the king of Great Britain deſirous of peace, had commanded his miniſters about to negociate, to inſure the independence of the thirteen provinces, inſtead of making it a condition of a general treaty.*

But when Mr. Oſwald, who had been appointed to act as the commiſſioner of peace in behalf of Great Britain, and to arrange the proviſional articles for that purpoſe, arrived at Paris, in the autumn of one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-two, it appeared that his inſtructions were not ſufficiently explicit. They did not ſatisfy the American agents, deputed by congreſs to negociate the terms of reconciliation among the contending powers. Theſe

* This ſentiment had been communicated, by order of the miniſter, in a joint letter from general Carleton and lord Digby to general Waſhington, dated New York, Auguſt 2, 1782.

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were doctor Franklin, John Jay, and John Adams, esquires: Mr. Adams was still at the Hague; but he had been directed by congress to repair to France, to assist his colleagues in their negociations for peace.

The ambiguity of Mr. Oswald's commission, occasioned much altercation between the count de Vergennes and Mr. Jay, on the subject of the provisional articles. Their disputes were not easily adjusted; and the Spanish minister, the count de Aranda, rather inclined to an acquiescence in the proposals of the British commissioner. Mr. Jay however resisted with firmness; and was supported in his opinions by Mr. Adams, who soon after arrived in Paris. But before his arrival, Mr. Reyneval, the secretary and confidential friend of the French minister, repaired rather privately to England. It was suspected, and not without sufficient grounds, that this visit was decidedly intended to procure a conference with lord Shelburne.

It was undoubtedly the wish of both France and England, to exclude America from the right of fishing on the Banks of Newfoundland; an advantage claimed by Americans as a right of nature, from their contiguous situation, and as their right by prescription. The American commissioners insisted, that their claims were equally just with any exclusive pretensions, either of Great Britain or France. The navi-

gation of the Miſſiſippi, Britiſh debts, and the American loyaliſts, were matters of diſſenſion, debate, and difficulty.

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The American miniſters were not diſpoſed to relinquiſh any claims of honor, equity, or intereſt, either to the haughty demands of Great Britain, the intrigues of France, or even to the condeſcending inſtructions, in ſome inſtances, of their own national congreſs. This body had, in the enthuſiaſm of their gratitude for the aſſiſtance lent in their diſtreſs by France, inſtructed their agents to take no ſtep of importance, without the advice and counſel of the marquis de la Fayette, which would have given great advantage to the French miniſtry.*

The limits of the *eaſtern* boundaries of the United States, were a ſubject of diſpute, thought by ſome of them of leſs conſequence; but with regard to the *weſtern* territorial rights, the American commiſſioners were tenacious indeed. The American territory has been parcelled out, and patenteed by the ſovereigns of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and by exiſting treaties, the United States have no inconſiderable claim in the diſtribution. Their claims were undoubtedly founded on as equitable a baſis as thoſe of Great Britain and France. The negociating miniſters of congreſs were un-

* See journals of congreſs.

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willing to relinquish any part of their claim; they supported their independent attitude with manly dignity, nor did they yield in the smallest degree to the encroaching spirit of Britain.

The American claims to a vast uncultivated tract of wilderness, which neither Great Britain, France, or America, had any right to invade, may ultimately prove a most unfortunate circumstance to the Atlantic states, unless the primary object of the American government should be, to civilize and soften the habits of savage life. But if the lust of domination, which takes hold of the ambitious and the powerful in all ages and nations, should be indulged by the authority of the United States, and those simple tribes of men, contented with the gifts of nature, that had filled their forests with game sufficient for their subsistence, should be invaded, it will probably be a source of most cruel warfare and bloodshed, until the extermination of the original possessors. In such a result, the mountains and the plains will perhaps be filled with a fierce, independent race of European and American emigrants, too hostile to the borderers on the seas to submit willingly to their laws and government, and perhaps too distant, numerous, and powerful, to subdue by arms.*

* The reader will observe, that the author of this work has been in the habit of making appropriate observations on

It was the opinion of ſome of the American commiſſioners for negociating the treaty of peace, that the count de Vergennes was oppoſed to the claims of the United States in every ſtage of the buſineſs; not becauſe, in equity, he thought they had no right to the fiſheries, or the weſtern lands, but from a general unfriendly diſpoſition to America, and a reluctance to her being declared by Great Britain, an independent nation. But it is more probable that his cold, equivocal demeanor aroſe not ſo much from any perſonal diſaffection to the people or to individuals, as from a deſire to hold the Americans forever dependent on France. It was ſuggeſted by ſome, to be the policy of that nation, to endeavour to keep the United States as long as poſſible dependent on her aid and protection.

The political creed of monſieur de Vergennes is ſaid to have been, that "it was abſolutely "neceſſary to hate the Engliſh....to cajole the "Spaniards....not to hurt the Emperor....to live "on good terms with Pruſſia....to gain over the "Dutch....to protect the Turks....to reſpect

events as they paſſed, and has often hazarded conjectures on probable reſults. The work was written a number of years before publication, but ſhe did not think proper either to eraſe them, or alter the manner, on reviſion. Some of thoſe conjectures have already taken place; others probably may, at ſome ſubſequent period.

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"Rome....to ſupport the infant republic of "America....to ſubſidize Switzerland....and to "inſpect the conduct of the Colonies."

The French were indeed generally ſenſible, that moſt of the citizens of America ſpurned at all ideas of a dependence on any foreign power, after her emancipation from Britain. Yet they were jealous that many others felt ſo warmly prejudiced in favor of a nation from whom they derived their origin, that they little doubted of a renewal of the connexion with, or even a *dependence* again on, Great Britain, when the noiſe of war ſhould ceaſe, and the old habits of intercourſe, ſo natural from conſanguinity, language, and manners, ſhould be re-aſſumed. This jealouſy was diſſeminated, and theſe apprehenſions were expreſſed, by gentlemen of judgment and penetration throughout the kingdom of France, both in public and in private circles. Indeed it was the general opinion there, that a predilection in favor of England would ſuperſede, in the American mind, a connexion with any other European power, as ſoon as recent injuries were forgotten, and the paſſions of men had ſubſided.

Time and opportunities afterwards evinced, that the moſt liberal ſentiments toward America governed the French nation in general: it appeared by their conduct in many ſubſequent tranſactions, that there was very little to juſtify

the opinion, that the design of the nation was to hold the American colonies dependent on France, or even to continue the alliance but on terms of reciprocity and mutual advantage.

No national contracts ever yet bound mankind so firmly, as not to be shaken when they militate with personal or national interests: much less does a religious observance of treaties prevent their abandoning former obligations, when the balance of advantage is likely to be thrown into the hands of their foes.

From the jealousy of the French of the power and rivalry of the English nation, they might rationally infer, that if the old and natural connexion with the parent state should again be revived, it would cut off the many advantages they had promised themselves, from an irreparable breach between Great Britain and the colonies. Thus, some of the politicians in France judged this a reason sufficient for the most strenuous efforts in the ancient, hereditary enemy of Great Britain, to hold, and if possible to bind America by treaties, to conditions that might in some measure make her dependent on themselves; at least, these are reasons of policy: reasons of equity, when inconsistent with interest, are seldom to be found among states-

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men and politicians deputed to tranſact national affairs.

Among the many difficulties that occurred in the negociations for peace, the demands made in favor of the *American loyaliſts*, both by the Britiſh and the French miniſtry, were not the moſt eaſily accommodated of any of the impediments thrown in the way of conciliation. But on Mr. Oſwald's receiving a new commiſſion from his court, ſoon after the count de Reyneval's viſit to England, negociations went forward, all difficulties were ſurmounted, and proviſional articles of peace between Great Britain and America, were ſigned by both parties on the thirtieth of November, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-two.

In the mean time, the pacific diſpoſitions of the Britiſh cabinet were (as obſerved) announced to the commanders of their armies and fleets in America, and through them to congreſs, and the commander in chief of the troops of the United States. But though the ideas of peace were congenial to their wiſhes, and flattering to their hopes, they ſtill conſidered that they had much to apprehend, before they could quietly ſit down in the enjoyment of domeſtic felicity. The Americans on this intelligence, loſt no part of their vigilance: they thought it more than ever neceſſary to be guarded at all points againſt the machinations and intrigues

of their enemies, the emiſſaries of Britain, and the rancor and violence of American refugees and loyaliſts. This deſcription of perſons were now, more than ever, embittered by the idea, that England was about to be reconciled to the colonies on their own terms, abſolute and unconditional independence.

Their ſituation at that time, indeed, appeared to be haplefs enough. The corps of provincial troops that had been expoſed in the ſervice of Britain, and had riſked every thing during the war, expected now to be diſbanded on the peace, when both officers and privates had little to hope from government, according to the proviſional articles, and ſtill leſs from their country.

According to the ſtipulations of the Britiſh negociators, the whole body of loyaliſts were left unprovided for any further, than by an engagement from the American commiſſioners, to ſuggeſt to congreſs and to urge in their behalf, a recommendation to the ſeveral legiſlatures of the United States. The purport of this recommendation was, a propoſal that they would ſuffer ſuch as had property, to return for a limited time, to endeavour to recover or re-purchaſe their confiſcated eſtates. Twelve months was the time agreed upon by the commiſſioners, for the reſidence of the *tories* in their native provinces after the ratification of peace.

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Thus, abandoned by their friends, and caſt on the mercy of their country, they had little lenity to expect from their countrymen, after a war of ſeven years, in which many of them had perpetrated every treacherous and cruel deed, to facilitate the ſubjugation of their native land, and to conſign ſucceeding generations to the ſhackles of foreign domination. No proſpect now appeared before them, but to decamp in hopeleſs poverty, and ſeek ſome unexplored aſylum, far from the pleaſant borders of their natal ſhores.

Inſtigated by deſpair and revenge, ſome of this claſs of people had recently given new proofs of their vindictive feelings, and new provocations to their countrymen. The moſt unjuſtifiable rigor, and the moſt outrageous cruelties, had been practiſed on thoſe who were ſo unfortunate as to fall into their hands. The ſtory of one hapleſs victim will be a ſufficient ſpecimen of the atrocious length of villany, to which man may be prompted by diſappointment and party rage.

The *Aſſociated Board of Loyaliſts* at New York, impatient for the laurels they had expected to reap from the ruin of their neighbours, their country, and the cauſe of freedom; provoked at the deſertion of their Britiſh patrons, and deſpairing of the triumph they had promiſed themſelves in the complete ſucceſs of the min-

ifterial troops, and the conqueft of America by the arms of Britain; adopted the unjuft and dangerous refolution, of avenging on individuals any thing which they deemed injurious to their partifans.

They faid in their own vindication, and perhaps they had too much reafon to allege, that the troops of congrefs, in many inftances, had not been lefs fanguine than themfelves, in the inflictions of fummary punifhment. Doubtlefs, both parties were far from exercifing that lenity and forbearance toward their enemies, that both humanity and equity require. This was often made a pretext to juftify enormities, and even private executions, at which compaffion and virtue fhudder.

Nothing of the kind had recently occafioned fo much public obfervation, as the wanton murder of a captain Huddy, who, with fome others, had been captured by a party of loyalifts. He had been fome time their prifoner, without any fingular marks of refentment; but on the death of a man while a prifoner, killed by the guards from whom he was endeavouring to efcape, Huddy was brought out of his cell, deliberately conveyed to the Jerfey fhore, and without a trial, or any crime alleged againft him, he was in the moft ludicrous manner hanged, amidft the fhouts of his enemies, who exclaim-

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ed at the ſolemn period of execution,—"*Up goes Huddy, for Philip White.*"

General Waſhington conſidered this tranſaction as too inſolent and cruel to be paſſed over with impunity: it drew him into the painful reſolution, by the advice of the principal officers of the army, to retaliate, by ſelecting ſome Britiſh priſoner of equal rank to ſuffer death, unleſs *Lippencot*, one of the aſſociated loyaliſts, who commanded the execution of Huddy, was given up to juſtice. The deſignation of an innocent victim, to ſuffer death for the crime of an unprincipled murderer, is a circumſtance from which the mind turns with horror; but according to the laws of war there was no receding from the determination, however ſevere might be the fate of him who was ſelected as the hapleſs victim.

General Waſhington previouſly demanded juſtice on the guilty perpetrators of the crime; but ſir Henry Clinton and other officers to whom he repreſented the buſineſs, waved a compliance for ſome time, and appeared in ſome meaſure to juſtify the deed, by aſſerting that it was done only by way of example, to prevent ſimilar enormities, which their partiſans, the loyaliſts, *ſaid* they had frequently experienced.

Several Britiſh officers of the ſame rank with Huddy, were priſoners in the American camp;

and, according to the denunciation made by the American to the Britiſh commander in chief, they were brought forward with great ſolemnity, and a lot caſt for the ſacrifice to be made to juſtice. This was done with much tenderneſs, ſympathy, and delicacy; when the lot fell on captain *Aſgill* of the guards, a young gentleman of education, accompliſhments, and family expectations, who was only nineteen years of age. He was immediately ordered into cloſe cuſtody, until the trial and puniſhment of captain Lippencot ſhould take place. But his trial was conducted with ſo much partiality and party acrimony, that Lippencot was acquitted. After this, ſir Henry Clinton demanded the releaſe of Aſgill, as on a legal trial no guilt was affixed to the tranſaction of Lippencot.

This occaſioned much uneaſineſs to general Waſhington and to others, who though fully convinced of the iniquity of the murderous party that procured the death of Huddy, yet they wiſhed for the releaſe of captain Aſgill. Every humane boſom revolted at the idea of ſeeing a youth, whoſe character was in all reſpects fair and amiable, condemned to die inſtead of a wretch, whoſe hands ſtained with blood, and his heart hardened by repeated murder and crime, might have had an earlier claim to a halter.

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Great intereſt was made by many Britiſh officers, and by ſir Guy Carleton himſelf, for the life and releaſe of captain Aſgill, but without effect. He remained a priſoner under the ſentence of death, although execution was delayed, until every compaſſionate heart was relieved by the interference of maternal tenderneſs. The addreſs of lady Aſgill his mother, whoſe heart was wrung with agonizing fears for the fate of an only ſon, procured his releaſe.

After the firſt pangs of grief and agitation, on the news of his critical and hazardous ſituation, had ſubſided, ſhe wrote in the moſt pathetic terms to the count de Vergennes; urging that his influence with general Waſhington and the American congreſs might be exerted, to ſave an innocent and virtuous youth from an ignominious death, and reſtore the deſtined victim to the boſom of his mother. This letter, fraught with ſentiments that diſcovered a delicate mind, an improved underſtanding, and a ſenſibility of heart, under the diction of poliſhed ſtyle, and replete with ſtrong epithets of affection, the French miniſter ſhewed to the king and queen of France, as a piece of elegant compoſition.

Though on a deſpotic throne, where the ſovereign diſpoſes of the ſubject by his *fiat*, and cuts off life at pleaſure, without regret or heſi-

tation, the king of France and his royal partner were touched by the diſtreſs of this unhappy mother, and lent their intereſt for the liberation of her ſon. The count de Vergennes was directed to ſend the letter to general Waſhington; which he did, accompanied with the obſervations of the king and queen, and combined with his own requeſt in favor of young Aſgill.

The commander in chief was happy to tranſmit to congreſs, the ſeveral requeſts and obſervations, which he had reaſon to expect would relieve him from an affair that had embarraſſed his mind, both as a man of humanity and the commander of an army. Congreſs immediately directed that captain Aſgill ſhould be liberated from impriſonment, and left at his own option to choose his future reſidence: on which, he took leave of the army and of America, and repaired to his friends in England.

The reply of general Waſhington, and the reſolutions of congreſs, relative to granting a paſſport to Mr. Morgan, ſecretary to general Carleton, to go to Philadelphia, was not equally condeſcending. On his arrival at New York, ſir Guy Carleton had requeſted, that he might be permitted to ſend on ſome letters of compli-

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ment to congreſs. General Waſhington forwarded the requeſt, which drew out a reſolve of congreſs,—"That the commander in chief "be hereby directed to refuſe a compliance "with the requeſt of general Carleton, to grant "a paſs to Mr. Morgan to bring diſpatches to "Philadelphia." It was alſo reſolved, that no intercourſe ſhould be opened, or that any of the ſubjects of Great Britain ſhould be permitted to paſs or repaſs from the Britiſh to the American poſts, while the proviſional articles of peace were held in ſuſpenſe.

This was not only a judicious, but a neceſſary precaution in the congreſs of the United States. At this period, a ſmall circumſtance of intelligence or information might have given a pretext to defeat a pending negociation for peace. The fleets and armies of Britain ſtill kept their ſtation in America; while the claſhing intereſts of foreign nations, with regard to American claims, were not yet adjuſted; and while the loyaliſts were clamorous and vindictive, watching the opportunity of impeding the preſent meaſures, which, if ratified, muſt leave them in a hopeleſs ſtate of deſpondency: at the ſame time, it ſet their countrymen on a point of elevation, contrary to their predictions, their wiſhes, and their intereſts, which had prompted them to oppoſition, and for which they had hazarded their eaſe, their lives, and the friend-

ſhip and eſteem of their former aſſociates and friends. Theſe people certainly had high claims of gratitude from the Britiſh government, for their unſhaken loyalty, through the ſharp conflict that ſevered the colonies from the dominion of Britain, and themſelves from their native country forever.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Discontents with the Provisional Articles.—Mr. Hartley sent to Paris.—The Definitive Treaty agreed to, and signed by all the Parties.—*A General Pacification among the Nations at War.*—Mr. Pitt, Prime Minister in England—His Attention to East India Affairs.—Some subsequent Observations.

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AFTER provisional articles for peace had been agreed on at Paris, between the British and American commissioners, the impatient curiosity of the British nation for a full communication of their contents, was inexpressible. The ultimate determinations with regard to the unconditional independence of America, were among the most interesting of their inquiries. But the necessity of concealing affairs of such national moment for a time, within a veil of secrecy, was urged by the ministry, as it would bring on discussions and objections, which might embarrass the work of peace. All ambiguity was opposed in the house of commons by several members, with no small degree of warmth; they insisted that no disguise ought to be used, but that the whole business should be laid open, before irretrievable stipulations should bind the nation to disadvantageous or dishonorary terms.

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But when the general tenor of the provisional articles was made known, it was far from restoring tranquillity or harmonizing the several parties.

The general dissatisfaction expressed by persons of high rank and consideration, against both the provisional articles with America and the preliminary articles for peace with France, Spain, and Holland, which now lay under consideration, was so great, that many began to be alarmed, lest all pacific measures should be set afloat, and the hope of tranquillity which had dawned upon the nations might yet finally be defeated,

Some of the first characters in the cabinet, the parliament, and the nation, discovered the most singular disgust and uneasiness at the proposed articles of accommodation, and debate and contention ran high in both houses of parliament. The lords Walsingham, Stormont, Sackville, Carlisle, and others, were violent in their opposition to the whole system of peace comprised in the provisional articles: they thought the character of the nation tarnished, in the concession made by the negociators on the part of Britain, in favor of the revolted colonies; whose obstinacy had involved the crown and the kingdom in distresses incalculable, but that the nation was not yet so reduced as to submit to a mean dereliction of their

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rights: they afferted that they had yet an army, a navy, and refources fufficient to chaftife the infolence of the houfe of Bourbon. It was obferved, that though the councils of France had upheld the revolted colonies, in oppofition to the power of Britain, and now juftified their bold demands, that the combined fleets of France and Spain had recently felt the fuperiority, and fled from the power, of the Britifh flag.

It was not paffed over in filence, that all hearts had lately been warmed by their gallant conduct, and every tongue loud in the applaufes of the magnanimous officers who had defended Gibraltar; that the houfe of commons had expreffed their gratitude by a vote of thanks to governor Elliot and general Boyde, for the aftonifhing example of courage, patriotifm, and patient fuffering, which they had difplayed, in the vigorous defence of a fortrefs devoted to deftruction by a moft formidable foe; that the navy had contributed its full fhare in this glorious fuccefs, and that the juft thanks of the nation had been offered to lords Howe, Rodney, and others, who were ftill ready for the moft gallant defence of all the claims of England, againft the combined fleets of France, Spain, and the world.

In fhort, the fum of their declamations were, that the proud glory of conqueft, which had fo

often perched on the helmet of Britiſh officers, was not, by the daſh of an inexperienced pen,* to be meanly proſtrated to obtain a peace, either from old hereditary enemies, or the pertinacity and refractory conduct of their own offspring in the colonies.

Little delicacy was obſerved. Mr. Oſwald's abilities for the buſineſs of a negociator were highly ridiculed: many objections were made, and copiouſly dwelt on by the orators in the Britiſh parliament, with regard to the pending articles; particularly, on the right to the fiſheries, on the boundaries of the United States, the free navigation of the Miſſiſippi, and the forlorn condition of thoſe Americans who had been attached to the crown from the beginning of the conteſt. Their friends aſſerted, that the abandoning the loyaliſts, and conſigning them over to the cold recommendation of the American congreſs, only on the promiſe of their commiſſioners that their ſituation ſhould be conſidered by the ſeveral legiſlatures, and that the legiſlative powers ſhould adviſe to a placable ſpirit, and urge the people to forgiveneſs, was a fallacious ſecurity on which no reliance could be placed. It was obſerved, that the commiſſioners themſelves could not expect that ſuch a meaſure would ſucceed; they knew too

* Mr. Oſwald's.

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well, that this claſs of men were conſidered in America, as a ten-fold more inveterate foe than any of the native ſons of Britain.

The propoſal of their return to and reſidence in the United States for a limited term, was viewed by gentlemen of the firſt penetration as a chimerical project: they were too well acquainted with human nature to imagine, that this deſcription of perſons would be received by them, when they knew, that "the Ameri-"cans in general would conſider it as taking a "*viper* into their boſoms, whoſe nature could "not be altered, and however well fed, its ben-"efactor could not be ſecured from its ſting."

The neglect of ſtipulations in favor of a claſs of people who had forſaken their country, loſt their property, and riſked their lives in the field, from their attachment to the Britiſh crown, and their fondneſs for the government of England, was ſtyled criminal in every view; it was aſſerted that it was marked with cruelty, injuſtice, and ingratitude.

Doubtleſs, many of the advocates of the loyaliſts in the Britiſh parliament, argued from what they thought the principles of rectitude, rather than from the prejudices of party; and could thoſe principles alone have had their full operation in the minds of men, notwithſtanding paſt provocations, it might have been the

policy of the Americans at this period, to have laid aſide their prejudices. At the ſame time, it would have exemplified their benevolence to have forgiven, cheriſhed, and ſecured the friendſhip of a large body of people, inſtead of perpetuating an alienation, and tranſmitting it from ſire to ſon, through ſucceſſive generations. But it was the indiſpenſable duty of the Britiſh government, to protect and to compenſate. This they afterwards did in ſome inſtances, in a very ample manner; but many of this unfortunate claſs were expoſed to ſufferings which they had never contemplated, when they forſook their neighbours, their relations, and their families, for the precarious hope of better fortune from the oppreſſors of their country.

Theſe and other circumſtances ſhook the miniſter in his place; he felt he did not ſtand on very firm ground, however recently encircled by favoritiſm, though at the ſummit of power, and ſtill the bubble of popularity; the gale was about to paſs off, and leave him in private life, the ſport of change, but not in the quietude of retirement. The rivals of lord Shelburne were powerful, his enemies ſubtil and ſagacious; and the inconſiſtency which appeared in his principles relative to the independence of America, gave them a fair occaſion to

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discuss his opinions, and to displace him from office.

Desirous as was Mr. Fox and some other gentlemen, for a happy accommodation with America, and a happy termination of war with all the nations, they spurned at several of the proposed articles of peace: and singular as it may appear, the consequence of the present fermentation was a second coalition, composed of still more jarring atoms than the first.....the *leopard* was indeed *to lie down with the lamb.*

Notwithstanding their former disagreement in opinion, their rancor and bitterness on many occasions; antipodes in political sentiment, with regard to the prerogative of the crown, the majesty of the people, and the American war; a strange connexion took place, viewed by the nation as a kind of political phenomenon. Lord North and Mr. Fox were seen acting together in administration, in conjunction with the lords Cavendish and Stormont, Keppel and Carlisle. The duke of Portland was appointed first lord of the treasury in the room of lord Shelburne, who had enjoyed little tranquillity in that elevated station. The reputation of neither party was much enhanced by the coalition; it created a general suspicion of the patriotism of both; and both were considered as acting a part for the gratification of their own

interests and passions, rather than from a regard to the public welfare.

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Mr. Fox was reproached with forsaking his former friends, and assimilating his character and his attachment, as conveniency required, to the politics of the day. To this he replied, that "for the painful losses he had experienced "in his friendships, he must find a consolation "in the purity and consistency of his inten-"tions, and that rectitude of design which had "ever been his guide in his political career."

While the general expectation of re-sheathing the sword had spread a humane satisfaction over the countenances of many in Europe and in America, the minds of the contemplative and sagacious characters in the United States were filled with anxiety, on the variety of difficulties which lay before them. They anticipated the impracticability of disbanding an army become discontented from deficiencies in payment: they saw the impossibility of a speedy discharge of the public debt; of defraying the expenses of a long war, and paying up the arrearages due to the soldiery, who had bravely borne the toils of the field, amidst poverty, hunger, danger, and death. They were too well acquainted with human nature to expect, that a people who had been so long in such a perturbed state should sit down in tranquillity and order, until some necessary arrangements

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for the operations of a free, yet energetic government, ſhould be eſtabliſhed. This they conſidered, in the ſituation of their country, a work that required the talents of the moſt able ſtateſmen, and the virtues of the moſt diſintereſted patriots, to digeſt. The jarring intereſts of the ſtates and of individuals, and their diſſonant opinions of forms and modes of government, might prevent the adoption of the beſt that could be ſuggeſted, and create jealouſies and ferments that might terminate in domeſtic confuſion and war, until anarchy or deſpotiſm ſhould ſucceed.

In addition to all other difficulties apprehended by ſpeculative and judicious Americans, previous to the proviſional articles terminating in a definitive treaty of peace, they dreaded the idea of a large body of loyaliſts left by Great Britain, to make terms of reconciliation with their offended countrymen.

It was a very precarious hope on which theſe refugees had to build: they had little reaſon (as obſerved) to expect the reſentment of a whole people would be annihilated, merely by the recommendation of the American agents: they could not but be ſenſible, that if the governing powers were molliſied, and ſhould recommend moderation and forbearance, yet the mutual injuries and affronts between individuals and families, in conſequence of political diſ-

ſonance, would not be likely to lie dormant, but would be brought back to recollection on every trivial occaſion. It was to be expected that old animoſities would be raked open, that would forever diſturb the peace of ſociety, when they took their ſtand beſide their injured neighbours, weeping the loſs of a father, a huſband, or a ſon, who had periſhed in the dreadful conflict, many of them by the hands of a claſs of men now thrown back on their wounded feelings.

In the mean time the buſineſs of negociation went forward among the belligerent powers: ſome new arrangements were made: Mr. Hartley was ſent to Paris, whoſe commiſſion ſuperſeded that of Mr. Oſwald. We have ſeen that Mr. John Adams had left Holland, and joined the plenipotentiaries of the United States, previous to the agreement on proviſional articles for peace, ſigned November, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-two. He was no favorite of the officers and adminiſtrators of affairs at the Gallican court; his manners were not adapted to render him acceptable in that refined and poliſhed nation; nor did he appear to have much partiality for, or confidence in them. But firm to the intereſts of his country, and tenacious of its claims, he advocated and defended them with ability; and by his determined ſpirit, was eſſentially ſer-

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viceable in maintaining the ſtipulations required in behalf of the United States.

Nor was Mr. Jay leſs ſtrenuous or indefatigable, to counteract every thing he thought might militate with the intereſt of America. He invalidated difficulties as they aroſe, with the accuracy of the ſtateſman, and obviated every objection to juſt and equal advantages, in the treaty which his countrymen required. Dr. Franklin's known attachment to the intereſt of the United States, and his conſpicuous talents as a negociator, preclude the neceſſity of any obſervations on his abilities, his character, or his conduct.

It has been before obſerved, that congreſs had inadvertently endeavoured to fetter their agents, by directing them to be under the councils of France, rather too much for a free and independent nation. Theſe gentlemen conſidered ſuch reſtrictions diſhonorary to themſelves and their country; and by their vigor, zeal, and addreſs, acted, through every ſtage of the buſineſs, as the agents of a free nation, not to be influenced by foreign conſiderations or councils.

Near ten months elapſed, after ſigning the proviſional articles, before the definitive treaty was completed. Previous to the adjuſtment of all the articles contained in this treaty, much

addreſs, altercation, intrigue, and fineſſe, among the parties, as is uſual on ſimilar occaſions, was intermixed with fair negociation. All preliminaries at length agreed to, this important inſtrument was ſigned at Paris on the third of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-three.

David Hartley, eſquire, on the part of Great Britain, and Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and John Adams, eſquires, in behalf of America, affixed their names and their ſeals to the treaty for the reſtoration of harmony between Britain, the ancient potent parent, and the emancipated colonies, and ſent it forward for the ratification of congreſs, and of the Britiſh parliament.

The definitive treaty between Great Britain and the United States contained only nine articles. The firſt of theſe was a full and complete acknowledgment of the independence of America. *His Britannic Majeſty*, in article firſt, "acknowledges the United States, *viz.* New "Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts Bay, Rhode Iſland "and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, "New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Dela-"ware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, "South Carolina, and Georgia, to be *Free*, "*Sovereign, and Independent States*; that he "treats with them as ſuch; and for himſelf, "his heirs, and ſucceſſors, relinquiſhes all claim

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"to the government, property, and territorial "rights of the ſame, and every part thereof."*

On the ſame day, the third of September, the definitive treaty between Great Britain and France was ſigned at Verſailles, by the duke of Mancheſter, in behalf of the king of England, and on the part of France by the count de Vergennes.

The count de Aranda and the duke of Mancheſter mutually exchanged their ſeals for the happy event of peace between England and Spain. The definitive treaty of peace and friendſhip between his Britannic majeſty and the king of Spain, was alſo ſigned at Verſailles the third day of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-three.

All impediments that barred the accommodation between England and Holland had been removed, and peace and harmony reſtored between his Britannic majeſty and the ſtates-general of the United Provinces. Preliminary articles for this purpoſe were adjuſted and ſigned at Paris by the miniſters of the reſpective courts, on the ſecond of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-three.

* See Appendix, Note No. III.

The king of Sweden had invited a treaty of amity and commerce with America, in a very handſome, complimentary manner. He obſerved, that he was "deſirous of forming a con-"nexion with a people who had ſo well eſtab-"liſhed their independence, and who, by their "wiſdom and bravery, ſo well deſerved it." This treaty had been ſigned the third of April, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-three, and a ſtipulation made for its continuance for the term of fifteen years, before any reviſion or renewal ſhould take place.

Denmark ordered the American flag to be treated like that of republics of the firſt order. Indeed, after the independence of the United States was explicitly acknowledged by the King of Great Britain, moſt of the European nations were, or appeared to be, fond of forming connexions with a young, growing republic. The independent rank of America was now viewed in connexion with her prolific ſoil, abundant reſources, commercial genius, and political principles, which indicated her riſing into eminence and conſideration, that would ſet her on a footing with any nation on earth, if ſhe did not become corrupted by foreign vices, or ſunk by the indulgence of her own fooliſh paſſions.

The Batavian republic was the firſt nation beyond the Atlantic, after the French, who ſent

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and envoy in form to the congreſs of America. On the thirty-firſt of October, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-three, Peter John Van Berkel was received by them, as miniſter plenipotentiary from the ſtates-general of the United Netherlands. By the preſident and members of congreſs, every mark of reſpect, cordiality, and friendſhip, was ſhewn; and on the other ſide it was amply returned, by the addreſs and politeneſs of the Dutch miniſter; who, with manly eloquence and grace, addreſſed that venerable body, and expreſſed his own regard and the eſteem of his conſtituents, for the citizens of the United States. In the preſident's reply, he acknowledged the high ſenſe Americans had of the importance of the alliance, and the gratitude they all felt for the ſervices rendered the United States by individuals of his nation, and particularly by himſelf and family, previous to the completion of the late treaty.

Thus, after the horrors of war had ſhed their baneful influence over the nations, without ceſſation, for ſeven or eight years; and after the havoc of human life had, as uſual, diſplayed the abſurdity of mankind, in the delight they ſeem to diſcover in the deſtruction of their own ſpecies; a truce to the miſeries of the inhabitants of the earth, on one ſide of the globe, was promiſed for a ſeaſon. Though the nations had been long engaged in war, peace ſeemed now to lift up her declined head, and promiſe a

general tranquillity. Her advances were made acroſs the Atlantic; yet no official accounts were received by congreſs, that a definitive treaty had been ſigned by the miniſters of the ſeveral belligerent powers, until the concluſion of the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-three.

It has already been obſerved, that the proviſional and preliminary articles for a general pacification among the contending powers, had been ſigned at Paris, November the twenty-ninth, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-two; but the completion of the definitive treaty, productive of a general peace, was not agreed to until the ſucceeding autumn; when, as related above, the ſignatures and ſeals of the commiſſioners on all ſides, were affixed to the ſeveral ſtipulated articles, and the world relieved from a long conſtrained ſituation of mind, between hope, expectation, and fear.

Yet the intelligence of the ſpring of one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-three, had been equally impreſſive in the American army, as if peace had actually been proclaimed by ſound of trumpet. Nor was it ſtrange that the military departments, nor indeed that all the inhabitants of the United States, ſhould feel the ſame impreſſion. The intelligence of the preſent proſpects of a complete accommodation of exiſting differences, was accompanied with

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private as well as public letters from Mr. Adams, Mr. Jay, and other diſtinguiſhed Americans, replete with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that hoſtilities would not be recommenced; and that the fleets and armies of Great Britain would, in a few months, be withdrawn from the ports and cities of the United States.

But there was yet much to be done on both ſides of the water. It could not be expected, that after a convulſion of ſuch magnitude, that the American officers and ſoldiers could at once retire, and ſit down quietly, each under his own vine and fig-tree; or that the turbulent ſpirit of hoſtile nations could in a moment be tranquillized; much leſs, that the pride of the Britiſh miniſtry and parliament ſhould ſuffer them to ſettle down in tranquil repoſe among themſelves, after the long ſeries of mortification, diſcontent, and diſunion, that had embittered every department, and almoſt every individual againſt the political opinions of his neighbour, and the civil and political adminiſtration of the affairs of his country.

The preliminary and proviſional articles had terminated in a definitive treaty of peace: in this, the general ſenſe of the nation, and the wiſhes of the people were gratified. Yet there were ſtill ſources of diſcontent ſufficient to indicate, that the preſent miniſtry ſtood on ſlippery ground.

Lord North had been long unpopular: Mr. Fox had many and potent enemies; but, "naturally of a comprehenſive mind, and conſtitutionally fraught with good humor and general kindneſs, the field of popular applauſe ſeemed to be perfectly congenial to him." But he had a powerful rival in a ſon of the late favorite of the nation, lord Chatham. This young gentleman had in a remarkable manner, won the favor of his ſovereign and the hearts of the people: on many intereſting queſtions he had argued on the popular ſide, and had gained an aſcendency that promiſed eminence, celebrity, and ſtation, in the firſt grade of office and influence.

He was among the moſt ſtrenuous advocates for a reform in parliament: he was zealous for a commercial treaty with the United States, and ridiculed the language, the conduct, and the impediments thrown in the way; and condemned the regulations and reſtrictions on the American trade, which, he obſerved, muſt forever keep open the door of animoſity between the two countries.

Nor did he leſs oppoſe and ridicule the India bill, ſo much the ſubject of inveſtigation and diſcuſſion, introduced by Mr. Fox, and rejected by a majority in the houſe of lords. But the confuſions and diſtractions in the Eaſt Indies, required that ſome energetic and wiſe meaſures

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ſhould be immediately adopted, to reform abuſes, and to reſtore juſtice and peace in that oppreſſed country. This produced a ſecond India bill, brought forward by Mr. Pitt himſelf, which was alſo rejected, and the door ſtill left open for much contention and debate, relative to the affairs of India, and the diſtreſſes of the unhappy inhabitants.

Thus animoſities were kindled among the firſt characters in the nation, and diſcontents fomented until every thing verged to the extreme of diſunion. "It was impoſſible for Mr. "Fox to do any thing in a cold, unintereſted, "or indifferent manner; he therefore always "went conſiderable lengths for the attainment "of his object." But he finally loſt ground, and left his rival to wave his laurels triumphantly in the field of party, and the favor of his king.

The fluctuation of office, and the changes in adminiſtration, had been ſo frequent in the preſent reign, that it was viewed as a thing of courſe, on every diſpute or variation of opinion on great political queſtions. From the acceſſion of George the third, in one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-one, to one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-three, when lord Shelburne came in, there had been many different hands who had taken the helm at the head of the

miniſtry, and ſet the political bark afloat in a tempeſt, without the ability to recover and moor it in the haven of peace.

In theſe circumſtances, and at this critical period, Mr. *William Pitt*, in the fire of youth, in the pride of brilliant talents, and with the ambition, if not the hereditary capacity, of the aged ſtateſman, was appointed chancellor of the exchequer. Tenacious of his own character, he held the high office in ſpite of oppoſition or flattery; and ſo perſeveringly ſtood his ground, and held the reins of power ſo long, that his friends ceaſed to fear his removal, and his enemies at laſt deſpaired of carrying any point againſt a miniſter, that was become at once a favorite both of the prince and the people.

Notwithſtanding the abilities of the new miniſter, and the exertions of ſome of his predeceſſors, now out of place; notwithſtanding a pacification had recently taken place among the European powers; Great Britain was ſtill tottering under the enormous expenſes of the late war, and her own internal diſſenſions on ſubjects of magnitude and importance. Men of the firſt abilities and information, were wide in opinion, and divided on every political point; the ſpirit of party was heightened, and produced continual altercation in parliament, on the conduct, projects, and character, of the young miniſter.

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Supported by royal favor, and ſufficiently conſcious of his own talents, he was not borne down by any oppoſition. It was ſoon perceptible, that the embarraſſments of government, the derangement in political, commercial, domeſtic, and foreign affairs, ſtill required much energy and deciſion, and perhaps the capacity of older and more experienced ſtateſmen.

The cruel miſmanagement in the Eaſt Indies intereſted the whole nation. The derangement and diſtraction of their affairs there, the enormities committed, and the tragical ſcenes of barbarity perpetrated, under the preſidency of Warren Haſtings, governor general of Bengal, which reduced the country to the extreme of penury and miſery, were afterwards copiouſly diſplayed and amply detailed, in his long protracted trial. This finally terminated without deciſion on delinquency, or ſatisfaction to the public.

The dreadful famine in Calcutta, in one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine, is well known: that which ſucceeded it in one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-one was ſtill more deplorable, when 14,000 perſons died weekly, of hunger, at Madras; while the provinces of Oude and Benares ſuffered in equal degree, under the ſame calamity, brought on by means which will never be blotted from

the memory of man.* These were too complicated and diffuse for a place here, but some cursory observations on the conduct of British officers in that country, may be admitted.

A specimen of the tragedy acted by general Matthews at Onore, where he directed no quarter should be given, but every man be put to the sword, will be impressive from an extract of a letter from one of his own officers. He observed, that—"The carnage was great; we "trampled thick on the dead bodies that were "strewed in the way: it was rather shocking "to humanity, but such are only secondary "considerations; and to a soldier whose bosom "glows with heroic glory, they are thought ac-"cidents of course: his zeal makes him aspire "after further victory."

* Read the story of the nabob of Oude—† of Cheit-Sing—of the widow of Sujah Dowla—of the conquest of the Benares—the treatment of the nabobs of Bengal; and indeed of all who fell under the power of the English government, in their wars with the unfortunate Indians. These are to be found in a variety of authentic accounts of the conduct and intercourse of the English with the oriental nations.

† See a part of a speech made by Mr. Sheridan on this subject, Appendix, Note No. IV.

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What a perverſion of juſt ideas! The true glory of man is benignity and kindneſs to his fellow-mortals; nor can even military glory be enhanced by the triumphant butchery of mankind. But the ſame cruel apathy expreſſed by one of them, ſeemed to pervade moſt of the officers on this expedition: the riches and ſplendor of the peninſula, and the extermination of the inhabitants that they might poſſeſs their wealth, ſeemed to be the only object.

From Onore, general Matthews proceeded to Hydernagur, the capital of Canara. It is true, by aſtoniſhing feats of valor, he reached the metropolis, where the wealth of the inhabitants was immenſe. The place was ſurrendered by capitulation; the general poſſeſſed of the treaſure, and no diſtribution made. The avarice of the officers to obtain their full ſhare of the plunder, raiſed murmur and mutiny that were not eaſily quieted; nor was it ever aſcertained, in whoſe coffers the whole was finally depoſited.

Before general Matthews returned to Bombay, he ſent a detachment from Hydernagur to Annanpour, under the command of major Campbell; the orders were for a *ſtorm* and *no quarter*. The cruel mandates were received with alacrity, and put in execution without delay: every man in the place was put to the ſword, except one horſeman, who eſcaped after being wounded in three different places. The

women, unwilling to be ſeparated from their relations, or expoſed to the brutal licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiery, threw themſelves in multitudes into the moats with which the fort was ſurrounded. Four hundred beautiful young women, pierced with the bayonet, and expiring in each other's arms, were in this ſituation treated by the Britiſh with every kind of outrage. The avenging hand of juſtice ſoon overtook the barbarous, butchering Matthews; he fell into the hands of Tippoo Saib, after that victorious commander had re-captured Hydernagur, was loaded with chains, impriſoned, and ſoon after put to death by his orders.*

For a further detail of the enormities committed by the ſervants of Britain, and the ſufferings of the inhabitants of India for a number of years, without mitigation, the reader is referred to the hiſtory of that unfortunate country. There he will find a deſcription of a great part of this garden of nature, whoſe prolific ſhoots have expanded over the four quarters of the globe, few of whoſe inhabitants have yet arrived to a perfect knowledge of the arts, the ingenuity, the ſciences, contained in their Shanſcript and other languages.

* It has been ſaid, that the manner of his death was that of pouring melted gold down his throat: a ſtrong expreſſion of the ideas the natives had of his avarice.

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Indeed, new discoveries have been recently brought to light, by the investigation of learned and virtuous Englishmen; who, while pursuing their inquiries, weep to behold so fair a spot of creation* bathed in the blood of its native sons, by the hands of a nation who boast higher degrees of civilization, without possessing their simplicity, urbanity, and perhaps their knowledge. But their progress in the arts, their histories of the first progenitors of mankind, their astronomical discoveries, and their knowledge of nature and its operations, must now lay buried with the wreck of their fortunes, and many of them enveloped in the rubbish of complete ruin, brought on them by European avarice and ambition.

But a correction of some abuses in India, took place early in the administration of Mr. Pitt: new regulations were adopted; and critical inquiry made into the conduct of the East India

* BENGAL has been described as exhibiting the most charming and picturesque scenery, opening into extensive glades, covered with a fine turf, and interspersed with woods filled with a variety of birds of beautiful colors; amongst others, peacocks in abundance, sitting on the vast horizontal branches, displayed their dazzling plumes to the sun; the Ganges winding its mighty waters through the adjacent plains, adding to the prospect inexpressible grandeur: while the artist at his loom, under the immense shade of the banyan-tree, softened his labor by the tender strains of music.

company, and their officers: ſeveral of the old officers of government were removed, and men of more humanity ſent forward in their places. Among them, ſir William Jones was appointed one of the judges of the ſupreme court of judicature. The character of this gentleman deſerves every encomium: from his writings and the teſtimony of contemporaries, he was an honor to his country, a benefactor to mankind, and an ornament to the world. His elegant manners, profound erudition, pure morals, and ſtrict juſtice, were conſpicuous in all the tranſactions of his life. The deep reſearches of ſir William Jones in ancient oriental hiſtory, have thrown great light on the cuſtoms, manners, habits, and the various religions among the Indians, both ancient and modern. His learned labors muſt undoubtedly tend to improvements in ſcience, and the culture of virtue and true religion, through the enlightened parts of the world; and perhaps to ſoften and humanize the hearts of his own countrymen, in their future unwarrantable invaſions of the inhabitants of the Eaſt.

The *Engliſh* are, indeed, an aſtoniſhing nation. Though frequently involved in hoſtilities with half the world; confounded by the immenſity of their own national debt, accumulating almoſt beyond calculation; plunged in luxury and venality; their manners and their conſtitution

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corrupted; yet, by their extenſive commerce, the ſtrength of their navy, their valor, their genius, and their induſtry, they ſurmount all embarraſſments with addreſs and facility, and riſe ſuperior to evils that would augur the downfal of any other nation on earth.

No country has produced men more learned and liberal, of more comprehenſive genius, virtue, and real excellence, than England; yet the contraſt may as juſtly be exhibited there, as in any part of the world. But the balance of real merit, both individual and national, muſt be left to the all-pervading eye, which, with a ſingle glance, ſurveys the moral and intellectual ſyſtem of creation. We now leave them to the rotations of time, and the re-action of human events, to the period which ſhall be pointed by the providential government of HIM, to whom a thouſand years are as one day; when they alſo may be viewed a ſpectacle of wo, by the remnant of nations, annihilated by their rapacity, ambition, and victorious arms.

Let us haſten to turn our eyes from the miſerable Mahrattas, the deſolated tribes of Indoſtan, and the naked Carnatic,* diveſted of every thing that had breathed, by the ravages of a

* See Mr. Burke's ſpeech in the houſe of commons, relative to the deſolation in the Carnatic.

relentleſs foe. A dead and dreary ſilence reigns over an extent of five or ſix hundred miles of theſe once full peopled plains. Nor will we dwell longer on any of the proud projects of conqueſt in the cabinet of Great Britain, either in the Eaſt or the Weſt; but carry the mind forward, and indulge a pleaſing anticipation of peace and independence to the *United States of America.*

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Peace proclaimed in America.—General Carleton delays the Withdraw of the Troops from New York.—Situation of the Loyalists—Efforts in their Favor by some Gentlemen in Parliament—Their final Destination—Their Dissatisfaction, and subsequent Conduct.

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THE discordant sounds of war that had long grated the ears of the children of America, were now suspended, and the benign and heavenly voice of harmony soothed their wounded feelings, and they flattered themselves the dread summons to slaughter and death would not again resound on their shores. The independence of America acknowledged by the first powers in Europe, and even Great Britain willing to re-sheathe the sword on the same honorable terms for the United States, every prospect of tranquillity appeared.

These were events for which the statesman had sighed in the arduous exertions of the cabinet; for which the hero had bared his breast, and the blood of the citizens had flowed in copious streams on the borders of the Atlantic, from the river St. Mary's to the St. Croix, on the eastern extreme of the American territory. Peace was proclaimed in the American army,

by order of the commander in chief, on the nineteenth of April, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three. This was just EIGHT YEARS from the memorable day, when the first blood was drawn in the contest between the American colonies and the parent state, in the fields of *Concord* and *Lexington*.

The operation and consequences of the restoration of peace, were now the subject of contemplation. This opened objects of magnitude indeed, to a young republic, which had rapidly passed through the grades of youth and puberty, and was fast arriving to the age of maturity:—a republic consisting of a number of confederated states, which by this time had received many as inhabitants, who were not originally from the stock of England. Some of them, indeed, were from more free governments, but others had fled from the slavery of despotic courts; from their numbers and abilities they had become respectable, and their opinions weighty in the political scale. From these and other circumstances it might be expected, that in time, the general enthusiasm for a republican system of government in America, might languish, and new theories be adopted, or old ones modified under different names and terms, until the darling system of

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the inhabitants of the United States, might be loſt or forgotten in a growing rabioſity for monarchy.

Symptoms of this nature, already began to appear in the language of ſome intereſted and ambitious men, who endeavoured to confound ideas, and darken opinion, by aſſerting that *republicaniſm* was an indefinite term. In ſocial circles they frequently inſinuated, that no preciſe meaning could be affixed to a word, by which the people were often deceived and led to purſue a ſhadow inſtead of an object of any real ſtability. This was indeed, more the language of art than principle, and ſeemed to augur the decline of public virtue in a free ſtate.

It required the utmoſt vigilance to guard againſt, and counteract deſigns thus ſecretly covered. It was not unexpected by the judicious obſervers of human conduct, that many contingencies might ariſe, to defeat or to render fruitleſs the efforts that had been made on the practicability of erecting and maintaining a pure, unadulterated, republican government.

Time muſt unfold the futility of ſuch an expectation, or eſtabliſh the ſyſtem on a baſis, that will lead mankind to rejoice in the ſucceſs of an experiment that has been too often tried in vain. Thoſe who have been nurtured in

the dark regions of despotism, who have witnessed the sale of the peasantry with the glebe they have cultivated from infancy, and who have seen the sire and the son, transferred with the stables and the cattle, from master to master, cannot realize the success of a theory that has a tendency to exalt the species, and elevate the lower grades of mankind to a condition nearer to an equality with adventitious superiority. It is not wonderful, that a people of this description and education, should be incredulous of the utility of more free modes of government. They are naturally tenacious of old customs, habits, and their own fortuitous advantages; they are unable to form an idea of general freedom among mankind, without distinction of ranks that elevate one class of men to the summit of pride and insolence, and sink another to the lowest grade of servility and debasement.

But Americans born under no feudal tenure, nurtured in the bosom of mediocrity, educated in the schools of freedom; who have never been used to look up to any lord of the soil, as having a right by prescription, habit, or hereditary claim, to the property of their flocks, their herds, and their pastures, may easily have been supposed to have grown to maturity with very different ideas, and with a disposition to

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defend their allodial inheritance to the laſt moment of their lives.

The United States of America, however, had yet many matters of the higheſt importance to adjuſt. They had many deſcriptions of perſons to quiet, and many circumſtances connected with foreign nations that required diplomatic diſcuſſion, particularly with regard to the laws of trade and the regulation of commerce, both at home and abroad, before a ſtable form of government could either be adopted or organized. The army was not yet diſbanded, and a powerful body of loyaliſts were retarding the completion of ſome of the articles in the treaty of peace, and embarraſſing the commander in chief of the Britiſh army, by their murmurs and diſcontents.

When ſir Henry Clinton was recalled from the command of the king's forces in America, he was ſucceeded by ſir Guy Carleton, who was veſted with a very extenſive commiſſion. He had the direction and government of all military affairs in Canada, New-York, and wherever elſe the crown of England claimed any ſtand in the United States.

According to the articles of the definitive treaty, all the poſts held by the troops of his Britannic majeſty within the territories of the

United States, were to be immediately evacuated; and on the certitude of a general accommodation, every Britiſh and Heſſian ſoldier was to be drawn off and retire from the continent. But a delay took place, which, in ſome inſtances, we ſhall ſee was fatal to the peace of the United States.

The Britiſh troops ſtill occupied New-York, though by treaty it was to have been relinquiſhed on the declaration of peace. It is true, however, that general Carleton had uſually conducted with great politeneſs both towards Congreſs and the commander in chief of the armies of the United States; but he was himſelf embarraſſed between his duty and his honour.

The reaſons for ſtaying longer at New-York than was ſtipulated by treaty, were not grounded on mere plauſible pretence. The principal argument offered by him for a non-compliance with orders, and delaying the expectations of the Americans, was the obligation he thought Great Britain under, to protect the loyaliſts. At the ſame time, his own mind was impreſſed with the neceſſity and juſtice of aid and ſupport to a body of haپleſs men, "who ought "not to be thrown by as an uſeleſs garment, "when adminiſtration no longer needed the

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"assistance of disaffected Americans and ref-
"ugees."

Whether wholly influenced by compassion towards the loyalists, or whether stimulated by political reasons in the cabinet of his court, general Carleton did not appear to shew any extraordinary degree of moderation, in consequence of the delay. Several months after the proclamation for peace, general Carleton wrote the president* of the congress of the United States, that he wished to accelerate his orders to evacuate New York; and that "he should lose no "time, as far as depended upon him, to fulfil "his majesty's commands, but that the difficul-"ty of assigning the precise period for this "event, is of late greatly increased."

He complained in this letter, that the violence of the Americans, which broke out soon after the cessation of hostilities, increased the number of their countrymen who looked to him, for escape from threatened destruction: and that these terrors had of late been so considerably augmented, that almost all within the lines, conceived the safety, both of their property and their lives, depended upon being removed by him, which rendered it impossible to say, when the evacuation could be completed. He said, "wheth-

* See general Carleton's letter to Mr. Boudinot, then president.

" er they had juſt grounds to aſſert, that there
" was either no government within the limits
" of the American territory, for common pro-
" tection, or that it ſecretly favoured the com-
" mittees, in the ſovereignty they aſſume and
" are actually exerciſing, he ſhould not pretend
" to determine."

He obſerved, that "as the public papers
" furniſhed repeated proofs, not only of a diſ-
" regard to the articles of peace, but contained
" barbarous menaces from committees form-
" ed in various towns, cities, and diſtricts,
" and even at Philadelphia, the very place
" which the congreſs had choſen for their re-
" ſidence; that he ſhould ſhow an indifference
" to the feelings of humanity, as well as to the
" honour and intereſt of the nation whom he
" ſerved, to leave any of the loyaliſts, that are
" deſirous to quit the country, a prey to the
" violence, they conceive they have ſo much
" cauſe to apprehend."

He intimated that congreſs might learn from his letter, how much depended upon themſelves and the ſubordinate legiſlatures, to facilitate the ſervice he was commanded to perform; that they might abate the fears and leſſen the number of the emigrants. But ſhould theſe fears continue, and compel ſuch multitudes to remove, he ſhould hold himſelf acquit-

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ted from every delay in fulfilling his orders, and the consequences which may result therefrom. He also added, that "it made no small "part of his concern, that the congress had "thought proper to suspend, to so late an "hour, recommendations stipulated by the "treaty, and in the punctual performance of "which, the king and his ministers had express-"ed such entire confidence."

This letter was considered by congress, the officers of the army, and the people in general, as evasive, if not affrontive; and taught them the necessity of standing on their guard, and holding their arms in their hands, until the removal of all hostile appearances, the entire evacuation of New-York, and until the fleets of his Britannic majesty were withdrawn from the American seas.

The loyalists were still very numerous in the city, though some of them had dispersed themselves in despair, to seek an asylum without much dependence on government. Their situation was indeed truly deplorable; they had every thing to fear if the British troops withdrew and left them to the clemency of their countrymen now elated by success, and more hardened against the feelings of humanity, by the cruel scenes of war they had witnessed.

The conduct of the American refugees had been ſuch from the commencement of hoſtilities, that they could not but be conſcious, as expreſſed by a celebrated American patriot,* that "they were reſponſible for all the "additional blood that had been ſpilt by the "addition of their weight in the ſcale of the "enemy." He obſerved, "they were ſenſible "they could never regain the confidence of "their late fellow-ſubjects, whoſe very looks "muſt confound and abaſh men, who in defi-"ance of nature and education, have not only "by a reverſed ambition, choſen *bondage* be-"fore *freedom*, but waged an infernal war "againſt their neareſt connexions, for not "making the like abhorred election."

Every one will readily conceive, that theſe people at this time, were really in a diſtreſſed ſituation. Their own ideas of the improbability of harmony and quiet, even if permitted to return to the boſom of their country, comported with the above obſervations. Theſe were ſtrongly expreſſed in a memorial to the Britiſh ſecretary of ſtate, forwarded by them ſoon after the definitive treaty.

In this memorial they obſerve, "that the "perſonal animoſities that aroſe from civil "diſſenſions, had been heightened by the blood

* Governor Livingſton.

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"that had been ſhed, to ſuch a degree that the "two parties could never be reconciled. They "therefore prayed, that they might have an "aſſignment of lands, and aſſiſtance from the "crown, to make ſettlements for themſelves "and families."

The experiment of this intermixture and reunion of heterogeneous characters, had not yet been tried; but from the temper of the people throughout the continent, there did not appear to be any great probability, that the recommendation of congreſs to the legiſlative bodies, would diſarm the reſentment, or eradicate the painful ideas that the preſence of American refugees would revive. The minds of many had ſuffered too much in their perſons or connexions, from ſuch as they thought ought to have aſſiſted in the ſtruggle for the independence of their country, to be healed in a moment.

It is beyond a doubt that there was little conciliatory feeling on either ſide; ſo far from it, the vanquiſhed in New-York were threatened with ſevere vengeance by one party, while the other poured out the moſt bitter expreſſions of reſentment againſt the congreſs and the people of America, now rejoicing in the ſucceſs of their own arms. This temper was far from juſtifiable: it was neither acting as

wiſe politicians, or real chriſtians; but it was the natural ebullition of injured and provoked human nature, which too ſeldom pays the ſtricteſt regard to national faith, honor, or moral precept, when paſſion has been wrought up beyond a certain degree of forbearance.

It is matter of wonder, that the whole claſs of loyaliſts, though diſarmed of power, were ſo imprudent as not to diſcover any diſpoſition to harmonize with, or a wiſh to conciliate the affections of their former friends and aſſociates. They expreſſed their rancor on all occaſions, and when aſſured that the definitive treaty was actually ſigned, they broke out into the moſt violent paroxyſms of rage and diſappointment. Epithets of the moſt indecent and vindictive nature often fell from their lips, and increaſed the general diſguſt planted in the boſoms of their countrymen from their firſt defection from the American cauſe.

The recent or[illegible]ges that had been committed, ſanctione[illegible] orders from the *Aſſociated Board of Loyaliſts*, as they ſtyled themſelves, had given reaſon to apprehend that a ſpirit of revenge would be excited, that might preclude all lenity and forbearance in the minds of thoſe citizens who had been pillaged, inſulted, and abuſed. It was juſtly apprehended, that the unhouſed mourners for fathers, brothers, or

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beloved ſons, betrayed into the hands of pitileſs enemies by this deſcription of perſons, could not readily forgive.

In order to check this rancorous ſpirit, or rather to leſſen the influence of ſuch an invidious temper, and prevent the fatal effects that might on both ſides ariſe from its indulgence, general Carleton ſoon after his arrival at New York, had directed the diſſolution of the ſociety, and forbidden any more meetings as an aſſociated body, under any name or form. But he conſidered the ſituation of this claſs, more particularly thoſe who had been active members of the Board of Aſſociated Loyaliſts, as too hazardous to deſert at the preſent moment. It has been obſerved, that he thought it his indiſpenſable duty to reſide in the city, and to retain the Britiſh troops for a time, for the protection of all the unhappy people under the deſcription of *tories* or *loyaliſts*. He therefore waited until ſome arrangements and proper proviſions could be made for their ſubſiſtence.

Notwithſtanding the Britiſh negociators had been obliged to leave them in a very indeterminate ſituation, or recede from the negociations for peace, great attention had been paid to this deſcription of perſons in the debates of the Britiſh parliament. Sir Adam Ferguſon had

ſuggeſted, ſome time before the peace, in the courſe of debate, that they ought to be divided into three claſſes; "firſt, thoſe who had early "taken arms in the cauſe of Britain; ſecondly, "thoſe who had fled to England with their fam-"ilies; laſtly, thoſe who had continued at home, "and did not act, or ſtyle themſelves *loyaliſts* un-"til the king's troops called them out to expreſs "their opinions, by perſonally acting againſt "the Americans." He ſaid, that "a diſcrimi-"nation ought to be made, and that they "ſhould be rewarded according to their mer-"its and ſufferings."

This diſcrimination was attended with difficulty; but every one thought that government was under obligations to each of theſe claſſes that could not be winked out of ſight; but they all had claims of conſideration and compenſation, for their efforts to ſupport the meaſures of parliament, if not for any eſſential ſervices rendered to the crown.

Many noblemen were zealous that ſuitable proviſion ſhould be made for the American loyaliſts of all deſcriptions, and no one appeared more intereſted in their favor than lord Shelburne. In conſequence of this, ſome arrangements were made for their eſtabliſhment, and an apportionment of lands aſſigned them in the province of Nova Scotia. They were there aſ-

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ſiſted by the Britiſh government, to erect a town, which was incorporated by the name of *Shelburne*, and patronized by his lordſhip. But it was a ſterile ſpot, and many of them took better ground for themſelves at New Brunſwick, St. John's, and other parts of Nova Scotia, Canada, and within the limits of any part of the American territory yet claimed by Great-Britain.

The officers of the provincial corps were allowed half pay for life, but notwithſtanding any partial compenſations made to the loyaliſts by the Britiſh government, their ſituation in every view was truly pitiable. Many of them had been long ſeparated from their families and tendereſt connexions; they had flattered themſelves with the hope of returning in very different circumſtances at the concluſion of a war, which they had expected would much ſooner have terminated, and have terminated in a manner, equal to their ſanguine ideas of the irreſiſtible arm of Britain.

The moſt exalted opinion of the ſtrength and power of that nation, a reverential attachment to the monarch, and the fond influence of old habits of government, and obedience to parliamentary regulations, had all co-operated with their ideas of the complete ſubjugation of the American colonies. They naturally cal-

culated that they ſhould then be reſtored to their former reſidences, and become the favorite ſubjects of royal patronage. They had reaſon to expect, that their unſhaken loyalty, and uniform exertions to facilitate the deſigns of the court of St. James, juſtly deſerved a higher tribute of gratitude from the crown than they had received. Their baniſhment to an iron ſhore, with a cold recommendation to the ſtate legiſlatures to permit them to reviſit thoſe friends, that might yet have ſurvived the hand of time and misfortune; and to make an effort to recover their ſcattered property that had frequently ſhifted hands, as is uſual in the confuſion of revolutionary ſtruggles, could not be viewed by them as very high marks of conſideration.

Yet many of them ſubmitted afterwards to their condition, with a ſpirit of enterprize and reſolution, and endeavoured to eſtabliſh their new ſettlements on a reſpectable footing. But their embarraſſments in a ſituation ſo new, the ſoil unpropitious, the climate frigid, and the natural propenſity of the human mind to ſigh after a return to its natal ſpot, to finiſh the career of preſent exiſtence, all co-operated to defeat their ſucceſs. *Shelburne*, the pride of their hopes, was in a few years nearly depopulated, and many expenſive and elegant buildings left without an inhabitant.

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As we ſhall not again have any further occaſion to recur to the ſubject of the loyaliſts, a few obſervations, the reſult of their ſubſequent conduct, may be here introduced with propriety, though it is rather an anticipation.

Thoſe who fixed themſelves on the more fertile borders of the Bay of Fundy and St. John's river, ſucceeded better than thoſe at Shelburne; but though few of them felt themſelves greatly obligated to the juſtice or the generoſity of the Britiſh government, they continued their fealty and attachment to the crown of England, with the ſame zeal and fervor which formerly glowed in the boſoms of the inhabitants of all the American colonies.

The planting a new ſettlement is an unpleaſant taſk to thoſe who have been uſed to ſofter habits, from the induſtry, fatigue, and ſelf-denial, neceſſary to promote its ſucceſs. Nor does the laborious exerciſe of felling trees and erecting log-huts for themſelves, yield much ſatisfaction to thoſe of a rougher claſs, but in the anticipation of better proſpects in future. The hand of time, which generally ameliorates the miſeries of man, or reconciles the mind to its misfortunes, was not ſufficiently lenient, to make happy theſe once voluntary emigrants, either in Canada, Nova Scotia, or even in England. Impatient under the ſentence of exile from

their native land, ſome of them returned to America as aliens, and availed themſelves of the benefit of the act of naturalization, afterwards paſſed by the American government, in favour of thoſe who wiſhed to become citizens of the United States. But under the influence of their old prejudices in favour of monarchy, and their minds lowered down by habit, to ſuccumb to the doctrine of paſſive obedience, ſome of them were reſtleſs and uneaſy in the ſociety of men, who had recently ſuffered ſo much to procure liberty and independence to themſelves and poſterity. They fomented diviſions, diſſeminated party opinions; ridiculed the principles of the revolution, and viliſied many of the firſt characters who had exerted themſelves to ſecure the liberties of their country. Theſe, combined with other circumſtances that took place, ſeemed to throw a temporary veil over the republican ſyſtem.

All thoſe who returned to the boſom of their country after the peace, ought not to be implicated as inheriting ſuch vindictive diſpoſitions. Whenever the loyaliſts are mentioned in a collective body, it is but juſt to make a reſervation of ſome exceptions in favor of ſuch as fled, from the terrors awakened in their boſoms by the convulſive ſounds of war.

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Thefe only wifhed to return to their native foil, and enjoy a quiet refidence in the land which gave them birth. Perfons of this defcription were to be found in every ftate in the union, after they were permitted by treaty to return. Thefe were objects of commiferation rather than blame. They had loft their property, their friends, and their felicity, from a miftaken apprehenfion of the power of the hoftile arm that had been ftretched out for the invafion of America, before their emigration.

Whatever teftimony truth may require from an hiftorian, when inveftigating the motives of action in public bodies, or fcrutinizing individual character, the pronenefs of man to err, fhould always admonifh him that it is an indifpenfable duty, "to be candid where he "can."

It is to be lamented, when political opinion is the only bond of attachment, when merit, however confpicuous, is not acknowledged, but by the party in which it is enlifted, the web of prejudice is then fo thickly interwoven, that no ray of brotherly kindnefs can penetrate, and that charity which covers a multitude of fins, is totally annihilated.

Though the anticipation in the preceding fhort chapter, may not exactly accord with the rules of hiftoric writing, no other apology

is neceſſary, than that the awakened curioſity of the reader, as well as his compaſſion, will naturally excite a wiſh to trace the deſtiny of a body of men, who had ſet their faces againſt the liberties of mankind and the exertions of their countrymen. This claſs had hazarded their own fortune and liberty, which were ſtaked againſt the independence of America, and the freedom of future generations.

This curſory review of the ſituation of thoſe unhappy emigrants, the treatment which they received from the Britiſh government, their deſtination and compenſation in conſequence of their attachment to the monarch of England, will doubtleſs be permitted, though not in due order of time, as it was the natural reſult of a ſurvey of their character, their condition, their fate at the cloſe of the war, and their ſubſequent deportment.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Conduct of the American Army on the News of Peace—Mutiny and Insurrection—Congress surrounded by a Part of the American Army—Mutineers disperse—Congress removes to Princeton.—Order of Cincinnati—Observations thereon.

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BEFORE we close the curtain on the scenes that have empurpled the plains of America, with the blood of some of the best of her citizens, or before we congratulate the European world on the opportunity of closing the temple of *Janus*, for a season, it is proper to retrospect and mark some of the intermediate transactions of the American troops, from the capture of lord Cornwallis and his army to the proclamation for peace, and the disbanding the troops of the United States.

We have seen through the narration of events during the war, the armies of the American states suffering hunger and cold, nakedness, fatigue, and danger, with unparalleled patience and valor. A due sense of the importance of the contest in which they were engaged, and the certain ruin and disgrace in which themselves and their children would be involved on the defeat of their object, was a strong stimulus

to patient ſuffering. An attachment to their commanding officers, a confidence in the faith of congreſs, and the ſober principles of independence, equity, and equality, in which the moſt of them had been nurtured, all united to quiet any temporary murmurs that might ariſe from preſent feelings, and to command the fidelity of ſoldiers contending for perſonal freedom, and the liberties of their country.

The deranged ſtate of the American finances from a depreciating currency, the difficulty of obtaining loans of monies, and various other cauſes, had ſufficiently impreſſed them with the danger that threatened the great object, the independence of the United States of America. Theſe circumſtances had led the army to ſubmit to a delay of payment of their equitable dues, notwithſtanding their perſonal ſufferings, and to wait the effects of more efficient ſtipulations for adequate rewards in ſome future day.

But on the certain intelligence that peace was at hand, that it had been propoſed to diſband the army by furloughs, and that there was no appearance of a ſpeedy liquidation of the public debts, many of both officers and ſoldiers grew loud in their complaints, and bold in their demands. They required an immediate payment of all arrearages; and inſiſted on the ſecurity of the commutation engaged by congreſs ſome time before, on the recommendation of general

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Washington: he had requested, that the officers of the army might be assured of receiving seven years' whole pay, instead of half pay for life, which had been stipulated before: this, after reducing the term to five years, congress had engaged.

They also demanded a settlement for rations, clothing, and proper consideration for the delay of payment of just debts, which had long been due, and an obligation from congress for *compensation*, or immediate payment. They chose general M'Dougal, colonel Brooks, and colonel Ogden, a committee from the army to wait on congress, to represent the general uneasiness, and to lay the complaints of the army before them, and to enforce the requests of the officers, most of whom were supposed to have been concerned in the business. Anonymous addresses were scattered among the troops; poisonous suggestions whispered, and the most inflammatory resolutions drawn up, and disseminated through the army: these were written with ingenuity and spirit, but the authors were not discovered.

Reports were every where circulated, that the military department would do itself justice; that the army would not disband until congress had acceded to all their demands; and that they would keep their arms in their hands, until they had compelled the delinquent states to

a ſettlement, and congreſs to a compliance with all the claims of the public creditors.

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Theſe alarming appearances were conducted with much art and intrigue. It was ſaid, and doubtleſs it was true, that ſome perſons not belonging to the army, and who were very *adroit* in fiſcal management, had their full ſhare in ripening the rupture.

Deeply involved in public contracts, ſome of the largeſt public creditors on the continent were particularly ſuſpected of fomenting a ſpirit, and encouraging views, inconſiſtent with the principles and profeſſions of the friends to the revolution. Theſe were diſguſted at the rejection of the late five per cent. impoſt, which had been contemplated: they were thought to have been buſy in ripening projects, which might bring forward meaſures for the ſpeedy liquidation of the public demands. The private embarraſſments and expenſes of ſome of this claſs, had frequently prompted them to ill-digeſted ſyſtems for relief to themſelves, in which the public were alſo involved, from the confidence placed in them by men of the firſt conſideration: but their expedients and their adventures ended in the complete ruin of ſome individuals.

Thoſe gentlemen, however, moſt particularly implicated in the public opinion, ſuſtained a character pure, and morals correct, when view-

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ed in comparison with others who were looking forward to projects of extensive speculation, to the establishment of banks and funding systems, and to the erecting a government for the United States, in which should be introduced ranks, privileged orders, and arbitrary powers. Several of these were deep, designing instruments of mischief; characters able, artful, and insinuating; who were undoubtedly engaged in the manœuvres of the army; and though their designs were not fully comprehended, it was generally believed, that they secretly encouraged the discontents and the attempts of the disaffected soldiery.

In answer to the address of the officers of the army, congress endeavoured to quiet by palliatives, and by expressions of kindness, encouragement, and hope. Several months passed in this uneasy situation: the people anxious, the officers restless, the army instigated by them, and by ambitious and interested men in other departments, proceeded to the most pernicious resolutions, and to measures of a very dangerous nature.

In the mean time, general Washington, both as commander in chief, and as a man who had the peace of his country at heart, did every thing in his power to quiet complaint, to urge to patience, and to dissipate the mutinous spirit that prevailed in the army. By his assiduity,

prudence, and judgment, the embers were slightly covered, but the fire was not extinguished: the secret murmurs that had rankled for several months, and had alternately been smothered in the sullen bosom, or blazed high in the sanguine, now broke out into open insurrection.

On the twentieth of June, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, a part of the Pennsylvania line, with some others belonging to the different corps of several of the United States, in defiance of all order and military discipline, and in contempt of the advice and even importunity of such as were better disposed, marched from Lancaster to Philadelphia. There they were joined by some discontented soldiers in the barracks within the city, who had recently returned poor, emaciated, and miserable, from the southern service.

This seditious host surrounded the state house where congress was sitting, placed guards at the doors, and threatened immediate outrage, unless their demands were complied with in the short space of twenty-four minutes.

Prompt requisitions and immediate decision, all well-disciplined armies are used to, but this is no apology for the precipitation of their pre-

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ſent meaſures. However, from the pride and ſucceſs of military manœuvres, to which they had been accuſtomed, they felt themſelves ſuperior to all civil ſubordination or control. This is uſually the caſe with all armies or detachments from them, in all countries, after they have ſtood their ground long enough, to feel their ſtrength ſufficient to indulge that military tyranny which grows by habit, and makes a ſtanding army a fit inſtrument for the ſupport of the moſt cruel deſpotiſm.

It was indeed very alarming to ſee the general congreſs of the United States held in a kind of *dureſs*, by a part of their own army: but though extremely clamorous and inſolent, the mutineers did not proceed to perſonal abuſe; and, as if ſtruck by a conſciouſneſs of the impropriety of their own conduct, or overawed by the appearance of that honorable body in a ſtate of impriſonment by thoſe whom they ought to command, the members were ſoon permitted to ſeparate. Indeed, they did not meet with any perſonal inſult from the rude and diſorderly ſoldiers, though their demands were not complied with, nor any new conceſſions made in favor of men, who threatened to become the military maſters of the country.

Congreſs thus rudely aſſaulted, reſented the public affront as they ought, and judged it improper for themſelves to continue longer in a

city where they could not be ſure of protection. The preſident and the members of congreſs agreed to leave Philadelphia immediately, and to meet on the twenty-ſixth at Princeton, to proceed on the buſineſs of the United States.

General Waſhington, very far from countenancing any of the meaſures of theſe diſturbers of order and tranquillity, and very unhappy at the diſcontents that had appeared among many of his officers, loſt not a moment after he was informed of the riotous proceedings of a part of his army in Philadelphia: he ordered general Robert Howe to march without delay, with a body of fifteen hundred men, to quell the mutineers. Aided by the prudent conduct of the magiſtrates of the city, things were not carried to the extremities apprehended; the refractory ſoldiers were ſoon reduced to obedience, tranquillity reſtored, and no blood ſpilt.

Some of the ringleaders of ſedition were taken into cuſtody, but ſoon after received a pardon from congreſs. The moſt decided ſteps were immediately taken, not only to quell the clamors of the rioters, but to do juſtice to the armies of the United States. The commutation, which had labored in congreſs for ſome time, was finally agreed on: five years' full pay was acceded to, inſtead of half pay during the lives of the officers of the army. To this was

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added, a promise of a large proportion of uncultivated land in the western territory, to be distributed among them according to their rank in the army. Yet they were not satisfied;—their complaints were loud, the grievances and the merits of the army recapitulated, and their demands high, even to the alarm of all who had the interest of their country at heart, lest the consequences of this mutinous spirit might be fatal to its future tranquillity.

The disbanding of an army, and throwing a number of idle people at once on the community, always requires the most guarded, cautious, and judicious steps. Congress sensible of this, had immediately on the news of peace, recommended to general Washington the measure of furloughing a number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers. They were of the opinion, that if a considerable part of the soldiery who had enlisted for three years, were sent from the army in this way, it would be the most prudent method of separating a body of men, usually dangerous to the liberties and morals of their own country, when no foreign foe obliges them to unite in the general defence.

But it was a measure not pleasing to the army, and had fomented the uneasiness and increased the clamor among the officers, previous to the audacious step of investing the congres-

ſional aſſembly, and obliging them, under the threats of an armed force, to diſperſe for their own perſonal ſafety. Yet this mutinous diſpoſition did not appear to have infected the whole army: many of the ſoldiers were the ſubſtantial yeomanry of the country; many of the officers had ſtood in the ſame grade of life, and were far from wiſhing to involve the inhabitants of their native country in ſcenes of new confuſion and diſtreſs, for the redreſs of their complaints, or the payment of their arrearages.

At the ſame time, the people at large generally thought, that the compenſations engaged by congreſs were equal to the ſervices and ſufferings of the army, however meritorious: it was judged, that if held up in a comparative view with the exertions, the ſufferings, and dangers of men in other departments, that gratitude was not excluſively due to the military line; but that others, who had with vigilance and energy oppoſed the common enemy, were entitled to ſome conſideration in the public eye. Every ſober and judicious man conſidered patience and moderation requiſites that ought to adorn every public character, and cenſured in ſtrong terms, the indulgence of that reſtleſs and turbulent ſpirit that had recently appeared to prevail in the army of the United States.

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The public in general were ſoon confirmed in the opinion, that the intrigues of ſome of the officers were deep, ambitious, deſigning, and pernicious. In the outſet of the American revolution, the inſtitution of ranks, the creation of nobles, the rearing a monarchy, or the aggrandizement of a monarch, and the factitious ideas of ariſtocratic birth, had no exiſtence in the minds of a riſing republic or their army, organized to oppoſe the encroachments of kings. Theſe were ideas afterwards ſuggeſted by aſpiring individuals, who had no preſcriptive rights by any ſuperiority of birth, wealth, or education, to aſſume dignified names or ennobled orders. By degrees, theſe views were nurtured by certain deſigning characters, and matured by circumſtances to which the inhabitants of the ſtates had hitherto been ſtrangers.

But a connexion with European powers, formed from neceſſity, kept open by negociation, and the intercourſe ſtrengthened by ſpeculators and men of pleaſure, tainted the purity and ſimplicity of American manners, long before the concluſion of the war. The friendſhips formed in the field with a foreign army, had their influence, and the habits and opinions of military men, who had long been the ſervants of monarchy or deſpotiſm, were adopted by a conſiderable part of the army of the United States. Nor were ſome men of other deſcrip-

tions leſs faſcinated with the ſplendor of courts, and the baubles of ambitious ſpirits, ſceptres, diadems, and crowns. Doubtleſs, ſome of theſe had lent their co-operating influence to undermine the beautiful fabric of *republicaniſm*, which Americans had erected with enthuſiaſtic fondneſs, and for which they had riſked eaſe, property, and life.

It may be obſerved, that pure republicaniſm is cheriſhed by the philoſopher in his cloſet, and admired by the ſtateſman in his theories of government; yet when called into operation, the combinations of intereſt, ambition, or party prejudice, too generally deſtroy the principle, though the name and the form may be preſerved.

There is a change of manners, of ſentiments, of principles, and of purſuits, which perhaps ſimilar circumſtances will in time produce, in all ages and countries. But from the equality of condition to which they had been uſed, from the firſt emigration of their anceſtors; from their modes of life, and from the character and profeſſions of its inhabitants; ſuch a change in America was not contemplated, nor could have been expected to approach, at ſo early a period of her independence. But new ideas, from a rivalry of power and a thirſt for wealth, had prepared the way to corruption, and the awakened paſſions were hurried to new images of

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happineſs. The ſimpler paths which they had trodden in purſuit of competence and felicity, were left to follow the fantaſtic fopperies of foreign nations, and to ſigh for the diſtinctions acquired by titles, inſtead of that real honor which is ever the reſult of virtue.

A writer of celebrity has obſerved, that "military commanders acquiring fame, and accuſtomed to receive the obedience of armies, "are in their hearts generally enemies to the "popular equality of republics." Thus, the firſt ſtep taken in the United States for the aggrandizement of particular families by diſtinguiſhed orders, and aſſumed nobility, appeared to originate in the army; ſome of whom, as obſerved of the ancient barons of England, "ſoon "forgot the *cauſe* and the patriotiſm of their ancestors, and inſenſibly became the ſervants "of luxury and of government."

By the articles of confederation unanimouſly acceded to by each legiſlature on the continent, the great American republic admitted no titles of honor, no ennobled or privileged orders. But willing to make the experiment, and reap the firſt fruits of excluſive dignity, a *ſelf-created rank* was contemplated by ſome officers of the army, and an order of military knighthood projected, before the diſturbances at Philadelphia, but not publicly avowed until after the inſurrection was ſubdued.

This inſtitution embraced the whole body of officers belonging to the army and navy, both French and Americans. The right of admitting as honorary members perſons of eminence of any nation, was alſo aſſumed. This adoption of honorary members gave the right only of partaking preſent muniſicence, and the enjoyment of the honor during their own lives, however they might have been diſtinguiſhed in name or character. An hereditary claim to the peerage of the *Order of Cincinnati*, and the privileges annexed thereto, was confined ſolely to the military line.

The count de Rochambeau, the duke de Noailles, and many of the principal officers of the French army, and ſeveral other foreign officers, whoſe term of ſervice had been too ſhort to admit a claim according to the rules of the order, were however adopted on its firſt inſtitution. The French ambaſſador and many other gentlemen, bred in the ſchools of monarchy in various parts of Europe, and even ſome princes and crowned heads, were invited to dignify the order by becoming honorary members.

This was a deep laid plan, which diſcovered ſagacity to look forward, genius to take advantage, and art to appropriate to themſelves the opening proſpects of dignity and rank, which

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had fired the minds of ambitious men. The oftenſible deſign of this novel inſtitution, was ſtriking to the compaſſionate mind, and flattering to the lovers of freedom among the American officers. Many of them knew not enough of the world, and of the hiſtory and character of man, to ſuſpect any latent miſchief or any concealed object that muſt not yet be divulged, for fear of diſguſting the public ear. Others had comprehenſive ideas of the ſyſtem, and with great complacency of mind anticipated the honor of hereditary knighthood, entailed on their poſterity.

The members were invited to embody as a ſociety of friends, to perpetuate the memory of the revolution, and to engage to be vigilant in preſerving inviolate, the exalted rights and liberties of human nature, for which they had fought and bled. On his initiation into the ſociety, each member was to advance a month's pay, in order to begin a fund for the relief of any unfortunate family or diſtreſſed individual, who did himſelf, or whoſe father had belonged to the order.

They mutually engaged that this union ſhould not be diſſolved but with their lives; and that their attachment and their honors ſhould deſcend to the eldeſt of their male poſterity, and in failure thereof, to the collateral branches.

They were to be furnifhed with a diploma, and to appropriate to themfelves as a badge of their order, a golden medal, with a bald eagle fpread on the one fide, and on the other a fymbol and a motto indicative of the dignity of their order. The medal was to be fufpended on a broad blue ribbon edged with white, defigned to intimate the union between America and France; this was to be hung to a button-hole of their veft.

As the officers of the American army had ftyled themfelves of the order, and affumed the name of *Cincinnatus*, it might have been expected that they would have imitated the humble and difintereftted virtues of the ancient Roman; that they would have retired fatisfied with their own efforts to fave their country, and the competent rewards it was ready to beftow, inftead of oftentatiouffly affuming hereditary diftinctions, and the *infignia* of nobility. But the eagle and the ribbon dangled at the button-hole of every youth who had for three years borne an office in the army, and taught him to look down with proud contempt on the patriot grown grey in the fervice of his country.

Arduous indeed was the tafk of raifing, regulating, and maintaining an army, to fecure the freedom, the mediocrity, and the independent fpirit, as well as the name of Americans. Thofe

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who had been long engaged in this laborious work had never imagined, that any claſs of the citizens of the United States would pant for peerages in the ſhade of retirement, inſtead of practiſing in their primeval ſtate, the humble virtues, and imitating the laudable manners of their anceſtors.

The benevolent principles avowed in the declarations of the ſociety, allured many to unite with them who had no ideas of eſtabliſhing an hereditary rank of nobility in America. Their views were too circumſcribed, and perhaps too virtuous, to wiſh for any thing more than independence, retirement, and peace, and to return to the plough, or to the humbler occupations of their former life, with the conſcious diſpoſition of doing good to their old aſſociates, if affliction ſhould aſſail, or misfortunes render them, in any future day, the objects of commiſeration and beneficence. But America had nurtured ſons of boundleſs ambition, who thus early contemplated ſtars, garters, and diadems, crowns, ſceptres, and the regalia of kings, in the yet ſimple boſom of their country.

General Waſhington was looked up to as the head of the ſociety, though for a time he prudently declined the ſtyle of preſident or grand maſter of the order, and choſe to be conſidered only as an honorary member. This might have

been from an apprehenſion that it would give a ſtab to his popularity, but more probably it was from a ſenſe of the impropriety of an aſſumption ſo incompatible with the principles of a young republic. The commander of the armies of the United States, however, after the baron de Steuben had acted as grand maſter of the order until October, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-three, publicly acknowledged and ſubſcribed himſelf the preſident of the Society of the Cincinnati.

It was obſerved by a writer in England, that "this was the only blot hitherto diſcovered in "the character of this venerable hero." The ſame writer adds—"It is impoſſible however to "exculpate him: if he underſtood the tenden-"cy of his conduct, his ideas of liberty muſt "have been leſs pure and elevated than they "have been repreſented; and if he ruſhed into "the meaſure blindfold, he muſt ſtill be conſid-"ered as wanting in ſome degree, that penetra-"tion and preſence of mind ſo neceſſary to com-"plete his character." He was cenſured by ſeveral oppoſed to ſuch an inſtitution, who wrote on the ſubject both in Europe and America: it was conſidered as a blameable deviation in him from the principles of the revolution, which he had defended by his ſword, and appeared now ready to relinquiſh by his example.

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The name of Washington was alone sufficient to render the institution popular in the army; but neither his or any other name could sanction the design in the eye of the sober republican, and other men of moderate views in the common grades of life. These were tenacious of the principles and the articles of the confederation, which expressly forbade any rank or dignity to be conferred on the citizens of the United States, either by princes abroad or self-created societies at home.*

Much less satisfied were many high-spirited individuals in the higher classes of life. Ambassadors abroad, who had adopted a fondness for nominal distinctions, members of congress and of state legislatures, and many others who had acquired a taste for the external superiority that wealth and titles bestow, could not be pleased to see themselves and their children thus excluded from hereditary claim to the honors, privileges, and emoluments, of the first order of American nobility. These asserted without hesitation, that this self-created peerage of military origin, would throw an undue weight into the scale of the army; while the sincere votaries to freedom, and the natural equality of man, apprehended that this institution would give a fatal wound to the liberties of America.

* Confederation, article sixth.

Many judicious obſervers of the ſtory of mankind thought, that the United States had now, at the concluſion of the war, an opportunity to make a fair experiment between the advantages of a republican form of government and more deſpotic modes.

It is true, America had obtained her independence, and ſpurned at every idea of kingly power: yet at this period it was difficult to conjecture, into what form of government the United States would finally ſettle. Republicanifm had been the order of the day: the theory was beautiful, and the ſyſtem warmly advocated by many of the beſt political writers: but the manners and the opinions of many diſcovered, that they had not entirely ſhaken off their prejudices in favor of monarchy, under which their anceſtors had ſuffered enough to lead them to impreſs the wiſeſt leſſons on their poſterity.

Some circumſtances augured ſymptoms, that Americans, like moſt other nations, would ſuccumb to the will of aſſumed ſuperiority, and by their ſervility juſtify the attempt to eſtabliſh inequalities of rank; and that they would relinquiſh with their rights, the ſpirit that ought to ſupport them: that the dignity of republican principles would, in ſome not very diſtant day, be loſt in the adulation of the ſycophant, trembling under the frown of a deſpotic maſter.

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This was consistent with the ideas of a sensible American writer, on the subject of the institution of the *Cincinnati.* He observes, "that "this order was a deep laid plan, to beget and "perpetuate family grandeur in an aristocratic "nobility, which might terminate at last in mo-"narchical tyranny. But (adds the same writ-"er) never let so foul a stain be fastened on the "human character, as that the very men who, "with unfading honor, rescued their country "from the galling yoke of foreigners, should "lay the corner stone for erecting a tyranny "themselves. Let not their example prove, "that all that Plato, Sidney, and Locke, have "said, and others have bequeathed to posterity "on the subject of political happiness, was no "more than ideal pictures of a fine imagina-"tion."*

The baron de Steuben and many other foreign officers, were very active and zealous in promoting this new institution. It was however generally thought it originated more in the ambition of some American, than in the influence of any European officers: and perhaps the society was not more indebted to any individual, who was a native son of America, for this dignified innovation, than to major general

* Edanus Burke, esquire, chief justice of the state of South Carolina.

Knox, a man of extenſive ambition, who had imbibed ideas of diſtinction too extravagant for a genuine republican. CHAP. XXIX. 1783.

Mr. Knox had not had the advantages of a literary education; but his natural inquiſitive diſpoſition and attention to books, rendered him a well-informed, agreeable man, with ingratiating accompliſhments. His love of military parade, and the affability of his manners, brought him forward to the command of a cadet company in Boſton, before the commencement of the American war. Naturally of a complacent diſpoſition, his jovial humor and eaſy deportment rendered him acceptable in all companies, and made him a favorite with the commander in chief, even before his talents as a ſoldier were called into exerciſe. With an aſſemblage of pleaſing qualities, it is not ſtrange that he roſe rapidly in the military line. He commanded the artillery department for ſeveral years before the concluſion of the war; and performed his duty in this line with courage and vigilance, which did honor to his military character.

Towards the cloſe of the war, many gentlemen had indulged the moſt expenſive modes of life, without reſources ſufficient to ſupport the pernicious habits, which they had adopted from a wild fondneſs for novel ideas of rank, titles, and privileged orders, little ſhort of men of

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princely education, birth, and expectations. These probably might think, that some badge of hereditary nobility might give consequence to certain characters and families; while they might have sagacity to see that new exigencies might arise, that would open new sources of wealth to favored individuals, sufficient to maintain the pageantry assumed by self-originated titles and distinguished orders.

Friendship and brotherly kindness, patriotism and charity, were held up as the basis of the institution: and however the pride of man might be flattered by the ideas of a frivolous honorary title, attached to his family forever, doubtless the urbanity of Mr. Knox, as well as many other gentlemen, members of the society, was gratified more by the expectation, that much utility would redound to a very large class in the community, who might be benefitted by the donations of the society, though they reaped none of the honors of the institution.

But it was not long before the people were generally aroused from their supineness, by the alarming aspect of these pretensions of the officers of the army. Instead of an affectionate respect to them, which had been generally felt, or any new veneration awakened toward the new military nobles, a universal disgust was intermingled with the apprehensions of danger. This innovation was considered as striking at

once at the equality, liberty, ſimplicity, and intereſt, of the nation at large. The legiſlatures of ſeveral ſtates announced their diſapprobation of the inſtitution, in ſtrong and pointed language: they declared it an unjuſtifiable, dangerous, and bold preſumption; and threatened, if perſiſted in, to manifeſt ſtronger tokens of their diſpleaſure againſt the officers of the army, for ſeparating themſelves from their fellow-citizens, and erecting a pedeſtal on which they might be elevated to diſtinguiſhed rank, and grades of honor inhibited by the confederacy of the ſtates, and the principles of the revolution.

The ſtate of Rhode Iſland carried their reſentment ſtill farther; they cut them off from the uſual privileges which had been enjoyed by the ſubjects of the ſtate, and annulled their claims to the common rights of citizenſhip by declaring, that any who were members of the Cincinnati ſhould be conſidered as incapable of holding any office under the government. In ſhort, ſo general was the diſſatisfaction expreſſed, at the appearance of a deep laid foundation for building up a ſtrong ariſtocracy, if not a monarchy, on the ruins of the American republic, that at the meeting of the Order of Cincinnati in May, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-four, they withdrew, or rather drew a veil over, ſome of their former pretenſions: they apparently renounced the idea of heredi-

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tary diſtinctions, and ſeveral other obnoxious claims, but in reality they relinquiſhed nothing.

They afterwards continued the general and ſtate meetings, the former once in three years, and the latter annually, retained their badges of honor, invited the eldeſt ſons of deceaſed officers to accept the diploma, and to wear the eagle of their fathers, to aſſociate with them on all public occaſions, and to keep up the anceſtral claim, in ſpite of the diſapprobation of moſt of their countrymen. Their funds increaſed rapidly: according to their articles, the yearly intereſt only was to be annually appropriated to charitable purpoſes; this was much more than was expended: thus the wealth of the ſociety was continually enhancing; and by their riches and their numbers they were indeed a formidable body, capable of becoming a preponderating weight in the political ſcale of their country, in whatever exigencies it might hereafter be involved.

There was undoubtedly much merit in the conduct of the American officers and ſoldiers through the war; there was alſo much to apprehend from them, by the exiſting circumſtances at the cloſe of hoſtilities: various combinations and circumſtances rendered it improbable, that ſuch a corps of ambitious ſpirits, hardened in the field of valor and enterpriſe, ſhould at once return to their former occupa-

tions, and ſit down as quiet citizens, without intriguing or intermeddling too much, and claiming a kind of preſcriptive right to dictate in the civil adminiſtration of government.

The diſtreſſed ſtate of American finances was alarming: congreſs was without revenue, reſource, or fiſcal arrangements that promiſed to be ſufficiently productive; without power or energy to enforce any effectual meaſure, until the conſent of each individual ſtate was obtained. There had been a violent oppoſition to a propoſal for raiſing a revenue, by an impoſt of five per cent. on all goods imported from foreign countries. As this was an experiment, it was limited to twenty-five years. Had the expedient been adopted, it might have prevented many ſubſequent difficulties and embarraſſments that took place, previous to, as well as after, the adoption of a permanent conſtitution for the United States of America.

It was ſaid, however, by ſome very wiſe and judicious ſtateſmen, that this imperceptible mode of drawing money from the pockets of the people, was better ſuited to more deſpotic forms of government, than to the free and independent ſpirit that had produced the confederacy of the American ſtates; that more open meaſures, and even direct taxes, were more conſiſtent with republican opinions and manners, than the ſecret drains of impoſts and ex-

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cifes, which might bankrupt a nation, amidft the delufory dreams of wealth and independence.

Though this opinion was not univerfal, yet it had its influence fo far as to retard the meafure. Rhode Ifland rejected it entirely; Maffachufetts and fome other ftates threw impediments in the way; and finally, no effectual ftep was yet taken to reftore public credit, or to quiet the murmurs of the army, juft on the point of diffolution. The ftate, thus incapable of fatisfying their juft demands, had every thing to fear from that "peremptory and un-"temporifing fpirit, which is ufually the fruit "of a feries of military fervice."

America now beheld an exifting clamorous army, on the point of diffolution, or about to affume military domination. There now appeared a large body of proud, ambitious officers, unfatisfied with the honor of victory, and impatient under the promife of pecuniary compenfation, as foon as the exigencies of public affairs would admit: many of them were needy from the delay of payment for meritorious, military fervices and fufferings. They were now (as obferved) fighing for diftinction, aiming to eftablifh hereditary rank among themfelves, and eager for wealth fufficient to fupport the tafte and ftyle of nobility; a tafte newly adopted by an intercourfe with foreigners of

high rank, and habits of expenſe and diſſipation under monarchic governments.

It was obvious to every one, that dignified ranks, oſtentatious titles, ſplendid governments, and ſupernumerary expenſive offices, to be ſupported by the labor of the poor, or the taxation of all the conveniences of the more wealthy, for the aggrandizement of a few, were not the objects of the patriot in the cabinet: nor was this the contemplation of the ſoldier in the field, when the veins of the children of America were firſt opened, and the ſtreams of life poured out, both on the borders and the interior of the United States, againſt the combinations of civilized and ſavage warriors. The views of the virtuous of every claſs in thoſe exertions, were for the purchaſe of freedom, independence, and competence, to themſelves and their poſterity.

At the ſame time, the congreſs of the United States was without ſufficient powers by the old confederation, either to reſtrain the moſt dangerous irregularities, or to command public juſtice: they were alſo deprived by abſence, ineligibility, or death,* of the abilities of many

* Three of the moſt diſtinguiſhed and upright members of congreſs, who early fell under the hand of this dread conqueror of all men, were, PEYTON RANDOLPH, eſquire, of *Virginia*, Mr. LYNCH, of *South Carolina*, and governor WARD, of *Rhode Iſland*.

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of the members who firſt compoſed that honorable body. Some men had been introduced in their ſtead, whoſe ideas of public liberty were very different; who had neither the capacity, the comprehenſion, nor even the wiſhes, to eſtabliſh the freedom of their country on the baſis of equal liberty, and the renunciation of monarchic principles. Some of them had always been men of doubtful character, others had decidedly favored the claims of the Britiſh king and parliament.

The ſeveral governments involved in a weight of public debt; the people embarraſſed in their private reſources, from the expenſive exigencies of an eight years' war; and every difficulty enhanced by being long without a medium of ſtability, without confidence in the faith of public bodies, or ſecurities that could be relied on in private contracts,—the public mind was now agitated like a foreſt ſhaken in a tempeſt, and ſtood trembling at the magnitude of opening proſpects, and the retroſpect of paſt events.

We have ſeen the ſeeds of animoſity and diſſenſion were ſown among themſelves before the American army was diſbanded; dangerous ſymptoms indeed in a young republic, juſt ſetting out for itſelf, with the command and entire juriſdiction of an immenſe territory, while yet no digeſted ſyſtem was formed, or ſeriouſly

contemplated but by few, for governing a new-born nation, ſtill in its pupilage with regard to the ends, the origin, and the moſt perfect mode of civil government.

America was a country remarkable for its rapid population, not yet ſo much from the ingreſs of foreigners, as in conſequence of the operations of nature, where a people are not corrupted by habits of effeminacy, where ſubſiſtence for a family was eaſily acquired, and where few factitious wants had yet cankered the minds of the great maſs of the people, and diſlodged that complacency which reſults from competence and content. Many indeed, at the preſent period, ſeemed to have loſt ſight of their primeval ideas and obligations; yet they were not eradicated from the intelligent, the virtuous, and well-informed mind: the genial flame of freedom and independence blazed in its original luſtre, in the breaſts of many, long after the termination of the revolutionary war.

After this period, the American continent was viewed by all nations as a theatre juſt erected, where the drama was but begun: while the actors of the old world having run through every ſpecies of pride, luxury, venality, and vice, their characters are become leſs intereſting than thoſe of the new. America may ſtand as a

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monument of obſervation, and an aſylum of freedom. The eyes of all Europe were upon her: ſhe was placed in a rank that ſubjected her to the inſpection of mankind abroad, to the jealouſy of monarchs, and the envy of nations, all watching for her halting, to avail themſelves of her miſtakes, and to reap advantages from her difficulties, her embarraſſments, her inexperience, or her follies.

Perhaps at no period of her exiſtence, was America viewed with an eye of higher veneration, than at the preſent, both by ſtateſmen and princes: at the ſame time, the philoſopher in his retirement contemplates, and the lovers of mankind of every deſcription behold, the ſhackles of anceſtral pride annihilated, in a reſpectable portion of the globe. Yet, it may be obſerved, that it will require all the wiſdom and firmneſs of the moſt ſagacious heads, united with the moſt upright hearts, to eſtabliſh a form of government for an extenſive nation, whoſe independence has been recently acknowledged by Great Britain. This muſt be done on a juſt medium, that may control the licentiouſneſs of liberty, and the daring encroachments of arbitrary power; a medium that may check the two extremes of democracy, and the overbearing influence of a young ariſtocracy, that may ſtart up from a ſudden acquiſition of wealth, where it had never before been taſted.

But after all the ſpeculative opinions with regard to government, that have occupied the minds and the pens of men, before many years roll over, ſome aſpiring genius, without eſtabliſhing the criterion or waiting the reward of real merit, may avail himſelf of the weakneſs, the diviſions, and perhaps the diſtreſſes, of America, to make himſelf the deſignator and the fountain of honor and expectation. Such a ſovereign without a crown, or the title of *king*, with his favorites and his inſtigators about him, may not be a leſs dangerous animal, than the *monarch* whoſe brow is decorated by the ſplendor of a diadem.

Theſe are, however, ideas that may evaniſh with time; or if realized, it muſt be to the grief of the genuine patriot and the miſery of thouſands, who now dream only of freedom, wealth, and happineſs, beneath the protection of juſt, equal, and lenient governments of their own, without any commixture of foreign influence or domination.

CHAPTER XXX.

A Survey of the Situation of America on the Conclusion of the War with Britain.—Observations on the Declaration of Independence.—Withdraw of the British Troops from New York—A few Observations on the Detention of the Western Posts.—The American Army disbanded, after the Commander in Chief had addressed the Public, and taken Leave of his Fellow-Soldiers—General Washington resigns his Commission to Congress.

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WE have seen the banners of Albion displayed, and the pendants of her proud navy waving over the waters of the western world, and threatening terror, servitude, or desolation, to resisting millions. We have seen through the tragic tale of war, all political connexion with Great Britain broken off, the authority of the parent state renounced, and the independence of the American states sealed by the definitive treaty. The mind now willingly draws a veil over the unpleasing part of the drama, and indulges the imagination in future prospects of peace and felicity; when the soldier shall retreat from the field, lay by the sword, and resume the implements of husbandry—the mechanic return to his former occupation, and the merchant rejoice in the prosperous view of commerce; when trade shall not be restricted

by the unjuſt or partial regulations of foreigners; and when the ports of America ſhall be thrown open to all the world, and an intercourſe kept free, to reap the advantages of commerce extended to all nations.

The young government of this newly eſtabliſhed nation had, by the recent articles of peace, a claim to a juriſdiction over a vaſt territory, reaching from the St. Mary's on the ſouth, to the river St. Croix, the extreme boundary of the eaſt, containing a line of poſt-roads of eighteen hundred miles, excluſive of the northern and weſtern wilds, but partially ſettled, and whoſe limits have not yet been explored. Not the Lycian league, nor any of the combinations of the Grecian ſtates, encircled ſuch an extent of territory; nor does modern hiſtory furniſh any example of a confederacy of equal magnitude and reſpectability with that of the United States of America.

We look back with aſtoniſhment when we reflect, that it was only in the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, that the firſt Europeans landed in Virginia, and that nearly at the ſame time, a few wandering ſtrangers coaſted about the unknown bay of Maſſachuſetts, until they found a footing in Plymouth. Only a century and an half had elapſed, before their numbers and their ſtrength accumulated, until they bade defiance to foreign oppreſſion, and ſtood ready

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to meet the power of Britain, with courage and magnanimity ſcarcely paralleled by the progeny of nations, who had been uſed to every degree of ſubordination and obedience.

The moſt vivid imagination cannot realize the contraſt, when it ſurveys the vaſt ſurface of America now enrobed with fruitful fields, and the rich herbage of the paſtures, which had been ſo recently covered with a thick mattreſs of woods; when it beholds the cultivated viſta, the orchards and the beautiful gardens which have ariſen within the limits of the Atlantic ſtates, where the deep embrowned, melancholy foreſt, had from time immemorial ſheltered only the wandering ſavage; where the ſweet notes of the feathered race, that follow the track of cultivation, had never chanted their melodious ſongs: the wild waſte had been a haunt only for the hoarſe birds of prey, and the prowling quadrupeds that filled the foreſt.

In a country like America, including a vaſt variety of ſoil and climate, producing every thing neceſſary for convenience and pleaſure, every man might be lord of his own acquiſition. It was a country where the ſtandard of freedom had recently been erected, to allure the liberal minded to her ſhores, and to receive and to protect the perſecuted ſubjects of arbitrary power, who might there ſeek an aſylum from the chains of ſervitude to which they had

been subjected in any part of the globe. Here it might rationally be expected, that beside the natural increase, the emigrations to a land of such fair promise of the blessings of plenty, liberty, and peace, to which multitudes would probably resort, there would be exhibited in a few years, a population almost beyond the calculation of figures.

The extensive tract of territory above described, on the borders of the Atlantic, had, as we have seen, been divided into several distinct governments, under the control of the crown of Great Britain; these governments were now united in a strong confederacy, absolutely independent of all foreign domination: the several states retained their own legislative powers; they were proud of their individual independence, tenacious of their republican principles, and newly emancipated from the degrading ideas of foreign control, and the sceptred hand of monarchy. With all these distinguished privileges, deeply impressed with the ideas of internal happiness, we shall see they grew jealous of each other, and soon after the peace, even of the powers of the several governments erected by themselves: they were eager for the acquisition of wealth, and the possession of the new advantages dawning on their country, from their friendly connexions abroad, and their abundant resources at home.

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At the ſame time that theſe wayward appearances began early to threaten their internal felicity, the inhabitants of America were in general ſenſible, that the freedom of the people, the virtue of ſociety, and the ſtability of their commonwealth, could only be preſerved by the ſtricteſt union; and that the independence of the United States muſt be ſecured by an undeviating adherence to the principles that produced the revolution.

Theſe principles were grounded on the natural equality of man, their right of adopting their own modes of government, the dignity of the people, and that ſovereignty which cannot be ceded either to repreſentatives or to kings. But, as a certain writer has expreſſed it,—"Powers may be delegated for particular "purpoſes; but the omnipotence of ſociety, if "any where, is in itſelf. Princes, ſenates, or "parliaments, are not proprietors or maſters; "they are ſubject to the people, who form and "ſupport that ſociety, by an eternal law of na-"ture, which has ever ſubjected a part to the "whole."*

Theſe were opinions congenial to the feelings, and were diſſeminated by the pens, of political writers; of Otis, Dickinſon,

* See Leſſons to a Prince, by an anonymous writer.

Quincy,* and many others, who with pathos and energy had defended the liberties of America, previous to the commencement of hostilities.

On these principles, a due respect must ever be paid to the general will; to the right in the people to dispose of their own monies by a representative voice; and to liberty of conscience without religious tests: on these principles, frequent elections, and rotations of office, were generally thought necessary, without precluding the indispensable subordination and obedience due to rulers of their own choice. From

* The characters of Dickenson and Otis are well known, but the early death of Mr. *Quincy* prevented his name from being conspicuous in the history of American worthies. He was a gentleman of abilities and principles which qualified him to be eminently useful, in the great contest to obtain and support the freedom of his country. He had exerted his eloquence and splendid talents for this purpose, until the premature hand of death deprived society of a man, whose genius so well qualified him for the investigation of the claims, and the defence of the rights of mankind. He died on his return from a voyage to Europe, a short time before war was actually commenced between Great Britain and the colonies.

The writings of the above named gentlemen, previous to the commencement of the war, are still in the hands of many.

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the principles, manners, habits, and education of the Americans, they expected from their rulers, economy in expenditure, (both public and private,) ſimplicity of manners, pure morals, and undeviating probity. Theſe they conſidered as the emanations of virtue, grounded on a ſenſe of duty, and a veneration for the Supreme Governor of the univerſe, to whom the dictates of nature teach all mankind to pay homage, and whom they had been taught to worſhip according to revelation, and the divine precepts of the goſpel. Their anceſtors had rejected and fled from the impoſitions and reſtrictions of men, veſted either with princely or prieſtly authority: they equally claimed the exerciſe of private judgment, and the rights of conſcience, unfettered by religious eſtabliſhments in favor of particular denominations.

They expected a ſimplification of law; clearly defined diſtinctions between executive, legiſlative, and judiciary powers: the right of trial by jury, and a ſacred regard to perſonal liberty and the protection of private property, were opinions embraced by all who had any juſt ideas of government, law, equity, or morals.

Theſe were the rights of men, the privileges of Engliſhmen, and the claim of Americans: theſe were the principles of the Saxon anceſtry of the Britiſh empire, and of all the free na-

tions of Europe, previous to the corrupt ſyſ- CHAP. XXX.
tems introduced by intriguing and ambitious 1783.
individuals.

Theſe were the opinions of Ludlow and Sydney, of Milton and Harrington: theſe were principles defended by the pen of the learned, enlightened, and renowned Locke; and even judge Blackſtone, in his excellent commentaries on the laws of England, has obſerved, "that "trial by jury and the liberties of the people went "out together." Indeed, moſt of the learned and virtuous writers that have adorned the pages of literature from generation to generation, in an iſland celebrated for the erudite and comprehenſive genius of its inhabitants, have enforced theſe rational and liberal opinions.

Theſe were the principles which the anceſtors of the inhabitants of the United States brought with them from the poliſhed ſhores of Europe, to the dark wilds of America: theſe opinions were deeply inſixed in the boſoms of their poſterity, and nurtured with zeal, until neceſſity obliged them to announce the declaration of the independence of the United States. We have ſeen that the inſtrument which announced the final ſeparation of the American colonies from Great Britain, was drawn by the elegant and energetic pen of Jefferſon, with that

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correct judgment, precision, and dignity, which have ever marked his character.

The declaration of independence, which has done so much honor to the then existing congress; to the inhabitants of the United States, and to the genius and heart of the gentleman who drew it, in the belief, and under the awe, of the Divine Providence, ought to be frequently read by the rising youth of the American states, as a palladium of which they should never lose sight, so long as they wish to continue a free and independent people.

This celebrated paper, which will be admired in the annals of every historian, begins with an assertion, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, which nature and nature's God entitle them to claim; and, after appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions, it concludes in the name of the *good people* of the *colonies*, by their representatives assembled in congress, they publish and declare, that they are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States: in the *name* of the *people*, the fountain of all just authority, relying on the protection of Divine Providence, they mutually pledged themselves to maintain these rights, with their lives, fortunes, and honor.

Thefe principles the *Sons of Columbia* had fupported by argument, defended by the fword, and have now fecured by negociation, as far as the pledges of national faith and honor will bind fociety to a ftrict adherence to equity. This however is feldom longer than it appears to be the intereft of nations, or defigning individuals of influence and power. Virtue in the fublimeft fenfe, operates only on the minds of a chofen few: in their breafts it will ever find its own reward.

In all ages, mankind are governed lefs by reafon and juftice, than by intereft and paffion; the caprice of a day, or the impulfe of a moment, will blow them about as with a whirlwind, and bear them down the current of folly, until awakened by their mifery: by thefe they are often led to breaches of the moft folemn engagements, the confequences of which may involve whole nations in wretchednefs. It is devoutly to be hoped, that the conduct of America will never ftand upon record as a ftriking example of the truth of this obfervation. She has fought for her liberties; fhe has purchafed them by the moft coftly facrifices: we have feen her embark in the enterprife, with a fpirit that gained her the applaufe of mankind. The United States have procured their own emancipation from foreign thraldom, by the facrifice of their heroes and their friends: they are now ufhered on to the temple of peace, who holds

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out her wand, and beckons them to make the wiſeſt improvement of the advantages they had acquired, by their patience, perſeverance, and valor.

They had now only to cloſe the ſcenes of war by a quiet diſperſion of their own armies, and to witneſs the laſt act of hoſtile parade, the decampment of the battalions of Britain, and the retirement of the potent fleets that had long infeſted their coaſts. This was to have been done at an earlier day; it was expected that on the ratification of the definitive treaty, there would have been an immediate evacuation of all the poſts which had been held by the Britiſh, within the limits of the United States.

The ſeventh article of the treaty expreſsly ſtipulated, that—" His Britannic Majeſty ſhall, " with all convenient ſpeed, and without cauſ- " ing any deſtruction, or carrying away any " negroes or other property of the American " inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garriſons, " and fleets, from the ſaid United States, and " from every poſt, place, and harbor, within " the ſame; leaving in all fortifications the " American artillery that may be therein: and " ſhall alſo order and cauſe all archives, records, " deeds, and papers, belonging to any of the " ſaid ſtates, or their citizens, which in the " courſe of the war may have fallen into the " hands of his officers, to be forthwith reſtored

"and delivered to the proper ſtates and perſons "to whom they belong."

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General Carleton had aſſigned his reaſons for delay relative to the evacuation of New York, in his correſpondence with the preſident of congreſs and general Waſhington. Some ſatiſfactory arrangements were however ſoon after made, relative to the loyaliſts, the exchange of priſoners, and ſeveral other points, for which the reader is referred to the journals of congreſs. When this was done, a detachment from the American army, under the command of general Knox, was directed to enter New York, in order to prevent any irregularities, confuſion, or inſult, among the citizens, on the important movement now about to take place.

On the twenty-fifth of November, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-three, all the Britiſh, Heſſian, and other foreign troops in the pay of his Britannic majeſty, were drawn off from the city of New York: general Carleton embarked the ſame day; and admiral Digby ſailed for England with the remainder of the Britiſh fleet, that had for many years invaded the ſea-coaſts of America. Thus the ſhores of the Atlantic ſtates, that had ſo long been alarmed by the terrific thunders of the Britiſh navy, and ravaged by hoſtile ſquadrons, were left in repoſe. In conſequence of this much deſired event, a general joy pervaded the borders,

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from Georgia to the extreme boundaries of the New England ſtates.

No ſufficient apology was however yet made for the detention of the weſtern poſts: they were long retained; and this breach of faith was afterwards attended with very important conſequences. Under various frivolous pretences of non-compliance on the part of the United States, with ſome articles ſtipulated in the definitive treaty of peace, a long line of poſts in the weſtern territory were not relinquiſhed.

We have ſeen by the ſeventh article of the treaty, that the king of England was to have immediately withdrawn not only his fleets and armies from the ſea-coaſts, but that all the garriſons, forts, and places of arms, within the United States, ſhould at the ſame time have been evacuated. But the Britiſh intereſt and trade with the natives of the wilderneſs, in the extenſive territories from the Miſſiſippi to the Alleghany Mountains on the river Ohio, could not eaſily be relinquiſhed by their government. The forts of Michillimackinak and Detroit, the poſts on Lake Erie, Niagara, Oſwego, and ſeveral others, were held by Britiſh officers and troops, and a juriſdiction long exerciſed over all the country in the vicinity, under the direction of colonel Simcoe, afterwards governor of Upper Canada.

The diſpoſition of this man toward the United States, was no leſs cruel and ſavage, than that of the fierce uncultivated natives beyond the lakes: this we have ſeen him diſplay when a marauding partiſan in the Jerſies, Virginia, and other places. He was now left at full liberty to indulge this diſpoſition among ſavages, whoſe ferocity and cruelty ſeemed to be perfectly congenial to the feelings of his own heart, when, while in command there, he inſtigated the fierce and blood-thirſty warriors to make incurſions on the frontier ſettlements.

The hoſtile character of governor Simcoe, the licentiouſneſs and barbarity of the borderers, both European and American, united with the intereſts of Britain and the weakneſs of an infant government in America, ſome time after the preſent period, produced a horrid Indian war, in which, aſſiſted by Britiſh ſoldiers in diſguiſe, many brave officers of the old army, and ſome of the flower of the American youth, periſhed in the wilderneſs.

Thoſe ſubſequent circumſtances in American ſtory which have been curſorily mentioned above, ſuggeſt the reflection, that it might have been happy for the United States, and happier for the individual "who weeps alone its lot of "wo," if, inſtead of extending their views

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over the boundleſs deſert, *a Chineſe wall* had been ſtretched along the Apalachian ridges, that might have kept the nations within the boundaries of nature. This would have prevented the incalculable loſs of life and property, and have checked the luſt of territory, wealth, and that ambition which has poured out ſtreams of innocent blood on the forlorn mountains. The lives of our young heroes were too rich a price for the purchaſe of the acres of the ſavages, even could the nations be extinguiſhed, who certainly have a prior right to the inheritance: this is a theme on which ſome future hiſtorians may more copiouſly deſcant.

The acquiſition and poſſeſſion of territory ſeems to be a paſſion inwove in the boſom of man: we ſee it from the peaſant who owns but a ſingle acre, to the prince who commands kingdoms, and wiſhes to extend his domains over half the globe. This is thought neceſſary at ſome times to diſtance troubleſome neighbours, at others to preſerve their own independence; but if the ſpring of action is traced, it may generally be found in the inordinate thirſt for the poſſeſſion of power and wealth.

A writer of celebrity has obſerved,—"The "enlargement of territory by conqueſt, is not "only not a juſt object of war, but, in the "greater part of the inſtances in which it is at-"tempted, not even deſirable. It is certainly

"not desirable, where it adds nothing to the "numbers, the enjoyments, or the security of "the conquerors. What, commonly, is gained "to a nation by the annexing of new depen- "dencies, or the subjugation of other countries "to its dominions, but a wider frontier to de- "fend, more interfering claims to vindicate, "more quarrels, more enemies, more rebellions "to encounter, a greater force to keep up by "sea and land, more services to provide for, "and more establishments to pay? Were it "true that the grandeur of the prince is magni- "fied by those exploits, the glory which is pur- "chased, and the ambition which is gratified, "by the distress of one country, without add- "ing to the happiness of another, which at the "same time enslaves the new and impoverishes "the ancient part of the empire, by whatever "names it may be known or flattered, ought "to be an object of universal execration."*

These are the reflections of a philosopher; princes and statesmen view things in a very different light. The expense of either treasure or blood, the waste of human life, the anguish of the afflicted bosom, or the tears wrung from the eye of sorrow, have little weight in the scale of ambition, whose object is the extension of territory and power to the utmost of their

* Paley's Moral Philosophy.

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limits, however contrary to the laws of nature and benevolence.

Perhaps neither reaſon nor policy could juſtify the American government in offenſive war, on the natives of the interior of the weſtern territory; but the detention of the poſts on the borders by the Britiſh, obliged them after peace took place, to make ſome military defence againſt the incurſions of the ſavages on the frontiers, the conſequences of which will be ſeen hereafter.

We have already obſerved, that New York was relinquiſhed and the Britiſh forces withdrawn from the Atlantic ſtates only, and the further adjuſtment relative to the out-poſts left to the deciſion of a future day.*

Immediately after the Britiſh armament was withdrawn from New York, all hoſtile arrangements diſappeared, and the clarion of war ceaſed to grate the ear of humanity; and notwith-

* The defence made by the Britiſh for the breach of treaty in the detention of the weſtern poſts, may be ſeen at large in a correſpondence ſince publiſhed between Mr. Jefferſon, the American ſecretary of ſtate, and Mr. Hammond, the Britiſh plenipotentiary to the United States; on which a Britiſh writer obſerved to his countrymen—"Your diplomatiſts have ſhrunk before the reaſonings of Jefferſon."

ſtanding the obſtacles that had ariſen, and the dangers feared from the face of general diſcontent among the officers and ſoldiers, the American army was diſbanded with far leſs difficulty than was apprehended. The commander in chief, and many of the officers, conducted the buſineſs of conciliation and obedience, after the late mutiny and inſurrection, with the moſt conſummate judgment and prudence; and the whole American army was diſmiſſed in partial detachments, without tumult or diſorder.

The merits of the commander in chief of the united armies of America, have been duly noticed through the preceding pages of this work, in their order of time; and ample juſtice has been done to the integrity and valor, to the moderation and humanity, of this diſtinguiſhed character. The virtues and talents which he really poſſeſſed, have been appreciated in a meaſure conſiſtent with a ſacred regard to truth. Imputed genius and luſtre of abilities aſcribed beyond the common ratio of human capacity and perfection, were the reſult of his commanding good fortune, which attached to his perſon and character, the partiality of all ranks and claſſes of men.

An excluſive claim to the ſummit of human excellence, had been yielded as a kind of preſcriptive right, to this worthy and juſtly venerated citizen, from affection, from gratitude,

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and from the real ſervices rendered his country, under exiſting circumſtances that had never before, and perhaps never will again, take place. His remarkable retention of popular favor and good-will, carried him through a long and perilous war without a change in public opinion, or the loſs of confidence in the commander firſt appointed by the congreſs of America, to meet the veterans of Britain and other European powers, on hoſtile ground.

Thus, the renowned *WASHINGTON*, without arrogating any undue power to himſelf, which ſucceſs and popularity offered, and which might have ſwayed many more deſigning and interested men, to have gratified their own ambition at the expenſe of the liberties of America, finiſhed his career of military glory, with decided magnanimity, unimpeached integrity, and the moſt judicious ſteps to promote the tranquillity of his country. He had previouſly publiſhed a circular letter to each governor of the individual ſtates: this was an elegant addreſs, replete with uſeful obſervations and excellent advice to the inhabitants of the United States, in their ſocial, civil, and military capacities. Nor did he neglect on all occaſions, after the approach of peace, to inculcate on the ſoldiery, and to impreſs on the minds of the people, the neceſſity of union, ſubordination, economy, and juſtice, in the punctual diſcharge of all contracts, both public and private,

In full poſſeſſion of the confidence of the people, the applauſe of his country, the love of the army, the eſteem of foreigners, and the warm friendſhip and reſpect of the Gallican nation, whoſe armies and treaſures had aided him to glory and victory, general Waſhington diſbanded the troops without noiſe, inconvenience, or any apparent murmur at his meaſures. By order of the commander in chief, the peace was celebrated at New York on the firſt day of December, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-three, with high demonſtrations of ſatisfaction and joy; and on the twenty-third of the ſame month, general Waſhington reſigned his commiſſion to congreſs, and, after acting ſo conſpicuous a part on the theatre of war, retired from public ſcenes and public men, with a philoſophic dignity honorary to himſelf and to human nature.

Before the ſeparation of the army, the general took a very affectionate leave of his brave and faithful ſoldiers, and of each of the officers ſingly. His farewell to his brave aſſociates through the perilous ſcenes of danger and war, was attended with ſingular circumſtances of affection and attachment. His addreſs to the army was warm, energetic, and impreſſive. While the ſenſibility of the commander in chief appeared in his countenance, it was reciprocated in the faces of both officers and ſoldiers; and in the courſe of this ſolemn *adieu*,

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the big tear ſtole down the cheeks of men of courage and hardihood, long inured to ſcenes of ſlaughter and diſtreſs, which too generally deaden the beſt feelings of the human heart.*

The mutual recollection of paſt dangers and fatigue which they had endured together, and the contemplation of a retreat that would probably prevent their ever meeting again, rendered this period of ſeparation, between this band of veteran chieftains and valiant ſoldiers, a moment of extreme ſenſibility. Many of them had left their pruning-hooks from principle, and had girded on the ſword in defence of civil and religious liberty; they were now returning to the plough, uncertain what kind of maſters would in future reap the reward of their labors: they had left many of their brethren on the field of death, the voluntary ſacrifices to the independence of their country: they had freed themſelves from the fetters of kings, and by their prowes and their perſeverance, they had obtained a national independence.

General Waſhington was attended to the margin of the river, (where he embarked on his way to Annapolis,) by crowds of ſpectators of every ſex and age; while the proceſſion of

* General Waſhington's farewell orders to the army of the United States, may be ſeen in Appendix, Note No. V.

officers and gentlemen who followed, with solemn steps and mournful visage, was indicative of a last adieu to their most beloved and respected friend.

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Congress was then sitting at Annapolis, where they received the resignation of the magnanimous and disinterested commander of the army of the United States, with the same emotions of veneration and affection that had agitated the breast of the soldier. He had refused all pecuniary compensation for his services, except what was sufficient for his necessary expenditures, and laid his accounts before congress: he then hastened with all possible celerity, to his peaceful mansion in the state of Virginia: there his return was hailed by the joyous acclamations of his friends, his neighbours, his servants, and the crown of his domestic felicity, his amiable partner. Mrs. Washington had long sighed for the return of her hero, whom she adored as the saviour of her country, and loved as the husband of her fond affection. In this lady's character was blended that sweetness of manners, that at once engaged the partiality of the stranger, soothed the sorrows of the afflicted, and relieved the anguish of poverty, even in the manner of extending her charitable hand to the sufferer.

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Thus poſſeſſed of all the virtues that adorn her ſex, Mrs. Waſhington now contemplated the completion of her happineſs; and obſerved afterwards in a letter to the author, that ſhe "little thought when the war was finiſhed, that "any circumſtance could poſſibly happen to call "the general into public life again; that ſhe "anticipated that from that moment they ſhould "have grown old together, in ſolitude and tran-"quillity:—this, my dear madam, was the firſt "and fondeſt wiſh of my heart."*

But general Waſhington had yet much to do on the theatre of public action; much for his own fame, and much for the extrication of his country from difficulties apprehended by ſome, but not yet realized.

America has fought for the boon of liberty; ſhe has ſucceſsfully and honorably obtained it: ſhe has now a rank among the nations: it was now the duty of the wiſe and patriotic characters who had by inconceivable labor and exertion obtained the prize, to guard on every ſide that it might not be ſported away by the folly of the people, or the intrigue or deception of their rulers. They had to watch at all points, that her dignity was not endangered, nor her independence renounced, by too ſervilely copy-

* Mrs. Waſhington's letter to Mrs. Warren, 1789.

ing either the fashionable vices or the political errors of those countries, where the inhabitants are become unfit for any character but that of master and slave.

Thus, after the dissolution of the American army, the withdrawing of the French troops, the retirement of general Washington, and the retreat of the fleets and armies of the king of Great Britain, a solemnity and stillness appeared, which was like the general pause of nature before the concussion of an earthquake. The state of men's minds seemed for a short time to be palsied by the retrospect of dangers encountered to break off the fetters, and the hazards surmounted to sweep away the claims, and cut the leading strings in which they had been held by the crown of Britain.

But though the connexion was now dissolved, and the gordian knot of union between Great Britain and America cut in sunder; though the independence of the United States was, by the treaty, clearly established on the broad basis of liberty; yet the Americans felt themselves in such a state of infancy, that as a child just learning to walk, they were afraid of their own movements. Their debts were unpaid, their governments unsettled, and the people out of breath by their long struggle for the freedom and independence of their country. They

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were become poor from the loſs of trade, the neglect of their uſual occupations, and the drains from every quarter for the ſupport of a long and expenſive war.

From the verſatility of human affairs, and the encroaching ſpirit of man, it was yet uncertain when and how the ſtates would be tranquillized, and the union conſolidated, under wiſe, energetic, and free modes of government; or whether ſuch, if eſtabliſhed, would be adminiſtered agreeable to laws founded on the beautiful theory of republicaniſm, depictured in the cloſets of philoſophers, and idolized in the imagination of moſt of the inhabitants of America.

It is indeed true, that from a general attention to early education, the people of the United States were better informed in many branches of literature, than the common claſſes of men in moſt other countries. Yet many of them had but a ſuperficial knowledge of mankind; they were ignorant of the intrigues of courts, and though convinced of the neceſſity of government, did not fully underſtand its nature or origin; they had generally ſuppoſed there was little to do, but to ſhake off the yoke of foreign domination, and annihilate the name of *king*.

They were not generally ſenſible, that moſt eſtabliſhed modes of ſtrong government are uſually the conſequences of fraud or violence, againſt the ſyſtems of democratic theoriſts. They were not ſenſible, that from age to age the people are flattered, deceived, or threatened, until the hood-winked multitude ſet their own ſeals to a renunciation of their privileges, and with their own hands rivet the chains of ſervitude on their poſterity. They were totally fearleſs of the intrigues or the ambition of their own countrymen, which might in time render fruitleſs the expenſe of their blood and their treaſures. Theſe they had freely laviſhed to ſecure their equality of condition, their eaſy modes of ſubſiſtence, and their exemption from public burdens beyond the neceſſary demands for the ſupport of a free and equal government. But it was not long before they were awakened to new energies, by convulſions both at home and abroad.

New created exigencies, or more ſplendid modes of government that might hereafter be adopted, had not yet come within the reach of their calculations. Of theſe, few had yet formed any adequate ideas, and fewer indeed were ſenſible, that though the name of *liberty* delights the ear, and tickles the fond pride of man, it is a jewel much oftener the play-thing of his imagination, than a poſſeſſion of real ſtability: it may be acquired to-day in all the triumph of

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independent feelings, but perhaps to-morrow the world may be convinced, that mankind know not how to make a proper uſe of the prize, generally bartered in a ſhort time, as a uſeleſs bauble, to the firſt officious maſter that will take the burden from the mind, by laying another on the ſhoulders of ten-fold weight.

This is the uſual courſe of human conduct, however painful the reflection may be to the patriot in retirement, and to the philoſopher abſorbed in theoretic diſquiſitions on human liberty, or the portion of natural and political freedom to which man has a claim. The game of deception is played over and over to miſlead the judgment of men, and work on their enthuſiaſm, until by their own conſent, hereditary crowns and diſtinctions are fixed, and ſome ſcion of royal deſcent is entailed upon them forever. Thus by habit they are ready to believe, that mankind in general are incapable of the enjoyment of that liberty which nature ſeems to preſcribe, and that the maſs of the people have not the capacity nor the right to chooſe their own maſters.

The generous and diſintereſted of all nations muſt, however, wiſh to ſee the American republic fixed on ſuch a ſtable baſis, as to become the admiration of the world. Future generations will then look back with gratitude, on the era which wafted their anceſtors from the Europe-

an ſhores: they will never forget the energetic ſtruggles of their fathers, to ſecure the natural rights of men. Theſe are improved in ſociety, and ſtrengthened by civil compacts: theſe have been eſtabliſhed in the United States by a race of independent ſpirits, who have freed their poſterity from the feudal vaſſalage of hereditary lords. It is to be hoped, that the grim ſhades of deſpotic kings will never hover in the clouds of the American hemiſphere, to bedizzen the heads of the ſons of Columbia, by imaginary ideas of the ſplendid beams of royalty.

Let it never be ſaid of ſuch a favored nation as America has been, as was obſerved by an ancient hiſtorian, on the riſe, the glory, and the fall of the republic of Athens, that "the inconſtancy of the people was the moſt ſtriking characteriſtic of its hiſtory." We have, with the hiſtorian who depictured the Athenian character, viewed with equal aſtoniſhment, the valor of our ſoldiers and the penetration of the ſtateſmen of America. We wiſh for the duration of her virtue; we ſigh at every appearance of decline; and perhaps, from a dread of deviations, we may be ſuſpicious of their approach when none are deſigned.

It is a more agreeable anticipation to every humane mind, to contemplate the glory, the happineſs, the freedom, and peace, which may for ages to come pervade this new-born nation,

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emancipated by the uncommon vigor, valor, fortitude, and patriotism of her soldiers and statesmen. They seemed to have been remarkably directed by the finger of Divine Providence, and led on from step to step beyond their own expectations, to exhibit to the view of distant nations, millions freed from the bondage of a foreign yoke, by that spirit of freedom, virtue, and perseverance, which they had generally displayed from their first emigrations to the wilderness, to the present day.

Let us here pause a few moments, and survey the vast continent of America, where the reflecting mind retrospects and realizes the beautiful description of the wide wilderness, before it became a fruitful field; before "the rivers "were open in high places, and fountains in "the midst of the vallies;" when He who created them pronounced,—"I will plant the "cedar, the myrtle, and the oil-tree; I will "set in the desart the fir-tree, and the pine, "and the box-tree together; that all may see, "and know, and consider, and understand to-"gether, that the hand of the Lord hath done "this, and the Holy One of Israel hath cre-"ated it."*

Let the striking contrast, since the forest has been made to blossom as the rose, be viewed in

* Isaiah, 41st chap.

ſuch an impreſſive light, as to operate on the mind of every ſon and daughter of America, and lead to the uniform practice of public and private virtue.

From the education, the habits, and the general law of kindneſs, which has been nurtured among the children of thoſe pious worthies who firſt left the pleaſant and prolific ſhores of Europe, and took up their reſidence in the boſom of a wilderneſs, to ſecure the peaceful enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, it may reaſonably be expected, that ſuch a unanimity may long be preſerved among their poſterity, as to prevent the fatal havoc which diſſenſion and war have brought on moſt nations found in the records of time.

The mind now rejoices to return from the ſcenes of war in which it has been immerſed, and feels itſelf ſufficiently collected to take an abſtracted view of the condition of human nature. Here we might, before we leave the local circumſtances of America, ſurvey the contraſts exhibited in their conduct, by a world of beings who boaſt their rationality: we might indulge ſome moments of reflection and calm contemplation, on the infinite variety of combinations in the powers of the human mind, as well as the contrarieties that make up the char-

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acter of man. But amidst the various images which present, in viewing the complex state of man, we will only add in this place, a few observations on their hostile dispositions toward each other.

It must appear among the wonders of Divine Providence, that a creature endowed with reason should, through all ages and generations, be permitted the wanton destruction of his own species. The barbarous butchery of his fellow-mortals, exhibits man an absurd and ferocious, instead of a rational and humane being. May it not be among the proofs of some general lapse from the original law of rectitude, that no age or nation since the death of Abel, has been exempt from the havoc of war? Pride, avarice, injustice, and ambition, have set every political wheel in motion, to hurry out of existence one half the species by the hands of the other.

The folly of mankind in making war on each other, is strongly delineated on the conclusion of almost every hostile dispute; and perhaps this folly was never more clearly exhibited than in that between Great Britain and her former colonies. Each circumstance will in future be weighed, when the world will judge of the great balance of advantage to the one country or the other, on the termination of the struggle.

A full detail of the ſufferings of the Engliſh nation, in conſequence of the abſurd war upon their colonies, may be left to more voluminous writers; while we only obſerve, that Great Britain loſt an extenſive territory containing millions of ſubjects, the fruits of whoſe genius and induſtry ſhe might have reaped for ages, had ſhe not been avaricious of a revenue by methods, which neither the much boaſted conſtitution of Engliſhmen, or the laws of prudence or equity, could juſtify....She loſt the extenſive commerce of a country growing in arts and population, to an aſtoniſhing degree....She loſt the friendſhip of thouſands, and created the alienation of millions, that may laſt forever.... She loſt a nurſery for ſeamen, that had repleniſhed her navy from the firſt ſettlement of America....She loſt, by the beſt Britiſh calculations, an hundred thouſand of her beſt ſoldiers, either by ſickneſs or the ſword, and a proportionate number of moſt gallant officers*....She ſunk an immenſity of her treaſures for the ſupport of her armies and navies, for the execution of the chimerical project of ſubduing the colonies by arms, which by juſtice, protection, friendſhip, and a reciprocity of kind offices, would have been her's for ages.

And what has ſhe gained by the conteſt?—ſurely not an increaſe of honor or reputation.

* See Britiſh Encyclopædia, publiſhed 1792.

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Corroborative evidence of thefe truths may be drawn from the teftimony of Britifh writers. A very fenfible man* of this clafs has obferved, that—"Thus ended the moft unfortunate war "in which England has ever been engaged; "a war commenced in the very wantonnefs of "pride and folly, which had for its object to "deprive America of the rights for which our "anceftors have contended; a war, the pro-"fefled object of which was, to levy a tax that "would not have paid the collectors; a war "conducted with the fame weaknefs and inca-"pacity on the part of the Britifh miniftry, with "which it was commenced; which might in "the early ftages of the difpute have been "avoided by the fmalleft conceffion; and "which might have been terminated with hon-"or, but for the incorrigible obftinacy and un-"paralelled folly of the worft adminiftration "that ever difgraced the country. This de-"plorable war has ended in the difmemberment "of a confiderable part of the Britifh empire, "coft the nation more money than the ever "memorable campaigns of Marlborough, and "the ftill more glorious war of lord Chatham; "more indeed than all the wars in which Great "Britain has been engaged fince the revolution, "to the peace of Aix la Chapelle."

On the other hand, it may be proper here to take a furvey of the United States, and to view

* See View of the Reign of George the Third.

them on every ground. They have ſtruggled with aſtoniſhing ſucceſs for the rights of mankind, and have emancipated themſelves from the ſhackles of foreign power. America has indeed obtained incalculable advantages by the revolution; but in the innumerable liſt of evils attendant on a ſtate of war, ſhe, as well as Great Britain, has loſt her thouſands of brave ſoldiers, veteran officers, hardy ſeamen, and meritorious citizens, that periſhed in the field, or in captivity, in priſon-ſhips, and in the wilderneſs, ſince the beginning of the conflict. She has loſt an immenſe property by the conflagration of her cities, and the waſte of wealth by various other means. She has in a great meaſure loſt her ſimplicity of manners, and thoſe ideas of mediocrity which are generally the parent of content; the Americans are already in too many inſtances hankering after the ſudden accumulation of wealth, and the proud diſtinctions of fortune and title. They have too far loſt that general ſenſe of moral obligation, formerly felt by all claſſes in America. The people have not indeed generally loſt their veneration for religion, but it is to be regretted, that in the unlicenſed liberality of opinion there have been ſome inſtances, where the fundamental principles of truth have been obſcured. This may in ſome meaſure have ariſen from their late connexions with other nations; and this circumſtance may account for the readineſs of many, to engraft

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foreign follies and crimes with their own weak propenſities to imitation, and to adopt their errors and fierce ambition, inſtead of making themſelves a national character, marked with moderation, juſtice, benignity, and all the mild virtues of humanity.

But when the ſeeds of revolution are planted, and the ſhoots have expanded, the various cauſes which contribute to their growth, and to the introduction of a change of manners, are too many to recount. The effervescence of party rage ſets open the flood-gates of animoſity, and renders it impoſſible to calculate with any degree of accuracy, on ſubſequent events. Not the moſt perſpicacious human eye can foreſee, amidſt the imperious ſpirit of diſunion, and the annihilation of former habits and connexions, the benefits that may reſult from the exertions of virtue, or the evils that may ariſe from problematic characters which come forward, the new-born offspring of confuſion, and aſſume merit from the novelty of their projects, and the inſcrutability of their deſigns. Theſe are like hot-bed plants, ſtarted from extraneous cauſes; prematurely forced into exiſtence, they are incapable of living but in the ſunſhine of meridian day. Such characters often hurry into irretrievable miſchief, before time has ripened the ſyſtems of men of more principle and judgment.

Thus, after the conclusion of peace, and the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States by Great Britain, the situation of America appeared similar to that of a young heir, who had prematurely become possessed of a rich inheritance, while his inexperience and his new felt independence had intoxicated him so far, as to render him incapable of weighing the intrinsic value of his estate, and had left him without discretion or judgment to improve it to the best advantage of his family.

The inhabitants of the United States had much to experiment in the new rank they had taken, and the untrodden ground which they were now to explore, replete with difficulties not yet digested or apprehended by the most sagacious statesmen. They had obtained their independence by a long and perilous struggle against a powerful nation: we now view them just emancipated from a foreign yoke, the blessings of peace restored upon honorable terms, with the liberty of forming their own governments, enacting their own laws, choosing their own magistrates, and adopting manners the most favorable to freedom and happiness. Yet it is possible that their virtue is not sufficiently stedfast, to avail themselves of those superior advantages.

The restless nature of man is forever kindling a fire, and collecting fuel to keep the

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flame alive, that consumes one half the globe, without the smallest advantage to the other, either in a moral or in a political view. Men profit little by the observations, the sufferings, or the opinions of others: it is with nations as with individuals, they must try their own projects, and frequently learn wisdom only by their own mistakes. It is undoubtedly true, that all mankind learn more from experience than from intuitive wisdom: their foolish passions too generally predominate over their virtues; thus civil liberty, political and private happiness, are frequently bartered away for the gratification of vanity, or the aggrandizement of a few individuals, who have art enough to fascinate the undistinguishing multitude.

If the conduct of the United States should stand upon record, as a striking example of the truth of this observation, it must be remembered that this is not a trait peculiar to the character of America, it is the story of man; past ages bear testimony to its authenticity, and future events will convince the unbelieving.

It is an unpleasing part of history, when "corruption begins to prevail, when degeneracy marks the manners of the people, and "weakens the sinews of the state." If this should ever become the deplorable situation of the United States, let some unborn historian,

in a far diſtant day, detail the lapſe, and hold up the contraſt between a ſimple, virtuous, and free people, and a degenerate, ſervile race of beings, corrupted by wealth, effeminated by luxury, impoveriſhed by licentiouſneſs, and become the *automatons* of intoxicated ambition.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Supplementary Obſervations on ſucceeding Events, after the Termination of the American Revolution.—Inſurrection in the Maſſachuſetts.—A general Convention of the States.—A new Conſtitution adopted.—General Waſhington choſen Preſident.—Britiſh Treaty negociated by Mr. Jay.—General Waſhington's ſecond Retreat from public Life.—General Obſervations.

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THE narration of the revolutionary war between Great Britain and her former colonies, brought down to its termination, leaves the mind at leiſure for more general obſervations on the ſubſequent conſequences, without confining it to time or place.

At the concluſion of the war between Great Britain and America, after the rejection of the claims of a potent foreign nation, the diſſevering of old bands of governmental arrangement, and before new ones were adopted, the proud feelings of perſonal independence warmed every boſom, and general ideas of civil and religious liberty were diſſeminated far and wide.

On the reſtoration of peace, the ſoldier had returned to the boſom of his family, and the artiſan and the huſbandman were ſtimulated to new improvements; genius was prompted

to exertion, by the wide field opened by the revolution, and encouraged by the ſpirit of inquiry to climb the heights of literature, until it might ſtand conſpicuous on the ſummit of fame.

Under ſuch circumſtances, every free mind ſhould be tenacious of ſupporting the honor of a national character, and the dignity of independence. This claim muſt be ſupported by their own ſobriety, economy, induſtry, and perſeverance in every virtue. It muſt be nurtured by that firmneſs and principle that induced their anceſtors to fly from the hoſtile arm of tyranny, and to explore and begin a new nation in the forlorn and darkſome boſom of a diſtant wilderneſs. The ſocial compacts, the religion, the manners, and the habits of theſe wandering ſtrangers, and their immediate ſucceſſors, taught their ſons the noble example of fortitude and love of freedom, that has led them to reſiſt the encroachments of kings and nobles, and to diſſipate the cloud that threatened to envelope the mind in darkneſs, and ſpread the veil of ignorance over the bright hemiſphere that encircles the children of Columbia.

Indeed America was at this period poſſeſſed of a prize, replete with advantages ſeldom thrown into the hand of any people. Divided by nature from three parts of the globe, which

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have groaned under tyrants of various descriptions, from time immemorial, who have slaughtered their millions to feed the ambition of princes, she was possessed of an immense territory, the soil fertile and productive, her population increasing, her commerce unfettered, her resources ample. She was now uncontrolled by foreign laws; and her domestic manufactures might be encouraged, without any fear of check from abroad: and under the influence of a spirit of enterprise, very advantageous in a young country, she was looking forward with expectations of extending her commerce to every part of the globe.

Nothing seemed to be wanting to the United States but a continuance of their union and virtue. It was their interest to cherish true, genuine republican virtue, in politics; and in religion, a strict adherence to a sublime code of morals, which has never been equalled by the sages of ancient time, nor can ever be abolished by the sophistical reasonings of modern philosophers. Possessed of this palladium, America might bid defiance both to foreign and domestic intrigue, and stand on an eminence that would command the veneration of nations, and the respect of their monarchs: but a defalcation from these principles may leave the sapless vine of liberty to droop, or to be rooted out by the hand that had been stretched out to nourish it.

If, instead of the independent feelings of ancient republics, whose prime object was the welfare and happiness of their country, we should see a dereliction of those principles, and the Americans ready to renounce their great advantages, by the imitation of European systems in politics and manners, it would be a melancholy trait in the story of man: yet they, like other nations, may in time, by their servility to men in power, or by a chimerical pursuit of the golden fleece of the poets, become involved in a mist ascending from the pit of avarice. This may lead to peculation, to usurious contracts, to illegal and dishonest projects, and to every private vice, to support the factitious appearances of grandeur and wealth, which can never maintain the claim to that rich inheritance which they so bravely defended.

Thus it was but a short time after the restoration of peace, and the exhilarating view of the innumerable benefits obtained by the general acknowledgment among foreign nations of the independence of America, before the brightened prospect, which had recently shone with so much splendor, was beclouded by the face of general discontent. New difficulties arose, and embarrassments thickened, which called for the exercise of new energies, activity, and wisdom.

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The ſudden ſinking of the value of landed, and indeed of all other real property, immediately on the peace, involved the honeſt and induſtrious farmer in innumerable difficulties. The produce of a few acres had been far from ſufficient for the ſupport of a family, and at the ſame time to ſupply the neceſſary demands for the uſe of the army, when from the ſcarcity of proviſions every article thereof bore an enhanced price, while their reſources were exhauſted, and their ſpirits waſted under an accumulated load of debt.

The general congreſs was yet without any compulſory powers, to enforce the liquidation of public demands; and the ſtate legiſlatures totally at a loſs how to deviſe any juſt and ready expedient for the relief of private debtors. It was thought neceſſary by ſome to advert again to a paper medium, and by others this was viewed with the utmoſt abhorrence: indeed the iniquitous conſequences of a depreciating currency had been recently felt too ſeverely, by all claſſes, to induce any to embrace a ſecond time with cordiality ſuch a dangerous expedient. Thus, from various circumſtances, the ſtate of both public and private affairs preſented a very ſerious and alarming aſpect.

The patriotic feelings of the yeomanry of the country, had prompted them to the utmoſt

exertions for the public ſervice. Unwilling to withhold their quota of the tax of beef, blankets, and other neceſſaries indiſpenſable for the ſoldiery, expoſed to cold and hunger, many of them had been induced to contract debts which could not be eaſily liquidated, and which it was impoſſible to diſcharge by the products from the uſual occupations of huſbandry. While at the ſame time, the rage for privateering and traffic, by which ſome had ſuddenly grown rich, had induced others to look with indifference on the ideas of a more moderate accumulation of wealth. They ſold their patrimonial inheritance for trifling conſiderations, in order to raiſe ready ſpecie for adventure in ſome ſpeculative project. This, with many other cauſes, reduced the price of land to ſo low a rate, that the moſt valuable farms, and the beſt accommodated ſituations, were depreciated to ſuch a degree, that thoſe who were obliged to alienate real property were bankrupted by the ſales.

The ſtate of trade, and the derangement of commercial affairs, were equally intricate and diſtreſſing at the cloſe of the war. The natural eagerneſs of the mercantile body to take every advantage that preſented in that line, induced many, immediately on the peace, to ſend forward for large quantities of goods from England, France, and Holland, and wherever elſe they could gain a credit. Thus the markets

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loaded with every article of luxury, as well as neceſſaries, and the growing ſcarcity of ſpecie united with the reduced circumſtances of many who had formerly been wealthy, the enormous importations either lay upon hand, or obliged the poſſeſſor to ſell without any advance, and in many inſtances much under the prime coſt. In addition to theſe embarraſſments on the mercantile intereſt, the whole country, from north to ſouth, was filled with Britiſh factors, with their cargoes of goods directly from the manufacturers, who drew cuſtomers to their ſtores from all claſſes that were able to purchaſe. Every capital was crowded with Britiſh agents, ſent over to collect debts contracted long before the war, who took advantage of the times, oppreſſed the debtor, and purchaſed the public ſecurities from all perſons whoſe neceſſities obliged them to ſell, at the monſtrous diſcount of ſeventeen ſhillings and ſix pence on the pound. At the ſame time, the continent ſwarmed with Britiſh emiſſaries, who ſowed diſcord among the people, infuſed jealouſies, and weakened their reliance on the public faith, and deſtroyed all confidence between man and man.

Nor did religion or morals appreciate amidſt the confuſion of a long war, which is ever unfavorable to virtue, and to all thoſe generous principles which ennoble the human character, much more than ribbons, ſtars, and other play-

things of a diſtempered imagination. Theſe ſoon ſink to the level of their own inſignificance, and leave the ſanguine admirer ſickened by the chace of ideal felicity.

The wide field of more minute obſervation on theſe great and important ſubjects, ſhall at preſent be waved. Agriculture may be left to the philoſophic theoriſt, who may ſpeculate on the real value and product of the lands, in a country in ſuch an improveable ſtate as that of America; while the advance in the profits of the huſbandman muſt be eſtimated by the ratio of future experiment. The ſtateſman verſed in the commerce and politics of Europe, and the commercial treaties which may be, or have already been formed, has a labyrinth to trace, and inveſtigations to unfold, before every thing can be fixed on the principles of equity and reciprocity, that will give complete ſatisfaction to all nations. Religious diſcuſſions we leave to the obſervation of the theologian, who, however human nature may be vilified by ſome and exalted by others, traces the moral cauſes and effects that operate on the ſoul of man. The effects only are level to the common eye, which weeps that the reſult is more frequently productive of miſery than felicity to his fellow beings.

Beſides the circumſtances already hinted, various other combinations cauſed a cloud of cha-

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grin to ſit on almoſt every brow, and a general uneaſineſs to pervade the boſoms of moſt of the inhabitants of America. This was diſcoverable on every occaſion; they complained of the governments of their own inſtituting, and of congreſs, whoſe powers were too feeble for the redreſs of private wrongs, or the more public and general purpoſes of government. They murmured at the commutation which congreſs had agreed to, for the compenſation of the army. They felt themſelves under the preſſure of burdens, for which they had not calculated; the preſſure of debts and taxes beyond their ability to pay. Theſe diſcontents artificially wrought up, by men who wiſhed for a more ſtrong and ſplendid government, broke out into commotion in many parts of the country, and finally terminated in open inſurrection in ſome of the ſtates.

This general uneaſy and refractory ſpirit had for ſome time ſhewn itſelf in the ſtates of New Hampſhire, Rhode Iſland, Connecticut, and ſome other portions of the union; but the Maſſachuſetts ſeemed to be the ſeat of ſedition. Briſtol, Middleſex, and the weſtern counties, Worceſter, Hampſhire, and Berkſhire, were more particularly culpable. The people met in county conventions, drew up addreſſes to the general aſſembly, to which were annexed long liſts of grievances, ſome of them real, others imaginary. They drew up many reſolves, ſome of

which were rational, others unjuſt, and moſt of them abſurd in the extreme. They cenſured the conduct of the officers of government, called for a reviſion of the conſtitution, voted the ſenate and judicial courts to be grievances, and proceeded in a moſt daring and inſolent manner to prevent the ſitting of the courts of juſtice, in the ſeveral counties.

The ignorance* of this incendiary and turbulent ſet of people, might lead them to a juſtification of their own meaſures, from a recurrence to tranſactions in ſome degree ſimilar in the early oppoſition to Britiſh government. They had neither the information, nor the ſagacity to diſcern the different grounds of complaint. Nor could they make proper diſtinctions with regard to the oppreſſions complained of under the crown of Britain, and the temporary burdens they now felt, which are ever the concomitants and conſequences of war. They knew that a ſucceſsful oppoſition had been made to the authority of Britain, while they were under the dominion of the king of England; but they were too ignorant to diſtinguiſh between an

* Some of them indeed were artful and ſhrewd, but moſt of them were deluded and perſuaded to attempt, by reſiſtance to government, to relieve themſelves from debts which they could not pay, and from the hand of tax-gatherers, who had diſtrained in ſome inſtances to the laſt article of their property.

CHAP. XXXI. oppoſition to regal deſpotiſm, and a reſiſtance to a government recently eſtabliſhed by themſelves.

County meetings and conventions, and the oppoſition of the body of the people to ſubmit to judiciary proceedings, in direct violation of their charter, and the ſtipulated indulgencies which they claimed in common with their fellow ſubjects in Great Britain, wore a very different aſpect from thoſe of the clamorous and tumultuary proceedings of the Maſſachuſetts' inſurgents. Theſe were violating the conſtitutions of their own forming, and endeavouring to proſtrate all legal inſtitutions, before they were cemented on the ſtrong baſis of a firm and well eſtabliſhed government.

Thoſe diſturbances were for a time truly alarming, and gave cauſe for ſerious apprehenſions that civil convulſions might ſpread through the country within the ſhort term of three or four years after independence had been eſtabliſhed, and peace reſtored to the United States of America. Under exiſting circumſtances, the high-handed and threatening proceedings of the inſurgents wore a very formidable aſpect. There were among them very many men hardy, bold and veteran, who had been very ſerviceable in the field during the late revolutionary war. They had aſſembled in great numbers, in various places, and at different times,

and ſeemed to bid defiance to all law, order, and government.

In the winter of one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-ſix, ſeveral thouſands of thoſe diſorderly perſons armed and embodied, and appeared in the environs of Springfield. They choſe for their leader a man who had been a ſubaltern officer* in the revolutionary war, threatened to march to Boſton, and by compulſory meaſures oblige the governor and general aſſembly to redreſs the grievances of the people, which they alleged were brought upon them by enormous taxation, and other ſeverities from their own government: they however thought proper to ſend forward a petition, inſtead of marching ſword in hand to the capital.

In the mean time, the exertions and the reſolves of the legiſlative body, with a view of relieving the public diſtreſſes, only increaſed the diſcontents of the people. They were much divided in opinion, relative to the beſt modes of quieting the diſturbances. Tender laws and ſumptuary regulations were ſuperficial expedients, that like paper money eventually would increaſe, rather than eradicate the evils complained of; while the temper of the people of various deſcriptions, and from various

* Daniel Shays.

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motives, augured an approaching crisis that might produce convulsions too extensive for calculation.

In this situation of affairs, the governor was empowered by the legislature to order a military force to be in readiness to march, under the command of general Lincoln. The temerity of the insurgents had emboldened them to move forward in hostile array, which made it necessary to direct general Lincoln to give a check to their insolence, and to restore peace and order to the state. But before the troops from the lower counties had collected at Worcester, great numbers of the insurgents had embodied, and moved forward to Springfield, with a design to attack the continental arsenal: this was defended by general Shepard, who took every precaution to prevent the shedding of blood. He expostulated with their leaders, and warned them against the fatal consequences of perseverance in their rebellious and hostile proceedings: they however neglected the warning, and rushed on in the face of danger; this obliged general Shepard to fire upon them, which so disconcerted them that they immediately retreated. General Lincoln reached Springfield about the same time, which entirely defeated this project; the field was left with dismay, and with the loss only of two or three of their party. The next movement of any importance was their again collecting from all

quarters, and taking a position on the heights of Pelham.

General Lincoln, unwilling to see his countrymen involved in a war among themselves, passed on to Hadley without proceeding to extremities. There he received letters from some of the leaders of the insurgent parties, and with his usual mildness and humanity endeavoured to persuade them to quit their hostile parade, and by their peaceable demeanor to render themselves worthy of the lenity of government, which was ready, on their return to proper submission, to extend a general pardon; and throw a veil of oblivion over past transactions: but there appeared no signs of repentance, or of a relinquishment of their atrocious projects; and though without system, or any determinate object, and without men of talents to direct, or even to countenance, their disorderly conduct, in any stage of the business, they soon moved from Pelham in a strong body, entered and halted in the town of Petersham.

General Lincoln heard of the decampment of Shays and his followers from Pelham, at twelve o'clock, and had certain intelligence by the hour of six that they had moved on to Petersham. Convinced of the necessity of a quick march, he ordered his troops to be ready at a moment's warning. By eight o'clock they

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began their route. Notwithſtanding the intrepidity of general Lincoln, when immediate hazard required enterpriſe, he would not have expoſed his troops to a march of thirty miles, in one of the ſevereſt nights of a remarkably ſevere winter, had not the entrance of the evening been mild and ſerene. The ſky unclouded, and the moon in full ſplendor, they began their march under the promiſe of a more eaſy termination; but after a few hours the wind roſe, the clouds gathered blackneſs, and the cold was ſo intenſe that it was ſcarcely ſupportable by the hardieſt of his followers: nothing but the quickneſs of their motion prevented many of his men from falling victims to the ſeverity of the ſeaſon. The difficulty of their march was increaſed by a deep ſnow that had previouſly fallen, and lain ſo uncemented that the guſts drove it in the faces of the army with the violence of a rapid ſnow ſtorm. They however reached Peterſham before nine o'clock the next morning, but ſo miſerably fatigued and froſt bitten, that few of them were fit for ſervice; and had not a general panic ſeized the inſurgents, on the firſt alarm of the approach of the government troops, they might have met them with great ſlaughter, if not with total defeat; but though in warm quarters, well ſupplied with arms and proviſions, they left this advantageous poſt with the greateſt precipitation, and fled in all directions.

General Lincoln was not in a capacity for immediate purſuit; it was neceſſary to halt and refreſh his men: beſides, his known humanity was ſuch, that he might be willing they ſhould ſcatter and diſappear, without being puſhed to ſubmiſſion by the point of the ſword. The inſurgents never again appeared in a collective body, but ſpread themſelves over the ſeveral parts of the weſtern counties, and even into the neighbouring ſtates, plundering, haraſſing, and terrifying the inhabitants, and nouriſhing the ſeeds of diſcontent and ſedition, that had before been ſcattered amongſt them. It was not long before general Lincoln purſued and captured many of them, who implored and experienced the clemency of the commander, and only a few were taken into cuſtody for future trial. Thus thoſe internal commotions, which had threatened a general convulſion, were ſo far quelled, that moſt of the troops returned to Boſton early in the ſpring. Before his return, general Lincoln marched to the borders of the ſtate, and found many in the counties of Hampſhire and Berkſhire, ready to take the oath of allegiance, with all the marks of contrition for their late guilty conduct. Commiſſioners were afterwards ſent forward, with powers to pardon, after due inquiry into the preſent temper and conduct of individuals: to adminiſter the oath of allegiance to the penitent, and to reſtore to the confidence of their country all ſuch as

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Perhaps no man could have acted with more firmneſs, preciſion, and judgment, than did governor Bowdoin, through the turbulent period of two years, in which he preſided in the Maſſachuſetts: yet notwithſtanding his conſpicuous talents, and the public and private virtues which adorned his character, the popular current ſet ſtrongly againſt him on the approaching annual election; and governor Hancock, who had once reſigned the chair, was again requeſted to reſume his former dignified ſtation, and was brought forward and choſen with *eclat* and expectation. He did not however contravene the wiſe meaſures of his predeceſſor. He was equally vigilant to quiet the perturbed ſpirits of the people, and to reſtore general tranquillity: this he did by coercive or lenient meaſures, as circumſtances required; and by his diſintereſted conduct, and maſterly addreſs, he was very influential in overcoming the remains of a factious and ſeditious ſpirit that had prevailed. Thus he did himſelf much honor, and acquired the applauſe of his conſtituents.

The governor was authoriſed by the legiſlature to keep in pay any number of troops that might be thought neceſſary to preſerve the public peace. Eight hundred men were ſta-

tioned on the weſtern borders of the ſtate, but before the ſummer elapſed the inſurgents were ſo generally ſubdued that the troops were recalled and diſmiſſed.

The governors of all the neighbouring ſtates had been requeſted not to receive or protect any of the guilty party, who had fled for ſecurity within their limits. Theſe were all ſo ſenſibly impreſſed with the danger of diſunion and anarchy, which had threatened the whole, that they readily gave aſſurances of detection, if any ſhould flatter themſelves with impunity, by flying without the juriſdiction of their own government. Several of the moſt notorious offenders were ſecured, and tried by the ſupreme judicial court, and received ſentence of death; but the compaſſion of the people, coinciding with the humane diſpoſition of the governor, induced him to grant reprieves from time to time, and finally prevented the loſs of life by the hand of civil juſtice, in a ſingle inſtance.

Thus, by well-timed lenity, and decided energy, as the exigencies of the moment required, was terminated an inſurrection, that, by its dangerous example, threatened the United States with a general rupture, that might have been more fatal than foreign war, to their freedom, virtue, and proſperity. But though the late diſturbances were quelled, and the turbulent

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ſpirit, which had been ſo alarming, was ſubdued by a ſmall military force, yet it awakened all to a full view of the neceſſity of concert and union in meaſures that might preſerve their internal peace. This required the regulation of commerce on ſome ſtable principles, and ſome ſteps for the liquidation of both public and private debts. They alſo ſaw it neceſſary to inveſt congreſs with ſufficient powers for the execution of their own laws, for all general purpoſes relative to the union.

A convention was appointed by the ſeveral ſtates, to meet at Annapolis, in the ſtate of Maryland, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-ſix, for theſe ſalutary purpoſes; but the work was too complicated: the delegates ſeparated without doing any thing, and a new convention was called the next year, to meet at Philadelphia, with the ſame deſign, but without any enlargement of their powers; they however framed a new conſtitution of government, and ſent it for the conſideration and adoption of the ſeveral ſtates: and though it was thought by many to be too ſtrongly marked with the features of monarchy, it was, after much diſcuſſion, adopted by a majority of the ſtates.

We muſt conſult the human heart, ſays the marquis Beccaria, for the foundation of the rights of both ſovereign and people. "If we

"look into hiſtory, we ſhall find, that laws "which are or ought to be conventions be-"tween men in a ſtate of freedom, have been, "for the moſt part, the work of the paſſions "of a few, or the conſequences of a fortuitous, "temporary neceſſity, not dictated by a cool "examiner of human nature, who knew how "to collect in one point the actions of a multi-"tude, and had this only end in view, *the "greateſt happineſs of the greateſt number.*"

It was thought by ſome, who had been recently informed of the ſecret tranſactions of the convention at Philadelphia, that the greateſt happineſs of the greateſt number was not the principal object of their contemplations, when they ordered their doors to be locked, their members inhibited from all communications abroad, and when propoſals were made that their journals ſhould be burnt, leſt their conſultations and debates ſhould be viewed by the ſcrutinizing eye of a free people.* Theſe ex-

* This convention was compoſed of ſome gentlemen of the firſt character and abilities; of ſome men of ſhining talents and doubtful character: ſome of them were uniform republicans, others decided monarchiſts, with a few neutrals, ready to join the ſtrongeſt party. It was not ſtrange there was much claſhing and debate, where ſuch diſſentient opinions exiſted: but after ſome modification and conceſſion, a conſtitution was formed, which when the amendments took place immediately on its adoption, the government of the United States ſtood on a baſis which rendered the people reſpectable abroad and ſafe at home.

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traordinary movements appeared to them the result of the passions of a few. It is certain, that truth, whether moral, philosophical, or political, shrinks not from the eye of investigation.

The ideas of royalty, or any thing that wore the appearance of regal forms and institutions, were generally disgusting to Americans, and particularly so to many characters who early came forward, and continued to the end of the conflict, stedfast in opposition to the crown of Britain, They thought that after America had encountered the power, and obtained a release from foreign bondage, and had recently overcome domestic difficulties and discontents, and even quieted the spirit of insurrection in their own states; that the republican system for which they had fought, should not be hazarded by vesting any man or body of men with powers that might militate with the principles, which had been cherished with fond enthusiasm, by a large majority of the inhabitants throughout the union,

Republicanism, the idol of some men, and independence, the glory of all, were thought by many to be in danger of dwindling into theory; the first had been defaced for a time, by a degree of anarchy, and fears were now awakened that the last might be annihilated by views of private ambition.

The people were generally diſſatisfied with the high pretenſions of the officers of the army, whoſe equality of condition previous to the war, was, with few exceptions, on the ſame grade with themſelves. The aſſumption of an appropriate rank was diſguſting, in a ſet of men, who had moſt of them been taken from mechanic employments, or the ſober occupations of agriculture. Thus jealouſies were diffuſed, with regard to the officers of the old army, the Cincinnati, and ſeveral other claſſes of men, whom they ſuſpected as cheriſhing hopes and expectations of erecting a government too ſplendid for the taſte and profeſſions of Americans. They ſaw a number of young gentlemen coming forward, ardent and ſanguine in the ſupport of the principles of monarchy and ariſtocracy. They ſaw a number of profeſſional characters too ready to relinquiſh former opinions, and adopt new ones more congenial to the policy of courts, than to the maxims of a free people. They ſaw ſome apoſtate whigs in public employments, and ſymptoms of declenſion in others, which threatened the annihilation of th darling opinion, that the whole ſovereignty in the republican ſyſtem is in the people: "that the people "have a right to amend and alter, or annul "their conſtitution and frame a new one, whenever they ſhall think it will better promote "their own welfare and happineſs to do it."*

* Leſſons to a Prince.

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This brought forward objections to the proposed constitution of government, then under consideration. These objections were not the result of ignorance; they were made by men of the first abilities in every state; men who were sensible of the necessity of strong and energetic institutions, and a strict subordination and obedience to law. These judicious men were solicitous that every thing should be clearly defined; they were jealous of each ambiguity in law or government, or the smallest circumstance that might have a tendency to curtail the republican system, or render ineffectual the sacrifices they had made, for the security of civil and religious liberty to themselves; they also wished for the transmission of the enjoyment of the equal rights of man to their latest posterity. They were of opinion, that every article that admitted of doubtful construction, should be amended, before it became the supreme law of the land. They were now apprehensive of being precipitated, without due consideration, into the adoption of a system that might bind them and their posterity in the chains of despotism, while they held up the ideas of a free and equal participation of the privileges of pure and genuine republicanism.

Warm debates in favor of further consideration, and much energetic argument took place, between gentlemen of the first abilities, in several of the state conventions. The system was

however ratified in haſte by a ſufficient number of ſtates to carry it into operation, and amendments left to the wiſdom, juſtice, and deciſion of future generations, according as exigencies might require.* This was not ſufficient to diſſipate the apprehenſions of gentlemen who had been uniform and upright in their intentions, and immoveably fixed in the principles of the revolution, and had never turned their eyes from the point in purſuit, until the independence of America was acknowledged by the principal monarchs in Europe.

But while the ſyſtem was under diſcuſſion, ſtrong objections were brought forward in the conventions of the ſeveral ſtates. Thoſe gentlemen who were oppoſed to the adoption of the new conſtitution *in toto*, obſerved, that there was no bill of rights to guard againſt future innovations. They complained that the trial by jury in civil cauſes was not ſecured; they obſerved, that ſome of the warmeſt partiſans, who had been diſpoſed to adopt without examination, had ſtarted at the diſcovery, that this eſſential right was curtailed; that the powers of the executive and judiciary were dangerouſly blended: that the appellate juriſdiction

* Many amendments were made ſoon after the adoption of the conſtitution.

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of the ſupreme federal court, ſubjected the inhabitants of the United States, by a litigious proceſs that militated with the rights formerly claimed by the individual ſtates, to be drawn from one end of the continent to the other, for trial. They wiſhed for a rotation in office, or ſome ſufficient bar againſt the perpetuity of it, in the ſame hands for life; they thought it neceſſary there ſhould be this check to the overbearing influence of office, and that every man ſhould be rendered ineligible at certain periods, to keep the mind in equilibrio, and teach him the feelings of the governed, and better qualify him to govern in his turn. It was alſo obſerved by them, that all ſources of revenue formerly poſſeſſed by the individual ſtates were now under the control of congreſs.

Subſequent meaſures were not yet realized; banks, monopolies, and a funding ſyſtem, were projects that had never been thought of, in the early ſtages of an infant republic, and had they been ſuggeſted before the preſent period, would have ſtartled both the ſoldier and the peaſant. The ſober principled ſtateſmen, and the judicious band of worthies, who originated the ſyſtem of freedom, digeſted it in the cabinet, and conducted the public councils, which led to the independence of America, with a firm, diſintereſted magnanimity, and an energy ſeldom found in the courts of princes would have revolted at thoſe ideas. Nor were they

leſs alarmed at the contemplation of a preſident with princely powers, a ſextennial ſenate, biennial elections of repreſentatives, and a federal city, "whoſe cloud-capt towers" might ſcreen the ſtate culprit from the hand of juſtice, while its excluſive juriſdiction might, in ſome future day, protect the riot of ſtanding armies encamped within its limits. Theſe were proſpects viewed by them with the utmoſt abhorrence.

Indeed the opinions of the gentlemen who formed the general convention, differed very widely, on many of the articles of the new conſtitution, before it was ſent abroad for the diſcuſſion of the people at large. Some of them ſeceded, and retired without ſigning at all, others complied from a conviction of the neceſſity of accommodation and conceſſion, leſt they ſhould be obliged to ſeparate without any efficient meaſures, that would produce the ſalutary purpoſes for which many characters of the firſt abilities had been convened. The philoſophic doctor Franklin obſerved, when he lent his ſignature to the adoption of the new conſtitution, "that its complexion was doubtful; "that it might laſt for ages, involve one quar- "ter of the globe, and probably terminate in "deſpotiſm."* He ſigned the inſtrument for the

* See doctor Franklin's ſpeech, on his ſigning the articles of the new conſtitution of government, which was to be laid before the people.

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consolidation of the government of the United States with tears, and apologized for doing it at all, from the doubts and apprehensions he felt, that his countrymen might not be able to do better, even if they called a new convention.

Many of the intelligent yeomanry and of the great bulk of independent landholders, who had tasted the sweets of mediocrity, equality, and liberty, read every unconditional ratification of the new system in silent anguish, folded the solemn page with a sigh, and wept over the manes of the native sons of America, who had sold their lives to leave the legacy of freedom to their children. On this appearance of a consolidated government, which they thought required such important amendments, they feared that a dereliction of some of their choicest privileges might be sealed, without duly considering the fatal consequences of too much precipitation. "The right of taxation, and the "command of the military," says an ingenious writer, "is the completion of despotism." The last of these was consigned to the hands of the president, and the first they feared would be too much under his influence. The observers of human conduct were not insensible, that too much power vested in the hands of any individual, was liable to abuses, either from his own passions, or the suggestions of others, of less upright and immaculate intentions than himself.

Of thirteen ſtate conventions, to which the conſtitution was ſubmitted, thoſe of Connecticut, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Georgia, ratified it unconditionally, and thoſe of New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts, New York, Virginia, and South Carolina, in full conſidence of amendments, which they thought neceſſary, and propoſed to the firſt congreſs; the other two, of Rhode Iſland and North Carolina, rejected it. Thus, it is evident that a majority of the ſtates were convinced that the conſtitution, as at firſt propoſed, endangered their liberties; that to the oppoſition in the federal and ſtate conventions, are the public indebted for the amendments and amelioration of the conſtitution, which have united all parties in the vigorous ſupport of it; and that in a land of freedom, ſovereignty, and independence, the great and important affairs of ſtate will be finally ſubject to reaſon, juſtice, and ſound policy.

Thus, notwithſtanding the many dark appearances, that for a time ſpread a cloud over the United States; notwithſtanding the apprehenſions and prejudices againſt the new conſtitution, which had pervaded the minds of many; though ſtrong parties had ariſen, and acrimonious diviſions were fomented, on the great and important queſtion of ratification; yet, by the mode adopted by five ſtates, of propoſing amendments at the time of ratifying

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it, the fears of the people in general evaporated by degrees. The new conſtitution was adopted with applauſe and ſucceſs, and the promiſe and the expectations of amendments, flattered all claſſes with every advantage that could be rationally expected.

The new ſyſtem of government was uſhered into exiſtence under peculiar advantages; and no circumſtance tended more rapidly to diſſipate every unfavorable impreſſion, than the unanimous choice of a gentleman to the preſidential chair, at once meritorious, popular, and beloved, beyond any man. Waſhington, the favorite of every claſs of people, was placed at the head of a government of experiment and expectation. Had any character of leſs popularity and celebrity been deſignated to this high truſt, it might at this period have endangered, if not have proved fatal to the peace of the union. Though ſome thought the executive veſted with too great powers to be entruſted to the hand of any individual, Waſhington was an individual in whom they had the moſt unlimited confidence.

After the diſſolution of the American army, and the retirement of the commander in chief from the conſpicuous ſtation in which he had been placed, the celebrity of his life and manners, aſſociated with the circumſtances of a remarkable revolution, in which he always

ſtood on the fore-ground, naturally turned the eyes of all toward him. The hearts of the whole continent were united, to give him their approbatory voice, as the moſt ſuitable character in the United States, to preſide at the head of civil government.

The ſplendid *inſignia* of military command laid aſide, the voluntary retirement of general Waſhington had raiſed his reputation to the zenith of human glory. Had he perſevered in his reſolution, never again to engage in the thorny path of public life, his repoſe might have been forever inſured, in the delightful walks of rural occupation. He might, in his retirement on Mount Vernon, have cheriſhed thoſe principles of republicaniſm which he always profeſſed, as well as the patriotism which he exhibited in the field; and by his diſintereſted example he might have checked the aſpiring ambition of ſome of his former aſſociates, and handed down his own name to poſterity with redoubled luſtre:* but man, after long habits of activity, in the meridian of applauſe, is generally reſtleſs in retirement. The difficulty of entirely quitting the luminous ſcenes on the great ſtage of public action, is often exemplified in the moſt exalted characters: thus, even the dignified Waſhington

* This was the opinion of ſome of his moſt intimate aſſociates at the time; yet doubtleſs general Waſhington thought it his duty to aid his country at ſo critical an era.

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could not, amidſt the buſtle of the world, become a calm, diſintereſted ſpectator of the tranſactions of ſtateſmen and politicians. His moſt judicious friends were confident he had no fame to acquire, and wiſhed him to remain on the pinnacle he had already reached; but, urged by the ſtrong voice of his native ſtate, and looked up to by every ſtate in the union, the call was ſtrong and impreſſive, and he again came forward in public life, though it appeared to be in counteraction of his former determinations.

Thus the former commander of the armies of America had been choſen one of the delegates for a general convention of the ſtates, and lent his hand to the formation of a new conſtitution of civil government. This inſtrument, as above obſerved, appeared to the public eye to lie open to many objections: it was viewed as doubtful in its origin, dangerous in its aſpect, and for a time very alarming to the feelings of men, who were *tremblingly alive* on the ſmalleſt encroachment of rights and privileges, for which they had ſacrificed their fortunes, immolated their friends, and riſked their own lives. General Waſhington himſelf obſerved, when he ſigned the new conſtitution, that "it was an experiment on which the deſ-"tiny of the republican model of government "was ſtaked." But the ſyſtem was adopted with expectations of amendment, and the ex-

periment proved ſalutary, and has ultimately redounded as much to the honor and intereſt of America, as any mode or form of government that could have been deviſed by the wiſdom of man.

It is beyond a doubt, that no man in the union had it ſo much in his power to aſſimilate the parties, conciliate the affections, and obtain a general ſanction to the new conſtitution, as a gentleman who commanded their obedience in the field, and had won the veneration, reſpect, and affections of the people, in the moſt diſtant parts of the union. Yet, ſoon after the organization of the new conſtitution of government, a ſtruggle began to take place between monarchiſts and republicans, the conſequences of which ſome future period muſt diſcloſe. From a variety of new ſources; of new objects of magnificence opening before them; of new proſpects of wealth anticipated, the ſpirit of intrigue was matured even among the politicians of yeſterday. Some of them were ſighing for more liberty, without diſcretion or judgment to make a proper uſe of what they already poſſeſſed; others were graſping at powers, which neither reaſon or law, conſtitutions of their own forming, nor the feelings of nature could juſtify.

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Thus it appeared, convulſions might enſue, great conflicts be ſuſtained, and great ſpirits be ſubdued, before the minds of every claſs could be perfectly tranquillized, even under the wiſeſt ſyſtem of human government. But ſuch a people as the Americans cannot ſuddenly be reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery; it is a work of time to obliterate old opinions, founded in reaſon, and fanned by enthuſiaſm, till they had become a part of the religious creed of a nation. Notwithſtanding the apprehenſions which have pervaded the minds of many, America will probably long retain a greater ſhare of freedom than can perhaps be found in any other part of the civilized world. This may be more the reſult of her local ſituation, than from her ſuperior policy or moderation. From the general equality of fortune which had formerly reigned among them, it may be modeſtly aſſerted, that moſt of the inhabitants of America were too proud for monarchy, yet too poor for nobility, and it is to be feared, too ſelfiſh and avaricious for a virtuous republic.

The people of America however were not yet prepared, like the ungrateful Iſraelites to aſk a king, nor were their ſpirits ſufficiently broken, to yield the "beſt of their olive-"grounds to his ſervants, or to ſee their ſons "appointed to run before his chariots." Yet it was to be regretted, that there ſoon appeared

a claſs of men, who, though taken from the bar, the ſhop, or the more ſimple occupations of life to command armies, and to negociate with foreign nations, had imbibed ideas of diſtinguiſhed rank and oſtentatious titles, incompatible with republican principles, and totally repugnant to the views of the zealous advocates of American freedom. Indeed many of theſe had been ſwept off by the hand of time and death; thoſe who ſtill lived in the ſhade of retirement, obſerved with regret, that unleſs counteracted with firmneſs, the fiat of an individual might become more reſpected than the general will of the people.

There yet remained a conſiderable claſs of theſe firm adherents to the principles of the revolution; they were ſtrongly impreſſed with the neceſſity of an energetic government, and the weakneſs of the old confederation. They were alſo ſenſible of the many difficulties that muſt ariſe in the fiſcal arrangements of a people, who had been long without a ſtable medium of trade, while agriculture, commerce, and every other purſuit, wore a new face, in conſequence of a long war. But they had not contemplated the introduction of new projects, which were thought deſigned to enrich and ennoble ſome of the officers of the army, to create a ſplendid government, and to ſupport the dignity of new orders in the ſtate. Theſe were articles that had made no part of their creed.

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The ſpirit of finance, which, a ſenſible writer obſerves, "accumulates woes on the head of a "people, by ſtripping them of the means of "ſubſiſtence, and what is infinitely more to be "regretted, ſaps the foundations of morality," had heretofore been only the dream of ſome overgrown public creditor. A funding ſyſtem afterwards introduced, attended with all the intricacies of more aged financiers, which never could be underſtood, and a public debt thereby enhanced, which was probably never intended to be paid, was impregnated in the brain of a young officer* of foreign extraction, an adventurer of a bold genius, active talents, and fortunate combinations, from his birth to the exalted ſtation to which he was lifted by the ſpirit of favoritiſm in American arrangements. Yet when the ſyſtem appeared, it was embraced with warmth by a conſiderable claſs, as the legitimate child of ſpeculation. But it appeared a monſter in the eye of a very large part of the community, who viewed it as the parent of a national debt that would hang on the neck of America to the lateſt generations.

Hence, a train of reſtleſs paſſions were awakened, that excited to activity, and created a rage for project, ſpeculation, and various artifices, to ſupport a factitious dignity, which finally ruined multitudes of unſuſpecting citi-

* Alexander Hamilton.

zens. Hence a ſpirit of public gambling, ſpeculation in paper, in lands, in every thing elſe, to a degree unparalleled in any nation. Many other contingencies were felt too ſeverely to require a particular ſpecification.

When general Waſhington was placed in the preſidential chair, he doubtleſs felt all the ſolicitude for the diſcharge of his duty, which ſuch a ſacred depoſite entruſted to his integrity would naturally awaken. His own reputation was blended with the adminiſtration of government on thoſe principles of republicaniſm, which he had always profeſſed, and which he had ſupported by his ſword; while time, circumſtances and intereſts had changed the opinions of many influential characters.

Thus, the favored and beloved Waſhington, called from his firſt retirement to act as chief magiſtrate in the adminiſtration of civil government, whatever meaſures he ſanctioned, were conſidered as the beſt, the wiſeſt, and moſt juſt, by a great majority of the people. In moſt inſtances, it is true, he preſided with wiſdom, dignity, and moderation, but complete perfection is not to be attributed to man. Undue prejudices and partialities often imperceptibly creep into the beſt of hearts; and with all the veneration due to ſo meritorious a character, there were many who thought him too much under the influence of military favorites,

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A very judicious gentleman well acquainted with ancient history, and with modern politics,* obſerved, during the adminiſtration of general Waſhingon, that "the preſident of "the United States held the hearts of all "America in his hand, from the moment of "his elevation to the command of her armies, "to his honorable retirement to private life, "and from his dignified retreat to his inaugur-"ation at New York. Placed in the executive "chair by the united voice of all parties, it was "expected the chief magiſtrate, whom flattery "endows with all perfection, and to whom "juſtice attributes many excellent qualities, "would have felt himſelf above the partialities "that uſually hang about the human heart; "and that, diveſting himſelf of the little pre-"judices that obtrude and frequently ſully the "greateſt characters, he would have been of no "party in his appointments, and that real mer-"it, whether *federal* or *anti-federal*, would have "been equally noticed.

"It was not expected, that thoſe gentlemen "who wiſhed for a more perfect ſyſtem of "government, or ſome amendmen's to the "preſent, would have been cut off from every "ſocial and political claim; and that only the "officers of the late army, and the devotees "to unconditional ratification, would have

* Letter to the author.

" been thought worthy of confidence or place " under a government that has yet the minds " of a considerable part of the people to soothe, " and the affections of a judicious and discern- " ing party to conciliate.*

" True policy should have dictated the most " impartial distribution of office in the new ar- " rangement. It is a new and untried exper- " iment, into which many of the people think " they have been precipitated, without time " for due consideration. They begin to feel " the weight of taxes and imposts to which " they have not been accustomed. They be- " gin to inquire whether all the late energetic " exertions, were designed only to subserve " the interests of a certain party, and to fur- " nish salaries, sinecures, and extravagant com- " pensations for the favorites of the army and " the sycophants of power, to the exclusion of " all who had not adopted the creed of passive " obedience."

A cool examiner, who may hereafter retrospect the period, from the establishment of the American constitution to the close of the administration of the first president, will judge, on the detail of facts, whether there was or was not just reason for the above observations.

* This letter was written before several important amendments were made.

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Future hiſtoric writers may ſcrutinize and ſurvey paſt tranſactions with due criticiſm and candor, when, whatever may have been obſerved on any other ſubject, all will allow that no ſteps, during the civil functions of preſident Waſhington, were ſo unpopular as the Indian war, ſanctioned by the preſident ſoon after the operation of the meaſures of the new government, and his ratification of a treaty with Great Britain, negociated by John Jay, Eſq. The appointment of this gentleman to a diplomatic character, while chief juſtice of the ſupreme court of the union, was thought very objectionable, and very ſenſible proteſts were entered in the ſenate, againſt the blending of office. It was thought very incompatible with the principles of the conſtitution, to act in the double capacity of a negociator abroad and the firſt officer of juſtice at home.

Notwithſtanding theſe objections, Mr. Jay was commiſſioned, and repaired to England, oſtenſibly to require the ſurrender of the weſtern poſts, the retention of which had brought on the war with the ſavages, as obſerved above, and to demand ſatisfaction for the depredations and ſpoliations that had for ſeveral years been made on American commerce, in defiance of the late treaty of peace. The war in which England was then engaged againſt France had given a pretext for thoſe ſpoliations. The happineſs and tranquillity of the Engliſh nation

had not appeared to have been much enhanced, either by the ſtruggle or the termination of the war with their former colonies. After the pacification of the nations at war, and the concluſion of peace between Great Britain and America, ſuch feuds aroſe in England from various ſources and cauſes of diſcontent, as diſcovered that the nation were for a time far from being more tranquillized than the United States, previous to their adoption of the preſent conſtitution.

Indeed the Engliſh nation had few cauſes of triumph; their ſyſtems of policy had been every where deranged, and their fatal miſtakes exemplified in the diſtreſſes of their eaſtern dominions, as well as thoſe in the weſt. The confuſion in the Eaſt Indies, and the miſconduct of their officers there, called aloud for inquiry and reform: and amidſt the complicated difficulties which embarraſſed the meaſures of adminiſtration, their king became inſane, the royal family were at variance, and the heir apparent had many cauſes of diſcontent, beſides the alienation of his parents, which had been ſome time increaſing. The parliament and the miniſtry were intriguing for power, and various parties claimed their right to aſſume the reins of government during the king's diſability, and the recollections of all were embittered, by a retro-

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ſpect of the misfortunes they had experienced during the late war. Their loſſes had been incalculable, nor could the wiſeſt of their ſtateſmen deviſe methods for the payment of even the intereſt of the enormous national debt, and the recovery of the nation to that ſcale of honour, proſperity and grandeur they had formerly enjoyed.

In this ſummary view of the ſtate of the Britiſh nation for the laſt ten years, a treaty with England was not a very deſirable object in the eyes of many of the moſt judicious ſtateſmen in America. Perhaps no man was better qualified than Mr. Jay to undertake to negociate a buſineſs of ſo much delicacy and reſponſibility. He was a gentleman of ſtrict integrity, amiable manners, and complacent diſpoſition; whoſe talents for negociation had been evinced by his firmneſs, in conjunction with his colleagues, when they effected a treaty of peace at Paris, in one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-three. But while in England, whether from the influence of the court of St. James, or from any predetermined ſyſtem, with regard to England or France, or from the yielding ſoftneſs of a mind, naturally urbane and polite, is uncertain. Yet whatever might have been the principal operative cauſe, it is beyond a doubt, that Mr. Jay fell from that dignified, manly, independent ſpirit which ought to have marked an American negociator. He was led to ſuccumb

too far to the dictations of lord Grenville; this condescension undoubtedly arose, more from an apprehension that he could not do better, than from any inclination to swerve from the interests of his country. The consequence was, he agreed to a treaty highly advantageous to Great Britain, degrading to the United States, very offensive to France, the ally of America in the days of her tribulation, and who was now herself at war with Great Britain, in conjunction with most of the European potentates, combined* to overthrow the newly established government in France.

This government they had erected, through civil convulsions that distorted every thing from its ancient form and order. Monarchy was overthrown, their king decapitated, hierarchy abolished, and a superstitious priesthood annihilated, amidst the destruction of the lives of thousands of all classes, and a series of such bloody deeds of horror as freeze the soul of humanity on the recollection. These revolutionary scenes in every nation, are generally attended with circumstances shocking to the feelings of compassion; yet undoubtedly all nations have a right to establish such modes and forms of government as a majority of the people shall think most conducive to the general interest. The various causes which contributed to more

* See treaty of Pilnitz.

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diſtreſsful ſcenes of barbarity than are uſually exhibited in ſo ſhort a period, may be left to the diſcuſſion of thoſe who have written, or may write the hiſtory of the late revolution in France, and the character and conduct of that *wonderful people.*

It was with apparent reluctance that preſident Waſhington ſigned the treaty negociated by Mr. Jay: he heſitated, and obſerved, "that it was "pregnant with events." Many gentlemen of the firſt penetration foreſaw and dreaded the conſequences of this diplomatic tranſaction; ſome ſcrupled not to declare, that it was not only "pregnant with events," but "with evils." But, notwithſtanding it wore ſo diſguſting an aſpect to more than one half the citizens of the United States, it was ratified by a majority in the ſenate, ſigned by the preſident, and became the ſupreme law of the land.

This ratification created a diviſion of ſentiment, which was artfully wrought up, until a diſſeveration of opinion appeared throughout the union. In congreſs, the parties on every great queſtion ſeemed nearly equally divided; each had their partiſans: the ſpirits of the people were agitated and embittered to an alarming degree, by the extreme point of oppoſition in which the inſtrument was viewed. The whole body of the people were deſignated under traits of diſtinction which never ought

to exist in the United States; and a struggle took place, the consequences of which some future period must disclose.

It is disgraceful indeed to Americans, who had just broken the shackles of foreign domination, to submit to the unhappy distinction of British or French partisans. But the attachment of many to their old allies, to whom they felt themselves obliged, of many others to the British nation, its modes of government and its commerce, occasioned such a stigma to mark them for a time.

America should indeed forever have maintained a character of her own, that should have set her on high ground, whence she might have looked down from the pinnacle of independence and peace, and only have pitied the squabbles, the confusion, and the miseries of the European world. A quarter of the globe blessed with all the productions of nature, increasing astonishingly in population, improving rapidly in erudition, arts, and all the sciences necessary to the happiness of man; bounded by a vast ocean, by rivers, by mountains, that have been the wonder of ages, ought forever to hold herself independent on any power on earth.

Imagination may indulge a pleasing reverie, and suppose for a moment, that if the govern-

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ment of the United States had reared a defence around her ſea-board, that might have reached to the heavens, by her bold inhibitions againſt all foreign connexions, or commercial and political intercourſe with diſtant nations, it might have been the beſt barrier to her peace, liberty, and happineſs. But there are no mounds of ſeparation, either natural or artificial, and perhaps had it been practicable there ſhould have been, they might have been penetrated by a thirſt for wealth; commerce might have ſhaken them to the foundation, or ambition might have broken down the battlements.

Inſtead of guarding round the infant republic of America, by a total detachment from foreign connexions, affection, or influence, we have already ſeen the inhabitants of the United States, intereſting themſelves beyond the common feelings of humanity, in the operations of European wars, diſſenſions, politics, and government.

It is not ſtrange that the aſtoniſhing revolution in France ſhould be beheld with very extraordinary emotions. The world had viewed the exciſion of a king, queen, and the royal family of the houſe of Bourbon. The exiſting generation had witneſſed the extinction of the claims of a long line of anceſtral dignitaries, that had been ſupported from Charlemagne to Lewis the ſixteenth, under all the appendages of deſpotiſm that had oppreſſed its millions,

until they had reached that point of degradation and ſervility, beyond which the elaſtic mind of man can bend no farther. This yoke was broken, and the bars burſt in ſunder by the ſtrong hand of the people, and by the operations of a reſentment which diſcovered more than the imaginary reactions of nature, among the inhabitants of a vaſt domain. This people had been too long viewed as a nation of ſlaves, and their ſtruggles for freedom and the equal rights of man ought to have been cheriſhed by Americans, who had juſt obtained their own independence, by a reſiſtance that had coſt them much of the beſt blood of their citizens.

But the Gallican nation at this period was not viewed with that cordiality by ſome claſſes in America, which might have been expected. The government of the United States manifeſtly diſcovered a coolneſs to a nation which had ſo eſſentially aided the great American cauſe, in the darkeſt of its days; a nation with whom the United States had formed treaties, and become the allies, from intereſt, neceſſity and gratitude, and to whom they yet felt obligations that could not be eaſily cancelled.

The preſident had indeed publiſhed a proclamation of neutrality, and made great profeſſions of friendſhip to the republic of France. He alſo ſent an envoy to reſide there, while the government of France was in the hands of the

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directory: but it was thought the appointment was not the moſt judicious.

A character eccentric from youth to declining age; a man of pleaſure, pride, and extravagance, fond of the trappings of monarchy, and implicated by a conſiderable portion of the citizens of America, as deficient in principle, was not a ſuitable perſon for a reſident miniſter in France at ſo important a criſis. The Gallican nation was in the utmoſt confuſion: the effervescence of oppoſition to their revolution boiling high in moſt parts of Europe. Diſſenſions were heightening in America, and exiſting treaties in danger of being ſhaken. Theſe circumſtances required a man of ſtable principles, and reſpectability of character, rather than a dexterous agent of political miſchief, whoſe abilities and addreſs were well adapted either for private or court intrigue.

The exigencies of affairs, both at home and abroad, required an American negociator of different habits and manners. A ſuperſedure took place. Mr. Munroe, a gentleman of unimpeachable integrity, much knowledge and information, united with diſtinguiſhed abilities, great ſtrength of mind, and a ſtrong attachment to the republican ſyſtem, was appointed and ſent forward by preſident Waſhington.

A full detail of the ſtate and ſituation of France, on the arrival of Mr. Munroe in a di-

plomatic character, the impreſſions that had been made on the directory, relative to American affairs, the conduct of his predeceſſor,* and his own negociations, may be ſeen at large in a general view afterwards given by him of exiſting prejudices which had ariſen from miſrepreſentation, neglect or deſign, from the exciſion of the king of France, until the recal and return of Mr. Munroe to his native country. It was generally believed that America derived no advantage from the former miniſter's repairing to England, after his miſſion was ended in France. He there continued for ſome time, fomenting by his letters the jealouſies which had already ariſen between the United States of America and the republic of France.

Theſe jealouſies were increaſed by a variety of cauſes, and the diſſenſions of party in America aroſe to ſuch a height, as to threaten the diſſolution of that ſtrong cement, which ought to bind the colonies together forever. Theſe differences of opinion, with the aſſuming demeanor of ſome of his officers, who often urged to meaſures that he neither approved nor wiſhed for, rendered the preſident of the United States leſs happy than he was before he ſanctioned by his name a treaty, which was diſguſting to almoſt every ſtate in the Union, and which perhaps he never would have ſigned, but

* Governeur Morris.

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from the impreſſive influence of heads of departments, and other favorites about his perſon. This was a claſs of men who had been implicated by a conſiderable portion of the people, as prompting the preſident of the United States to call out a body of militia, conſiſting of fifteen thouſand men, oſtenſibly to ſubdue a trivial inſurrection at the weſtward, which it was aſſerted by many judicious perſons, acquainted with the circumſtances, might have been ſubdued by five hundred only.* They attributed this effort to a wiſh to try the experiment of the promptitude with which an army might be called forth to ſubſerve the purpoſes of government, to enhance the dignity of office, and the ſupreme power of the firſt magiſtrate.† There was certainly a claſs who aimed not ſo much to promote the honor of the national character, as to eſtabliſh the baſis of a ſtanding army, and other projects approaching to deſpotic ſway, which cannot be ſupported in America, without the aid of that dangerous engine.

It is dangerous indeed for the ear of the chief magiſtrate to be open to favorites of ſuch a complexion. Such an one will probably neglect his old aſſociates, and confer places upon

* See Findley's hiſtory of the diſturbances in the back parts of Pennſylvania.

† General Hamilton was believed to be the prime mover and conductor of this extraordinary buſineſs.

men of not the firſt abilities in the Union. Theſe are ſelected only in times of imminent danger; after which their ſervices, integrity and zeal, are too frequently repaid by the ingratitude of the people, which joins the cry of the artful, who have never labored in the vineyard, to ſend them into oblivion.

The men moſt oppoſed to the Britiſh treaty, negociated in one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-four, and who ſtated their objections on the moſt rational grounds, were generally thoſe who had been diſtinguiſhed for their patriotiſm, firmneſs and abilities. They had been very influential in a variety of departments, previous to the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five. Nor had they ever relaxed in their energies during the courſe of the war, to effect the emancipation of their country from the tyranny of the crown of Britain, and to obtain the independence of the United States.

Theſe circumſtances, with the approach of a period when nature requires reſt, rendered the weight of government oppreſſive to declining age. The man who had long commanded, in a remarkable manner, the affection, the eſteem, and the confidence of his country, again abdicated his power, took leave of the cares of ſtate, and retired a ſecond time from all public occupations, to the delightful retreats of private

CHAP. XXXI. life, on his highly cultivated farm, on the banks of the Patowmack.

Previous to general Washington's second return to his rural amusements, he published a farewel address to the inhabitants of the United States, fraught with advice worthy of the statesman, the hero, and the citizen. He exhorted them to union among themselves, economy in public expenditure, sobriety, temperance, and industry in private life. He solemnly warned them against the danger of foreign influence, exhorted them to observe good faith and justice toward all nations, to cultivate peace and harmony with all, to indulge no inveterate antipathies against any, or passionate attachments for particular nations, but to be constantly awake against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, observing, that "this was one of the most baneful foes of republican government." This was indeed, after they were split into factions; after an exotic taste had been introduced into America, which had a tendency to enhance their public and to accumulate their private debts; and after the poison of foreign influence had crept into their councils, and created a passion to assimilate the politics and the government of the United States nearer to the model of European monarchies than the letter of the constitution, by any fair construction, would admit. It was also, after luxury had spread over every class, while the *stimulus* to

private induſtry was in a degree cut off by the capture of their ſhipping by the belligerent powers, under various pretences of the breach of neutrality. CHAP. XXXI.

After this period new contingencies aroſe, and new diſcuſſions were required with regard to foreign relations and connexions, that had no pacific operation, or any tendency to conciliate the minds, or to quiet the perturbed ſpirits of exiſting parties.

The operations and the conſequences of the civil adminiſtration of the firſt preſident of the United States, notwithſtanding the many excellent qualities of his heart, and the virtues which adorned his life, have ſince been viewed at ſuch oppoſite points, that further ſtrictures on his character and conduct ſhall be left to future hiſtorians, after time has mollified the paſſions and prejudices of the preſent generation. A new conſtitution, and an extenſive government, in which he acted eight years as chief magiſtrate, open a new field of obſervation, for future pens to deſcant on the merits or demerits of a man, admired abroad, beloved at home, and celebrated through half the globe: this will be done according to the variety of opinions which will ever exiſt among mankind, when character is ſurveyed in the cool moments of calm philoſophy, which contemplates the nature and paſſions of man, and the contin-

CHAP. XXXI. gent circumſtances, that lift him to the ſkies, or leave him in the ſhade of doubtful opinion.

Public opinion is generally grounded on truth; but the enthuſiaſm to which the greateſt part of mankind are liable, often urges the paſſions to ſuch a degree of extravagance, as to confound the juſt ratio of praiſe or reproach: but the ſervices and merits of general Waſhington, are ſo deeply engraven on the hearts of his countrymen, that no time or circumſtance will or ought ever to efface the luſtre of his well earned reputation.

We have already ſeen, that after the peace, the infant confederated ſtates exhibited ſcenes and diſcloſed projects that open too wide a field for diſcuſſion, to bring down a regular hiſtorical work, farther than the moment which winds up the drama of the military, political, and civil adminiſtration of a man, whoſe name will have a conſpicuous place in all future hiſtorical records.

Hiſtory may not furniſh an example of a perſon ſo generally admired, and poſſeſſed of equal opportunities for making himſelf the deſpotic maſter of the liberties of his country, who had the moderation repeatedly to diveſt himſelf of all authority, and retire to private life with the ſentiments expreſſed by himſelf in the cloſe of his farewel addreſs: he there obſerved—" I

"anticipate with pleasing expectation that re-
"treat, in which I promise myself to realize,
"without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of par-
"taking, in the midst of my fellow citizens,
"the benign influence of good laws under a
"free government—the ever favorite object of
"my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust,
"of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers."

The commander of the armies of the United States, has been conducted from the field of war, and from the zenith of civil command, to the delicious retreats of peaceful solitude. We now leave him in the shade of retirement, with fervent wishes that he may wind up the career of human life in that tranquillity which becomes the hero and the Christian.

The administration of his immediate successor we shall also leave, after some general observations on the character of a man who long acted in the most conspicuous departments of American affairs. The veracity of an historian requires, that all those who have been distinguished, either by their abilities or their elevated rank, should be exhibited through every period of public life with impartiality and truth. But the heart of the annalist may sometimes be hurt by political deviations which the pen of the historian is obliged to record.

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Mr. Adams was undoubtedly a ſtateſman of penetration and ability; but his prejudices and his paſſions were ſometimes too ſtrong for his ſagacity and judgment.

After Great Britain had acknowledged the independence of the diſmembered colonies, Mr. Adams was ſent to England, with a view of negociating a treaty of commerce; but the government too ſore from the loſs of the colonies, and the nation too much ſoured by the breach, nothing was done. He however, reſided there four or five years; and unfortunately for himſelf and his country, he became ſo enamoured with the Britiſh conſtitution, and the government, manners, and laws of the nation, that a partiality for monarchy appeared, which was inconſiſtent with his former profeſſions of republicaniſm. Time and circumſtances often lead ſo imperfect a creature as man to view the ſame thing in a very different point of light.

After Mr. Adams's return from England, he was implicated by a large portion of his countrymen, as having relinquiſhed the republican ſyſtem, and forgotten the principles of the American revolution, which he had advocated for near twenty years.

The political errors of men of talents, ſometimes ſpring from their own paſſions; often

from their prejudices imbibed by local or incidental circumſtances; and not unfrequently from the verſatile condition of man, which renders it difficult, at one period, to decide on the beſt ſyſtem of civil government; or at another, on the moſt effectual means of promoting the general happineſs of mankind. This may lead the candid mind to caſt a veil over that ambiguity which confounds opinion, and that counteraction of former principles, which often ſets a man in oppoſition to himſelf, and prevents that uniformity of conduct which dignifies, and that conſiſtency which adorns the character.

Pride of talents and much ambition, were undoubtedly combined in the character of the preſident who immediately ſucceeded general Waſhington, and the exiſting circumſtances of his country, with his own capacity for buſineſs, gave him an opportunity for the full gratification of the moſt prominent features of his character.

Endowed with a comprehenſive genius, well acquainted with the hiſtory of men and of nations; and having long appeared to be actuated by the principles of integrity, by a zeal for the rights of men, and an honeſt indignation at the ideas of deſpotiſm, it was viewed as a kind of political phenomenon, when diſcovered that

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Mr. Adams's former opinions were beclouded by a partiality for monarchy. It may however be charitably presumed, that by living long near the splendor of courts and courtiers, with other concurring circumstances, he might become so biassed in his judgment as to think that an hereditary monarchy was the best government for his native country.* From his knowledge of men, he was sensible it was easy to turn the tide of public opinion in favor of any system supported by plausible argumentation. Thus he drew a doleful picture of the confusion and dissolution of all republics, and presented it to the eyes of his countrymen, under the title of a "Defence of their constitutions." This had a powerful tendency to shake the republican system through the United States. Yet the predilection of Americans in general, in favor of a republican form of government was so strong, that few had the hardiness to counteract it, until several years after the United States had become an independent nation.

On Mr. Adams's return from England, he undoubtedly discovered a partiality in favor of

* Circumstances may in some future day render it necessary to adopt this mode of government in the United States. Rome had not a master until the people had become prepared for the yoke by their dissensions and follies. These, more than the arm of Cæsar, rivetted their chains, and sunk them to a level with the most abject and servile nations.

monarchic government, and few ſcrupled to aſſert for a time, that he exerted his abilities to encourage the operation of thoſe principles in America. But any further ſtrictures are unneceſſary in this place on the character of a gentleman, whoſe official ſtations, abilities and ſervices, amidſt the revolutionary conflict, may probably excite ſome future hiſtorian to inveſtigate the cauſes of his lapſe from former republican principles, and to obſerve with due propriety on his adminiſtration and its conſequences while preſident of the United States.

It is with more pleaſure the writer records, that notwithſtanding any miſtakes or changes in political opinion, or errors in public conduct, Mr. Adams, in private life, ſupported an unimpeachable character; his habits of morality, decency and religion, rendered him amiable in his family, and beloved by his neighbours. The opinions of a man of ſuch ſobriety of manners, political experience, and general knowledge of morals, law and government, will ever have a powerful effect on ſociety, and muſt naturally influence the people, more eſpecially the riſing generation, the young men, who have not had the opportunity of acquainting themſelves with the character, police, and juriſprudence of nations, or with the hiſtory of their own country, much leſs with the principles on which the American revolution was grounded.

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There is a propenſity in mankind, to enliſt themſelves under the authority of names, and to adopt the opinions of men of celebrity, more from the faſhion of the times, than from the convictions of reaſon. Thus with the borrowed language of their chieftain, they impoſe upon themſelves, until they think his opinions are their own, and are often wrought up to ſuch a fierce ſpirit of contention, that they appear ready to defend them in all the cruel modes of the ſavage, who is ſeldom actuated by motives of candor and forgiveneſs of injuries.

Both hiſtory and experience have proved, that when party feuds have thus divided a nation, urbanity and benevolence are laid aſide; and, influenced by the moſt malignant and corrupt paſſions, they loſe ſight of the ſacred obligations of virtue, until there appears little difference in the ferocious ſpirits of men in the moſt refined and civilized ſociety, or among the rude and barbarous hordes of the wilderneſs. Though ſome ſymptoms of this degradation of the human character have appeared in America, we hope the cloud is faſt diſſipating, and that no viciſſitudes in human affairs, no intrigues of the intereſted, nor any miſtakes of upright men will ever damp the proſpect of the eſtabliſhment and continuance of a republican ſyſtem, which appears to be beſt adapted to the genius of Americans. This form of government has the voice of the majority; the

energies and ſacrifices of the ſons of Columbia, have been exerted to leave a republican form, defined, modified and digeſted, as a model to promote the happineſs of poſterity.

Yet there is ſtill a diviſion of parties, and a variety of ſentiment, relative to a ſubject that has heated the imaginations, and divided the opinions of mankind, from the riſe of the Roman republic to the deſtruction of her ſplendid empire; and from that day to the preſent, when the diviſions of the literati of every age, have called the attention of genius and ability to ſpeculate and to diſſent in their ideas of the beſt modes and forms of government.

It may be a ſubject of wonder and inquiry, that though ſo many ages have elapſed, and ſo great a part of the world been civilized and improved, that the ſcience of politics is ſtill darkened by the variety of opinions that prevail among mankind. It may be beyond the reach of human genius, to conſtruct a fabric ſo free as to releaſe from ſubordination, nor in the preſent condition of mankind ought it ever to be wiſhed. Authority and obedience are neceſſary to preſerve ſocial order, and to continue the proſperity or even the exiſtence of nations. But it may be obſerved, that deſpotiſm is not always the certain conſequence of monarchy, nor freedom the ſure reſult of republican theories,

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It would be presumption in the writer, to entangle herself on a subject of such magnitude and importance, as to decide peremptorily, whether aristocratic, monarchic, or democratic government, is best adapted to the general happiness of the people. This shall be left to bolder pens; she will indulge little farther aberration of her's, after the expression of her wishes, that amidst the heterogeneous opinions of a theoretic age, America may not trifle away her advantages by her own folly and levity, nor be robbed of any of the essential rights which have cost her so dear, by the intrigues or ambition of any class of men.

The speculative of every age have theorized on a system of perfect republicanism, but the experiment has much oftener failed in practice, among all mankind, than been crowned with success. Those that have come nearest thereto, the free states of Greece, the Achean league, the Amphyctions, and other confederacies, fell under the power of Philip, Alexander, and their successors. The republic of Athens, the most conspicuous among the ancients, corrupted by riches and luxury, was wasted and lost by the intrigues of its own ambitious citizens.

The Roman commonwealth, the proud boast, the pattern, and exemplar of all republics, fell under the despotism of a long line of Cæsars, generally the most debauched and brutal race

of emperors that ever difgraced human nature. More modern experiments, Venice, and indeed all the Italian ftates, who boafted their freedom, were fubjected to the tyranny of an oligarchy or ariftocracy, frequently more fevere and cruel than that of monarchy. In England, the ftruggles of Hampden and his virtuous affociates were loft, and the ftrong reafonings of the patriots of that day in favor of freedom were obliterated, after the death of Charles, by the artful, the hypocritical, and the arbitrary Cromwell; and the moft voluptuous of kings was reftored, and re-feated on the throne of Britain.

Thus, from the firft of the Stuarts to the laft of the line of Brunfwick who have yet reigned, their republican opinions and the freedom of the nation have been in the wane, and have finally funk into an empty name under the tyranny of George the third. Indeed the moft enlightened, rational, and independent characters in Great Britain continue ftill to defend the principles of liberty with their pens, while they have had reafon to apprehend its total extinction through the realm.

Innumerable other inftances might be adduced of the defeat of republicanifm, in fpite of the efforts of its moft zealous friends: yet this is no proof that this fyftem of government may not be more productive of happinefs to mankind than that of monarchy or ariftocracy,

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The United States of America have now a fair experiment of a republican ſyſtem to make for themſelves; they may perhaps be poſſeſſed of more materials that promiſe ſucceſs than have ever fallen to the lot of any other nation. From the peculiar circumſtances of the emigration of their anceſtors, there is little reaſon to fear that a veil of darkneſs, tyranny, and barbarity will ſoon overſpread the land to which they fled. Theſe were a ſet of men very different in principles and manners from any that are to be found in the hiſtories of colonization, where it may be obſerved, the firſt planters have been generally either men of enterpriſe for the acquiſition of riches or fame, or convicted villains tranſported from more civilized ſocieties.

In the outſet of the American revolution, the arm of foreign power was oppoſed by a people uncontaminated by foreign luxury, the intricacies of foreign politics, or the theological jargon of metaphyſical ſceptics of foreign extract. Philoſophy then conveyed honorable ideas of ſcience, of religion, and morals: the character is ſince degraded by the unprincipled ſarcaſms of men of letters, who aſſume the dignity of philoſophic thought. Inſtead of unfolding the ſources of knowledge, and inculcating truth, they often confound without convincing, and by their ſophiſtical reaſonings leave the ſuperfi-

cial reader, their newly initiated disciple, on the comfortless shores of annihilation. CHAP. XXXI.

These observations are not confined to any particular nation or character; the historians of Britain, and the philosophers and poets of France, Germany, and England, are perhaps equally culpable; and it is to be regretted that America has not preserved a national character of her own, free from any symptoms of pernicious deviation from the purest principles on morals, religion, and civil liberty. She has been conducted through a revolution that will be ever memorable, both for its origin, its success, and the new prospects it has opened both at home and abroad. The consequences of this revolution have not been confined to one quarter of the globe, but the dissemination of more liberal principles in government, and more honorable opinions of the rights of man, and the melioration of his condition, have been spread over a considerable part of the world.

But men, prone to abuse the best advantages, lent by the beneficent hand of providence, sometimes sport them away, or confound causes with effects, which lead to the most erroneous conclusions. Thus it has been the recent fashion of courtiers, and of a great part of the clergy, under monarchic governments, to impute

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the demoralization and ſcepticiſm that prevails, to the ſpirit of free inquiry, as it regards the rights of civil ſociety. This faſhion has been adopted by all anti-republicans in America; but it may be aſked, whether the declamation and clamor againſt the diſſemination of republican opinions on civil government, as originating the prevalence of atheiſtical folly, is founded on the baſis of truth?

Examine the hiſtory of the ancient republics of Greece, and the ſplendid commonwealth of Rome; was not the ſtricteſt regard paid to the worſhip of their gods, and a ſacred obſervance of their religious rites enjoined, until the Grecian republics were overthrown by ambitious individuals? It was then that ſceptical diſputes more generally employed the philoſophers; in conſequence of which the rulers and the people ſunk into an indifference to all religion. The rich city of Athens particularly, was early corrupted by the influx of wealth, the influence of ariſtocratic nobles, and the annihilation of every principle connected with religion.

Survey the Roman commonwealth before its decline, when it was moſt worthy of the imitation of republicans. Was not a general regard paid to the worſhip of their deities, among this celebrated people, and a ſuperſtitious attention obſerved, relative to omens, prodigies and judgments, as denounced and executed by their

gods, until republicaniſm was extinguiſhed, the commonwealth ſubverted, and the ſceptre of a ſingle ſovereign was ſtretched over that vaſt empire? It was then that Caligula ſet up his horſe to be worſhipped, as a burleſque on religion, and the ſycophants of the court encouraged every caprice of their emperor. The people did not become ſo univerſally corrupt as to throw off all regard for religion, and all homage to the deities of their anceſtors, until the libidinous conduct of their auguſt ſovereigns, and the nobles of the court, ſet the example.

Nor do we read in more ſacred hiſtory, through all the ſtory of the Iſraelites, that the fool ever ſaid in his heart, there is no God, until under the dominion of kings.

It may be obſerved in the character of more modern republics, that religion has been the grand palladium of their inſtitutions. Through all the free ſtates of Italy, democracy and religion have been conſidered in union; ſome of them have indeed been darkened by ſuperſtition and bigotry, yet not equally hoodwinked under republican governments, as are the neighbouring kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, ſubjected to monarchic deſpotiſm.

By no fair deduction can it be aſſerted, that the ſcepticiſm and the late appearance of a total diſregard to religious obſervances in France,

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are in consequence of the democratic struggles of the nation. The dereliction of all religious principles among the *literati* of France, and the abominable opinions of some of their philosophers, cannot be too much detested; but they have sprung from various causes, remote from political freedom, and too complicated to trace their origin, in a page of cursory observations.

The French have long been a highly civilized, refined, luxurious nation, divided into two classes, the learned and the infidel, the ignorant and superstitious, both equally pursuing present pleasure, with little regard to moral principle, the laws of reason, of God, or of nature, any further than prompted by the gratifications of the moment. The first were patronised by the court; the rich and the noble had been generally infidel for more than a century before the revolution. The last were poor, depressed and degraded by monarchic and prelatic power, until their indigence and misery produced universal murmur, and revolution burst on a nation, too ignorant to investigate the sources of their own wretchedness, and too volatile and impatient to wait the operation of measures adapted for relief by men of more information and ability than themselves.

Thus from the ignorance and imbecility of a people degraded by oppression, and long the dupes of priestly as well as monarchic tyranny, they

naturally followed the lead of their ſuperiors. Theſe had long been the infidel diſciples of Voltaire, D'Alembert, and Diderot; the atheiſtical opinions of theſe men, and others of their character, had been cheriſhed only by courtiers and academicians, until near the middle of the eighteenth century, when their numerous adherents, who had concealed their pernicious opinions under the veil of modeſty, threw off the maſk, came out openly, and ſet religion at defiance. But the ſhackles of ſuperſtition were not yet broken, nor were any remarkable ſtruggles made in favor of civil liberty, until the flame was caught by their officers and ſoldiers, and reſiſtance to tyranny taught them, while in union with the ſober and pious Americans. They were animated by the principles of freedom while they lent their arm in aid of the energies of a people, whoſe character had never been impeached as favorers of atheiſtical opinions, and who were only exerting their abilities, both in the cabinet and the field, in ſupporting the civil and ſocial rights of men.

On the return of this veteran band of officers and ſoldiers to their own nation, they found as they had left, a voluptuous court, a licentious and extravagant nobility, a corrupted prieſthood, and an ignorant multitude ſpread over the face of one of the fineſt countries on earth. Yet the murmurs againſt tyranny and oppreſ-

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Theſe combined circumſtances brought forward an aſſembly of notables, and a national convention, neither of which were capable of quieting the univerſal diſcontent and diſaffection to royalty that prevailed. Hence the deſtruction of the Baſtile; the imprisonment and decapitation of their king and queen; the extermination of their nobility and clergy; the aſſaſſination of many of their firſt literary characters; and the indiſcriminate murder of ladies of the faireſt fame and virtue, and women of little conſideration; of characters of the higheſt celebrity, of nobles, magiſtrates, and men without name or diſtinction.

Theſe ſudden eruptions of the paſſions of the multitude, ſpread, like the lava of a volcano, throughout all France, nor could men of correct judgment, who aimed only at the reform of abuſes, and a renovation in all the departments, check the fury of the torrent. This confuſion

and terror within, and an army without, ſent on by the combined deſpots of Europe, with the profeſſed deſign of ſubjecting the nation, and re-eſtabliſhing the monarchy of France, gave an opportunity to ambitious, unprincipled, corrupt, and ignorant men, to come forward, under pretence of ſupporting the rights and liberties of mankind, without any views but thoſe of diſorder and diſorganization. Thus in the midſt of tumult and confuſion, was indulged every vicious propenſity, peculation, revenge, and all the black paſſions of the ſoul. The guillotine was glutted with the blood of innocent victims, while the rapidity of execution, and their jealouſy of each other, involved the moſt guilty, and cut down many of the blackeſt miſcreants, as well as the moſt virtuous characters in the nation.

But from the riſe and progreſs of this period of horror, this outrage of humanity, it is evident that it originated more from former monarchic and prieſtly oppreſſion, than from the operation of infidel opinions, united with republican efforts. In conſequence of this ſtate of things, though there were very many characters of the beſt intentions, principles and abilities, animated and active for the promotion of civil liberty in France, they had to regret with all the humane, benevolent, and pious, that while engaged to eradicate the ſuperſtitions of their country, and the arbitrary ſtrides of their

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civil rulers, law was annihilated and even the government of Heaven renounced. Thus, all religious opinions were ſet afloat, the paſſions let looſe, and all diſtinctions levelled. Decency, humanity, and every thing elſe reſpected in civil ſociety, diſappeared, until the outrages of cruelty and licentiouſneſs reſembled the regions of pandemonium. Thus was republicaniſm diſgraced by the demoralization of the people, and a cloud of infidelity darkened the hemiſphere of France; but there is nothing to countenance the opinion, that ſcepticiſm was the origin or the reſult of the ſtruggles of the Gallican nation in favor of civil liberty.*

This people may have had their day of licentious enjoyment, of literary fame, of taſte, elegance and ſplendor; they have abuſed his gifts and denied the God of nature, who, according to the uſual courſe of his government among men, may devote them to that ruin which is the natural conſequence of luxury and impiety. Yet the God of providence, when national puniſhment has been ſufficiently inflicted, may bring them back again to a due ſenſe of religion and order; while the ſeeds of liberty, which they have diſſeminated far and wide, may ripen in every ſoil, and in full matu-

* The above ſummary of the French revolution was written ſeveral years before monarchy was re-eſtabliſhed in France.

rity extend the branches of general freedom, through Europe, and perhaps throughout the world. After all, we are inadequate to any calculation on future events; the ways of heaven are hidden in the depths of time, and a ſmall circumſtance frequently gives a new turn to the moſt probable contingencies that ſeem to meaſure the fate of men or of empires.*

We will now leave this extraordinary nation, which has furniſhed materials for hiſtory of the moſt intereſting nature, as it regards the character of man; their civil, political, and religious inſtitutions, and the moral and ſocial ties that connect ſociety. From them we will look over to the iſland of Britain, and ſurvey the gradations of principles, manners, and ſcience, there. We ſhall find that lord Herbert, one of the firſt and moſt notorious infidels in England, ſprung

* The duke D'Alencour, who viſited the family of the author, in his exile under the tyranny of Robeſpierre, obſerved juſtly, that "the ſources of diſorder in France "were ſo innumerable, that it was impoſſible to conjecture "when tranquillity would be again reſtored, or what maſ-"ters or what government the nation would ſit down "under, after their violent convulſions ſubſided." Through a very intereſting converſation relative to the cauſes and conſequences of the revolution, the deepeſt marks of grief and ſenſibility ſat on the countenance of the noble ſufferer, expreſſive of the pain he felt for the miſeries of his country, and the misfortunes of his family.

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up under kingly government; and none will deny that ſcepticiſm has prevailed, and has been gathering ſtrength both in France and England, under monarchy, even before the correſpondencies of Britiſh infidels with St. Evremond, and other ſceptical Frenchmen. Hobbes, Hume, and Bolingbroke, were ſubjects of a king of England; and while their diſciples have been increaſing, and their deiſtical opinions have poiſoned the minds of youth of genius, and ſhaken the faith of ſome even in clerical profeſſions, yet no democratic opinions have been generally ſpread over the nation.

In the zenith of Britiſh monarchy, and the golden age of nobility, while republicaniſm has been quite out of faſhion, has not the cauſe of Chriſtianity ſuffered by the faſcinating pen of a Gibbon, whoſe epithets charm while they ſhock, and whoſe learned eloquence leads the believer to pauſe and tremble for the multitudes that may be allured by the ſophiſtry of his arguments, his ſatirical wit, the elegance of his diction, and the beautiful antitheſis of many of his periods.

The elegance of his ſtyle confers an "alarming popularity on the licentiouſneſs of his opinions." The riſe and fall of the Roman republic will probably be read by many who have not the inclination or the opportunity to ſtudy the writings of Locke, Boyle, Butler,

Newton, Clarke, and many others, who have by their example and by the pen ſupported and defended the Chriſtian ſyſtem on principles of reaſon and argument, that will forever adorn the character of Engliſhmen. A writer of ingenuity has obſerved, that, "there are probably "more ſceptics in England than in any other "country;* yet we do not infer that the examples of infidelity that diſgrace the world, by blaſting the principles of truth, though nurtured under princely patronage, are in conſequence of the cheriſhing influence of monarchy. Nor is it more juſt to ſuppoſe that the writings of French philoſophiſts, or the jejune trumpery that has for years exuded from the brain of other theoriſts of that nation, is the reſult of ſpeculative opinions, with regard to civil liberty.

It is neither a preference to republican ſyſtems, nor an attachment to monarchic or ariſtocratic forms of government that diſſeminates the wild opinions of infidelity. It is the licentious manners of courts of every deſcription, the unbridled luxury of wealth, and the worſt paſſions of men let looſe on the multitude by the example of their ſuperiors. Bent on gratification, at the expenſe of every moral tie, they have broken down the barriers of religion, and the ſpirit of infidelity is nouriſhed at the

* Dr. F. A. Wenderburne. He gives his reaſon for his aſſertion, page 475 of his view of England at the cloſe of the eighteenth century.

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fount; thence the poiſonous ſtreams run through every grade that conſtitutes the maſs of nations.

It may be further obſerved, that there is a variety of additional cauſes which have led to a diſpoſition among ſome part of mankind, to reject the obligations of religion, and even to deny their God. This propenſity in ſome may eaſily be elucidated, without caſting any part of the odium on the ſpirit of free inquiry relative to civil and political liberty, which had been widely diſſeminated, and had produced two ſuch remarkable revolutions as thoſe of America and France. It may be imputed to the love of novelty, the pride of opinion, and an extravagant propenſity to ſpeculate and theorize on ſubjects beyond the comprehenſion of mortals, united with a deſire of being releaſed from the reſtraints on their appetites and paſſions: reſtraints dictated both by reaſon and revelation; and which, under the influence of ſober reflection, forbid the indulgence of all gratifications that are injurious to man. Further elucidations, or more abſtruſe cauſes, which contribute to lead the vain inquirer, who ſteps over the line preſcribed by the Author of nature, to deviations from, and forgetfulneſs of its Creator, and to involve him in a labyrinth of darkneſs, from which his weak reaſonings can never diſentangle him, may be left to thoſe who delight in metaphyſical diſquiſitions.

The world might reaſonably have expected, from the circumſtances connected with the firſt ſettlement of the American colonies, which was in conſequence of their attachment to the religion of their fathers, united with a ſpirit of independence relative to civil government, that there would have been no obſervable dereliction of thoſe honorable principles, for many ages to come. From the ſobriety of their manners, their ſimple habits, their attention to the education and moral conduct of their children, they had the higheſt reaſon to hope, that it might have been long, very long, before the faith of their religion was ſhaken, or their principles corrupted, either by the manners, opinions, or habits of foreigners, bred in the courts of deſpotiſm, or the ſchools of licentiouſneſs.

This hope ſhall not yet be relinquiſhed. There has indeed been ſome relaxation of manners, and the appearance of a change in public opinion not contemplated when revolutionary ſcenes firſt ſhook the weſtern world. But it muſt be acknowledged, that the religious and moral character of Americans yet ſtands on a higher grade of excellence and purity, than that of moſt other nations. It has been obſerved, that "a violation of manners has deſtroyed more ſtates than the infraction of laws."* It is neceſſary for every *American*,

* Monteſquieu.

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with becoming energy to endeavour to ſtop the diſſemination of principles evidently deſtructive of the cauſe for which they have bled. It muſt be the combined virtue of the rulers and of the people to do this, and to reſcue and ſave their civil and religious rights from the outſtretched arm of tyranny, which may appear under any mode or form of government.

Let not the frivolity of the domeſtic taſte of the children of Columbia, nor the examples of ſtrangers of high or low degree, that may intermix among them, or the impoſing attitude of diſtant nations, or the machinations of the bloody tyrants of Europe, who have united themſelves, and to the utmoſt are exerting their ſtrength to extirpate the very name of *republicaniſm*, rob them of their character, their morals, their religion, or their liberty.

It is true the revolution in France had not ultimately tended to ſtrengthen the principles of republicaniſm in America. The confuſions introduced into that unhappy nation, by their reſiſtance to deſpotiſm, and the conſequent horrors that ſpread diſmay over every portion of their territory, have ſtartled ſome in the United States, who do not diſtinguiſh between principles and events, and ſhaken the firmneſs of others, who have fallen off from their primary object, and by degrees returned back to their former adherence to monarchy. Thus,

through real or pretended fears of ſimilar reſults, from the freedom of opinion diſſeminated through the United States, diſſenſions have originated relative to ſubjects not known in the conſtitution of the American republic. This admits no titles of honor or nobility, thoſe powerful ſprings of human action; and from the rage of acquiſition which has ſpread far and wide, it may be apprehended that the poſſeſſion of wealth will in a ſhort time be the only diſtinction in this young country. By this it may be feared that the ſpirit of avarice will be rendered juſtifiable in the opinion of ſome, as the ſingle road to ſuperiority.

The deſire of diſtinction is inherent in the boſom of man, notwithſtanding the equality of nature in which he was created. Few are the numbers of elevated ſouls, ſtimulated to act on the ſingle motive of diſintereſted virtue; and among the leſs powerful incentives to great and noble actions, the purſuit of honour, rank, and titles, is undeniably as laudable as that of riches. The laſt too generally narrows the mind, debaſes it by meanneſs, and renders it diſgracefully ſelfiſh, both in the manner of hoarding and ſquandering ſuperfluous wealth; but the ambitious, ſtimulated by a thirſt for rank, conſider the want of generoſity a ſtain on the dignity of high ſtation.

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It may be aſked, are not thoſe ſtates the moſt likely to produce the greateſt number of wiſe and heroic ſpirits, where ſome mark of elevation, inſtead of pecuniary compenſation, is affixed to the name and character of ſuch, as have outſtripped their contemporaries in the field of glory or integrity? A Roman knight ennobled for his patriotiſm or his valour, though his patrimonial inheritance was inſufficient for a modern flower-garden, was beheld with more veneration than the moſt wealthy and voluptuous citizen. But we ſhall not here decide, how far honorary rewards are conſiſtent with the principles of republicaniſm. Indeed ſome have aſſerted, that "nobility is the Corinthian capital of pol-"iſhed ſtates;" but an ingenious writer has obſerved, that "a titled nobility is the moſt un-"diſputed progeny of feudal barbariſm; that "the auguſt fabric of ſociety is deformed and "encumbered by ſuch Gothic ornaments. The "maſſy doric that ſuſtains it is labor, and the "ſplendid variety of arts and talents that ſolace "and embelliſh life, form the decorations of its "Corinthian and Ionic capitals."*

It is to be regretted that Americans are ſo much divided on this point as well as on many other queſtions; we hope the ſpirit of diviſion will never be wrought up to ſuch a height as to terminate in a diſſeveration of the ſtates, or any

* Mackintoſh's Vindiciæ Galliciæ, p. 77, 79.

internal hostilities. Any civil convulsions would shake the fabric of government, and perhaps entirely subvert the present excellent constitution; a strict adherence to which, it may be affirmed, is the best security of the rights and liberties of a country that has bled at every vein, to purchase and transmit them to posterity. The sword now resheathed, the army dismissed, a wise, energetic government established and organized, it is to be hoped many generations will pass away in the lapse of time, before America again becomes a theatre of war.

Indeed the United States of America embrace too large a portion of the globe, to expect their isolated situation will forever secure them from the encroachments of foreign nations, and the attempts of potent Europeans to interrupt their peace. But if the education of youth, both public and private, is attended to, their industrious and economical habits maintained, their moral character and that assemblage of virtues supported, which is necessary for the happiness of individuals and of nations, there is not much danger that they will for a long time be subjugated by the arms of foreigners, or that their republican system will be subverted by the arts of domestic enemies. Yet, probably some distant day will exhibit the extensive continent of America, a portrait analogous to the other quarters of

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the globe, which have been laid waſte by ambition, until miſery has ſpread her ſable veil over the inhabitants. But this will not be done, until ignorance, ſervility and vice, have led them to renounce their ideas of freedom, and reduced them to that grade of baſeneſs which renders them unfit for the enjoyment of that rational liberty which is the natural inheritance of man. The expenſe of blood and treaſure, laviſhed for the purchaſe of freedom, ſhould teach Americans to eſtimate its real worth, nor ever ſuffer it to be depreciated by the vices of the human mind, which are ſeldom ſingle. The ſons of America ought ever to bear in grateful remembrance the worthy band of patriots, who firſt ſupported an oppoſition to the tyrannic meaſures of Great Britain. Though ſome of them have long ſince been conſigned to the tomb, a tribute of gratitude is ever due to their memory, while the advantages of freedom and independence are felt by their lateſt poſterity.

The military character of the country has rung with deſerved applauſe; many of the heroes who have been ſacrificed in the field, are juſtly recollected with a ſigh; but the laborious ſtateſmen who with ability and preciſion defined the rights of men, and ſupported the freedom of their country; without whoſe efforts America never would have had an army, are many of them neglected or forgotten.

Private virtue may be neglected; public benefits difregarded, as they affect the individual, while at the ſame time ſociety feels their cheriſhing beams, which like the ſilent rills that water the great garden of nature, pour forth their bounties, unaſked, on the whole family of ungrateful man.

It has been juſtly ſaid, that "there is ſeldom "any medium between gratitude for benefits, "and hatred to the authors of them; a little "mind is hurt by the remembrance of obliga- "tions, begins by forgetting, and not uncom- "monly ends by perſecution."—And, that "that circle of beings, which dependence gath- "ers around us, is almoſt ever unfriendly; "they ſecretly wiſh the terms of this connexion "more equal. Increaſing the obligations which "are laid upon ſuch minds, only increaſes their "burden; they feel themſelves unable to de- "fray the immenſity of their debt." Thus the names of many of the men, who laid the foundations of American independence, and defended the principles of the revolution, are by the efforts of the artful, depreciated, if not viliſied. The ancient Perſians conſidered ingratitude as the ſource of all enmities among men. They conſidered it "an indication of "the vileſt ſpirit, nor believed it poſſible for "an ungrateful man to love the gods, or even "his parents, friends, or country."

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The partiality to military honor, has a tendency to nourish a disposition for arbitrary power; and wherever there is a tyrannic disposition, servility is its concomitant: hence, pride of title and distinction, and an avarice for wealth to support it. Where these passions predominate, ingratitude is usually added; this makes a *tripodium* to lift the ambitious to the summit of their nefarious designs. Under an established despotism mankind are generally more prone to bend than to resist; losing their ideas of the value of independence, the timid, the doubtful, and the indiscreet, for the most part, determine in favor of whatever wears the appearance of established authority. This should be a lasting admonition, which should forever prevent the vesting any individual or body of men with too much power.

The people of the United States are bound together in sacred compact and a union of interests which ought never to be separated. But the confederation is recent, and their experience immatured; they are however generally sensible, that from the dictatorship of Sylla to the overthrow of Cæsar, and from the ruin of the Roman tyrant to the death of the artful Cromwell, deception as well as violence have operated to the subversion of the freedom of the people. They are sensible, that by a little well-concerted intrigue, an artificial consideration may be obtained, far exceeding the degree

of real merit on which it is founded. They are ſenſible that it is not difficult for men of moderate abilities, and a little perſonal addreſs, to retain their popularity to the end of their lives, without any diſtinguiſhed traits of genius, wiſdom, or virtue. They are ſenſible, that the characters of nations have been diſgraced by their weak partialities, until their freedom has been irretrievably loſt in that vortex of folly, which throws a lethargy over the mind, till awakened by the fatal conſequences which reſult from arbitrary power, diſguiſed by ſpecious pretexts, amidſt a general relaxation of manners.

An ingenious writer has obſerved, that "the "juvenile vigor of reaſon and freedom in the "new world, where the human mind was un-"encumbered with that vaſt maſs of uſage and "prejudice, which ſo many ages of ignorance "had accumulated to load and deform ſociety "in Europe," brought forward thoſe declarations of the rights of men, which haſtened the emancipation of their own country, and diffuſed light to others.

It is equally juſt to obſerve, that in the eighteenth century, the enlightened writers of Europe had ſo clearly delineated the natural rights of men, and the equal freedom of the human race, before they by compact had yielded a part for the preſervation and ſafety of the

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whole, as to have a powerful effect on public opinion. This had manifeſtly, in ſome degree, broken the fetters that had long enthralled and diſſipated the darkneſs that ſhrouded the mind, under the influence of ſuperſtitious bigotry, and their ideas of the divine right of kings. The Coloſſus of tyranny was ſhaken, and the ſocial order meliorated by learned ſages, who evinced that government, as elegantly expreſſed by one,* is not "a ſcientific ſubtilty, but a "practical expedient for general good; all re-"courſe to elaborate abſtractions is frivolous "and futile, and the grand queſtion in govern-"ment is not its ſource, but its tendency; not "a queſtion of right, but a conſideration of ex-"pediency."

"All the governments in the world," the ſame writer adds, "have been fortuitouſly "formed; they are the produce of chance, not "the work of art. They have been altered, im-"paired, improved, and deſtroyed by accidental "circumſtances, beyond the foreſight or control "of wiſdom. Their parts thrown up againſt "preſent emergencies, formed no ſyſtematic "whole. It was certainly not to have been pre-"ſumed, that theſe *fortuitous governments* ſhould "have ſurpaſſed the works of intellect, and pre-"cluded all nearer approaches to perfection."

* Mackintoſh.

Perfection in government is not to be expected from ſo imperfect a creature as man; experience has taught, that he falls infinitely ſhort of this point; that however induſtrious in purſuit of improvements in human wiſdom, or however bold the inquiry that employs the human intellect, either on government, ethics, or any other ſcience, man yet diſcovers a deficiency of capacity to ſatisfy his reſearches, or to announce that he has already found an unerring ſtandard on which he may reſt.

Perhaps genius has never deviſed a ſyſtem more congenial to their wiſhes, or better adapted to the condition of man, than the American conſtitution. At the ſame time, it is left open to amendments whenever its imperfections are diſcovered by the wiſdom of future generations, or when new contingencies may ariſe either at home or abroad, to make alterations neceſſary. On the principles of republicaniſm was this conſtitution founded; on theſe it muſt ſtand. Many corrections and amendments have already taken place, and it is at the preſent period* as wiſe, as efficient, as reſpectable, as free, and we hope as permanent, as any conſtitution exiſting on earth. It is a ſyſtem admired by ſtateſmen abroad, envied by diſtant nations, and revered

* The beginning of the nineteenth century, which circumſcribes the limits of the ſupplementary obſervations ſubjoined to the Hiſtory of the Revolution.

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by Americans. They pride themſelves on this palladium of ſafety, fabricated at a dangerous criſis, and eſtabliſhed on the broad baſis of the elective voice of the people. It now depends on their own virtue, to continue the United States of America an example of the reſpectability and dignity of this mode of government.

Notwithſtanding the advantages that may be derived, and the ſafety that may be felt, under ſo happy a conſtitution, yet it is neceſſary to guard at every point, againſt the intrigues of artful or ambitious men, who may ſubvert the ſyſtem which the inhabitants of the United States judged to be moſt conducive to the general happineſs of ſociety.

It is now indeed at the option of the ſons of America to delegate ſuch men for the adminiſtration of government, as will conſider the deſignation of this truſt as a ſacred depoſite, which binds them to the indiſpenſable duty of aiming ſolely at the promotion of the civil, the economical, the religious, and political welfare of the whole community. They therefore cannot be too ſcrutinous on the character of their executive officers. No man ſhould be lifted by the voice of his country to preſidential rank, who may probably forget the republican deſignation, and ſigh to wield a ſceptre, inſtead of guarding ſacredly the charter from the people. It is to be hoped, that no American citizen will

hereafter pant for nobility. The ſenators of the United States ſhould be wiſe, her repreſentatives uncorrupt, the judiciary firm, equitable, and humane, and the bench of juſtice ever adorned by men uninfluenced by little paſſions, and adhering only to the principles of law and equity! The people ſhould be economical and ſober; and the clergy ſhould keep within their own line, which directs them to enforce the moral obligations of ſociety, and to inculcate the doctrines of peace, brotherly kindneſs, and the forgiveneſs of injuries, taught by the example of their Divine Maſter, nor ſhould they leave the appropriate duties of their profeſſion, to deſcant on political principles or characters!*

* It is true that this reſpectable order of men intereſted themſelves on the great ſubject of oppoſition to the aggreſſions of the Britiſh parliament; this was ſometimes done at the requeſt of legiſlators, who thought every aid neceſſary to awaken the people to a ſenſe of their rights. But the ground on which the clergy came forward on political ſubjects, was then very different from the preſent party diſputes. There was then, (with few exceptions) a united oppoſition of the whole collective body of the people, againſt a foreign power aiming to deprive them of their civil and religious privileges, and to load them with taxes, impoſitions and innovations, novel and grievous. The diſſenſions are now wholly internal, which render the influence of every pious clergyman neceſſary to ſoothe the paſſions and heal the animoſities enkindled among the people of his own particular charge.

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Such a happy combination of propriety and dignity in each department might prevent all apprehenſions of danger to religion from the ſceptical abſurdities of unprincipled men; neither the fooliſh, the learned, or licentious, would be able to ſap the foundations of the kingdom of Chriſt. In the preſent ſtate of ſociety and general information, there is no reaſon to fear the overthrow of a ſyſtem, by the efforts of modern infidels, which could not be ſhaken by the learned unbelievers of Greece, the perſecutions of the Cæſars, nor the power of the Roman empire.

All who have juſt ideas of the equal claims of mankind to ſhare the benefits of a free and benign government, and virtue ſufficient to aid its promotion, will fervently pray, that the narrow paſſions of the ſelfiſh, or the ambitious views of more elevated minds, may never render fruitleſs the labors of the wiſe and vigilant patriot, who ſacrificed much to this noble purpoſe, nor defeat the ſevere efforts of the ſoldier, who fell in the field, or ſtain the laurels of ſuch as have ſurvived the conflict.

However literature has been improved, and knowledge diffuſed by the pen of genius, and the induſtry of liberal minded and erudite inſtructors, there has been a conſpiracy formed againſt the diſſemination of republican opinions, by intereſted and aſpiring characters, eager for

the eſtabliſhment of hereditary diſtinctions and noble orders. This is a conſpiracy formidable for the wealth and talents of its ſupporters in Europe, and not leſs ſo from the ſame deſcription of men in America. This ſhould ſtand as a beacon before the eyes of an infant republic, recently eſtabliſhed by the ſuffrages of the inhabitants of the United States, who already have had to fear the *progreſs of opinion*, which produced the American revolution, might change its complexion, and there might yet be a tyranny to depoſe, more formidable than kings.

Public opinion, when grounded on falſe principles, and dictated by the breath of ambitious individuals, ſometimes creates a tyranny, felt by the minority more ſeverely, than that uſually inflicted by the hand of the ſceptred monarch. From this tyranny of opinion often ſtarts a political enthuſiaſm, which, as expreſſed by the cardinal de Retz, "would at one period exalt "to a throne, and at another, conduct the en-"thuſiaſt to a gallows." This tyranny of opinion is ſpread or extinguiſhed by factitious circumſtances, ſometimes combining to exalt the mind to the moſt ſublime ideas of human freedom; at others, beclouding it with prejudices which ſink it into habitual ſervility, when reaſon languiſhes until overwhelmed by a torpor become too general to awaken, without producing convulſions more to be dreaded than ſub-

CHAP. XXXI. miſſion, and too painful for the contemplation of benevolent minds.

Great revolutions ever produce exceſſes and miſeries at which humanity revolts. In America indeed, it muſt be acknowledged, that when the late convulſions are viewed with a retroſpective eye, the ſcenes of barbarity were not ſo univerſal as have been uſual in other countries that have been at once ſhaken by foreign and domeſtic war. Few hiſtories have recorded examples of equal moderation and leſs violation of the feelings of humanity, where general revolt and revolution had pervaded ſuch an extenſive territory. The enthuſiaſm of opinion previous to the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five, bore down oppoſition like a torrent, and enkindled the flame which emancipated the United States. Yet, it was not ſtimulated by a fierce ſpirit of revenge, which, in ſimilar circumſtances, too frequently urges to cruelties which can never be licenſed by the principles of juſtice or freedom, and muſt ever be abhorrent to humanity and benevolence.

The United States may congratulate themſelves on the ſucceſs of a revolution which has done honor to the human character, by exhibiting a mildneſs of ſpirit amidſt the ferocity of war, that prevented the ſhocking ſcenes of cruelty, butchery, and ſlaughter, which have too often ſtained the actions of men, when their

original intentions were the result of pure motives and justifiable resistance. They have been hailed by distant nations in terms of respect and applause for the glorious and successful stand made by them in favor of the liberties of mankind. They have now to maintain their well-earned fame, by a strict adherence to the principles of the revolution, and the practice of every public, social and domestic virtue.

The enthusiastic zeal for freedom which had generally animated all classes throughout the United States, was retained, with few exceptions, to the conclusion of the war, without any considerable appearance of relaxation in any part of the union, until the sword was resheathed, and the conflict terminated by a general peace. After this indeed, though the spirit for freedom was not worn down, a party arose, actuated by different principles; new designs were discovered, which spread suspicions among the people, that the object of their exertions was endangered, from circumstances they had never calculated as probable to take place in their country, until some ages had elapsed. But notwithstanding the variety of exigencies, and the new opportunities which offered to interested individuals, for the aggrandizement of family, and the accumulation of wealth, no visible dereliction appeared, nor any diminution of that general partiality in favor of republicanism which had taken deep root in the minds

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of the inhabitants of the United States. Theſe principles did not apparently languiſh, until ſome time after the adoption of the new conſtitution; exertions were then made to damp their ardor by holding up ſyſtems of government aſſerted by ſome to be better adapted to their happineſs, and abſolutely neceſſary for the ſtrength and glory of the American ſtates. The illuſion was however diſcovered, and a conſtitutional ardency for general freedom revived among the people. The feelings of native freedom among the ſons of America, and their own good ſenſe taught them, that they did not need the appendages of royalty and the baneful curſe of a ſtanding army to ſupport it. They were convinced, that rational liberty might be maintained, their favorite ſyſtem of republicaniſm might be revived, eſtabliſhed, and ſupported, and the proſperity of their country heightened, at a leſs gorgeous expenſe than a reſort to the uſages of monarchic ſtates, and the introduction of hereditary crowns and the proud claims of noble anceſtry, which uſually involve the maſs of the people in poverty, corruption, degradation, and ſervility.

Under the benediction of Divine Providence America may yet long be protected from ſanguine projects, and indigeſted meaſures, that have produced the evils felt or depictured among leſs fortunate nations, who have not laid the foundations of their governments on the firm

basis of public virtue, of general freedom, and that degree of liberty most productive of the happiness of mankind in his social state. But from the accumulated blessings which are showered down on the United States, there is reason to indulge the benign hope, that America may long stand a favored nation, and be preserved from the horrors of war, instigated either by foreign combinations or domestic intrigue, which are equally to be deprecated.

Any attempt, either by secret fraud, or open violence, to shake the union, to subvert the constitution, or undermine the just principles, which wrought out the American revolution, cannot be too severely censured. It is true, there has been some agitation of spirits between existing parties; but doubtless the prudence of the inhabitants of the United States will suffer this to evaporate, as the cloud of the morning, and will guard against every point that might have the smallest tendency to break the union. If peace and unanimity are cherished, and the equalization of liberty, and the equity and energy of law, maintained by harmony and justice, the present representative government may stand for ages a luminous monument of republican wisdom, virtue, and integrity. The principles of the revolution ought ever to be the pole-star of the statesman, respected by the rising generation; and the ad-

CHAP. XXXI. vantages beſtowed by Providence ſhould never be loſt, by negligence, indiſcretion, or guilt.

The people may again be reminded, that the elective franchiſe is in their own hands; that it ought not to be abuſed, either for perſonal gratifications, or the indulgence of partiſan acrimony. This advantage ſhould be improved, not only for the benefit of exiſting ſociety, but with an eye to that fidelity which is due to poſterity. This can only be done by electing ſuch men to guide the national counſels, whoſe conſcious probity enables them to ſtand like a Coloſſus, on the broad baſis of independence, and by correct and equitable arrangements, endeavor to lighten the burdens of the people, ſtrengthen their unanimity at home, command juſtice abroad, and cultivate peace with all nations, until an example may be left on record of the practicability of meliorating the condition of mankind.

The internal ſtrength of America is reſpectable, and her borders are fenced by the barriers of nature. May the wiſdom, vigour, and ability of her native ſons, teach her to ſurmount every difficulty that may ariſe at home or abroad, without ever calling in the aid of *foreign* relations! She wants not the interference of any other nation, to give a model to her government, or ſecretly influence the adminiſtration by bribes, flatteries, or threats. The enter-

prifing fpirit of the people feems adapted to improve their advantages, and to rival in grandeur and fame thofe parts of creation which for ages have been meliorating and refining, until the period of decay feems to have arrived, that threatens the fall of fome of the proudeft nations. Humanity recoils at a view of the wretched ftate of vaffalage, in which a great part of mankind are involved. Yet, America may fit tranquil, and only extend her compaffion to the European world, which exhibits the fhambles of defpotifm, where the purple of kings is ftained by the blood of their fubjects, butchered by thoufands to glut the ambition of a weak individual, who frequently expires himfelf before the cup of his intoxication is full. The vefture of royalty is however ftill difplayed, and the weapons of war fpread death over three fourths of the globe, without fatiating the thirft that drinks up rivers of human gore, when the proud victor wipes the ftained lip and covers the guilty vifage with a fmile at the incalculable carnage of his own fpecies, by his mandates and his myrmidons.

It will be the wifdom, and probably the future effort of the American government, forever to maintain with unfhaken magnanimity, the prefent neutral pofition of the United

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States.* The hand of nature has displayed its magnificence in this quarter of the globe, in the astonishing rivers, lakes, and mountains, replete with the richest minerals and the most useful materials for manufactures. At the same time, the indigenous produce of its fertile lands yields medicine, food, and clothing, and every thing needful for man in his present condition. America may with propriety be styled a land of promise; a happy climate, though remarkably variegated; fruitful and populous, independent and free, both necessity and pleasure invite the hand of the industrious to cherish and cultivate the prolific soil, which is ready to yield all that nature requires to satisfy the reasonable wishes of man, as well as to contribute to the wealth, pleasure, and luxury of the inhabitants. It is a portion of the globe that appears as a fair and fertile vineyard, which requires only the industrious care of the laborers to render it for a long time productive of the finest clusters in the full harvest of prosperity and freedom, instead of yielding thorns, thistles, and sour grapes, which must be the certain fruits of animosity, disunion, venality, or vice.

Though in her infantile state, the young republic of America exhibits the happiest prospects. Her extensive population, commerce,

* The limits of the present work preclude any historical record subsequent to the year 1801.

and wealth, the progreſs of agriculture, arts, ſciences, and manufactures, have increaſed with a rapidity beyond example. Colleges and academies have been reared, multiplied, and endowed with the beſt advantages for public inſtruction, on the broad ſcale of liberality and truth. The effects of induſtry and enterpriſe appear in the numerous canals, turnpikes, elegant buildings, and well conſtructed bridges, over lengths and depths of water that open, and render the communication eaſy and agreeable, throughout a country almoſt without bounds. In ſhort, arts and agriculture are purſued with avidity, civilization ſpreads, and ſcience in full reſearch is inveſtigating all the ſources of human knowledge.

Indeed the whole country wears a face of improvement, from the extreme point of the northern and weſtern woods, through all the ſouthern ſtates, and to the vaſt Atlantic ocean, the eaſtern boundary of the United States. The wiſdom and juſtice of the American governments, and the virtue of the inhabitants, may, if they are not deficient in the improvement of their own advantages, render the United States of America an enviable example to all the world, of peace, liberty, righteouſneſs, and truth. The weſtern wilds, which for ages have been little known, may arrive to that ſtage of improvement and perfection, beyond which the limits of human genius cannot reach;

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and this laſt civilized quarter of the globe may exhibit thoſe ſtriking traits of grandeur and magnificence, which the Divine Œconomiſt may have reſerved to crown the cloſing ſcene, when the angel of his preſence will ſtand upon the ſea and upon the earth, lift up his hand to heaven, and ſwear by Him that liveth for ever and ever, that there ſhall be time no longer.

END OF VOL. III.

APPENDIX

TO VOLUME THIRD.

NOTE No. I. Page 20.

Earl CORNWALLIS *to Sir* HENRY CLINTON, *K. B. dated York-Town, Virginia, October* 21, 1781.

"SIR,

"I HAVE the mortification to inform your excellency, "that I have been forced to give up the posts of York and "Gloucester, and to surrender the troops under my com- "mand, by capitulation, on the 19th instant, as prisoners "of war, to the combined forces of America and France.

"I never saw this post in a very favorable light; but "when I found I was to be attacked in it, in so unprepared "a state, by so powerful an army and artillery, nothing "but the hopes of relief would have induced me to at- "tempt its defence; for I would either have endeavoured "to go to New York, by rapid marches from the Glouces- "ter side, immediately on the arrival of general Washing- "ton's troops at Williamsburgh, or I would, notwithstand- "ing the disparity of numbers, have attacked them in the "open field, where it might have been just possible that "fortune would have favored the gallantry of the handful "of troops under my command; but being assured by "your excellency's letters, that every possible means would "be tried by the navy and army to relieve us, I could not

" think myſelf at liberty to venture upon either of thoſe
" deſperate attempts; therefore, after remaining for two
" days in a ſtrong poſition, in front of the place, in hopes
" of being attacked, upon obſerving that the enemy were
" taking meaſures which could not fail of turning my left
" flank in a ſhort time; and receiving, on the ſecond even-
" ing, your letter of the 24th of September, informing that
" the relief would fail about the 5th of October, I withdrew
" within the works on the night of the 29th of September,
" hoping by the labor and firmneſs of the ſoldiers, to pro-
" tract the defence until you could arrive. Every thing
" was to be expected from the ſpirit of the troops, but every
" diſadvantage attended their labor, as the works were to
" be continued under the enemy's fire, and our ſtock of
" entrenching tools, which did not much exceed four hun-
" dred, when we began to work in the latter end of Au-
" guſt, was now much diminiſhed.

" The enemy broke ground on the night of the 30th,
" and conſtructed on that night, and on the two following
" days and nights, two redoubts, which, with ſome works
" that had belonged to our outward poſition, occupied a
" gorge between two creeks or ravines, which come from
" the river on each ſide of the town. On the night of the
" 6th of October they made their firſt parallel, extending
" from its right on the river to a deep ravine on the left,
" nearly oppoſite to the centre of this place, and embracing
" our whole left, at the diſtance of ſix hundred yards. Hav-
" ing perfected this parallel, their batteries opened on the
" evening of the 9th, againſt our left, and other batteries
" fired at the ſame time againſt a redoubt advanced over
" the creek upon our right, and defended by about one
" hundred and twenty men of the twenty third regiment
" and marines, who maintained that poſt with uncommon
" gallantry. The fire continued inceſſant from heavy can-
" non, and from mortars and howitzers, throwing ſhells
" from eight to ſixteen inches, until all our guns on
" the left were ſilenced, our work much damaged, and

" our loſs of men conſiderable. On the night of the 11th
" they began their ſecond parallel, about three hundred
" yards nearer to us; the troops being much weakened by
" ſickneſs, as well as by the fire of the beſiegers, and ob-
" ſerving that the enemy had not only ſecured their flanks,
" but proceeded in every reſpect with the utmoſt regularity
" and caution, I could not venture ſo large ſorties as to
" hope from them any conſiderable effect; but otherwiſe,
" I did every thing in my power to interrupt this work, by
" opening new embraſures for guns, and keeping up a con-
" ſtant fire with all the howitzers, and ſmall mortars that
" we could man. On the evening of the 14th, they aſ-
" faulted and carried two redoubts that had been advanced
" about three hundred yards, for the purpoſe of delaying
" their approaches and covering our left flank, and during
" the night incloſed them in their ſecond parallel, on which
" they continued to work with the utmoſt exertion. Being
" perfectly ſenſible that our work could not ſtand many
" hours after the opening of the batteries of that parallel,
" we not only continued a conſtant fire with all our mortars,
" and every gun that could be brought to bear upon it,
" but a little before day-break, on the morning of the 16th,
" I ordered a *ſortie* of about three hundred and fifty men,
" under the direction of lieutenant colonel Abercrombie, to
" attack two batteries which appeared to be in the greateſt
" forwardneſs, and to ſpike the guns. A detachment of
" guards, with the eightieth company of grenadiers, under
" the command of lieutenant colonel Lake, attacked the
" one, and one of light infantry, under the command of
" major Armſtrong, attacked the other, and both ſucceed-
" ed by forcing the redoubts that covered them, ſpiking
" eleven guns, and killing or wounding about one hundred
" of the French troops, who had the guard of that part of
" the trenches, and with little loſs on our ſide. This ac-
" tion, though extremely honorable to the officers and
" ſoldiers who executed it, proved of little public advan-
" tage; for the cannon, having been ſpiked in a hurry,
" were ſoon rendered fit for ſervice again, and before dark

" the whole parallel and batteries appeared to be nearly
" complete. At this time we knew that there was no part
" of the whole front attacked, on which we could ſhew a
" ſingle gun, and our ſhells were nearly expended; I there-
" fore had only to chooſe between preparing to ſurrender
" next day, or endeavouring to get off with the greateſt
" part of the troops; and I determined to attempt the
" latter, reflecting, that though it ſhould prove unſucceſsful
" in its immediate object, it might at leaſt delay the enemy
" in the proſecution of farther enterpriſes: ſixteen large
" boats were prepared, and upon other pretexts were or-
" dered to be in readineſs to receive troops preciſely at ten
" o'clock. With theſe I hoped to paſs the infantry during
" the night, abandoning our baggage, and leaving a de-
" tachment to capitulate for the town's people, and the
" ſick and wounded; on which ſubject a letter was ready
" to be delivered to general Waſhington. After making
" my arrangements with the utmoſt ſecrecy, the light in-
" fantry, greateſt part of the guards, and part of the twen-
" ty-third regiment, landed at Glouceſter; but at this crit-
" ical moment, the weather, from being moderate and
" calm, changed to a moſt violent ſtorm of wind and rain,
" and drove all the boats, ſome of which had troops on
" board, down the river. It was ſoon evident that the
" intended paſſage was impracticable, and the abſence of
" the boats rendered it equally impoſſible to bring back
" the troops that had paſſed, which I had ordered about two
" in the morning. In this ſituation, with my little force
" divided, the enemies batteries opened at day-break; the
" paſſage between this place and Glouceſter was much
" expoſed, but the boats having now returned, they were
" ordered to bring back the troops that had paſſed during
" the night; and they joined us in the forenoon, without
" much loſs. Our works were in the mean time going to
" ruin: and not having been able to ſtrengthen them by
" *abbatis*, nor in any other manner but by a ſlight fraizing,
" which the enemy's artillery were demoliſhing wherever
" they fired, my opinion entirely coincided with that of the

" engineer and principal officers of the army, that they
" were in many places assailable in the forenoon, and that
" by the continuance of the same fire for a few hours longer,
" they would be in such a state as to render it desperate
" with our numbers to attempt to maintain them. We at
" that time could not fire a single gun, only one eight inch,
" and little more than a hundred cohorn shells remained.
" A diversion by the French ships of war that lay at the
" mouth of York river, was to be expected. Our numbers
" had been diminished by the enemy's fire, but particularly
" by sickness, and the strength and spirits of those in the
" works were much exhausted, by the fatigue of constant
" watching and unremitting duty. Under all these cir-
" cumstances, I thought that it would have been wanton
" and inhuman to the last degree, to sacrifice the lives of
" this small body of gallant soldiers, who had ever behaved
" with so much fidelity and courage, by exposing them to
" an assault, which, from the numbers and precautions of
" the enemy, could not fail to succeed: I therefore pro-
" posed to capitulate; and I have the honor to inclose to
" your excellency the copy of the correspondence between
" general Washington and me on that subject, and the
" terms of capitulation agreed upon. I sincerely lament
" that better could not be obtained, but I have neglected
" nothing in my power to alleviate the misfortunes and
" distresses of both officers and soldiers. The men are well
" clothed and provided with necessaries, and I trust will be
" regularly supplied by the means of the officers that are
" permitted to remain with them. * * * *
" * * * * * *."

NOTE No. II. Page 25.

Copy of the articles of capitulation, settled between his excellency general Washington, commander in chief of the combined forces of America and France; his

excellency the count de Rochambeau, lieutenant general of the armies of the king of France, great croſs of the royal and military order of St. Louis, commanding the auxiliary troops of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty in America; and his excellency the count de Graſſe, lieutenant general of the naval armies of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, commander of the order of St. Louis, commander in chief of the naval army of France in the Cheſapeak, on the one part; and the right honorable earl Cornwallis, lieutenant general of his Britannic majeſty's forces, commanding the garriſons of York and Glouceſter; and Thomas Symmonds, Eſq. commanding his Britannic majeſty's naval forces in York river in Virginia, on the other part.

ARTICLE I.

The garriſons of York and Glouceſter, including the officers and ſeamen of his Britannic majeſty's ſhips, as well as other mariners, to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war to the combined forces of America and France; the land troops to remain priſoners to the United States; the navy to the naval army of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty.

Granted.

ARTICLE II.

The artillery, arms, accoutrements, military cheſt, and public ſtores of every denomination, ſhall be delivered unimpaired to the heads of departments appointed to receive them.

Granted.

ARTICLE III.

At twelve o'clock this day the two redoubts on the left flank of York to be delivered, the one to a detachment of American infantry, the other to a detachment of French grenadiers.

Granted.———The garrison of York will march out to a place to be appointed, in front of the posts, at two o'clock precisely, with shouldered arms, colors cased, and drums beating a British or German march; they are then to ground their arms and return to their encampments, where they will remain until they are dispatched to the places of their destination. Two works on the Gloucester side will be delivered at one o'clock, to a detachment of French and American troops appointed to possess them. The garrison will march out at three o'clock in the afternoon; the cavalry with their swords drawn, trumpets sounding, and the infantry in the manner prescribed for the garrison of York. They are likewise to return to their encampments until they can be finally marched off.

ARTICLE IV.

Officers are to retain their side arms. Both officers and soldiers to keep their private property of every kind; and no part of their baggage or papers to be at any time subject to search or inspection. The baggage and papers of officers and soldiers, taken during the siege, to be likewise preserved for them.

Granted.———It is understood, that any property obviously belonging to the inhabitants of these states, in the possession of the garrison, shall be subject to be reclaimed.

ARTICLE V.

The soldiers to be kept in Virginia, Maryland, or Pennsylvania, and as much by regiments as possible, and supplied with the same rations of provisions as are allowed to soldiers in the service of America. A field officer from each nation, *to wit*, British, Anspach, and Hessian, and other officers on parole, in the proportion of one to fifty men, to be allowed to reside near their respective regiments, to visit them frequently, and be witnesses of their treatment, and that their officers may receive and deliver clothing and

other neceſſaries for them, for which paſſports are to be granted when applied for.

Granted.

ARTICLE VI.

The general, ſtaff, and other officers not employed as mentioned in the above articles, and who chooſe it, to be permitted to go on their parole to Europe, to New York, or to any other American maritime poſts at preſent in the poſſeſſion of the Britiſh forces, at their own option, and proper veſſels to be granted by the count de Graſſe to carry them under flags of truce to New York, within ten days from this date if poſſible, and they to reſide in a diſtrict to be agreed upon hereafter, until they embark.

The officers of the civil department of the army and navy to be included in this article, Paſſports to go by land to be granted to thoſe to whom veſſels cannot be furniſhed.

Granted.

ARTICLE VII.

Officers to be allowed to keep ſoldiers as ſervants, according to the common practice of the ſervice: ſervants not ſoldiers are not to be conſidered as priſoners, and are to be allowed to attend their maſters.

Granted.

ARTICLE VIII.

The Bonetta ſloop of war to be equipped, and navigated by its preſent captain and crew, and left entirely at the diſpoſal of lord Cornwallis, from the hour that the capitulation is ſigned, to receive an aid du camp to carry diſpatches to ſir Henry Clinton; and ſuch ſoldiers as he may think proper to ſend to New York, to be permitted to ſail with-

out examination. When his dispatches are ready, his lordship engages on his part that the ship shall be delivered to the order of the count de Grasse, if she escapes the danger of the sea; that she shall not carry off any public stores. Any part of the crew that may be deficient on her return, and the soldiers passengers, to be accounted for on her delivery.

ARTICLE IX.

The traders are to preserve their property, and to be allowed three months to dispose of or remove them; and those traders are not to be considered as prisoners of war.

The traders will be allowed to dispose of their effects, the allied army having the right of pre-emption. The traders to be considered as prisoners of war upon parole.

ARTICLE X.

Natives or inhabitants of different parts of this country, at present in York or Gloucester, are not to be punished on account of having joined the British army.

This article cannot be assented to, being altogether of civil resort.

ARTICLE XI.

Proper hospitals to be furnished for the sick and wounded. They are to be attended by their own surgeons on parole; and they are to be furnished with medicines and stores from the American hospitals.

The hospital stores now in York and Gloucester shall be delivered for the use of the British sick and wounded. Passports will be granted, for procuring them further supplies from New York, as occasion may require; and proper hospitals will be furnished, for the reception of the sick and wounded of the two garrisons.

ARTICLE XII.

Waggons to be furnifhed to carry the baggage of the officers attending the foldiers, and to furgeons when travelling on account of the fick, attending the hofpitals at public expenfe.

They are to be furnifhed if poffible.

ARTICLE XIII.

The fhipping and boats in the two harbours, with all their ftores, guns, tackling, and apparel, fhall be delivered up in their prefent ftate to an officer of the navy appointed to take poffeffion of them, previoufly unloading the private property, part of which had been put on board for fecurity during the fiege.

Granted.

ARTICLE XIV.

No article of capitulation to be infringed on pretence of reprifals; and if there be any doubtful expreffions in it, they are to be interpreted according to the common meaning and acceptation of the words.

Granted.

NOTE No. III. Page 232.

The *definitive treaty* of *peace* and *friendfhip* between his Britannic majefty and the United States of America, figned at Paris the 3d day of September, 1783.

In the name of the moft holy and undivided Trinity.

It having pleafed the Divine Providence to difpofe the hearts of the moft ferene and moft potent prince, George the third, by the grace of God king of Great Britain,

France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, duke of Brunſwick and Lunenburg, arch treaſurer and prince elector of the holy Roman empire, &c. and of the United States of America, to forget all paſt miſunderſtandings and differences that have unhappily interrupted the good correſpondence and friendſhip which they mutually wiſh to reſtore, and to eſtabliſh ſuch a beneficial and ſatisfactory intercourſe between the two countries, upon the ground of reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience, as may promote and ſecure to both perpetual peace and harmony; and having for this deſirable end already laid the foundation of peace and reconciliation, by the proviſional articles ſigned at Paris on the 30th of November, 1782, by the commiſſioners empowered on each part; which articles were agreed to be inſerted in and to conſtitute the treaty of peace propoſed to be concluded between the crown of Great Britain and the ſaid United States, but which treaty was not to be concluded until terms of peace ſhould be agreed upon between Great Britain and France, and his Britannic majeſty ſhould be ready to conclude ſuch treaty accordingly; and the treaty between Great Britain and France having ſince been concluded, his Britannic majeſty and the United States of America, in order to carry into full effect the proviſional articles above mentioned, according to the tenor thereof, have conſtituted and appointed; that is to ſay, his Britannic majeſty on his part, David Hartley, Eſq. member of the parliament of Great Britain; and the ſaid United States on their part, John Adams, Eſq. late a commiſſioner of the United States of America at the court of Verſailles, late delegate in congreſs from the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts, and chief juſtice of the ſaid ſtate, and miniſter plenipotentiary of the ſaid United States to their high mightineſſes the ſtates general of the United Netherlands; Benjamin Franklin, Eſq. late delegate in congreſs from the ſtate of Pennſylvania, preſident of the convention of the ſaid ſtate, and miniſter plenipotentiary from the United States of America at the court of Verſailles; and John Jay, Eſq. late preſident of congreſs, and chief juſtice of the

ſtate of New York, and miniſter plenipotentiary from the ſaid United States at the court of Madrid; to be the plenipotentiaries for the concluding and ſigning the preſent definitive treaty, who, after having reciprocally communicated their reſpective full powers, have agreed upon and confirmed the following articles.

ARTICLE I.

His Britannic majeſty acknowledges the ſaid United States, *viz.* New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts Bay, Rhode Iſland and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be free, ſovereign, and independent ſtates; that he treats with them as ſuch, and for himſelf, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, relinquiſhes all claim to the government, proprietary, and territorial rights of the ſame, and every part thereof.

ARTICLE II.

And that all diſputes which might ariſe in future on the ſubject of the boundaries of the ſaid United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are and ſhall be their boundaries, *viz.* From the north-weſt angle of Nova Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the ſource of St. Croix river to the high lands, along the ſaid high lands which divide thoſe rivers that empty themſelves into the river St. Lawrence, from thoſe which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the north-weſternmoſt head of Connecticut river; thence drawn along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; from thence by a line due weſt on ſaid latitude, until it ſtrikes the river Iroquois or Cataraquy; thence along the middle of ſaid river into Lake Ontario; through the middle of ſaid lake, until it ſtrikes the communication by water between that lake and Lake Erie; thence along the middle of the ſaid communication into Lake Erie, through the middle of ſaid lake, until it arrives at the water communication between that

lake and Lake Hurion; thence through the middle of ſaid lake, to the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior northward to the iſles Royal and Philipeaux, to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of ſaid Long Lake, and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods; to the ſaid Lake of the Woods; thence through the ſaid lake to the moſt north-weſternmoſt point thereof, and from thence on a due weſt courſe to the river Miſſiſippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the ſaid river Miſſiſippi, until it ſhall interſect the northernmoſt part of the thirty-firſt degree of north latitude: ſouth, by a line to be drawn due eaſt from the determination of the line laſt mentioned, in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the river Apalachicola or Catahouche; thence along the middle thereof, to its junction with the Flint river; thence ſtraight to the head of St. Mary's river, to the Atlantic ocean: eaſt, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix, from its mouth in the bay of Fundy to its ſource, and from its ſource directly north to the aforeſaid high lands, which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic ocean from thoſe which fall into the river St. Lawrence, comprehending all iſlands within twenty leagues of any part of the ſhores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due eaſt from the points where the aforeſaid boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part and Eaſt Florida on the other, ſhall reſpectively touch the bay of Fundy and the Atlantic ocean, excepting ſuch iſlands as now are or heretofore have been within the limits of the ſaid province of Nova Scotia.

ARTICLE III.

It is agreed that the people of the United States ſhall continue to enjoy unmoleſted, the right to take fiſh of every kind on the Great Bank, and on all the other banks of Newfoundland; alſo in the gulf of St. Lawrence, and at

all other places in the ſea where the inhabitants of both countries uſed at any time heretofore to fiſh: and alſo that the inhabitants of the United States ſhall have liberty to take fiſh of every kind on ſuch part of the coaſt of Newfoundland as Britiſh fiſhermen ſhall uſe, (but not to dry or cure the ſame on that iſland,) and alſo on the coaſts, bays, and creeks, of all other of his Britannic majeſty's dominions in America: and that the American fiſhermen ſhall have liberty to dry and cure fiſh in any of the unſettled bays, harbours, and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen Iſlands, and Labrador, ſo long as the ſame ſhall remain unſettled; but ſo ſoon as the ſame ſhall be ſettled, it ſhall not be lawful for the ſaid fiſhermen to dry or cure fiſh at ſuch ſettlement, without a previous agreement for that purpoſe with the inhabitants, proprietors, or poſſeſſors of the ground.

ARTICLE IV.

It is agreed, that the creditors on either ſide ſhall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in ſterling money of all *bona fide* debts heretofore contracted.

ARTICLE V.

It is agreed, that congreſs ſhall earneſtly recommend it to the legiſlatures of the reſpective ſtates, to provide for the reſtitution of all eſtates, rights, and properties, which have been confiſcated, belonging to real Britiſh ſubjects; and alſo of the eſtates, rights, and properties, of perſons reſident in diſtricts in the poſſeſſion of his majeſty's arms, and who have not borne arms againſt the ſaid United States; and that perſons of any other deſcription ſhall have free liberty to go to any part or parts of any of the thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months unmoleſted in their endeavours to obtain the reſtitution of ſuch of their eſtates, rights, and properties, as may have been confiſcated: and that congreſs ſhall alſo earneſtly recommend to the ſeveral ſtates a reconſideration and reviſion of all acts or laws regarding the premiſes, ſo as to

render the ſaid laws or acts perfectly conſiſtent, not only with juſtice and equity, but with that ſpirit of conciliation which, on the return of the bleſſings of peace, ſhould invariably prevail: and that congreſs ſhall alſo earneſtly recommend to the ſeveral ſtates, that the eſtates, rights, and properties of ſuch laſt mentioned perſons, ſhall be reſtored to them, they refunding to any perſons who may be now in poſſeſſion, the *bona fide* price, (where any has been given,) which ſuch perſons may have paid on purchaſing any of the ſaid lands, rights, or properties, ſince the confiſcation.

And it is agreed, that all perſons who have any intereſt in confiſcated lands, either by debts, marriage ſettlements, or otherwiſe, ſhall meet with no lawful impediment in the proſecution of their juſt rights.

ARTICLE VI.

That there ſhall be no future confiſcations made, nor any proſecutions commenced againſt any perſon or perſons, for or by reaſon of the part which he or they may have taken in the preſent war; and that no perſon ſhall on that account ſuffer any future loſs or damage, either in his perſon, liberty, or property; and that thoſe who may be in confinement on ſuch charges, at the time of the ratification of the treaty in America, ſhall be immediately ſet at liberty, and the proſecutions ſo commenced be diſcontinued.

ARTICLE VII.

There ſhall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic majeſty and the ſaid United States, and between the ſubjects of the one and the citizens of the other; wherefore all hoſtilities, both by ſea and land, ſhall from [illegible] forth ceaſe; all priſoners, on both ſides, ſhall be ſet at [illegible]erty; and his Britannic majeſty ſhall, with all convenient ſpeed, and without cauſing any deſtruction, or carrying away any negroes or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garriſons, and fleets, from the ſaid United States, and from every poſt, place, and harbour within the ſame, leaving in all fortifications

the American artillery that may be therein: and shall also order and cause all archives, records, deeds, and papers belonging to any of the said states, or their citizens, which in the course of the war may have fallen into the hands of his officers, to be forthwith restored, and delivered to the proper states and persons to whom they belong.

ARTICLE VIII.

The navigation of the river Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, shall forever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States.

ARTICLE IX.

In case it should so happen, that any place or territory, belonging to Great Britain or to the United States, should have been conquered by the arms of either from the other, before the arrival of the said provisional articles in America, it is agreed that the same shall be restored without difficulty and without requiring any compensation.

ARTICLE X.

The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, expedited in good and due form, shall be exchanged between the contracting parties in the space of six months, or sooner if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, their ministers plenipotentiary, have in their name, and in virtue of our full powers, signed with our hands the present definitive treaty, and caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Paris, this third day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

DAVID HARTLEY. (L. S.)
JOHN ADAMS. (L. S.)
B. FRANKLIN. (L. S.)
JOHN JAY. (L. S.)

NOTE No. IV. Page 241.

The celebrated Mr. Sheridan obſerved in a ſpeech on the ravages in India, under the government of Mr. Haſtings; "Had a ſtranger at this time gone into the kingdom of Oude, "ignorant of what had happened ſince the death of Sujah "Dowla, that man, who with a ſavage heart had ſtill great "lines of character, and who, with all his ferocity in war, "had with a cultivating hand preſerved to his country the "riches which it derived from benignant ſkies, and a pro-"lific ſoil; if this ſtranger, ignorant of all that had hap-"pened in the ſhort interval, and obſerving the wide and "general devaſtation, and all the horrors of the ſcene; "vegetation burnt up and extinguiſhed; villages depop-"ulated and in ruin: temples unroofed and periſhing; "reſervoirs broken down and dry; he would naturally "inquire, What war has thus laid waſte the fertile fields "of this once beautiful and opulent country? What civil "diſſenſions have happened, thus to tear aſunder and ſepa-"rate the happy ſocieties that once poſſeſſed thoſe villages? "What diſputed ſucceſſion? What religious rage has with "unholy violence demoliſhed thoſe temples, and diſturbed "fervent but unobtruding piety in the exerciſe of its duties? "What mercileſs enemy has thus ſpread the horrors of "fire and ſword? What ſevere viſitation of Providence "has thus dried up the fountains, and taken every veſtige "of verdure from the earth? Or rather, What monſters "have ſtalked over the country, tainting and poiſoning "with peſtiferous breath, what the voracious appetite could "not devour? To ſuch queſtions what muſt be the an-"ſwers? No wars have ravaged theſe lands, and depop-"ulated theſe villages; no civil diſcords have been felt; "no diſputed ſucceſſion; no religious rage; no mercileſs "enemy; no affliction of Providence, which, while it "ſcourged for the moment, cut off the ſources of reſuſci-"tation; no voracious and poiſoning monſters; no: all "this has been accompliſhed by the friendſhip, generoſity,

" and kindnefs of the Englifh nation; they have embraced
" us with their protecting arms, and lo! thefe are the
" fruits of their alliance."

NOTE No. V. Page 320.

General Waffhington's farewel orders to the army of the United States.

" *Rocky Hill, near Princeton, Nov.* 2, 1783.

" The United States in congrefs affembled, after giving
" the moft honorable teftimony to the merits of the federal
" armies, and prefenting them with the thanks of their
" country, for their long, eminent, and faithful fervices,
" having thought proper, by their proclamation, bearing
" date the 18th of October laft, to difcharge fuch parts of
" the troops as were engaged for the war, and to permit
" the officers on furlough to retire from fervice, from and
" after tomorrow, which proclamation having been com-
" municated in the public papers, for the information and
" government of all concerned; it only remains for the
" commander in chief to addrefs himfelf once more, and
" that for the laft time, to the armies of the United States,
" (however widely difperfed individuals who compofed
" them, may be,) and to bid them an affectionate, a long
" farewel.

" But before the commander in chief takes his final leave
" of thofe he holds moft dear, he wifhes to indulge himfelf
" a few moments in calling to mind a flight review of the
" paft; he will then take the liberty of exploring with his
" military friends, their future profpects; of advifing the
" general conduct which in his opinion ought to be purfu-
" ed; and he will conclude the addrefs, by expreffing the
" obligations he feels himfelf under for the fpirited and
" able affiftance he has experienced from them in the per-
" formance of an arduous office.

" A contemplation of the complete attainment (at a " period earlier than could have been expected) of the " object for which we contended, against so formidable a " power, cannot but inspire us with astonishment and grat- " itude. The disadvantageous circumstances on our part, " under which the war was undertaken, can never be for- " gotten. The singular interpositions of Providence in " our feeble condition, were such as could scarcely escape " the attention of the most unobserving; while the unpar- " alleled perseverance of the armies of the United States, " through almost every possible suffering and discourage- " ment, for the space of eight long years, was little short " of a standing miracle.

" It is not the meaning, nor within the compass of this " address, to detail the hardships peculiarly incident to our " service, or to describe the distresses which in several in- " stances have resulted from the extremes of hunger and " nakedness, combined with the rigours of an inclement " season; nor is it necessary to dwell on the dark side of " our past affairs. Every American officer and soldier " must now console himself for any unpleasant circum- " stances which may have occurred, by a recollection of the " uncommon scenes in which he has been called to act no " inglorious part, and the astonishing events of which he " has been a witness; events which have seldom, if ever " before, taken place on the stage of human action, nor can " they possibly ever happen again. For who has before " seen a disciplined army formed at once, from such raw " materials? Who that was not a witness could imagine " that the most violent local prejudices would cease so soon, " and that men who came from the different parts of the " continent, strongly disposed by the habits of education " to despise and quarrel with each other, would immedi- " ately become but one patriotic band of brothers? Or " who that was not on the spot, can trace the steps by " which such a wonderful revolution has been effected, and " such a glorious period put to all our warlike toils?

"It is univerſally acknowledged, that the enlarged "proſpects of happineſs opened by the confirmation of our "independence and ſovereignty, almoſt exceed the power of "deſcription; and ſhall not the brave men who have con-"tributed ſo eſſentially to theſe ineſtimable acquiſitions, "retiring victorious from the field of war to the field of "agriculture, participate in all the bleſſings which have "been obtained? In ſuch a republic, who will exclude "them from the rights of citizens, and the fruits of their "labors? In ſuch a country ſo happily circumſtanced, the "purſuits of commerce and the cultivation of the ſoil, will "unfold to induſtry the certain road to competence. To "thoſe hardy ſoldiers who are actuated by the ſpirit of "adventure, the fiſheries will afford ample and profitable "employment; and the extenſive and fertile regions of "the weſt will yield a moſt happy aſylum to thoſe, who, "fond of domeſtic enjoyment, are ſeeking for perſonal in-"dependence. Nor is it poſſible to conceive, that any one "of the United States will prefer a national bankruptcy, "and the diſſolution of the union, to a compliance with "the requiſitions of congreſs, and the payment of its juſt "debts, ſo that the officers and ſoldiers may expect conſid-"erable aſſiſtance in recommencing their civil occupations, "from the ſums due to them from the public, which muſt "and will moſt inevitably be paid.

"In order to effect this deſirable purpoſe, and to remove "the prejudices which may have taken poſſeſſion of the "minds of any of the good people of the States, it is ear-"neſtly recommended to all the troops, that, with ſtrong "attachments to the union, they ſhould carry with them "into civil ſociety the moſt conciliatory diſpoſitions; and "that they ſhould prove themſelves not leſs virtuous and "uſeful as citizens, than they have been perſevering and "victorious as ſoldiers. What though there ſhould be "ſome envious individuals, who are unwilling to pay the "debt the public has contracted, or to yield the tribute due "to merit; yet let ſuch unworthy treatment produce no "invective, or any inſtance of intemperate conduct; let it

" be remembered that the unbiaſſed voice of the free citi-
" zens of the United States has promiſed the juſt rewards,
" and given the merited applauſe. Let it be known and
" remembered, that the reputation of the federal armies is
" eſtabliſhed beyond the reach of malevolence; and let a
" conſciouſneſs of their achievements and fame ſtill ex-
" cite the men who compoſed them to honorable actions,
" under the perſuaſion, that the private virtues of economy,
" prudence, and induſtry, will not be leſs amiable in civil
" life, than the more ſplendid qualities of valour, perſever-
" ance and enterpriſe were in the field; every one may
" reſt aſſured, that much, very much, of the future happi-
" neſs of the officers and men, will depend upon the wiſe
" and manly conduct which ſhall be adopted by them,
" when they are mingled with the great body of the com-
" munity. And although the general has ſo frequently
" given it as his opinion, in the moſt public and explicit
" manner, that unleſs the principles of the federal govern-
" ment were properly ſupported, and the power of the
" union increaſed, the honor, dignity, and juſtice of the
" nation would be loſt forever; yet he cannot help repeat-
" ing on this occaſion, ſo intereſting a ſentiment, and leav-
" ing it as his laſt injunction to every officer, and every
" ſoldier, who may view the ſubject in the ſame ſerious
" point of light, to add his beſt endeavours to thoſe of his
" worthy fellow citizens, towards effecting thoſe great and
" valuable purpoſes, on which our very exiſtence as a na-
" tion ſo materially depends.

" The commander in chief conceives little is now want-
" ing to enable the ſoldier to change the military charac-
" ter into that of a citizen, but that ſteady and decent
" tenor of behaviour which has generally diſtinguiſhed not
" only the army under his immediate command, but the
" different detachments and ſeparate armies, through the
" courſe of the war. From their good ſenſe and prudence,
" he anticipated the happieſt conſequences; and while he
" congratulates them on the glorious occaſion, which ren-

" ders their services in the field no longer necessary, he
" wishes to express the strong obligations he feels himself
" under for the assistance he has received from every class,
" and in every instance. He presents his thanks, in the
" most serious and affectionate manner, to the general offi-
" cers, as well for their counsel on many interesting occa-
" sions, as for their ardor in promoting the success of the
" plans he had adopted; to the commandants of regiments
" and corps, and to the officers, for their zeal and attention
" in carrying his orders promptly into execution; to the
" staff, for their alacrity and exactness in performing the
" duties of their several departments; and to the non-com-
" missioned officers and private soldiers, for their extraordi-
" nary patience in suffering, as well as in their invincible
" fortitude in action. To various branches of the army,
" the general takes this last and solemn opportunity of pro-
" fessing his inviolable attachment and friendship. He
" wishes more than bare professions were in his power, that
" he was really able to be useful to them all in future life.
" He flatters himself, however, they will do him the justice
" to believe, that whatever could with propriety be at-
" tempted by him, has been done. And, being now to
" conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate
" leave in a short time of the military character, and to bid
" a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honor
" to command, he can only again offer in their behalf his
" recommendations to their grateful country, and his
" prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be
" done them here, and may the choicest of Heaven's favors,
" both here and hereafter, attend those who, under the
" divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for
" others! With these wishes, and this benediction, the com-
" mander in chief is about to retire from service; the cur-
" tain of separation will soon be drawn, and the military
" scene to him will be closed forever.

" EDWARD HAND, *Adjutant General.*"

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