

NEW-JERSEY GAZETTE.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1778.

DECLARATION.

WHEREAS the Earl of CARLISLE; Sir HENRY CLINTON, Knight of the Bath, and WILLIAM EDEN, Esquire, three of his Majesty's Commissioners, appointed with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations and provinces of North-America,

HAVE received a Declaration of the American Congress, dated the 11th instant, which relates to a gentleman with whom they have the honour to be joined in commission, and is meant to affect him as a Commissioner; they hereby think proper on their part solemnly to declare, that they had not any knowledge, either directly or indirectly, of the letter and conversation alluded to in the said Declaration until they saw them made public in the news-papers. At the same time, they do not mean either to imply any assent to the construction put on private correspondence which the Congress have thought proper to publish, or to intimate a belief that any person could have been authorized to hold the conversation to which the said Declaration of the Congress alludes:—nor do they, on the other hand, mean to enter into an explanation of the conduct of a gentleman whose abilities and integrity require no vindication from them: But they think proper in justice to that gentleman, as well as to themselves, and to the commission with which they are charged, to say, That in the many conversations which he has had with them upon the measures adopted to restore the peace of these colonies, the principle of all his reasonings seemed to be, that the offers of Great-Britain were obviously adapted to promote and establish the liberties, peace, opulence, increase, security, and permanent happiness of the inhabitants of this continent, and that those blessings in an equal degree were not to be expected from any other connexion or mode of government whatever. When, therefore, the King's Commissioners transmitted to the Congress the acts of Parliament to exempt the colonies for ever from British taxation, and to secure their charters and established governments: And when they added that they were authorized and desirous to restore peace,—to revive free intercourse and mutual affection,—to preserve the value and promote the credit of the paper circulation,—to give satisfaction and security for ever on the subject of the military establishments, and to extend every freedom to trade,—they felt that they were enabled to stipulate, and had offered not only every thing that is, or can be, proposed by the French alliance, but also many advantages to this continent which can never by any possibility be derived from that unnatural connection. And they remain astonished at the calamities in which the unhappy people of these colonies continue to be involved, from the blind deference which their leaders profess towards a power that has ever shewn itself an enemy to all civil and religious liberty, and whose offers his Majesty's Commissioners must repeat, whatever may be the pretended date and present form of them, were made only in consequence of the plan of accommodation previously concerted in Great-Britain, and with a view to prevent the reconciliation proposed, and to prolong this destructive war.

This assertion is made on the credit of the following facts.

It is well known to this whole continent, that public intimation of the conciliatory propositions on the part of Great-Britain was given to the British Parliament, and consequently to the whole world, in the month of November last; and reasons for delaying those propositions till after the recess for the holidays were at the same time given to the House of Commons.

It is equally well known, that the preliminaries of a French treaty with which Mr. Simeon Deane first went to sea in the frigate called *La Belle Poule*, did not bear date earlier than the 16th December.

It cannot be a secret to the Congress, that those preliminaries led to a treaty of commerce only, and were transmitted to America in that inconclusive form, because the concessions made by France on the one hand, were so unsatisfactory, and the conditions required of America on the other, so exceptionable, that the Commissioners of the Congress did not think proper to proceed until they should be specially authorized.

Mr. Simeon Deane, after having been some weeks at sea, was obliged to put back into one of the French ports, and returned to Paris. In the mean time the Parliament had met again on the 20th of January, and the propositions to be made, though not formally stated till the 17th of February, were occasionally, during the whole interval, a subject of discussion, in

all the preparatory debates upon the state of the nation. It was during this interval, and not before, that France being informed of the liberal and extensive nature of the intended offers, thought it expedient for the purpose of prolonging the war, and of making these colonies the instruments of her ambition, to new model and enlarge her proposals.

Still, however, the full powers are not pretended to have been given to Mons. Girard before the 30th January. And whatever time the treaties thus notoriously flowing from the generous measures of Great-Britain may have been dated by the French Ministers, either in fact or by collusion, for the purpose of giving an uncandid interpretation to the proceedings of the British Parliament, whatever too may have been the dates of the dispatches which accompanied those treaties, it is well known, that neither treaties, nor letters notifying treaties, were sent from France before the 8th of March.

When these particulars, together with all the other circumstances attending the conduct of the French Court towards these colonies, during the years 1775, 1776, and 1777, most of which must be well known to the American Congress, are duly considered, the designs of France, the ungenerous motives of her policy, and the degree of faith due to her professions, will become too obvious to need any farther illustration.

And his Majesty's Commissioners thought, and still think, themselves entitled to expect, that the General Congress should not, on the ground of such treaties, even if the constitution under which they act had authorized them, assume the decisive part which they have taken without previously consulting the Assemblies of their different provinces, and making their constituents acquainted with all the facts, upon which a true judgment might be formed.

New-York,
August 26, 1778.

CARLISLE.
H. CLINTON.
WM. EDEN.

By the Earl of CARLISLE, Sir HENRY CLINTON, and WILLIAM EDEN, Esq. three of his Majesty's Commissioners, appointed with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting disorders now subsisting in certain of the Colonies, Plantations, and Provinces of NORTH-AMERICA.

UPON a representation from the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's forces, that the troops lately serving under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, notwithstanding the solemn Convention entered into at Saratoga, in which it is stipulated that the said troops should have a free passage to Great-Britain, are nevertheless, under various pretences, still detained in New-England. The following Remonstrance against the unjust detention of those troops, and requisition for their immediate release, on the condition annexed to the article by which their passage to England is stipulated, are now solemnly made to the American Congress:

WHEREAS the means that have been devised by mankind to mitigate the horrors of war, and to facilitate the re-establishment of peace, depend on the faith of cartels, military capitulations, conventions, and treaties entered into even during the continuance of hostilities: From whence all nations have agreed to observe such conventions, as they reverse the sacred obligations of humanity and justice, and as they would avoid the horrid practice of retaliations, which however justly due to the guilty, in such cases but too frequently fall on the innocent.

And whereas upon these considerations, all breach of faith even with an enemy, and all attempts to elude the force of military conventions, or to defeat their salutary purposes by evasion or chicane, are justly held in detestation, and deemed unworthy of any description of persons assuming the character or stating themselves as the representatives of nations.

And whereas it was stipulated in the second article of the Convention, entered into at Saratoga, between Lieutenant-General Burgoyne and Major-General Gates, "That a free passage be granted to the army under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to Great-Britain, upon condition of not serving again in North-America during the present contest; and the port of Boston is assigned for the entry of transports, whenever General Howe shall so order:"

His Majesty's Commissioners now founding their claim on this article, join with the Commander in Chief of His Majesty's forces in a peremptory requisition, That free entrance into the harbour of Boston be given to transports for the immediate embarkation of the said troops; and that they be allowed to depart for Great-Britain in terms of the said Convention. And the said Commissioners, in order to remove every supposed difficulty, or pretence for delay

in the execution of this treaty, arising from any past, real, apparent, or supposed infraction of it, by word or writing on the side of either party, hereby offer to renew, on the part of Great-Britain, all the stipulations of the said Convention, and particularly to ratify the condition annexed to the second article thereof above recited, by which those troops are not to serve again in North-America during the present contest.

And this Requisition, dated at New-York, on the 26th of August, 1778, is now sent to the American Congress for their direct and explicit answer.

CARLISLE,
H. CLINTON.
WM. EDEN.

To His Excellency HENRY LAURENS, Esq.
the President, and others the Members of
the Congress, met at Philadelphia.

IN CONGRESS, Sept. 4th, 1778.

WHEREAS Congress did, on the eighth day of January, 1778, *Resolve*, "That the embarkation of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, and the troops under his command, be suspended till a distinct and explicit ratification of the Convention of Saratoga shall be properly notified by the Court of Great-Britain to Congress;"

Resolved, That no ratification of the Convention of Saratoga, which may be tendered in consequence of powers which may reach that case by construction and implication, or which may subject whatever is transacted relative to it to the future approbation or disapprobation of the Parliament of Great-Britain, can be accepted by Congress.

Published by order of Congress,
CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.

To the Earl of CARLISLE, Sir HENRY CLINTON,
Knight of the Bath, and WILLIAM EDEN, Esq.

YOUR Excellencies must be sensible, that it does not comport with the measures of Congress to make any observations upon your declaration of the 26th of August. But as it was evidently calculated for the people, I make no doubt you will be glad to know what effect it is likely to produce; and that your Excellencies may form some opinion, I take the liberty to shew you in what light it is considered by an individual: *Valeat quantum valere potest*. I do not flatter myself that my observations upon your applications to Congress are very agreeable to you: However, I am in no degree discouraged from writing a third letter to your Excellencies.

It seems the declaration of Congress on the 11th of August, drew forth yours of the 26th. The storm of military war has lost its violence; on your part it has spent itself; you now assail us with words.

You are pleased "solemnly to declare," that you had not any knowledge, either directly or indirectly, of the letters and conversation alluded to in the declaration of Congress, until you saw them made public in the news-papers. This declaration related to your colleague, George Johnstone, Esq. nor did it charge your Excellencies with a *privy* to, or participation in his very exceptionable conduct. *Unacquiesced*, you have thought proper to endeavour to exculpate yourselves; a circumstance which strongly brings to my recollection a rule which Charles the First recommended to his favourite Stafford, as one that may serve for a statesman, courtier or lover—"never to make a defence or apology before you are accused." Without doubt, your Excellencies will not be at a loss to comprehend the meaning of the royal hint.

That you would *publicly* have assented to the construction Congress gave to Governor Johnstone's conduct, or that you would *intimate* a belief that any person was authorized to hold the conversation stated to have been held with Mr. Reed, "to engage his interest to promote the object of your commission," was not expected. Neither was it imagined, that there was any obligation upon you to vindicate Mr. Johnstone's "abilities and integrity." The first we never doubted, till we saw his declaration of the 26th of August; the last he himself has not even attempted to vindicate; and I mark this as an instance of his prudence: It is laudable to point out merit wherever it is distinguished. On the other hand, it is also proper to observe the public shades of a public character: The Governor appears to have lost that calmness and circumspection necessary in the profession of a statesman. The declaration of Congress has precipitated him into abuse, mistake and contradiction. He censures Congress for *bowing* to a French Ambassador! Did his Britannic Majesty *never bow* to a French Ambassador? The Governor thinks "many individuals" of Congress "now entertain different

sentiments" from those in the declaration of Congress: He is certainly mistaken, for I have heard every individual Member declare, he considered him as no longer an enemy to corruption. As to his contradiction of himself, I need only contrast these two ideas in his declaration—"The said George Johnstone for himself says, that he is far from considering the said resolution of Congress as *offensive* to him, that he rather receives it as a mark of distinction:" However, "he reserves to himself the liberty of publishing, if he shall judge proper, a justification of his conduct against the *aspersions* thrown on his character." This *unoffended, yet aspersed* gentleman, who considers a resolution which *asperses his character*, "as a mark of distinction," draughted his declaration *ad populum*, and with them I will leave it, that I may proceed to shew a proper respect to your Excellencies performance.

Why do you tell the world, you "were authorized to restore peace, to preserve the value and promote the credit of the paper circulation, to give satisfaction and security for ever on the subject of military establishments, and to extend every freedom to trade?" Your Excellencies sent to the Congress copies of the instruments by which you were, and by which only you are authorized. They were published, and the world have not yet forgot, that they only allow you to heal, not to determine upon any of these particulars. Nay, you are expressly prohibited, and it is declared your proceedings on those points shall not be of any validity unless ratified by the British Parliament. Need I think, that every word you deliver is accurately weighed, and critically examined; and that consequential ideas naturally follow?

And do you really think you have "offered every thing that is, or can be proposed by the French alliance?" I am apt to suspect that your Excellencies are inclined to pleasantries. Pardon me if I introduce a serious idea: I will be short; nay, I will use but a single word. INDEPENDENCE! This is proposed by the alliance with France: This is not to be found in your offers.

As you are astonished at one circumstance, I may be permitted to express a little surprize at another; it is at your assertion that France "has ever shewn itself an enemy to all civil and religious liberty." I cannot suppose you are unread in the histories of France, of Germany, and of the Low Countries, especially for the eighty years preceding the peace of Westphalia; and it is painful even to remark, that there is an alternative. The civil and religious liberties of Germany and of the Seven United Provinces found in the power of France a friend and a guarantee; and the same power is now a friend and a guarantee to the civil and religious liberty of America. On the other hand, the power of England has been, and now is an enemy to civil and religious liberty. Witness your penal laws against Roman Catholics, and the rejected petitions of Dissenters. Witness the reigns of Charles the Second and his successor. Witness the present reign in Britain; the stamp act, the Quebec bill, the cotemporary and subsequent outrages of laws and arms, respecting America. Your Excellencies ought to have looked at home, before you ventured to cast your eyes and censures abroad.

It is a favourite point with you, and you constantly press to have it established, that the offers of France "were made only in consequence of the plan of accommodation previously concerted in Great-Britain." And to prove this, you aver, first, "that public intimation of the conciliatory propositions on the part of Great-Britain was given to the British Parliament, and consequently to the whole world, in the month of November last." Secondly, "that the preliminaries of a French treaty, did not bear earlier date than the 16th of December." We will examine the subject. The terms in which the first point is couched, give an idea, that the intimation was pointed and public, descriptive of the propositions, and that they were important in their nature. I wish your Excellencies had condescended to give us the terms in which the intimation was expressed, and the authority expressing them: Because from these lights, we might have seen, whether the propositions were, or if you please, the intimation was, of sufficient weight to affect, change and give a *ton* to the measures of the court of France. The evidence was in your hands, you have not thought proper to lay it before us, and no doubt you have reasons for the suppression. However, as my object is truth, I will endeavour to supply the evidence that you have withheld.

The late sessions of the British Parliament began on the 20th day of November last. On the 21st, your House of Lords presented their address to your sovereign in answer to his speech. In that they say, "we cannot but applaud your Majesty's unwearied vigilance and wisdom in recommending to us, to prepare at all events, for such further operations as the contingences of the war, and the obstinacy of the rebels may render expedient." "We thankfully receive your Majesty's declaration of perseverance in the measures now pursuing, for the re-establishment of a just and constitutional subordination through the several parts of your Majesty's dominions." On the 22d of November your House of Commons also presented their address in answer to the speech; nor does this address contain any thing repugnant to the other; nor can it be denied, that these addresses are always mere echoes to the speech, and that the three flow from the Ministers. Thus, at one view, we have the public and joint sense of the Ministers, King, Lords and Commons of Great-Britain. It is sufficient

ent here to observe, that sense was a "perseverance" in military coercion—not a change to "conciliatory propositions."

This "public intimation" "given to the British Parliament, and consequently to the whole world in November last," of the public measures to be pursued, perhaps may not be that public intimation, to which your Excellencies allude? Well, I am not tired in my research after truth, I will make another attempt. I hope your Excellencies will patiently attend, while I endeavour to discover the intimation you mean; and whether it was in its nature such, as *ipso facto* made a mere nullity of the declaration from the throne, couched by the Ministers, and approved by the Houses of Parliament.

On the 17th of February last, Lord North made a decisive speech in the House of Commons. This states what he said in November relative to terms that might be offered to America; and it is probable this may be the public intimation to which your Excellencies allude. This speech strikes my attention, because it not only states what Lord North said on the 20th of November, but it demonstrates his conduct and the reasons for it, from that time to the 17th of February.

It was on this memorable day that Lord North declared himself in the following manner: "At the opening of the present sessions, on the first day during the debate upon the address to his Majesty, I told the House, that in my opinion terms might be made with the Colonies short of unconditional submission, and that the time of making them was the moment of victory." Here Lord North himself gives evidence of what he had said, and it must be deemed absolutely sufficient. Thus it undeniably appears, that on the 20th day of November Lord North, speaking upon another subject, *en passant*, threw out a mere speculative "proposition," the truth of which was self-evident: Terms might be made in the moment of victory. His Lordship did not intimate, that he would offer terms, nay, that he intended to do so. And is this mere speculative proposition "the conciliatory propositions on the part of Great-Britain," to which you so anxiously point! Already it appears lighter than a straw; you catch at it, but it is not capable of supporting you. Place this in one scale—the public persevering declaration of the Ministers and the King on the same day, approved by the Houses of Parliament on the two following days, in the other scale—suspend the balance—Of what weight is your public intimation?—*vox et præterea nihil*. Was it possible such a public intimation affected the councils of France, and changed their very nature! It is too extravagant to be supposed. But let us attend to the speech.

"The time of making them was the moment of victory. I said this, thinking that the victory gained by Sir William Howe, was more decisive than it really was; and ignorant of the disaster which had fallen on General Burgoyne's army."

It appears then, terms might be offered in the moment of victory, and that on the 20th day of November Lord North thought the moment then existed. The question is, what use did he make of that moment? Did he intimate that he would offer generous terms of conciliation? No! Even terms short of unconditional submission? No! He only threw out a mere speculative idea, the truth of which no man could deny: But in this fancied moment of victory, under his auspices, the speech from the throne made a "declaration," and the Houses of Parliament applauded the "declaration of perseverance in the measures then pursuing," to coerce America to an unconditional submission: And large supplies in men and money were immediately voted. It is true his Lordship very ingeniously intimated, *en passant*, when on another subject, in what manner the moment of victory might be used; but at the same time he took care, that the Ministry should demonstrate, and the whole legislature should declare, in what manner they were resolved to use it—to redouble the blows upon the party supposed to be then staggering under a late victory.

Lord North continued,

"When the news of that melancholy event arrived, I was struck that the time of proposing terms was past; and that the first point to be done was the raising of new levies and a new force."—The point with me at present is, to ascertain a moment in which his Lordship thought "the time of proposing terms was past."

It is notorious, that on the fourth of December Lord George Germaine was obliged, for the first time, to inform the House of Commons, (who were stunned at it) that he had received private accounts of that event, which I may call a glorious one: And I will therefore lay it down, that on that day Lord North was of opinion, "the time of proposing terms was past." Thus we find, that from the first day of the sessions in November to the fourth of December, a perseverance in coercive measures, new levies, and a new force, were the declared objects of the British Government. Do not your Excellencies think it reasonable to conclude, that his Lordship continued in the same sentiments and measures for ten or twelve days? The contrary is not to be supposed. This allowance, then, brings us to the 16th of December, the day when the offers of France were formally made to the American Commissioners in Paris: A point of time when every public intimation that could be given of a perseverance in measures of coercion on the part of Great-Britain, actually and clearly existed.

You are pleased to say "the propositions to be made were occasionally a subject of discussion in Parliament during the whole interval between the 20th of January and the 17th of February; during which interval, and not before, France being informed of the liberal and extensive nature of the intended offers, thought it expedient to new model and enlarge her proposals."

From hence these conclusions result: That on the 20th of January the propositions were yet "to be made." That previous to that day they were not made, nor discussed, nor the liberal and extensive nature of them known to France. Yet we have found that the offers of France were made on the 16th of December preceding! But, say you, "the concessions then made by France on the one hand were so unsatisfactory, and the conditions required by America on the other so exceptionable, that the Commissioners of Congress did not think proper to proceed, until they should be specially authorized." We will candidly consider every thing you offer.

About the end of the year 1776 Congress made out the terms of the treaties they were desirous of forming with France; and also instructions to their Commissioners, materially to relax, if necessary, in many important points from those terms: And the Commissioners received these terms and instructions long before they had occasion to make use of them.

On the 16th of December last, when your conciliatory proposition, according to your own shewing, were neither made nor discussed, and consequently their "liberal and extensive nature" not known to France, Monsieur Gerard, by order of his Most Christian Majesty, thus declared himself to our Commissioners. "That his Most Christian Majesty was determined to acknowledge our independence, and make a treaty with us of amity and commerce. That in this treaty no advantage would be taken of our present situation, to obtain terms from us which otherwise would not be convenient for us to agree to; his Majesty desiring that the treaty once made should be durable, and our amity subsist for ever, which could not be expected if each nation did not find its interest in the continuance as well as in the commencement of it."

Having thus from the records stated the authorities of the Commissioners on the one hand, and "the concessions," as you are pleased to term them, "then made by France" on the other; allow me to ask whether these terms by France on the 16th of December last, could possibly be deemed "unsatisfactory?" And whether it is possible to suppose that the Commissioners, having early in the year 1777 received instructions, by which they were "specially authorized, in case of necessity, to agree to unequal terms, did not think proper to proceed" to agree to the terms of France on the 16th of December following, which were perfectly equal? The facts are, they had no occasion to wait for any special authority—they did not wait—the treaties were absolutely made upon the satisfactory principles declared on the 16th of December. What then becomes of your assertion, that in the interval between the 20th of January and the 17th of February, eleven days after the treaties were actually signed, "France being informed of the liberal and extensive nature of the intended offers, thought it expedient to new model and enlarge her proposals."

I cannot avoid presenting to your attention another point of evidence against your favourite position, "that public intimation of the conciliatory propositions on the part of Great-Britain was given to the British Parliament, and consequently to the whole world, in the month of November last." And the point is this—On the 5th of February last Governor Johnstone, in the House of Commons, wrote a letter to a gentleman in Pennsylvania, and I have seen the original, in which is this paragraph. "I have had a hint, and have good reason to believe, a proposition will be made to Parliament in four or five days by Administration that may be a ground of re-union: I really do not know the particulars; nevertheless, as I learn some preliminaries have lately gone from France, I think it cannot be deemed unfriendly to either country to give you notice of this intended proposition, that you may in prudence do nothing hastily with a foreign power."

Hence your Excellencies must admit, that your public intimation of the conciliatory propositions on the part of Great-Britain, given to the British Parliament, and consequently to the whole world, in November, was not so public an intimation as to strike the attention even of Governor Johnstone, a member of that Parliament, and then present. And that it was not till the 5th of February, the day before the signing the treaty of Paris, that he had even a hint and good reason to believe, that a conciliatory proposition was to be made to America—a period when he even had not any knowledge of the particulars of it. The time of his receiving the hint is to be absolutely presumed from the place in which the letter was wrote and the date it bore; and I will just add, it is violently to be presumed, the proposition to be made, was to answer the same end for which the letter was expressly wrote—"that we might in prudence do nothing hastily with a foreign power."

Incontrovertible as these dates, facts and arguments stand, I will not press their combined force upon your Excellencies: Your sensibility is too great, and your feelings are too much awake, not to be sufficiently affected without my doing so. I am not an ungenerous adversary, and to demonstrate this, I will for a moment admit your assertion, "that public in-

timation of the conciliatory propositions on the part of Great-Britain, was given to the British Parliament in the month of November last." And the nature of them now becomes a matter of important enquiry.

Lord North has told us the propositions were only "short of unconditional submission." The terms you offer are only short of independence; and your Excellencies are sensible there is a vast difference between the two points: Will you excuse me if I ask the cause of it? You hesitate;—I will therefore endeavour to resolve the question.

The British Administration, at the adjournment of the Parliament for the Christmas holidays, were moving heaven and earth for "the raising of new levies and a new force" "struck that the time of proposing terms was past." The Parliament met again on the 20th of January; the Administration was then "struck that the time of proposing terms was" returned; for France had offered her terms on the 16th of December preceding. Conciliatory propositions were now occasionally, for the first time, discussed in Parliament, though not even then made. Well, the treaty of Paris was signed on the 6th of February; the time for proposing the British terms now pressed; on the 17th of the same month, Lord North "formally stated" them; and as soon as possible afterwards, you on the part of Great-Britain offered terms only short of Independence, and immediately after, on the 17th of July, you offered "to enlarge" those terms. In a word, the Courts of France and Great-Britain were sat down to a game of chess. On the 20th of November the game was to be carried on by Great Britain on this principle—"perseverance" in coercive measures: By France the principle was a *decisive stroke*. Britain declared her principle—France did not. Upon these principles France made the first move: She moved *equal terms*, on the 15th of December. Before Britain could have advice of this, she was engaged at the Christmas feast; but that being ended on the 20th of January, knowing the step France had made, she was "struck" she must abandon her principle of *perseverance*, and she immediately moved, *the discussion of conciliatory propositions*. France upon her principle of a *decisive stroke*, on the 6th of February moved, *the treaty of Paris*. Britain soon heard of this, and on the 17th of the same month she moved, *the formal state of conciliatory propositions*. The game of chess can be as easily played when the players are at a distance, as when they are present; the whole difference in the two cases, consists in the space of time necessary for playing the game. Already France seems to have reduced Britain to a *state of consideration*, whether she must give up the game as too desperate to be recovered.—From this plain figure, it is demonstrated, that the motions of France caused the vast difference between terms but short of unconditional submission, and terms only short of Independence.

Governor Johnstone in his declaration of the 26th of August, is pleased to reproach Congress for allying with France "after all their just claims are gratified." Your Excellencies ordered the transmission of this reproach: You are thereby parties in making it: And therefore, I am justified in taking some notice of it to you.

In consequence of the offers you have made, you say, all our just claims are gratified. You then admit, that when you began the war, we had just claims. You must admit, that notwithstanding our most humble petition in behalf of our just claims, you refused to grant those claims. You must also admit, that for three years you have by force of arms, and all the horrors of war, endeavoured to reduce us to unconditional submission, notwithstanding we had just claims. Upon those points then there is no mistake or doubt; nor can there be any upon these.—The just claims of America ought to have been granted when they were stated, and you were desired to give redress. You denied us common justice, by refusing to grant redress upon those just claims. You enormously added to that injustice, by letting loose upon us all the calamities of war, to oblige us to abandon those our just claims. And we have now a just claim to receive satisfaction for all the damage which we, through your injustice, have received, in supporting our just claims. Your injustice has ruined thousands of families. You have unjustly burned our towns and ravaged our country. Fathers, mothers, brothers, and friends, mourn the loss of their children, brothers and friends, by your injustice slain in the field of battle, scalped in their peaceable dwellings, murdered in your horrible prisons. America, by your injustice, has lost thousands of her best citizens, and has been obliged to expend millions of her treasure. Nor is the loss her youth have sustained by your injustice, the loss of those important years for the improvement of their understandings, which they can never regain, the least loss she has sustained.—Look at this short list of damages, and say, whether you have even offered to gratify America in all her just claims! Say, is it in the nature of things possible for you to gratify America in all her just claims! There was a time when you might easily have done so: You threw it away; you must be "struck that the time of proposing terms is past," never to return.

Your Excellencies wish to move our gratitude: You speak of your conciliatory propositions as "the generous measures of Great-Britain." Your Excellencies are rather unfortunate in the means you use to touch the passions. Louis the Sixteenth, the PROTECTOR of the rights of mankind, has some title to speak of the generous measures of France—generous, because

just and noble. He magnanimously declared, that in forming a treaty with us, he did "not pretend that he acted wholly for our sakes, since besides his real good will to us and to our cause, it was manifestly the interest of France, that the power of England should be diminished by our separation from it." But, can Britain say, her offers proceed from "real good will to us and to our cause?" Can she say, she wished "to promote and establish the liberties, peace, opulence, increase, security, and permanent happiness of the inhabitants of this continent?" No! Her whole system of government since the year 1763, has operated—her laws have been enacted—her arms have been used for the very contrary purposes. Her Ministers and Parliaments have long oppressed in order to plunder us. When we were unarmed, she ungenerously drew her sword upon us. She treated our most humble petition for "peace, liberty and safety," with silent contempt. Her Minister, Lord North, declared he was fighting for substantial revenue—he would lay America prostrate and drag her to his feet. In the ideal "moment of victory," her Ministers and (For the remainder see the last page.)

TRENTON, SEPTEMBER 23.

We can assure the publick that the Congress have ordered one million of dollars, to enable General Mifflin to discharge the debts due from the Quartermaster's department before the second of March last; and that, as soon as the money is ready, persons are appointed who will advertise the times and places of meeting the inhabitants, to discharge their accounts.

Extract of a letter from Baltimore, dated Sept. 16.
"Several vessels arrived yesterday from St. Eustatia and St. Martin's, which confirm the account received on Sunday of war being declared against England in the French islands: And accounts from Virginia say, that the Minerva, an English frigate of 32 guns, is carried into the Cape, after a bloody engagement."

By a gentleman who left New-York on Tuesday last we learn, that Admiral Gambier is appointed to the chief command of the British fleet on the American station, in the room of Lord Howe, who hath obtained leave to return home. He was to sail on Sunday last.

Several Articles of Intelligence, Advertisements, &c. omitted for want of room, will be inserted in our next.

WHEREAS a certain Timothy Flood parted with a mare some time in August last, to Mr. Gilpatrick, near Veal-town, from whom it is said he stole the said mare, and a few days afterwards, on the 25th of August aforesaid, came to the house of the subscriber, in Reading-town, Hunterdon county, and western division of New-Jersey, and again parted with the same creature. From said Flood's conduct, who is now confined in Millstone gaol, it is reasonable to suppose him not to be her proper owner when he first parted with her. Said mare is near 15 hands high, is a kind of dark forrel mix'd with gray hairs, bald faced, four white feet, light coloured mane and tail, has neither brand or ear mark, paces and trots, but paces mostly, is about 10 years old. The owner is desired to take her away, after proving his property and paying charges. GEORGE MERLATT. Sept. 5, 1778.

Post-Office Morris-town, Sept. 14, 1778.
TAKEN this day from a suspected person, a likely bay MARE, in good order, which he confesses is not his own, but took her up at Hackensack; she is about 14 hands and an half high, four years old, has a bow neck, and white blaze from her eyes to her nose, her mane hangs on the near side, has a switch tail, with some white hairs on the upper part thereof, her hind feet white, and trots very *politely*. The owner, by proving property and paying charges, may have her again, by applying to FREDERICK KING, Postmaster.

LAST night broke gaol in New-Brunswick, a certain Doctor JOHN HUNT, about 30 years of age, five feet 9 or 10 inches high, long black hair, thick, well set and very likely: Also a certain JOHN WARREN, about 23 years of age, and about the same height as the former, very fair complexion and bold look, speaks quick and very impertinent: Also a certain JOHN BURROW, about 35 or 36 years of age, about five feet 5 or 6 inches high, swarthy complexion, short black hair, and lived near Bonan-town. Whoever secures the above fellows, or either of them, in any gaol of the United States, and gives notice thereof, shall receive 60 Dollars for Hunt, 30 for Warren, and 20 for Burrow, and reasonable charges, paid by JOHN VANKIRK, Sheriff of Middlesex. 4||

ALL the legatees of Thomas Olden, late of Piscataway, deceased, are hereby notified to meet at Bound Brook, at the house of Daniel Blackford, on Tuesday, the 27th day of October next, in order to receive their dividend out of all such monies as can be by that time collected in; who are also required to ascertain the exact number of the legatees in said estate. At which time and place due attendance will be given by DANIEL BLACKFORD, } Executors. JOSEPH BLACKFORD, }
Bridgewater, Sept. 16, 1778. 4||

ALL persons indebted to the estate of JOSEPH SKELTON, Esq. deceased, by bond, note or book accounts, are desired to pay them off before the first day of April next; and those having any demands against said estate, are requested to bring in their accounts properly attested. JOSIAH SKELTON, Executor. 4||

To be Sold by publick Vendue, At the subscriber's house, near Princeton, on the 1st day of October next, viz.

HORSES, cattle, sheep, hogs, Indian corn and buckwheat in the ground, 20 tons of hay; household and kitchen furniture; two riding chairs, two waggons, and many other farming utensils; a few remains of a store.—The vendue to begin at 8 o'clock on said day, when attendance will be given and the conditions made known by JOSIAH SKELTON, Exec. Sept. 22, 1778. 4*

TO BE SOLD,

In two acre lots, at publick vendue, by the subscribers, on Saturday, the 3d of October next, THIRTY acres of CEDAR SWAMP, lying in Monmouth county, within two Miles of Ridge-way's saw-mills, on the main branch of Tom's river; 20 whereof are to be sold for ever, the other 10 to be leased for five years. The whole is good for boards, rails and shingles. The vendue to begin at 9 o'clock on said day; when due attendance will be given on the Premises, and the conditions made known by FRANCIS CHUMARD, JACOB FOSTER.

N. B. Persons who incline to purchase, are desired to attend early in the morning. Sept. 21, 1778. 2*

On Saturday next,

the 26th instant, at two o'clock in the afternoon, Will be sold at Vendue,

By the subscribers, at their vendue-store, where Abraham Cottnam, Esq. formerly kept his office, near Mr. Williams's tavern,

An assortment of merchandize;—among which are, DEER skins and deer skin breeches; shoes; silk and worsted hose, &c. Also household furniture and wearing-apparel.

They purpose to hold a vendue every Saturday at the place above-mentioned. Goods or cattle for sale will be received at either of their houses, or at the vendue-store on the day of sale.

FRANCIS WITT, JACOB BENJAMIN. Trenton, Sept. 21. 1*

TO BE SOLD,

A NEGRO WENCH about 30, and her son about 7 years old, both very healthy, and remarkably stout and strong. The wench is used to all kinds of country work, both in door and out. The price is 1200 dollars. MOORE FURMAN. Pitts Town, Sept. 16, 1778. 2*

One Hundred Dollars Reward.

WAS stolen out of the subscriber's stable, in Lower Makefield township, Bucks county, near Yarely's ferry, State of Pennsylvania, on the night of the 29th of April last, a red or strawberry roan HORSE, about 14 hands and an half high, 5 years old, paces and trots well, black mane and tail, his legs also black, well made, and had neither mark or brand when stolen. He was taken to Philadelphia while the enemy had possession of it. Also,

RAN-AWAY on the 15th of June, a NEGRO BOY named Tom, 16 years old, slim made, of a yellow complexion, and something knock-kneed, supposed to have gone to Philadelphia, to the enemy. Whoever takes up said horse or Negro, and secures them so that the owner may get them again, or brings them home, shall have the above reward, or Fifty Dollars for either, and reasonable charges, paid by Sept. 21, 1778. PETER ROBERTS. 2*

Thirty Dollars Reward.

Salem, New-Jersey, September 12, 1778.
RAN-AWAY on the 26th of February last, with the British light infantry, a NEGRO MAN named Harry, but it is probable he may change his name; he is about 28 years of age, five feet 8 or 9 inches high, a stout well made fellow, born at Salem, at one Jost Miller's; has a large nose. He went as waiting-man to Capt. Hambleton, of the 52d light-infantry. It is thought he will leave the soldiers and go into the country, and may perhaps endeavour to pass for a free man: Had on when he went away, a fustian coat with a red collar, light broadcloth breeches, two coarse shirts, one fine ditto, a good hat cut maccaroni fashion, good stockings and shoes. Whoever takes up the said Negro, and secures him in any gaol, so that his master may have him again, shall have the above reward, and reasonable charges, paid by ROBERT JOHNSON. 2*

N. B. All persons are forbid to harbour said Negro at their peril. White house near Trenton.
STRAYED or stolen, out of the pasture of Samuel Henry, on the night of the 15th inst. September, a brown HORSE, four years old last spring, about 14 hands high, trots and paces, but the latter is most natural to him. Any person that will deliver the above described horse to the subscriber, at the White House, shall receive a reward of Eight Dollars, paid by GEORGE MILLER. 1||

Wanted immediately,

A Number of WOOD-CUTTERS, to cut wood in the Manor near Bristol. Twelve Shillings and Six-pence per cord will be given, and found, with the addition of a gill of rum per day. Apply to the subscriber at Bristol. HUGH RUNYAN, D. Q. M. G. 2||

Legislature declared they would redouble their blows upon America supposed to be staggering under a late victory. Her veterans unjustly burned our towns, ravaged our country, and slaughtered our citizens. She let loose her Indian allies to massacre the unarmed, the aged, the sick, the infant, the matron, wife and virgin. Her Generals and Admirals in cold blood, in their prisons and prison ships, murdered our countrymen by suffocation, filth, hunger and nakedness; refusing to them the food and raiment provided for their necessities by public authority and private affection; with gold and food tempting these virtuous citizens, in the agonies of misery and despair, to dip their hands in the blood of their country! Behold "the generous measures of Great-Britain!" Your Excellencies have unwarily touched a string, that already trembles throughout America---a subject that rouses the indignation, and calls forth the vengeance of the people! America has experienced too much to be surprized at any thing; she therefore cannot be surprized at your decorating your offers with the title, "the generous measures of Great-Britain." Generous measures proceed from magnanimity, not cruelty---from choice, not necessity. Already have I met your assertions with Lord North's speech; allow me once more to have recourse to it. His Lordship proceeded,

"The resistance of America is greater, and the war has lasted longer than was at first apprehended. In the present situation of affairs, only three propositions can be made:

1. To strengthen our force, and continue the war upon the present plan.
2. To recal it from America. And
3. To offer terms of conciliation to her.

The first proposition is attended with too great an expence of men and money. The second is to subscribe to the Independence of America. The third is that which appears to me to be the best and wisest."

Your Excellencies will be so good as to glance your eyes over the first and last propositions, and be sensible, that prior to the 17th of February last, conciliation was not the "present plan." And if you look upon his Lordship's reflections upon the three propositions, you must remain convinced, that he closed with the last proposition from necessity, not choice---he closed with it because he could no longer prosecute the first. Tell me now, in what consists the boasted generosity of the present measures of Great-Britain?

And have your Excellencies so unfavourable an opinion of the understandings of the Americans, as to think you can induce them, by your reasonings and negotiations, to yield that Independence which they declared after the most mature reflection---which they have purchased with their hearts blood, and at every risk! Are you so much in the dark with respect to their inclinations and determination, as to have an idea, that if you proved to them, as clear as the meridian sun, that the offers of France were only the consequence of your conciliatory propositions, that therefore they would renounce their glorious Independence! Is it possible you have forgot, that on the 22d of April last, when Congress were utterly ignorant that a treaty had been signed by their Commissioners, nay, that a treaty with France even had been, was then, or was expected to be in agitation, that on that very 22d of April Congress absolutely refused your conciliatory acts of Parliament! Are you now for the first time to be assured, that the people thro' out the United States, with one voice, applauded and rejoiced in that "decisive" refusal! It was not "on the ground of the treaties" with France, that Congress took "the decisive part," of which you so much complain; nor was this decisive part taken as you suppose it was, "without previously consulting the Assemblies of their different" States. The Members of Congress individually knew the sense of their respective Assemblies, before they came to Congress. The present Members of Congress were sent by their several Assemblies, at every hazard to maintain the Independence of America. I solemnly assure you upon this great point: Should a Member of Congress be so imprudent as but to move to accept your propositions, he must prepare to make atonement with his head, or fly to you for refuge. Congress have no power of themselves: Their power arises from the support of the people. So long as they possess this support, they hold the reins of government; the moment they lose it, that moment they cease to direct the affairs of the continent. As long, therefore, as you see them at the head of the American Empire, be convinced they are supported and obeyed by the people, in every measure tending to the establishment of their Independence. Deceive not yourselves by continuing to nourish the vain idea, that Congress have "assumed the decisive part which they have taken." Your Excellencies have it in your power to make a faithful representation of the utter improbability of your acquiring, in any degree, the subjection of America by your arms, or your negotiations; to save your country by making such a representation; and thereby preserving your names from infamy, render them respectably immortal.---That such may be your conduct and reward, is the wish of

Philad. Sept. 4, 1778.

W. H. D.

FOR SALE.

JOHN RAMSAY, at Bottle-Hill, (four miles from Morristown) intending soon to remove to Philadelphia, will dispose of the FARM on which he now lives, about thirty acres. It is remarkable for having two orchards of the best grafted fruits---of apples, pears, peaches, plumbs, cherries, mulberries, &c. a tolerable garden, kitchen adjoining the house, with a well of good water before the door, barn and other out-houses, &c.

A FARM adjoining the same, about sixty acres; having also two excellent orchards just in prime, a good well of water before the house door, and a barn, &c.

A FARM at a short distance, about ninety acres, with two large orchards, a good well at the house, two barns, a cyder-mill with two presses under cover which is constantly employed thro' the season, being handy to convey the cyder from thence to the still-house without carting.

Likewise (either with or without the farm) the same convenient still-house, with two stills and worms as good as new, one of 40, the other of 100 gallons, with hogheads and cisterns to contain about 300 barrels; the worm tubs supplied with water from an upper spring with a gutter without the trouble of pumping; eighty or ninety barrels of cyder can be distilled weekly. It is well supplied every fruit season with as much as can possibly be distilled, and is now at work; it has every convenience for filling of cyder or grain spirits.

The premises above-mentioned to be sold at private sale, and will be shewn by the owner at any time when called on. The purchaser of either place, by paying one-third of the value, may have any time that best suits to pay the balance.

He has also for sale, by the quantity,---Indigo, of the best quality; copperas; pepper; Geneva and apple spirit; Irish linens; a good mare four years old, with a spring colt, and one or two good draft-horses.

September 20, 1778. 6 t. f.

WILLIAM RICHARDS,

HAS removed his Medicines, &c. from Reading to his store in Philadelphia, on the North side of Market-street, next door to the corner of Second-street, at the sign of the Spread Eagle, where he manufactures and sells the best velvet corks, and mustard; he gives seven pounds ten shillings per bushel for mustard seed, and twenty shillings per half peck. A good cork-cutter is wanted, and a man that understands making the GR Holland stone ware.

Said RICHARDS has at Lambertton, (one mile below Trenton) put his stores, wharf, and his schooner called the Lambertton Packet, in proper order for the reception of goods to and from Philadelphia, and for the accommodation of passengers.

Ogden and Curtis

HAVE for sale, at their store next door to the Court-house in Morris-town, Barbados and French rum, loaf and brown sugars, indigo, brimstone and bees-wax in hogheads, tierces and barrels; choice snuff in bladders; bohea and green tea, coffee, pepper, allspice, cloves, cinnamon, copperas, saltpetre, gun-powder, red-wood and logwood;---a few pieces Irish linen, some broadcloths with linings and trimmings, plain and flowered sattins, pelongs, gauze, cambricks, ribbands, silk and cotton romal handkerchiefs, sewing silks, threads, cutteaux, penknives, scissars, excellent needles by the thousand, wool-cards, playing ditto, bombazene, drilling, striped holland, &c. &c. Also hollow ware, such as kettles, potts, pye-pans, waggon-boxes, large salt kettles, &c. and good flour by the barrel only.---They have no objection against taking money of the State of New-York.

CAME to the plantation of the subscriber, living near Trenton, on Sunday the 6th inst. a dark brown HORSE, about 14 and a half hands high.---The owner is desired to come, prove his property, pay charges, and take him away.

Sept. 10, 1778. 3† ISRAEL REED.

TO BE SOLD, the very valuable plantation whereon the continental ferry is kept, about one mile below Trenton; it contains between 6 and 700 acres, has a very great proportion of meadow and a sufficiency of woodland. It has every requisite to recommend it to the gentleman or farmer; amongst which are its pleasant situation, rich meadows, ferry, orchards, fishery, large fish-pond wherein 1000 sturgeon may be kept, and great front on the river Delaware, a part of which is very suitable for a town, as it has beautiful high banks and lays below the falls. If the plantation is disposed of, all the stock and farming utensils with part of the household furniture, all new and very elegant, will be sold. For terms apply to the subscriber living on the premises.

3† WILLIAM TRENT.

TO BE SOLD, a very good Family Waggon and Harness for two horses, in which six persons may conveniently sit, lined with cloth, and hangs on strong steel springs. Apply to Mr. King at the Post-Office, in Morristown. Sept. 11, 1778. 2†

To all whom it may concern:

NOTICE is hereby given, that a Court of Admiralty will be held at the house of Gilbert Barton, in Allentown, on Tuesday the 20th day of October next, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon of the same day, then and there to try the truth of the facts alleged in the bills of Benjamin Pratt, (who as well, &c.) against the ship or vessel called the Love and Unity, lately commanded by Captain Glovers---Of Yelverton Taylor, (who as well, &c.) against the schooner or vessel called the Good Intent, lately commanded by John Rosby, the schooner or vessel called the Fame, lately commanded by Francis Coffin, and the schooner or vessel called the Hannah---Of Moses Griffin, (who as well, &c.) against the sloop or vessel called the George, lately commanded by Captain Smith---Of David Stevens and Micajah Smith, (who as well, &c.) against the ship or vessel called the Venus, lately commanded by Thomas Chowne---Of Samuel Ingerfoll, (who as well, &c.) against the sloop or vessel called the Peggy, lately commanded by George Keeble---Of Samuel Ingerfoll, Captain Griffin, and John Turner (who as well, &c.) against the brigantine or vessel called the Recovery, lately commanded by William Johnson---Of Yelverton Taylor, (who as well, &c.) against the schooner or vessel called the Caroline---And of Enoch Stillwell, (who as well, &c.) against the sloop or shallop supposed to be named the Maryduncoo, with their respective tackle, apparel, furniture and cargoes; to the end and intent that the owner or owners of the said vessels respectively, or any person or persons concerned therein may appear and shew cause, if any they have, why the said vessels and their respective cargoes should not be condemned according to the prayer of the said bills.

September 14, 1778. 4* By order of the Judge, BOWES REED, Pro. Reg.

Old Jamaica SPIRIT and Barbados R U M,

Best London lump WHITE LEAD; black HORN BUTTONS;---And

An excellent FARM of about 500

acres, lying at Raritan,

To be sold by ABRAHAM LOTT, at Beverwyck,

From whom may also be had, in exchange for all kinds of Country Produce,

The very best ROCK SALT.

August 29, 1778. 5* e. w.

ROBERT SINGER

Hath for SALE, in TRENTON,

SUPERFINE brown broad cloths, scarlet ditto, common coatings; Irish linens, cambricks, lawn, muslin, black and white spotted sattins, plain ditto, white and blue peelongs, blue and green sarfent, black silk handkerchiefs, linen ditto, black calimanco, striped ditto, striped camblets, striped and plain gauze, checks, common calicoes and chintzes; men's thread and worsted hose, women's mitts, fine and coarse Scotch thread, Russia sheeting, shalloons, Italian flowers, catgut, cap-wire, sewing silk, a variety of ribbons, garters, worsted bindings and silk ferrets; pasteboards; pins and needles; silver plated shoe and knee buckles of the new French fashion; small tooth combs, crooked ditto; snuff and tobacco; gilt buttons; best bohea tea, muscovado sugar, coffee, rice, indigo, pepper, allspice, nutmegs, rosin, brimstone, copperas; shoemakers tools of all sorts; window glass 7 by 9 and 8 by 10; and an assortment of earthen ware.

TO BE SOLD, by publick vendue, at Flemington in Hunterdon county, on Saturday the 26th of September inst. A number of valuable breeding MARES and COLTS, young horses and mares from one to four years old, got by some of the best bred horses on the continent. The vendue to begin at twelve o'clock, when attendance will be given, and the terms of sale made known by

Sept. 7, 1778. 2† ARCHIBALD STEWART.

TO BE SOLD, by publick vendue, in three months from the date, or at private sale any time before, One hundred and fifty acres of good land, situate in Mendham, Morris county, whereon the subscriber now lives, where a publick house has been kept, with two good frame houses and kitchens adjoining the same, and good cellars under both, with two good frame barns, three very good orchards, about thirty acres of good meadow and more easily may be made. The above premises is well watered and timbered. It being so well known, there needs no particularizing. Conditions will be made known and due attendance given by me

Aug. 28, 1778. 3m MORGAN YOUNG.

Mount-Hope and Hibernia Furnace

are now in Blast;

WHERE all sorts of Hollow Ware, and other Sand Castings are made: Any person wanting such articles may apply to JOHN JACOB FAESH, owner of Mount-Hope furnace, and CHARLES HOFF, jun. agent for Hibernia furnace, both in the county of Morris and State of New-Jersey.