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Engraved by Henry Colburn. Great Marlborough Street, 1818.

L I F E
OF
GEORGE WASHINGTON,

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE AMERICAN ARMIES,
AND FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

HIS DIARIES AND SPEECHES;
AND
VARIOUS MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS
RELATING TO
HIS HABITS & OPINIONS.

BY JARED SPARKS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
HENRY COLBURN, PUBLISHER,
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PREFACE

BY

THE LONDON EDITOR.

It is well known that Mr. Jared Sparks has for many years been occupied in collecting materials, both in Europe and America, for his *Life and Writings of Washington*.

“I have endeavoured,” he observes, in his Preface to the former, “to follow closely the order of time, adopting the plan of a personal narrative, and introducing collateral events no farther than was absolutely necessary to give completeness to the design. After the able, accurate, and comprehensive work of Chief Justice Marshall, it would be presumptuous to attempt an historical biography of Washington. Yet it must be kept in mind that much the larger portion of his life was passed on a conspicuous public theatre, and that no account of it can be written which will not assume essentially the air of history. Anecdotes are interwoven and such incidents of a private and personal nature as are known; but it must be confessed that these are more rare than could be desired. I have seen many particulars of this description which I knew not to be true, and others which I did not

believe. These have been avoided ; nor have I stated any fact for which I was not convinced there was credible authority. If this forbearance has been practised at the expense of the reader's entertainment, he must submit to the sacrifice as due to truth and the dignity of the subject."

To the Life, the London editor has added Washington's own Diaries, the whole of his Speeches to Congress, a portion of his Answers to Addresses, and a variety of Miscellaneous Papers appertaining to his personal history, and that of his times, derived almost wholly from unpublished manuscripts, and selected from the American edition.

The Diaries are collected under one head, in the order of their dates, with such separate introductions and remarks as were deemed necessary to give them a distinct character. Other introductions and remarks have also been prefixed to such of the Miscellaneous Papers as seemed to require them, so that each article might be rendered as complete as possible.

Explanatory notes have also been appended throughout, wherever the London editor has imagined that the sense would be rendered clearer to readers not thoroughly versed in American history.

The *last two* Petitions to the King of Great Britain, and the Declaration of American Independence, have been added, not only on account of their intrinsic value as historical documents, but as indispensable keys to many of the events preceding the actual rupture between the colonies and the mother country.

The Extracts from a Correspondence between

George the Third and his Minister Lord North, relative to the American War, which will be found in the Appendix to the first volume, were selected, by Lord Holland, from the manuscripts of Sir James Mackintosh, and communicated by him to Mr. Sparks; they explain the councils and designs of the King and the Ministry during the latter years of the war, and certainly form the most remarkable documents connected with the history of the American Revolution.

This publication will be immediately followed by a Selection of the Private Correspondence of Washington, in two volumes.

London, December 1838.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

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PORTRAIT OF MRS. WASHINGTON..... Frontispiece, Vol. II.

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APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I.

PETITIONS OF THE AMERICAN COLONISTS TO THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN.

[ALTHOUGH it is not easy to determine at what precise date the idea of independence was first entertained by the principal persons in America, it is certain that it was not till the *last* petitions were rejected with a show of indifference, if not of contempt, that the eyes of all the colonists were opened to the necessity of unconditional submission or united resistance. From that time the word *independence* was boldly pronounced, and soon became a familiar sound to the ears of the whole people.

The mass of testimony derived from separate sources, coincident in every particular, vouched by the first names in American history, and the principal actors in producing a separation, is perfectly conclusive on this point. It is moreover established by all the public documents and proceedings of the American colonial legislatures, in which assurances of loyalty and allegiance are uniform and cordial. Any opinion, therefore, that the spirit of independence had an early origin and a progressive growth, with a direct aim to a separation, or the prospect of such an event, must be a mere inference, sanctioned only by the free institutions of the colonies, and the tendency of a people, under such institutions, to self-government and a system independent of foreign control.

The following are the *two last petitions*, to which are added the Declaration of American Independence.]

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

(October 26th, 1774.)

Most Gracious Sovereign, — We your Majesty's faithful subjects of the Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of New-

castle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants of those Colonies who have deputed us to represent them in general Congress, by this our humble petition beg leave to lay our grievances before the throne.

A standing army has been kept in these Colonies ever since the conclusion of the late war, without the consent of our assemblies; and this army, with a considerable naval armament, has been employed to enforce the collection of taxes.

The authority of the Commander-in-chief, and under him of the brigadier-general, has in time of peace been rendered supreme in all the civil governments in America.

The Commander-in-chief of all your Majesty's forces in North America has, in times of peace, been appointed governor of a Colony.

The charges of usual offices have been greatly increased; and new expenses and oppressive offices have been multiplied.

The judges of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts are empowered to receive their salaries and fees from the effects condemned by themselves. The officers of the customs are empowered to break open and enter houses, without the authority of any civil magistrate, founded on civil information.

The judges of courts of common law have been made entirely dependent on one part of the legislature for their salaries, as well as for the duration of their commissions.

Counsellors holding their commissions during pleasure, exercise legislative authority.

Humble and reasonable petitions from the representatives of the people have been fruitless. The agents of the people have been discountenanced, and governors have been instructed to prevent the payment of their salaries.

Assemblies have been repeatedly and injuriously dissolved.

Commerce has been burthened with many useless and oppressive restrictions.

By several acts of parliament made in the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth years of your Majesty's reign, duties are imposed on us, for the purpose of raising a revenue; and the powers of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts are extended beyond their ancient limits, whereby our property is taken from us without our consent, the trial by jury in many civil cases is abolished, enormous forfeitures are incurred for slight offences, vexatious informers are exempted from paying damages to which they are justly liable, and oppressive security is required from owners before they are allowed to defend their right.

Both houses of parliament have resolved that colonists may be tried in England for offences alleged to have been com-

mitted in America, by virtue of a statute passed in the thirty-fifth year of Henry the Eighth, and in consequence thereof, attempts have been made to enforce that statute. A statute was passed in the twelfth year of your Majesty's reign, directing that persons charged with committing any offence therein described in any place out of the realm, may be indicted and tried for the same in any shire or county within the realm, whereby inhabitants of these colonies may, in sundry cases by that statute made capital, be deprived of a trial by their peers of the vicinâge.

In the last session of parliament an act was passed for blocking up the harbour of Boston; another, empowering the governor of the Massachusetts Bay to send persons indicted for murder in that province to another colony, or even to Great Britain, for trial, whereby such offenders may escape legal punishments; a third, for altering the chartered constitution of government in that province; and a fourth, for extending the limits of Quebec, abolishing the English and restoring the French laws, whereby great numbers of British freemen are subjected to the latter, and establishing an absolute government, and the Roman-catholic religion, throughout those vast regions that border on the westerly and northerly boundaries of the free Protestant English settlements; and a fifth, for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his Majesty's service in North America.

To a sovereign who 'glories in the name of Briton' the bare recital of these acts must, we presume, justify the loyal subjects who fly to the foot of his throne, and implore his clemency for protection against them.

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

Had our Creator been pleased to give us existence in a land of slavery, the sense of our condition might have been mitigated by ignorance and habit; but, thanks be to his adorable

goodness, we were born the heirs of freedom, and ever enjoyed our right under the auspices of your royal ancestors, whose family was seated on the British throne to rescue and secure a pious and gallant nation from the popery and despotism of a superstitious and inexorable tyrant. Your Majesty, we are confident, justly rejoices that your title to the crown is thus founded on the title of your people to liberty; and therefore we doubt not but your royal wisdom must approve the sensibility that teaches your subjects anxiously to guard the blessing they receive from Divine Providence, and thereby to prove the performance of that compact which elevated the illustrious house of Brunswick to the imperial dignity it now possesses.

The apprehension of being degraded into a state of servitude from the pre-eminent rank of English freemen, while our minds retain the strongest love of liberty; and clearly foresee the miseries preparing for us and our posterity, excites emotions in our breasts which, though we cannot describe, we should not wish to conceal. Feeling as men, and thinking as subjects, in the manner we do, silence would be disloyalty. By giving this faithful information we do all in our power to promote the great objects of your royal cares—the tranquillity of your government, and the welfare of your people.

Duty to your Majesty, and regard for the preservation of ourselves and our posterity—the primary obligations of nature and of society, command us to entreat your royal attention; and as your Majesty enjoys the signal distinction of reigning over freemen, we apprehend the language of freemen cannot be displeasing. Your royal indignation, we hope, will rather fall on those dangerous and designing men who, daringly interposing themselves between your royal person and your faithful subjects, and for several years past incessantly employed to dissolve the bonds of society, by abusing your Majesty's authority, misrepresenting your American subjects, and prosecuting the most desperate and irritating projects of oppression, have at length compelled us, by the force of accumulated injuries, too severe to be any longer tolerable, to disturb your Majesty's repose by our complaints.

These sentiments are extorted from hearts that much more willingly would bleed in your Majesty's service. Yet so greatly have we been misrepresented, that a necessity has been alleged of taking our property from us without our consent, 'to defray the charge of the administration of justice, the support of civil government, and the defence, protection, and security of the colonies.' But we beg leave to assure your Majesty that such provision has been and will be made for defraying the two first articles, as has been and shall be

judged, by the legislatures of the several colonies, just and suitable to their respective circumstances; and for the defence, protection, and security of the colonies, their militias, if properly regulated, as they earnestly desire may immediately be done, would be fully sufficient, at least in times of peace, and in case of war, your faithful colonists will be ready and willing, as they have ever been when constitutionally required, to demonstrate their loyalty to your Majesty by exerting their most strenuous efforts in granting supplies and raising forces. Yielding to no British subjects in affectionate attachment to your Majesty's person, family, and government, we too dearly prize the privilege of expressing that attachment by those proofs that are honourable to the prince who receives them and to the people who give them, ever to resign it to any body of men upon earth.

Had we been permitted to enjoy in quiet the inheritance left us by our forefathers, we should at this time have been peaceably, cheerfully, and usefully employed in recommending ourselves by every testimony of devotion to your Majesty, and of veneration to the state from which we derive our origin. But though now exposed to unexpected and unnatural scenes of distress, by a contention with that nation in whose parental guidance on all important affairs we have hitherto with filial reverence constantly trusted, and therefore can derive no instruction in our present unhappy and perplexing circumstances from any former experience; yet we doubt not the purity of our intention and the integrity of our conduct will justify us at that grand tribunal before which all mankind must submit to judgment.

We ask but for peace, liberty, and safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favour. Your royal authority over us, and our connexion with Great Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavour to support and maintain.

Filled with sentiments of duty to your Majesty, and of affection to our parent state,—deeply impressed by our education, and strongly confirmed by our reason, and anxious to evince the sincerity of these dispositions,—we present this petition only to obtain redress of grievances, and relief from fears and jealousies occasioned by the system of statutes and regulations adopted since the close of the late war, for raising a revenue in America, extending the powers of courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty, trying persons in Great Britain for offences alleged to be committed in America affecting the province of Massachusetts Bay, and altering the government and extending the limits of Quebec; by the abo-

lition of which system the harmony between Great Britain and these colonies, so necessary to the happiness of both, and so ardently desired by the latter, and the usual intercourse, will be immediately restored. In the magnanimity and justice of your Majesty and parliament we confide for a redress of our other grievances, trusting, that when the causes of our apprehensions are removed, our future conduct will prove us not unworthy of that regard we have been accustomed in our happier days to enjoy. For, appealing to that Being who searches thoroughly the hearts of his creatures, we solemnly profess that our councils have been influenced by no other motive than a dread of impending destruction.

Permit us, then, most gracious Sovereign, in the name of all your faithful people in America, with the utmost humility, to implore you,—for the honour of Almighty God, whose pure religion our enemies are undermining; for your glory, which can be advanced only by rendering your subjects happy, and keeping them united; for the interests of your family, depending on an adherence to the principles that enthroned it; for the safety and welfare of your kingdoms and dominions, threatened with almost unavoidable dangers and distresses,—that your Majesty, as the loving father of your whole people, connected by the same bands of law, loyalty, faith, and blood, though dwelling in various countries, will not suffer the transcendent relation formed by those ties to be further violated, in uncertain expectation of effects that, if attained, never can compensate for the calamities through which they must be gained.

We therefore most earnestly beseech your Majesty that your royal authority and interposition may be used for our relief; and that a gracious answer may be given to this petition.

That your Majesty may enjoy every felicity through a long and glorious reign over happy and loyal subjects, and that your descendants may inherit your prosperity and dominions till time shall be no more, is and always will be our sincere and fervent prayer.

HENRY MIDDLETON.

Philadelphia, October 26th, 1774.

From New Hampshire.

John Sullivan.
Nath. Folsom.

Rhode Island,

Stephen Hopkins.
Samuel Ward.

Connecticut.

Eleph Dyer.
Roger Sherman.
Silas Deane.

New York.

Philip Livingston.

John Alsop.
 Isaac Low.
 James Duane.
 John Jay.
 William Floyd.
 Henry Wisner.
 S. Boreum.

New Jersey.

William Livingston.
 John de Hart.
 Stephen Crane.
 Richard Smith.

Massachusetts Bay.

Thomas Cushing.
 Samuel Adams.
 John Adams.
 R. Treat Paine.

Pennsylvania.

E. Biddle.
 J. Galloway.
 John Dickinson.
 John Morton.
 Thomas Mifflin.
 George Ross.
 Charles Humphreys.

Delaware Government.

Cæsar Rodney.
 Thomas M'Kean.
 George Read.

Maryland.

Matthew Tilghman.
 T. Johnson, jun.
 William Paca.
 Samuel Chace.

Virginia.

Richard Henry Lee.
 Patrick Henry.
 George Washington.
 Edmund Pendleton.
 Richard Bland.
 Benjamin Harrison.

North Carolina.

William Hooper.
 Joseph Hewes.
 Richard Caswell.

South Carolina.

Thomas Lynch.
 Christopher Gadsden.
 J. Rutledge.
 Edward Rutledge.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

(July 8th, 1775.)

Most Gracious Sovereign, — We, your Majesty's faithful subjects of the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants of these colonies, who have deputed us to represent them in general Congress, entreat your Majesty's gracious attention to this our humble petition.

The union between our mother country and these colonies, and the energy of mild and just government, produced benefits so remarkably important, and afforded such an assurance of

their permanency and increase, that the wonder and envy of other nations were excited, while they beheld Great Britain rising to a power the most extraordinary the world had ever known.

Her rivals, observing that there was no probability of this happy connexion being broken by civil dissensions, and apprehending its future effects if left any longer undisturbed, resolved to prevent her receiving such continual and formidable accessions of wealth and strength by checking the growth of those settlements from which they were to be derived.

In the prosecution of this attempt, events so unfavourable to the design took place, that every friend to the interest of Great Britain and these colonies entertained pleasing and reasonable expectations of seeing an additional force and exertion immediately given to the operations of the union hitherto experienced, by an enlargement of the dominions of the crown, and the removal of ancient and warlike enemies to a greater distance.

At the conclusion, therefore, of the late war—the most glorious and advantageous that ever had been carried on by British arms—your loyal colonists, having contributed to its success by such repeated and strenuous exertions as frequently procured them the distinguished approbation of your Majesty, of the late King, and of Parliament, doubted not but that they should be permitted, with the rest of the empire, to share in the blessings of peace and the emoluments of victory and conquest.

While these recent and honourable acknowledgments of their merits remained on record in the journals and acts of that august legislature, the Parliament, undefaced by the imputation or even the suspicion of any offence, they were alarmed by a new system of statutes and regulations, adopted for the administration of the colonies, that filled their minds with the most painful fears and jealousies; and, to their inexpressible astonishment, perceived the danger of a foreign quarrel quickly succeeded by domestic danger, in their judgment, of a more dreadful kind.

Nor were these anxieties alleviated by any tendency in this system to promote the welfare of their mother country; for though its effects were more immediately felt by them, yet its influence appeared to be injurious to the commerce and prosperity of Great Britain.

We shall decline the ungrateful task of describing the irksome variety of artifices practised by many of your Majesty's ministers, the delusive pretences, fruitless terrors, and unavailing severities, that have from time to time been dealt out

by them in their attempts to execute this impolitic plan, or of tracing through a series of years past the progress of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and these colonies that have flowed from this fatal source.

Your Majesty's ministers, persevering in their measures, and proceeding to open hostilities for enforcing them, have compelled us to arm in our own defence, and have engaged us in a controversy so peculiarly abhorrent to the affections of your still faithful colonists, that when we consider whom we must oppose in this contest, and, if it continues, what may be the consequences, our own particular misfortunes are accounted by us only as parts of our distress.

Knowing to what violent resentments and incurable animosities civil discords are apt to exasperate and inflame the contending parties, we think ourselves required, by indispensable obligations to Almighty God, to your Majesty, to our fellow-subjects, and to ourselves, immediately to use all the means in our power, not incompatible with our safety, for stopping the further effusion of blood, and for averting the impending calamities that threaten the British empire.

Thus called upon to address your Majesty on affairs of such moment to America, and probably to all your dominions, we are earnestly desirous of performing this office with the utmost deference for your Majesty; and we therefore pray that your Majesty's royal magnanimity and benevolence may make the most favourable construction of our expressions on so uncommon an occasion. Could we represent in their full force the sentiments that agitate the minds of us your dutiful subjects, we are persuaded your Majesty would ascribe any seeming deviation from reverence in our language, and even in our conduct, not to any reprehensible intention, but to the impossibility of reconciling the usual appearances of respect with a just attention to our own preservation against those artful and cruel enemies who abuse your royal confidence and authority for the purpose of effecting our destruction.

Attached to your Majesty's person, family, and government, with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire,—connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite societies, and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them,—we solemnly assure your Majesty that we not only most ardently desire the former harmony between her and these colonies may be restored, but that a concord may be established between them upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings, uninterrupted by any future dissensions, to succeeding generations in both countries, and to transmit your Majesty's name to posterity, adorned with that

signal and lasting glory that has attended the memory of those illustrious personages whose virtues and abilities have extricated states from dangerous convulsions, and by securing happiness to others, have erected the most noble and durable monuments to their own fame.

We beg leave further to assure your Majesty that, notwithstanding the sufferings of your loyal colonists during the course of this present controversy, our breasts retain too tender a regard for the kingdom from which we derive our origin, to request such a reconciliation as might in any manner be inconsistent with her dignity or her welfare. These, related as we are to her, honour and duty, as well as inclination, induce us to support and advance; and the apprehensions that now oppress our hearts with unspeakable grief being once removed, your Majesty will find your faithful subjects on this continent ready and willing at all times, as they have ever been, with their lives and fortunes to assert and maintain the rights and interests of your Majesty and of our mother country.

We therefore beseech your Majesty that your royal authority and influence may be graciously interposed to procure us relief from our afflicting fears and jealousies, occasioned by the system before mentioned, and to settle peace throughout every part of your dominions, with all humility submitting to your Majesty's wise consideration, whether it may not be expedient, for facilitating those important purposes, that your Majesty be pleased to direct some mode by which the united applications of your faithful colonists to the throne, in pursuance of their common councils, may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation; and that in the meantime measures may be taken for preventing the further destruction of the lives of your Majesty's subjects, and that such statutes as more immediately distress any of your Majesty's colonies may be repealed.

For, by such arrangements as your Majesty's wisdom can form for collecting the united sense of your American people, we are convinced your Majesty would receive such satisfactory proofs of the disposition of the colonists towards their sovereign and parent state, that the wished-for opportunity would soon be restored to them of evincing the sincerity of their professions by every testimony of devotion becoming the most dutiful subjects and the most affectionate colonists.

That your Majesty may enjoy a long and prosperous reign, and that your descendants may govern your dominions with honour to themselves and happiness to their subjects, is our sincere prayer.

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire.
John Langdon.
Thomas Cushing.
Massachusetts Bay.

Samuel Adams.
John Adams.
R. Treat Paine.

Rhode Island.
Stephen Hopkins.
Samuel Ward.

Connecticut.
Roger Sherman.
Silas Deane.
Eliphalet Dyer.

New York.
Philip Livingston.
James Duane.
John Alsop.
Francis Lewis.
John Jay.
R. Livingston, jun.
Lewis Morris.
William Floyd.
Henry Wisner.

New Jersey.
William Livingston.
John Deharts.
Richard Smith.

Pennsylvania.
Benjamin Franklin.
John Dickinson.

George Ross.
James Wilson.
Charles Humphreys.
Edward Biddle.

Delaware County.
Cæsar Rodney.
Thomas M'Kean.
George Read.

Maryland.
Matthew Tilghman.
Thomas Johnson, jun.
William Paca.
Samuel Chace.
Thomas Stone.

Virginia.
P. Henry, jun.
R. Henry Lee.
Edmund Pendleton.
Benjamin Harrison.
Thomas Jefferson.

North Carolina.
William Hooper.
Joseph Hewes.

South Carolina.
Henry Middleton.
Thomas Lynch.
Christopher Gadsden.
J. Rutledge.
Edward Rutledge.

Philadelphia, July 8th, 1775.

DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

(July 4th, 1776.)

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident:—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience has shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object, the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representatives' houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time after such dissolutions, to

cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation.

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us.

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States.

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world.

For imposing taxes on us without our consent.

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury.

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences.

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies.

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments.

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms : our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends !

We, therefore, the representatives of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES ; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connexion between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved ; and that, as FREE

and INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things, which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of DIVINE PROVIDENCE, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour! JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire.

Josiah Bartlett.
William Whipple.
Matthew Thornton.

Massachusetts Bay.

Samuel Adams.
John Adams.
Robert Treat Paine.
Elbridge Gerry.

Rhode Island.

Stephen Hopkins.
William Ellery.

Connecticut.

Roger Sherman.
Samuel Huntington.
William Williams.
Oliver Wolcott.

New York.

William Floyd.
Philip Livingston.
Francis Lewis.
Lewis Morris.

New Jersey.

Richard Stockton.
John Witherspoon.
Francis Hopkinson.
John Hart.
Abraham Clark.

Pennsylvania.

Benjamin Franklin.
Robert Morris.
Benjamin Rush.
John Morton.
George Clymer.

James Smith.
George Taylor.
James Wilson.
George Ross.

Delaware.

Cæsar Rodney.
George Read.

Maryland.

Samuel Chace.
William Paca.
Thomas Stone.
C. Carroll, of Carrollton.

Virginia.

George Wythe.
Richard Henry Lee.
Thomas Jefferson.
Benjamin Harrison.
Thomas Nelson, jun.
Francis Lightfoot Lee.
Carter Braxton.

North Carolina.

William Hooper.
Joseph Hewes.
John Penn.

South Carolina.

Edward Rutledge.
Thos. Heyward, jun.
Thos. Lynch, jun.
Arthur Middleton.

Georgia.

Button Gwinnet.
Lyman Hall.
George Walton.

APPENDIX II.

GEORGE THE THIRD'S AND LORD NORTH'S VIEWS AT DIFFERENT STAGES OF THE AMERICAN WAR.

HISTORY and all the public documents and proceedings of Parliament during the administration of Lord North concur in representing that minister, not only as an enemy to the claims and pretensions of the Americans, but as a constant and uncompromising advocate for the war. So strong has this impression been in America, that writers have uniformly ascribed the continuance of the war, after every reasonable prospect of success had vanished, mainly to the settled hostility and unyielding temper of Lord North. The fact, however, is, that Lord North, during a great part of his administration, was in his heart averse to continuing the contest; that he often endeavoured to bring George the Third to concur in his sentiments, and to conciliate or treat with America; and that, above all, with that view he urged, though without success, a coalition with the public men who had openly opposed the American war at its commencement, and were disposed to close it by conciliation or treaty.

This truth, which had indeed transpired in conversation before, has recently been established by unquestionable evidence. After the death of Lord North, several letters and notes from the King to him while minister were found among his papers. These fell into the custody of his son-in-law, Douglas Lord Glenbervie, as executor either under his will or that of his son, George Lord Guilford. They were lent by Lord Glenbervie to Sir James Mackintosh, who made copious and judicious extracts from them, embracing various topics relative to the intercourse between the King and the minister. These extracts, which in all probability will ere long see the light, have been perused by many persons, and among them by Lord Holland, who made such selections from them as bear immediately on the point in question, and was so obliging as to communicate them to the editor of this work.

The paper below is printed accurately from that communication.

It will be seen that, with one or two exceptions, the quotations are from the King's own letters or notes, without the corresponding communications from Lord North which either answered or gave occasion to them. The nature of Lord North's advice or representations, therefore, is only to be inferred from his royal correspondent's comments and replies; but the meaning is so obvious, and so often repeated, as not to admit of doubt. "In corroboration of that inference," says Lord Holland, "I can without scruple affirm, that many of the leading characters of that day, both ministerial and those in the opposition, have assured me that in well-informed society it was notorious that indolence, weakness, and, above all, a sense of honour, rather than passion or a defect of judgment, induced Lord North to remain minister so long, and to continue a war of the success of which he despaired, and the principles of which he in his heart disapproved.

This fact, connected with the particulars in the following paper, is not more interesting in itself than important as a key to the history of the time, and as affording the means of explaining the counsels and designs of the British King and ministry during the latter years of the American war.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LETTERS OF GEORGE THE THIRD TO LORD NORTH,
SELECTED BY LORD HOLLAND FROM THE MANUSCRIPTS OF SIR JAMES
MACKINTOSH.

1774. *September 11th.*—"The die is cast; the colonies must either triumph or submit."

November 18th.—The New-England governments are now in a state of rebellion. Blows must decide whether they are to be subject to this country or independent.

December 15th.—Dislikes Lord North's proposal of sending commissioners to America to inquire.

1775.—Sundry expressions in favour of coercive measures and rigour, and many assurances of perseverance, which prove the King's own determination, and imply by inference that he thought even at that time that Lord North required exhortation to keep him steady in the pursuit of his object—the subjection of America. Throughout this year the King was confident of success, and urged Lord North not to relax his endeavours. On the *18th of August* blames him for delaying the proclamation to declare Americans rebels, and forbids all intercourse

with them. There are some expressions even in the correspondence of this year that raise a fair inference of a wish in Lord North's mind to quit the ministry, or at least the first place in it. "As to your offer," says the King, in a letter of *November 7th*, "it is very handsome; but I can never consent to it." What the offer was, is not stated, but from the context there appears some arrangement which would have removed him from his employment, "the profits and honours of which," his Majesty observes, "are in the best hands."

1776.—The same spirit pervades his correspondence, but there are few or no extracts distinctly marking any difference between the King and the minister.

1777.—His indignation with the Americans seemed to increase. He is unwilling to believe in France going to war, and presses for vigour in North America to deter her.

1778.—As early as January there are symptoms of Lord North hinting at some offer of peace, for the King says, "Nothing short of independency will be accepted. I do not think there is a man either bold or mad enough to treat for the mother country on such a basis. Perhaps the time will come, when it will be wise to abandon all America but Canada, Nova Scotia, and the Floridas, but then the generality of the nation must see it first in that light; but to treat with Independents can never be possible."

1778. *January 31st*.—A direct answer to some letter of Lord North expressing a wish to retire, in which the King, after appealing to Lord North's personal affection to him, and his sense of honour, and bestowing great praise upon him, goes on to say, "You must remember, that before the recess I strongly advised you not to bind yourself to bring forward any plan for restoring tranquillity to North America, *not from any absurd ideas of unconditional submission, which my mind never harboured*, but from foreseeing that whatever can be proposed will be liable, not to bring America back to her attachment, but to dissatisfy this country, which so cheerfully and handsomely carries on the contest, and has a right to have the struggle continued till convinced that it is vain. Perhaps this is the minute that you ought to be least in a hurry to produce a plan, from the probability of a declaration of war from France;" and again, "I do not mean to reject all ideas, if a foreign war should not arise this session, of laying a proposition before Parliament."

It is manifest from this letter that Lord North had proposed some overtures, or plan, for conciliation unpalatable to the King, which he was earnest at least to postpone; and it may be reasonably inferred from the words in italics, that

Lord North, in expressing his wish to retire, had urged the impracticability of obtaining "unconditional submission," which he supposed, and probably with justice, to be the King's determined and sole object.

February 9th.—When it appeared, from private information, that war with France had become inevitable, the King expresses his anxiety, before "the veil was drawn off by the court of France," that Lord North should "not delay in bringing in his proposition."

Early in March.—He had assented reluctantly to a sort of offer to Lord Chatham (who had recently declared *against* the independence of America) to join or support Lord North's administration, but positively objected to any application to help in forming an administration. "Should he wish to see me," says the King, "before he gives his answer, I shall most certainly refuse it."

March.—The King's correspondence, throughout the first week of this month, is full of protestations against coalitions and changes of ministry, so vehement and so frequent that they prove Lord North to have urged them earnestly and repeatedly. "He would run any *personal* risk rather than submit to opposition." "He is grieved at Lord North's recurring to the painful subject." "He will rather risk his crown than do what is disgraceful." "If the nation will not stand by him, they shall have another king, for he never will put his hand to what will make him miserable to the last hour of his life." "To give Lord North ease, he will accept of the services of those men in his ministry; but rather than be shackled by those desperate men he would lose his crown, and not wear it as a disgrace."

March 22nd.—Calls on Lord North to answer a plain question,—“Is he resolved at the hour of danger to desert him?”

March 23rd.—Is satisfied with Lord North's answer, and always thought "his sense of honour must prevent him from deserting."

March 26th.—Seems to be brought to some disposition to accommodate matters through the commissioners with America, and to close the war with that country.

March 29th, 30th.—Lord North seems actually to have declined continuing minister further than to close the then existing session, or as long as might be necessary to make arrangements; and the King insists on Thurlow being immediately made Chancellor.

From March to May.—Lord North considered himself as merely holding his office till the session was closed, and his successor appointed; but in May the King earnestly urged

him to continue, and prevailed. The King says, on the 5th of May, "Remember the last words you used—'You did not mean to resign;'" but Lord North reverts to his intention of resigning almost immediately afterwards, and the King writes many remonstrances, and shews great soreness and irritability.

June 16th.—Lord North applies to resign, two days before the prorogation.

In the summer recess, July, Lord North seems to have hinted at negotiation for peace; for the King urges the necessity of war, but protests his readiness "to sheathe the sword when permanent tranquillity can be obtained."

In the Autumn.—"If ministers shew that they never will consent to the independence of America, and that the assistance of every man will be accepted on that ground, I am certain the cry will be strong in their favour." In the same letter he remarks, that "if any one branch of the empire is allowed to throw off its dependency, the others will infallibly follow the example."

1779.—He again empowers Lord North to accept services, but does not wish any change in the treasury; and stipulates, in offering the admiralty to Lord Howe, that he shall concur in prosecuting war in all the quarters of the globe.

June.—"No man in my dominions desires solid peace more than I do. But no inclination to get out of the present difficulties, which certainly keep my mind very far from a state of ease, can incline me to enter into the destruction of the empire. Lord North FREQUENTLY says, that the advantages to be gained by this contest never can repay the expense. I own, that in any war, be it ever so successful, if persons will sit down and weigh the expense, they will find, as in the last, that it has impoverished the state enriched; but this is only weighing such events in the scale of a tradesman behind his counter. It is necessary for those whom Providence has placed in my station, to weigh whether expenses, though very great, are not sometimes necessary to prevent what would be more ruinous than any loss of money. The present contest with America I cannot help seeing as the most serious in which this country was ever engaged. It contains such a train of consequences, as must be examined to feel its real weight. Whether the laying a tax was deserving all the evils that have arisen from it, I suppose no man could allege without being thought more fit for Bedlam than a seat in the senate; but step by step the demands of America have risen. Independence is their object, which every man not willing to sacrifice every object to a momentary and inglorious peace must concur with me in thinking this country can never submit to. Should America succeed in that,

the West Indies must follow, not in independence, but dependence on America. Ireland would soon follow, and this island reduce itself to a poor island indeed." Throughout the summer the King continued to write to his minister, strongly deprecating the admission of any man into office who was inclined to acknowledge the independence of America, or treat with those who look to independence; and,

June 22nd.—He says, "What I said yesterday was the dictate of frequent and severe self-examination. *I never can depart from it. Before I will hear of any man's readiness to come into office, I shall expect to see it signed under his own hand that he is resolved to keep the empire entire, and that no troops shall consequently be withdrawn from thence, nor independence ever allowed.*"

November 30th.—He tells Lord North, that "if he is resolved to retire, he must understand that step, though thought necessary by Lord North, is very unpleasant to me."

December.—He authorizes Lord Thurlow to attempt a coalition, promising "to blot from his remembrance any events that may have displeased him," provided it is understood by those who join with part of his present ministry in forming a more extended one, that "every means *are to be employed to keep the empire entire, to prosecute the present just and unprovoked war in all its branches with the utmost vigour, and that past measures be treated with proper respect.*"

Though, according to Lord Thurlow's representation of the matter, no *proposal* was ever made to the persons in opposition, he felt the pulse of some leading men, and as they seemed disinclined to engage for themselves, and still more for others, to the extent of the King's suggestion, his Majesty remarks with some asperity, "I see what treatment I am to expect if I call them into my service. To obtain their support I must *deliver up my person, my principles, and my dominions, into their hands.*"

1780. *March 7th.*—In answer pretty evidently to a hint about American independence, "I can never suppose this country so far lost to all ideas of self-importance as to be willing to grant American independence. If that could be ever universally adopted, I shall despair of this country being preserved from a state of inferiority. I hope never to live to see that day, for, however I am treated, I must love this country."

May 19th.—Earnestly exhorts Lord North not to retire.

July.—To something like a direct proposition from opposition, through Mr. Frederick Montague, he replies, "that an evasive *answer* about America will by no means answer," and

that the second proposition, leaving the question open, is "therefore quite inadmissible."

September or October.—Lord Gower begs to resign, and urges a coalition with some in opposition. Lord North combats his intention, and thinks his resignation would be the ruin of the administration, but he owns that in the argument "he had one disadvantage, which is, that he holds in his heart, and has held for three years past, the same opinion with Lord Gower."

1781. *December.*—The King disclaims any change in his sentiments as "to getting a peace at the *expense* of a separation from America, which *no difficulties* can get me to consent to do."

1782. *March 17th.*—After Conway's motion was carried, he says, "I am resolved not to throw myself into the hands of opposition at all events, and shall certainly, if things go as they seem to tend, know what my conscience as well as honour dictates as the only way left for me."

March 19th.—He says, "He could not but be hurt at Lord North's letter of last night. Every man must be the sole judge of his feelings; therefore, *whatever you or any man can say has no avail with me.*" In the course of two or three days, however, he speaks of "*those who are to form an administration*" and on the *27th of March* he writes a letter of strong emotion, and some affection, to Lord North, announcing that "the fatal day is come," and bitterly complaining of the terms imposed upon him.

1783. *After the Peace.*—His language proves that his feelings about America were not altered, though circumstances constrained him to change his conduct.

APPENDIX III.

MAJOR ANDRÉ.

EIGHTEEN months before the consummation of his treason, General Arnold (the American general) commenced writing to Sir Henry Clinton (the British general) anonymously, and from time to time communicated to him important intelligence. Not knowing the person nor the rank of his correspondent, Sir Henry at first received his advances coldly, but permitted the correspondence to be continued, as no harm could result from it, and the intelligence would be useful. The business was intrusted to Major André, who was then his aide-de-camp. Fictitious names were assumed. Arnold adopted that of *Gustavus*, and André signed his letters *John Anderson*.

It was not till after Arnold had taken the command at West Point, that Sir Henry Clinton considered his proposals of sufficient moment to deserve particular attention. He then encouraged a more free and direct intercourse, foreseeing the immense advantage it would be to his Majesty's arms, if that garrison with its dependencies could be gained. This proffer was made by Arnold in the letters which he wrote to André, and which were framed in such ambiguous terms as to be understood only by the persons for whom they were intended, being clothed in the disguise of a pretended mercantile transaction.

From this time various plans were concerted for effecting an interview between Arnold and André. It was the proposal of Arnold, that André should come within the American lines in disguise, calling himself John Anderson, and professing to be the bearer of intelligence. Under this pretence he was to seek the quarters of Colonel Sheldon, who commanded the cavalry stationed on the outposts at Salem and North Castle, Arnold having informed Sheldon that he expected a person of this character.

Meantime André seems not to have approved the plan of going into the American lines in the way proposed by Arnold,

and he wrote a letter to Colonel Sheldon on the subject under his assumed name. The object of this letter was simply to give notice that the writer would be at Dobbs's Ferry at a certain time. André took it for granted that Sheldon would forward the letter to Arnold, who would understand it; and such was the result.

General Arnold accordingly went at the time appointed to Dobbs's Ferry, but an accident prevented his meeting André. The British guard-boats fired upon his barge, as he was approaching the vessel in which André had come up the river, and he was in imminent danger of being either killed or taken prisoner. He retreated immediately, and landed on the western side of the river, where there was an American post. Since his coming down from West Point would be known, he was afraid it might awaken suspicion. As a precaution, therefore, he wrote a letter to General Washington, dated "Dobbs's Ferry, September 11th." After touching on several topics of an official nature, he added—

"I am here this morning in order to establish signals to be observed in case the enemy come up the river; to give some directions respecting the guard-boats; and to have a beacon fixed upon the mountain about five miles south of King's Ferry, which will be necessary to alarm the country, the one fixed there formerly having been destroyed."

He returned the same day to his head-quarters at Robinson's house. Having failed in this attempt to procure an interview with André, it was now uncertain in what manner it could be brought about. Supposing André might still adopt the plan of coming within the lines, he wrote the following note, September 13th, to Major Tallmadge, who was stationed, under Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson, with a party of dragoons at North Castle :—

"If Mr. John Anderson, a person I expect from New York, should come to your quarters, I have to request that you will give him an escort of two horsemen, to bring him on his way to this place, and send an express to me, that I may meet him. If your business will permit, I wish you to come with him."

But André seems never to have seriously intended to go within the American lines, although pressed to do so by Arnold. It was his wish to procure an interview on board a vessel in the river. For this end Sir Henry Clinton sent the Vulture sloop of war up the river to Teller's Point, on the 16th of September. Colonel Beverly Robinson was in the sloop, to whom, as well as to the commander, Captain Sutherland, the plot was known.

COLONEL ROBINSON TO GENERAL ARNOLD.

" *On board the Vulture, off Teller's Point, 17 September, 1780.*
 Sir,—Having heard that General Putnam is at the Highlands on a visit to you, I have obtained Sir Henry Clinton's leave to come up in this ship, to endeavour to have an interview with him. My reasons for asking it are explained in the enclosed letter to him.

" As I understand you command in the Highlands, and make your head-quarters at my house, I have taken the liberty of enclosing my letter to General Putnam to you, and beg the favour of you to deliver it; but if he should have returned to Connecticut, I beg the letter may be returned to me; and in that case, I am persuaded (from the humane and generous character you bear), that could I be so happy as to see you, you would readily grant me the same request I should make to him. But for prudential reasons I dare not explain the matter further, until I have some assurances that it shall be secret if not granted. I did intend, in order to have your answer immediately, to send this by my servant, James Osborn, with a flag to you; but thinking he might be stopped at Verplanck's Point, I have sent it to the officer commanding there, desiring it may be forwarded to you as soon as possible. I am, &c."

This letter was received from the flag by Colonel Livingston, who then commanded at Verplanck's Point, and was sent by him to General Arnold, then at Robinson's house. It should be kept in mind that the only purpose of the letter was to enable General Arnold, in a reply, to fix upon a time and place for an interview.

It happened that the next day General Washington with his suite crossed King's Ferry on his way to Hartford, where he was to hold a conference with the French commander. As a proper mark of respect, Arnold went down to King's Ferry in his barge, and met Washington there at the time of his crossing the river. The *Vulture* was then in sight, and it was known that a flag had brought a letter to Arnold the day before. As his fears were ever on the alert, Arnold thought the best mode of avoiding suspicion would be to shew the letter to General Washington, since it was written in such a disguise that it might be considered as only relating to Colonel Robinson's private affairs; and moreover, a further use of a flag would then seem to be under the sanction of General Washington.

GENERAL ARNOLD TO COLONEL ROBINSON.

“*Robinson's House, 18th September,* 1780.* Sir,—I have received a letter from you of yesterday's date, with one for General Putnam, and have consulted with his Excellency General Washington on the subject of them, who is of opinion that any application respecting your private affairs in this country ought to be made to the civil authority of this State, as they are entirely out of the line of the military. However willing I may be to oblige Colonel Robinson on any other occasion, it is not in my power to do it in this instance. General Putnam left this place some days since. I have therefore, agreeably to your request, returned the letter addressed to him.

“If you have any other proposals to make of a public nature, of which I can officially take notice, you may depend on it that the greatest secrecy shall be observed, if required, as no person except his Excellency General Washington shall be made acquainted with them. The bearer, Captain Archibald, will take particular care of your letters, and deliver them to me with his own hand. I am, &c.”

In this letter was enclosed the following, sealed and directed to Colonel Robinson :—

GENERAL ARNOLD TO COLONEL ROBINSON.

“*September 18th,† 1780.* Sir,—I parted with his Excellency General Washington this morning, who advised me to avoid seeing you, as it would occasion suspicions in the minds of some people, which might operate to my injury. His reasons appear to me to be well founded; but were I of a different opinion, I could not with propriety see you at present. I shall send a person to Dobbs's Ferry, or on board the Vulture, Wednesday night, the 20th instant, and furnish him with a boat and a flag of truce. You may depend on his secrecy and honour, and that your business, of whatever nature, shall be kept a profound secret; and if it is a matter in which I can officially act, I will do everything in my power to oblige you consistent with my duty. To avoid censure, this matter must be conducted with the greatest secrecy. I think it will be

* This letter is thus dated in the original, but it could not have been written at *Robinson's House* on the 18th, since Arnold did not return during that day, after meeting General Washington, but went with him to Peekskill and passed the night. It was doubtless written on the morning of the 19th.

† In this date there is the same mistake as in the preceding. The circumstance, however, is of little importance.

advisable for the Vulture to remain where she is until the time appointed. I have enclosed a letter for a gentleman in New York from one in the country on private business, which I beg the favour of you to forward, and make no doubt he will be particular to come at the time mentioned. I am, &c.

“ P. S.—I expect General Washington to lodge here on Saturday night next, and will lay before him any matter you may wish to communicate.”

To the letter bearing a public disguise, or constituting the outer envelop, Colonel Robinson made the following reply :

COLONEL ROBINSON TO GENERAL ARNOLD.

“ *Vulture, off Teller's Point, 19th September, 1780.* Sir,—I am favoured with yours by Captain Archibald, and am sorry I have missed the opportunity of seeing General Putnam, and that it is not thought proper to allow me to see you, my business being entirely of a private nature, only concerning myself, and no ways affecting public matters of either side. I was induced to make the application to you in hopes of meeting with a favourable reception from a gentleman of your character. But I have not the least reason to expect any civility from the civil authority of this State; neither am I at all disposed to ask any favour from them.

“ Had I known General Washington was with you, I should certainly have made my application to him, as I flatter myself I should be allowed every reasonable indulgence from him. I beg my best respects may be presented to him. I can have nothing further to say to you at present, but must wait a more favourable opportunity of doing something for my family. I return you my thanks for your polite letter and civil expressions to me, and am, &c.”

Within the letter from Arnold to Colonel Beverly Robinson was also enclosed one, directed to *John Anderson*, and signed *Gustavus* :—

GUSTAVUS TO JOHN ANDERSON.

“ *September 15th.* Sir,—On the 11th, at noon, agreeably to your request, I attempted to go to Dobbs's Ferry, but was prevented by the armed boats of the enemy, which fired upon us; and I continued opposite the Ferry till sunset.

“ The foregoing letter was written to caution you not to mention your business to Colonel Sheldon or any other person. I have no confidant. I have made one too many already, who has prevented some profitable speculations.

“ I will send a person in whom you can confide to meet you at Dobbs’s Ferry at the landing, on the east side, on Wednesday, the 20th instant, who will conduct you to a place of safety, where I will meet you. It will be necessary for you to be disguised, and if the enemy’s boats are there, it will favour my plan, as the person is not suspected by them. If I do not hear from you before, you may depend on the person’s being punctual at the place above mentioned.

“ My partner, of whom I hinted in a former letter, has about ten thousand pounds cash in hand, ready for a speculation if any should offer which appears profitable. I have also one thousand pounds on hand, and can collect fifteen hundred more in two or three days. Add to this, I have some credit. From these hints you may judge of the purchase that can be made. I cannot be more explicit at present. Meet me if possible. You may rest assured that, if there is no danger in passing your lines, you will be perfectly safe where I propose a meeting, on which you shall be informed on Wednesday evening, if you think proper to be at Dobbs’s Ferry. Adieu.

“ *September 18th.* — The foregoing I found means to send by a very honest fellow, who went to Kingsbridge on the 16th, and I make no doubt you have received it. But as there is a possibility of its miscarriage, I send a copy, and am fully persuaded that the method I have pointed out to meet you is the best and safest, provided you can obtain leave to come out.”

These letters were forwarded with all dispatch to New York, and Sir Henry Clinton agreed that Major André should go to Dobbs’s Ferry as proposed. An order was sent to Captain Sutherland, directing him to fall down the river with the Vulture to that place.

André arrived at Dobbs’s Ferry in the afternoon of the 20th. As Arnold had said, in his secret letter to Colonel Robinson, that he thought it “ advisable for the Vulture to remain where she was until the time appointed,” André concluded to push forward to the vessel, and not wait for it to descend the river.

He got on board at seven o’clock in the evening. The Vulture was then at anchor at a short distance above Teller’s Point.

The night passed away, and no person appeared from the shore. On the morning of the 21st, the following method was adopted to convey to Arnold the intelligence of André’s being on board. In the course of the preceding day, a boat had been enticed by a white flag to approach the shore, and was fired upon; or at least this occurrence was asserted to have taken place. It was made a pretext for sending a flag to Verplanck’s Point with a letter.

CAPTAIN SUTHERLAND TO GENERAL ARNOLD.

"*Vulture, off Teller's Point, 21st September.* Sir,—I consider it a duty to complain of any violation of the laws of arms, and I am satisfied that I now do it where I cannot fail to meet redress. It is therefore with reluctance I give you the concern to know that a flag of truce having been yesterday shewn on Teller's Point, I sent a boat towards the shore, presuming some communication was thereby solicited. The boat's crew on approaching received a fire from several armed men, who till then had been concealed. Fortunately none of my people were hurt, but the treacherous intentions of those who fired are not vindicated from that circumstance. I have the honour to be, &c."

This note was in André's handwriting, though signed by Captain Sutherland; and the fact was thus made known to Arnold, that André was on board the *Vulture*.

The same night, Joshua H. Smith went to the *Vulture* with a boat rowed by two men, and conveyed André to the shore at a place called the Long Clove, where Arnold met him, and whence they retired before morning to Smith's house. In the evening of the 22nd of September, André, and Smith crossed the river at King's Ferry, and proceeded to a house a few miles distant, where they lodged. The next morning, they breakfasted together near Pine's Bridge. Here they separated. Smith returned, and André went forward alone towards New York, till he came to Tarrytown, where he was captured by Paulding, Williams, and Van Wart; and taken back to the nearest American post at North Castle. All the incidents that occurred during this period, and the particulars of the capture, are minutely related in SPARKS'S *Life and Treason of Arnold*.

Led away by an infatuation not easy to be explained, Lieutenant Colonel Jameson, who commanded at North Castle, resolved to send the prisoner to General Arnold's head-quarters; notwithstanding that he had before him the papers which had been taken from André's boots, and which he knew to be in the handwriting of Arnold.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JAMESON TO GENERAL ARNOLD.

"*North Castle, 23rd September, 1780.* Sir,—I have sent Lieutenant Allen with a certain John Anderson, taken going into New York. He had a passport signed in your name. He had a parcel of papers taken from under his stockings, which I think of a very dangerous tendency. The papers I have sent to General Washington. They contain the number of men at West Point and its dependencies; the number of

cannon; the different pieces of ground that command the forts; the situation of each fort, and which may be set on fire with bombs and carcasses, and which are out of repair; the speech of General Washington to the council of war held on the 6th of the month; and the situation of our armies in general. I am, &c."

Towards evening, after the prisoner and the above letter had been sent off, Major Tallmadge returned to North Castle, having been absent on duty in the country below during the day. He was astonished at the course that had been pursued by Jameson, and persuaded him with much entreaty to recall the prisoner, who was already some miles on the way to West Point. Jameson dispatched a messenger with the following letter:—

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JAMESON TO LIEUTENANT ALLEN.

"North Castle, 23rd September, 1780. Sir,—From some circumstances which I have just heard, I have reason to fear that a party of the enemy are above. And as I would not have Anderson retaken, or get away, I desire that you will proceed to Lower Salem with him, and deliver him to Captain Hoogland. You will leave the guard with Captain Hoogland also, except one man, whom you may take along. You may proceed on to West Point, and deliver the letter to General Arnold. You may also shew him this, that he may know the reason why the prisoner is not sent on. You will please to return as soon as you can. I am, in haste, &c."

It was against the advice and strong remonstrance of Tallmadge that the letter to Arnold was sent forward, but on this point he found Jameson immovable; and it was that letter which gave Arnold notice of the capture of André in time to enable him to escape.

André was sent to Lower Salem, where he remained under the charge of Major Tallmadge. Finding that there was no longer any hope of escape, he wrote the following letter, which contained the first intimation of his true name and character that any person had received after his capture:—

MAJOR ANDRÉ TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

"Salem, 24th September, 1780. Sir,—What I have as yet said concerning myself was in the justifiable attempt to be extricated; I am too little accustomed to duplicity to have succeeded.

"I beg your Excellency will be persuaded that no alteration in the temper of my mind or apprehension for my safety induces me to take the step of addressing you, but that it is to

rescue myself from an imputation of having assumed a mean character for treacherous purposes or self-interest—a conduct incompatible with the principles that actuate me, as well as with my condition in life.

“ It is to vindicate my fame that I speak, and not to solicit security.

“ The person in your possession is Major John André, adjutant-general to the British army.

“ The influence of one commander in the army of his adversary is an advantage taken in war. A correspondence for this purpose I held; as confidential (in the present instance) with his Excellency Sir Henry Clinton.

“ To favour it, I agreed to meet upon ground not within the posts of either army a person who was to give me intelligence; I came up in the Vulture man-of-war for this effect, and was fetched by a boat from the ship to the beach. Being there, I was told that the approach of day would prevent my return, and that I must be concealed until the next night. I was in my regimentals, and had fairly risked my person.

“ Against my stipulation, my intention, and without my knowledge beforehand, I was conducted within one of your posts. Your Excellency may conceive my sensation on this occasion, and will imagine how much more must I have been affected by a refusal to reconduct me back the next night as I had been brought. Thus become a prisoner, I had to concert my escape. I quitted my uniform, and was passed another way in the night, without the American posts, to neutral ground, and informed I was beyond all armed parties, and left to press for New York. I was taken at Tarrytown by some volunteers.

“ Thus, as I have had the honour to relate, was I betrayed (being adjutant-general of the British army) into the vile condition of an enemy in disguise within your posts.

“ Having avowed myself a British officer, I have nothing to reveal but what relates to myself, which is true, on the honour of an officer and a gentleman.

“ The request I have to make to your Excellency—and I am conscious I address myself well—is, that in any rigour policy may dictate, a decency of conduct towards me may mark that, though unfortunate, I am branded with nothing dishonourable, as no motive could be mine but the service of my King, and as I was involuntarily an impostor.

“ Another request is, that I may be permitted to write an open letter to Sir Henry Clinton, and another to a friend for clothes and linen.

“ I take the liberty to mention the condition of some gen-

tlemen at Charleston, who, being either on parole or under protection, were engaged in a conspiracy against us. Though their situation is not similar, they are objects who may be set in exchange for me, or are persons whom the treatment I receive might affect.

“It is no less, Sir, in a confidence of the generosity of your mind, than on account of your superior station, that I have chosen to importune you with this letter. I have the honour to be, with great respect, Sir, your Excellency’s most obedient, humble servant,

“JOHN ANDRÉ, *Adjutant-general.*”

Lieutenant Allen arrived at General Arnold’s head-quarters on the morning of the 25th, with the letter from Jameson. As soon as it was read by Arnold, he precipitately left his house, entered a boat, and ordered the boatman to row down the river. He passed Verplanck’s Point with a flag, and reached the Vulture in safety.

The messenger whom Jameson had dispatched with the papers to General Washington, after proceeding some distance, ascertained that the General was returning from Hartford by another route. He retraced his steps, came back to Salem, took André’s letter, and hastened to West Point, expecting to meet Washington there.

About an hour after Arnold’s escape, Washington arrived at Robinson’s house, having ridden that morning from Fish-kill. Four hours later, the messenger arrived with the papers and Major André’s letter. The plot was now revealed and the mystery cleared up. Arnold, in the meantime, was secure with the enemy. Before night the following letters were received:—

GENERAL ARNOLD TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

“*On board the Vulture, 25th September, 1780.* Sir,—The heart which is conscious of its own rectitude cannot attempt to palliate a step which the world may censure as wrong. I have ever acted from a principle of love to my country since the commencement of the present unhappy contest between Great Britain and the Colonies; the same principle of love to my country actuates my present conduct, however it may appear inconsistent to the world, who very seldom judge right of any man’s actions.

“I have no favour to ask for myself. I have too often experienced the ingratitude of my country to attempt it; but, from the known humanity of your Excellency, I am induced

to ask your protection for Mrs. Arnold from every insult and injury that a mistaken vengeance of my country may expose her to. It ought to fall only on me; she is as good and as innocent as an angel, and is incapable of doing wrong. I beg she may be permitted to return to her friends in Philadelphia, or to come to me, as she may choose; from your Excellency I have no fears on her account, but she may suffer from the mistaken fury of the country.

“I have to request that the enclosed letter may be delivered to Mrs. Arnold, and she be permitted to write to me.

“I have also to ask that my clothes and baggage, which are of little consequence, may be sent to me; if required, their value shall be paid in money. I have the honour to be, with great regard and esteem, your Excellency’s most obedient humble servant.

“N.B.—In justice to the gentlemen of my family, Colonel Varick and Major Franks, I think myself in honour bound to declare, that they, as well as Joshua Smith, Esq. (who I know is suspected), are totally ignorant of any transactions of mine that they had reason to believe were injurious to the public.”

BEVERLY ROBINSON TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

“*Vulture, off Singing, 25th September, 1780.* Sir,—I am this moment informed that Major André, adjutant-general of his majesty’s army in America, is detained as a prisoner by the army under your command. It is therefore incumbent on me to inform you of the manner of his falling into your hands. He went up with a flag at the request of General Arnold, on public business with him, and had his permit to return by land to New York. Under these circumstances, Major André cannot be detained by you without the greatest violation of flags, and contrary to the custom and usage of all nations; and as I imagine you will see this matter in the same point of view as I do, I must desire you will order him to be set at liberty, and allowed to return immediately. Every step Major André took was by the advice and direction of General Arnold, even that of taking a feigned name, and of course he is not liable to censure for it. I am, Sir, not forgetting our former acquaintance, your very humble servant.”

The *Vulture* set sail the same evening for New York, with Arnold on board. She reached the city the next morning, and conveyed the first intelligence to Sir Henry Clinton of the capture of his adjutant-general.

SIR HENRY CLINTON TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

New York, 26th September, 1780. Sir,—Being informed that the King's adjutant-general in America has been stopped, under Major-General Arnold's passports, and is detained a prisoner in your Excellency's army, I have the honour to inform you, Sir, that I permitted Major André to go to Major-General Arnold, at the particular request of that general officer. You will perceive, Sir, by the enclosed paper, that a flag of truce was sent to receive Major André, and passports granted for his return. I therefore can have no doubt but your Excellency will immediately direct that this officer have permission to return to my orders at New York.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.”

The “ enclosed paper,” mentioned above, was the following letter from Arnold.

GENERAL ARNOLD TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

New York, 26th September, 1780. Sir,—In answer to your Excellency's message, respecting your adjutant-general, Major André, and desiring my idea of the reasons why he is detained, being under my passports, I have the honour to inform you, Sir, that I apprehend a few hours must return Major André to your Excellency's orders, as that officer is assuredly under the protection of a flag of truce, sent by me to him for the purpose of a conversation, which I requested to hold with him relating to myself, and which I wished to communicate through that officer to your Excellency.

“ I commanded, at the time, at West Point; had an undoubted right to send my flag of truce for Major André, who came to me under that protection; and having held my conversation with him, I delivered him confidential papers in my own handwriting, to deliver to your Excellency; thinking it much properer he should return by land, I directed him to make use of the feigned name of John Anderson, under which he had, by my direction, come on shore, and gave him my passports to go to the White Plains on his way to New York. This officer cannot therefore fail of being immediately sent to New York, as he was invited to a conversation with me, for which I sent him a flag of truce, and finally gave him passports for his safe return to your Excellency; all which I had then a right to do, being in the actual service of America, under the orders of General Washington, and commanding general at West Point and its dependencies. I have the honour to be, &c.”

On the 26th of September, André was brought to West Point, under an escort of dragoons commanded by Major Tallmadge; and on the 28th he was sent to Tappan, the headquarters of the American army.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO THE BOARD OF GENERAL OFFICERS
FOR THE EXAMINATION OF MAJOR ANDRÉ.

“ *Head-Quarters, Tappan, 29th September, 1780.*—Gentlemen, — Major André, adjutant-general to the British army, will be brought before you for your examination. He came within our lines in the night, on an interview with Major-General Arnold, and in an assumed character, and was taken within our lines in a disguised habit, with a pass under a feigned name, and with the enclosed papers concealed upon him. After a careful examination, you will be pleased, as speedily as possible, to report a precise state of his case, together with your opinion of the light in which he ought to be considered, and the punishment that ought to be inflicted. The judge-advocate will attend, to assist in the examination, who has sundry other papers relative to this matter, which he will lay before the board. I have the honour to be, &c.

“ GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

The board assembled the same day, and Major André was brought before them. In addition to his personal examination, he presented a brief statement of his case in writing.

PAPER DRAWN UP BY MAJOR ANDRÉ.

“ On the 20th of September, I left New York to get on board the *Vulture*, in order (as I thought) to meet General Arnold there in the night. No boat however came off, and I waited on board until the night of the 21st. During the day, a flag of truce was sent from the *Vulture*, to complain of the violation of a military rule in the instance of a boat having been decoyed on shore by a flag, and fired upon. The letter was addressed to General Arnold, signed by Captain Sutherland, but written in my hand and countersigned ‘J. Anderson, secretary.’ Its intent was to indicate my presence on board the *Vulture*. In the night of the 21st, a boat with Mr. — * and two hands came on board, in order to fetch Mr. Anderson on shore, and if too late to bring me back, to lodge me until the next night in a place of safety. I went into the boat, landed, and spoke with Arnold. I got on horseback with him

* Joshua H. Smith.

to proceed to [Smith's] house, and in the way, passed a guard I did not expect to see, having Sir Henry Clinton's directions not to go within an enemy's post, or to quit my own dress.

"In the morning A. quitted me, having himself made me put the papers I bore between my stockings and feet. Whilst he did it, he expressed a wish in case of any accident befalling me, that they should be destroyed, which I said of course would be the case, as when I went into the boat I should have them tied about with a string and a stone. Before we parted, some mention had been made of my crossing the river, and going by another route; but I objected much against it, and thought it was settled that in the way I came I was also to return.

"Mr.—* to my great mortification, persisted in this determination of carrying me by the other route; and at the decline of the sun, I set out on horseback, passed King's Ferry, and came to Crompond, where a party of militia stopped us and advised we should remain. In the morning I came with [Smith] as far as within two miles and a half of Pine's Bridge, where he said he must part with me, as the Cow-boys infested the road thenceforward. I was now near thirty miles from Kingsbridge, and left to the chance of passing that space undiscovered. I got to the neighbourhood of Tarrytown, which was far beyond the points described as dangerous, when I was taken by three volunteers, who, not satisfied with my pass, rifled me, and finding papers, made me a prisoner.

"I have omitted mentioning that, when I found myself within an enemy's posts, I changed my dress."

MAJOR ANDRÉ TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

"*Tappan, 29th September, 1780.* Sir,—Your Excellency is doubtless already apprized of the manner in which I was taken, and possibly of the serious light in which my conduct is considered, and the rigorous determination that is impending.

"Under these circumstances, I have obtained General Washington's permission to send you this letter, the object of which is, to remove from your breast any suspicion that I could imagine I was bound by your Excellency's orders to expose myself to what has happened. The events of coming within an enemy's posts, and of changing my dress, which led me to my present situation, were contrary to my own intentions as they were to your orders; and the circuitous route which I took to return was imposed (perhaps unavoidably) without alternative upon me.

* Joshua H. Smith.

"I am perfectly tranquil in mind, and prepared for any fate to which an honest zeal for my King's service may have devoted me.

"In addressing myself to your Excellency on this occasion, the force of all my obligations to you, and of the attachment and gratitude I bear you, recurs to me. With all the warmth of my heart, I give you thanks for your Excellency's profuse kindness to me; and I send you the most earnest wishes for your welfare which a faithful, affectionate, and respectful attendant can frame.

"I have a mother and three sisters, to whom the value of my commission would be an object, as the loss of Grenada has much affected their income. It is needless to be more explicit on this subject; I am persuaded of your Excellency's goodness.

"I receive the greatest attention from his Excellency General Washington, and from every person under whose charge I happen to be placed. I have the honour to be, with the most respectful attachment, your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

"JOHN ANDRÉ, *Adjutant-general.*"

GENERAL ROBERTSON TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

"*New York, 29 September, 1780.* Sir,—Persuaded that you are inclined rather to promote than prevent the civilities and acts of humanity which the rules of war permit between civilized nations, I find no difficulty in representing to you that several letters and messages sent from hence have been disregarded, are unanswered, and the flags of truce that carried them detained. As I ever have treated all flags of truce with civility and respect, I have a right to hope that you will order my complaint to be immediately redressed.

"Major André, who visited an officer commanding in a district at his own desire, and acted in every circumstance agreeably to his direction, I find is detained a prisoner. My friendship for him leads me to fear he may suffer some inconvenience for want of necessaries. I wish to be allowed to send him a few, and shall take it as a favour if you will be pleased to permit his servant to deliver them. In Sir Henry Clinton's absence, it becomes a part of my duty to make this representation and request. I am, Sir, &c."

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL ROBERTSON.

"*Tappan, 30 September, 1780.* Sir,—I have just received your letter of the 29th instant. Any delay which may attend

your flag has proceeded from accident and the peculiar circumstances of the occasion, not from intentional neglect or violation. The letter which admitted of an answer has received one as early as it could be given with propriety, transmitted by a flag this morning. As to messages, I am uninformed of any that have been sent. The necessaries for Major André will be delivered to him agreeably to your request. I am, Sir, &c."

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO SIR HENRY CLINTON.

" *Head-Quarters, 30 September, 1780.* Sir,—In answer to your Excellency's letter of the 26th instant, which I had the honour to receive, I have to inform you that Major André was taken under such circumstances as would have justified the most summary proceedings against him. I determined, however, to refer his case to the examination and decision of a board of general officers, who have reported, on his free and voluntary confession and letters—

" ' First, That he came on shore from the Vulture sloop-of-war, in the night of the 21st of September instant, on an interview with General Arnold, in a private and secret manner.

" ' Secondly, That he changed his dress within our lines; and under a feigned name, and in a disguised habit, passed our works at Stony and Verplanck's Points, the evening of the 22nd of September instant, and was taken the morning of the 23rd of September instant, at Tarrytown, in a disguised habit, being then on his way to New York; and when taken, he had in his possession several papers which contained intelligence for the enemy.'

" From these proceedings it is evident that Major Andre was employed in the execution of measures very foreign to the objects of flags of truce, and such as they were never meant to authorize or countenance in the most distant degree; and this gentleman confessed with the greatest candour, in the course of his examination, ' that it was impossible for him to suppose that he came on shore under the sanction of a flag.' I have the honour to be, &c."*

* The closing part of the report of the board of officers was not quoted in the letter to Sir Henry Clinton. It was in the following words:—"The board having maturely considered these facts, do also report to his Excellency General Washington, that Major André, adjutant-general to the British army, ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy, and that, agreeably to the law and usage of nations, it is their opinion he ought to suffer death."

GENERAL CLINTON TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

"*New York, 30 September, 1780.* Sir,—from your Excellency's letter of this date, I am persuaded the board of general officers, to whom you referred the case of Major André, cannot have been rightly informed of all the circumstances on which a judgment ought to be formed. I think it of the highest moment to humanity that your Excellency should be perfectly apprized of the state of this matter before you proceed to put that judgment in execution.

"For this reason I shall send his Excellency Lieutenant-General Robertson and two other gentlemen to give you a true state of facts, and to declare to you my sentiments and resolutions. They will set out to-morrow as early as the wind and tide will permit, and wait near Dobbs's Ferry for your permission and safe conduct to meet your Excellency, or such persons as you may appoint, to converse with them on this subject. I have the honour to be, &c.

"P.S.—The Honourable Andrew Elliot, Lieutenant-Governor, and the Honourable William Smith, Chief Justice of this Province, will attend his Excellency Lieutenant-General Robertson."

These gentlemen, attended by Colonel Beverly Robinson, went up to Dobbs's Ferry in the Greyhound schooner. General Robertson only was permitted to land, and he met on the shore General Greene, who had been deputed by General Washington to hold the conference on his part. They remained together till nearly night, and the subject was fully discussed.

Generals Greene and Robertson separated without being able to agree upon the question at issue. The former promised, however, to represent the arguments of the latter faithfully to General Washington, and to give him early intelligence of the result. The commissioners remained on board the Greyhound at Dobbs's Ferry during the night.

The time at first fixed for the execution of Major André, was five o'clock in the afternoon of the 1st of October, and it was thus published in the orders of the day. But the conference between Greene and Robertson caused a postponement till the next day at twelve o'clock. On the morning of the day in which the execution was expected to take place, André wrote as follows:—

MAJOR ANDRÉ TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

"*Tappan, 1st October, 1780.* Sir,—Buoyed above the terror of death by the consciousness of a life devoted to honour—

able pursuits, and stained with no action that can give me remorse, I trust that the request I make to your Excellency at this serious period, and which is to soften my last moments, will not be rejected.

“Sympathy towards a soldier will surely induce your Excellency and a military tribunal to adapt the mode of my death to the feelings of a man of honour.

“Let me hope, Sir, that if aught in my character impresses you with esteem towards me, if aught in my misfortunes marks me as the victim of policy and not of resentment, I shall experience the operation of these feelings in your breast by being informed that I am not to die on a gibbet.

“I have the honour to be your Excellency’s most obedient and most humble servant,

“JOHN ANDRÉ,
“*Adj.-Gen. to the British Army.*”

This request was duly considered by the Commander-in-chief and his principal officers; but taking into view the nature of the offence, the peculiar circumstances attending it, the invariable rules of war, and the usage of nations, Washington could not, consistently with his sense of duty, grant an indulgence which might seem to imply any doubt in his mind of the entire justice of the sentence, however strongly he might be moved by his well-known feelings of humanity, and his respect for the character of the sufferer. André was condemned as a spy, and hanged as such at twelve o’clock on the 2nd of October. During the whole time of his captivity he had exhibited perfect fortitude and serenity; and in his last moments he called on all around him to bear witness that he died like a brave man.

The news of his death was carried to New York by his servant, who had come out and remained with him, and who took the regimentals in which he was executed and his other effects. The following order was issued to the British army by Sir Henry Clinton:

“*Head-Quarters, New York, October 8th.*—The Commander-in-chief does with infinite regret inform the army of the death of the Adjutant-General Major André. The unfortunate fate of this officer calls upon the Commander-in-chief to declare that he ever considered Major André a gentleman, as well as in the line of his military profession, of the highest integrity and honour, and incapable of any base action or unworthy conduct. Major André’s death is very severely felt by the Commander-in-chief, as it assuredly will be by the

army; and must prove a real loss to the country and to his Majesty's service."

British writers have represented the sentence against André as unnecessarily severe, if not inconsistent with military usage. To meet this charge we need only cite the case of an American officer, who had previously been taken in a similar character, and executed in the British camp.

CAPTAIN NATHAN HALE.

"The case of Captain Nathan Hale has been regarded as parallel to that of Major André. This young officer was a graduate of Yale College, and had but recently closed his academic course when the war of the revolution commenced. Possessing genius, taste, and ardour, he became distinguished as a scholar; and endowed in an eminent degree with those graces and gifts of nature which add a charm to youthful excellence, he gained universal esteem and confidence. To high moral worth and irreproachable habits were joined gentleness of manners, an ingenuous disposition, and vigour of understanding. No young man of his years put forth a fairer promise of future usefulness and celebrity; the fortunes of none were fostered more sincerely by the generous good wishes of his associates, or the hopes and encouraging presages of his superiors.

"Being a patriot upon principle, and an enthusiast in a cause which appealed equally to his sense of justice and love of liberty, he was among the first to take up arms in his country's defence. The news of the battle of Lexington roused his martial spirit, and called him immediately to the field. He obtained a commission in the army, and marched with his company to Cambridge. His promptness, activity, and assiduous attention to discipline, were early observed. He prevailed upon his men to adopt a simple uniform, which improved their appearance, attracted notice, and procured applause. The example was followed by others, and its influence was beneficial. Nor were his hours wholly absorbed by his military duties. A rigid economy of time enabled him to gratify his zeal for study and mental culture.

"At length, the theatre of action was changed, and the army was removed to the southward. The battle of Long Island was fought, and the American forces were drawn together in the city of New York. At this moment it was extremely important for Washington to know the situation of the British army on the heights of Brooklyn, its numbers, and the indica-

tions as to its future movements. Having confidence in the discretion and judgment of the gallant Colonel Knowlton, who commanded a Connecticut regiment of infantry, he explained his wishes to that officer, and requested him to ascertain if any suitable person could be found in his regiment who would undertake so hazardous and responsible a service. It was essential that he should be a man of capacity, address, and military knowledge.

“ Colonel Knowlton assembled several of his officers, stated to them the views and desires of the General, and left the subject to their reflections, without proposing the enterprise to any individual. The officers then separated. Captain Hale considered deliberately what had been said, and finding himself by a sense of duty inclined to the undertaking, he called at the quarters of his intimate friend, Captain Hull (afterwards General Hull), and asked his opinion. Hull endeavoured to dissuade him from the service, as not befitting his rank in the army, and as being of a kind for which his openness of character disqualified him; adding, that no glory could accrue from success, and detection would inevitably be followed by an ignominious death.

“ Captain Hale replied, that all these considerations had been duly weighed; that ‘every kind of service necessary to the public good was honourable by being necessary;’ that he did not accept a commission for the sake of fame alone or personal advancement; that he had been for some time in the army without being able to render any signal aid to the cause of his country; and that he felt impelled by high motives of duty not to shrink from the opportunity now presented.

“ The arguments of his friend were unavailing, and Captain Hale passed over to Long Island in disguise. He had gained the desired information, and was just on the point of stepping into a boat to return to the city of New York, when he was arrested and taken before the British commander. Like André, he had assumed a character which he could not sustain; he was ‘too little accustomed to duplicity to succeed.’ The proof against him was so conclusive that he made no effort at self-defence, but frankly confessed his objects; and again, like André, without further remarks, ‘left the facts to operate with his judges.’ He was sentenced to be executed as a spy, and was accordingly hanged the next morning.

“ The sentence was conformable to the laws of war, and the prisoner was prepared to meet it with a fortitude becoming his character. But the circumstances of his death aggravated his

sufferings, and placed him in a situation widely different from that of André. The facts were narrated to General Hull by an officer of the British commissary department, who was present at the execution, and deeply moved by the conduct and fate of the unfortunate victim and the treatment he received. The provost-marshal, to whose charge he was consigned, was a refugee, and behaved towards him in the most unfeeling manner, refusing the attendance of a clergyman and the use of a bible, and destroying the letters he had written to his mother and friends.

“ In the midst of these barbarities, Hale was calm, collected, firm; pitying the malice that could insult a fallen foe and dying man, but displaying to the last his native elevation of soul, dignity of deportment, and an undaunted courage. Alone, unfriended, without consolation or sympathy, he closed his mortal career with the declaration, ‘ that he only lamented he had but one life to lose for his country.’ When André stood upon the scaffold, he called on all around him to bear witness that he died like a brave man. The dying words of Hale embodied a nobler and more sublime sentiment; breathing a spirit of satisfaction that, although brought to an untimely end, it was his lot to die a martyr in his country’s cause. The whole tenour of his conduct, and this declaration itself, were such proofs of his bravery that it required not to be more audibly proclaimed. The following tribute is from the muse of Dr. Dwight:—

“ Thus, while fond virtue wished in vain to save,
 HALE, bright and generous, found a hapless grave;
 With genius’ living flame his bosom glowed,
 And science charmed him to her sweet abode;
 In worth’s fair path his feet adventured far—
 The pride of peace, the rising grace of war.’

“ There was a striking similarity between the character and acts of Hale and André, but in one essential point of difference the former appears to much the greater advantage. Hale was promised no reward, nor did he expect any. It was necessary that the service should be undertaken from purely virtuous motives, without a hope of gain or of honour, because it was of a nature not to be executed by the common class of spies, who are influenced by pecuniary considerations; and promotion could not be offered as an inducement, since that would be a temptation for an officer to hazard his life as a spy, which a commander could not with propriety hold out. Viewed in any light, the act must be allowed to bear unequivocal marks of patriotic disinterestedness and self-devotion. But André

had a glorious prize before him; the chance of distinguishing himself in a military enterprise, honours, renown, and every allurement that could flatter hope and stimulate ambition. To say the least, his personal advantages were to be commensurate with the benefit to his country.

“ But whatever may have been the parallel between these two individuals while living, it ceased with their death. A monument was raised and consecrated to the memory of André by the bounty of a grateful sovereign. His ashes have been removed from their obscure resting-place, transported across the ocean, and deposited with the remains of the illustrious dead in Westminster Abbey. Where is the memento of the virtues, the patriotic sacrifice, the early fate, of Hale? It is not inscribed in marble; it is hardly recorded in books. Let it be the more deeply cherished in the hearts of his countrymen.”—SPARKS'S *Life and Treason of Arnold*, pp. 299—305.