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75 Continental Congress

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

JOURNALS OF THE
CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

1774-1789

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL RECORDS
IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS BY
WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD
CHIEF, DIVISION OF MANUSCRIPTS

Volume II. 1775

May 10-September 20

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

1905

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PREFATORY NOTE

This volume includes the Journals of the Continental Congress in its two sessions of 1775, transcribed from the original record of the Secretary, Charles Thomson, and illustrated by such historical material from other sources as was indicated in the prefatory note to the Journal of 1774. Many of the reports, petitions and memorials laid before this Congress, and referred to in the Journals, have been lost or separated from the Papers of the Continental Congress; the letter book of the President of the Congress and the letters received from many of the Generals of its armies, are not all to be found; and the skeleton record given by the Journals is often insufficient to give so much as a clue to their contents. The larger number of the surviving papers are printed in Peter Force's "American Archives," and it is safe to assume that if he did not include a letter or report in that monumental compilation, it was not to be found in the Papers of the Continental Congress in his day. The segregation of the larger collections of historical manuscripts in the Library of Congress has greatly facilitated the task of making this issue of the Journals more complete, and the Washington and Jefferson manuscripts have supplied matter of high historical interest.

Among the more important documents inserted under their proper dates in this volume may be named Frank-

lin's "Proposed Articles of Confederation;" the same member's proposal to throw open the ports to a free trade, with John Jay's report on trade, and Charles Thomson's minutes of the action of Congress on the trade resolves; the Instructions prepared for General Washington, and Jefferson's memorandum on unfinished business; the resolutions on salt-petre (July 28), which were not entered in the manuscript Journal, or printed in any of the editions of the Journal, but were found in the pamphlet on methods of making salt-petre, issued by order of Congress; Willing's report on necessaries for the army; Dickinson's draft of the "Declaration to the Army," and the two drafts of Jefferson's frame of the same paper. Comparison with the known editions of the Journal will show hardly a page that has not undergone important modifications of fact as well as of language. To complete the record of this session John Adams's notes of the debates have been added taken from the second volume of his writings. Although brief and fragmentary, they throw much light upon the subject under discussion and the manner of conducting the debates. The bibliographical notes are intended to cover the issues made under the direction or by order of the Congress.

Beginning with September 5, 1775, there is a second copy of the manuscript Journal, an edited transcript made by Charles Thomson, or his assistants from the original record. This transcript, of which all but a few sheets was written by Thomson, is contained in ten volumes, and terminates with the entry for Wednesday, January 20, 1779. It was made the basis of the printed Journals, and bears evidence of being the copy that passed through the various editing committees appointed from time to time for preparing the Journals for the press. The wording and text are, in general, those of the printed Journals,

certain paragraphs being omitted. On the fly leaf of the first volume is written the following:

N. B.—The passages and resolutions which in this and the following books are crossed were all passed by Congress; But a com[mittee] having been appointed to revise the Journals for publication; such parts as the house determined, on the report of their com[mittee] should not be published, were ordered to be crossed or marked so as not to be transcribed for publication. As the crossing defaced the minutes another mark was introduced, which was by dots in the margin.

CHA. THOMSON *Secy*

It would be neither convenient nor necessary to attempt to give all the variations in the two series of Journals. The double entries would only confuse, and the entries in the original Journal were full and suffered no editing or excision.

It is to be understood that the text of this reissue is that of the original Journals; any marked difference is noted by the insertion of parallels, thus, ||—||, which include matter taken from the "Corrected Journal," not appearing in the original Journals. Should the reader still entertain a doubt, any one of the earlier printed editions of the Journals may be consulted, as they followed the text of this "Corrected Journal."

No suggestion of a removal from Philadelphia to a place nearer the center of disturbance, Boston, is found on the Journals or in the Papers of the Continental Congress. Yet it is known that such an idea was entertained and discussed almost from the first assembling of the Congress, and before it was fully organized for business. On May 21, 1775, Deane could write. "I mentioned adjourning to Hartford, but no motion has as yet been stirred or made public on the subject, and all is uncertainty." Three days later he added, "Our discourse about adjourning is somewhat abated;" but the heat of the summer

again brought forward a plan for a Committee to sit at Hartford or elsewhere near the scene of action, during the adjournment of Congress, and for the reassembling of Congress at the place chosen. Deane, on June 16, returns to the subject in a manner expressive of its increased importance. "Mr. Lynch of South Carolina, desires me this day to engage him lodgings for himself, lady and daughter, near Hartford, conditionally. . . . The members talk more and more every day of a removal to Connecticut. . . . Probable it is to me, and I think it necessary, and shall in due time move it, that a part of the Congress remove to Hartford, as a Committee of the Whole, to direct and superintend the movements." No decision was reached before the adjournment, and while the matter of adjourning to Hartford or Albany was again mentioned late in September, the removal was not seriously discussed.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD

Chief of Division of Manuscripts

Editor

HERBERT PUTNAM

Librarian of Congress

JOURNALS
1775

JOURNALS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

1775

PHILADELPHIA, *Wednesday, 10 May, 1775*

A number of delegates from the Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, agreeable to their appointment and the orders received from their respective Colonies, met at Philadelphia, viz, from

New Hampshire: Mr. John Sullivan and Mr. John Langdon.

Massachusetts: Mr. John Hancock, Mr. Thomas Cushing, Mr. Samuel Adams, Mr. John Adams and Mr. Robert Treat Paine.

Connecticut: Mr. Eliphalet Dyer, Mr. Roger Sherman and Mr. Silas Deane.

New York: Mr. Philip Livingston, Mr. James Duane, and Mr. John Alsop.

New Jersey: Mr. James Kinsey, Mr. Stephen Crane, Mr. William Livingston, Mr. John De Hart, and Mr. Richard Smith.

Pennsylvania: Mr. Edward Biddle, Mr. John Dickinson, Mr. Thomas Mifflin, Mr. Charles Humphreys, Mr. John Morton, Mr. George Ross, Mr. Benjamin Franklin and Mr. Thomas Willing.

Delaware Counties: Mr. Cæsar Rodney, Mr. Thomas McKean and Mr. George Read.

Maryland: Mr. Matthew Tilghman, Mr. Thomas Johnson, [Junior,] Mr. William Paca, Mr. Samuel Chase, and Mr. John Hall.

Virginia: Mr. Peyton Randolph, Mr. George Washington, Mr. Richard Henry Lee, Mr. Edmund Pendleton, Mr. Benjamin Harrison, and Mr. Richard Bland.

North Carolina: Mr. William Hooper, Mr. Joseph Hewes, and Mr. Richard Caswell.

South Carolina: Mr. Henry Middleton, Mr. Thomas Lynch, Mr. Christopher Gadsden, Mr. John Rutledge and Mr. Edward Rutledge.

The Members being convened in the State House proceeded to the choice of a president, when upon Motion

The Hon^{ble} Peyton Randolph was unanimously chosen president.

After the president was seated

Mr. Charles Thomson was unanimously chosen Secretary.

||Andrew McNeare was also chosen door-keeper, and William Shed, messenger.||

Ordered, That the Rev^d Mr. Duché be requested to open the Congress with prayers to Morrow Morning and that Mr. [Thomas] Willing, Mr. [John] Sullivan and Mr. [Richard] Bland be a committee to wait on Mr. Duché and acquaint him with the request of the Congress.

Adjourned till to Morrow Morning 10 o Clock.

THURSDAY, MAY 11, 1775

Agreeable to the order of yesterday the Congress was opened with prayers by the Rev^d Mr. Duché.

After prayers the Congress according to adjournment proceeded to business.

The Delegates from the several Colonies produced their Credentials, which were read and approved, as follows:

Here insert.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

PROVINCE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

At the Convention of Deputies appointed by the several Towns in the Province aforesaid, held at Exeter on the 25th day of January 1775.

Hon^{ble} John Wentworth Esq^r In the Chair.

Voted, That John Sullivan and John Langdon Esq^{rs} be Delegates to Represent this Province in the Continental Congress, proposed to be held at Philadelphia on the tenth day of May next, and that they and each of them in the Absence of the other, have full and Ample Power, in behalf of this Province, to consent and Agree to all Measures, which said Congress shall deem necessary to Obtain redress of American Grievances.

True Copy Atts^d

MESSECH WEARE

*Clk to the Convention*¹

MASSACHUSETTS BAY

PROVINCE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY

IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS CAMBRIDGE

December 5th 1774.

Resolved, that the proceedings of the American continental Congress held at Philadelphia, on the fifth day of September last, and Reported by the hon^{ble} Delegates from this Colony, have with the deliberation due to their high importance been considered by us; and the American Bill of rights therein contained, appears to be formed with the greatest Ability and Judgment; to be founded on the immu-

¹The original is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress, New Hampshire, Credentials of Delegates.*

table Laws of Nature and reason, the principles of the English constitution, and respective Charters and constitutions of the *Colonies*, and to be worthy of *their* most vigorous support, as essentially necessary to liberty. Likewise the ruinous and eniquitous measures, which, in violation of these RIGHTS, at present convulse and threaten destruction to America, appear to be clearly pointed out, and judicious plans adopted for defeating them.

Resolved, That the most grateful acknowledgments are due to the truly honorable and patriotic Members of the Continental Congress, for their wise and able exertions in the cause of American Liberty; and this Congress, in their own Names, and in behalf of this Colony, do hereby, with the utmost Sincerity, express the same.

Resolved, That the Hon. John Hancock, Hon. Thomas Cushing, Esquires, Mr. Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine, Esquires, or any three of them, be, and they hereby are appointed and authorized to represent this Colony, on the tenth of May next, or sooner if necessary, at the American Congress, to be held at Philadelphia, with full power, with the Delegates from the Other American Colonies, to concert, agree upon, direct and order such farther measures, as shall to them appear to be best calculated for the recovery and establishment of American rights and Liberties, and for restoring harmony between Great-Britain and the Colonies.

A true copy of record,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN, *Secretary*.¹

PROVINCE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY

IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS, CAMBRIDGE

February 6, 1775.

Resolved, That the Hon. John Hancock, Hon. Thomas Cushing, Esquires, Mr. Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine, Esquires, appointed by the last provincial Congress to represent this Colony, on the 10th of May next, or sooner if necessary, at the American Congress, to be held at Philadelphia, be, and they hereby are authorized and impowered, with the Delegates from the other American Colonies, to adjourn from time to time, and place to place, as shall be judged necessary, and to continue in being, as Delegates for this Colony, until the Thirty-first day of December next ensuing, and no longer.

A true copy of Record,

BENJAMIN LINCOLN, *Secretary*.¹

¹The original is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress, Massachusetts, Credentials of Delegates.*

CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE COLONY OF CONNECTICUT,*November 3, A. Dom. 1774.*

This House proceeded to nominate, choose, and appoint Delegates, to attend the General Congress, to be holden at Philadelphia, on the 10th day of May next; and made Choice of the Hon[ora]ble Eliphalet Dyer, and Roger Sherman, Esquires, Silas Deane, Titus Hosmer, and Jonathan Sturgess, Esqrs. to be their Delegates, any Three of Whom are authorized and empowered to attend said Congress, in behalf of this Colony, to join, consult and advise with the Delegates of the other Colonies in British America, on proper Measures for advancing the best Good of the Colonies.

WILLIAM WILLIAMS, *Speaker.*

A true Copy, extracted from the Journals of the House.

Attested,

RICHARD LAW, *Clerk.*¹

NEW YORK

At a Provincial Convention formed of Deputies from the City and County of New York, the City and County of Albany, and the Counties of Dutchess, Ulster, Orange, West-Chester, King's, and Suffolk, held at the City of New York, the twenty second day of April, one thousand seven hundred and seventy five, for the purpose of appointing Delegates to represent the Colony of New York, in the next Continental Congress, to be held at Philadelphia, on the tenth Day of May next, Philip Livingston, Esq^r, James Duane, John Alsop, John Jay, Simon Boerum, William Floyd, Henry Wisner, Philip Schuyler, George Clinton, Lewis Morris, Francis Lewis, and Robert R. Livingston, junior, Esquires, were unanimously elected Delegates, to represent this Colony at such Congress, with full power to them, or any five of them, to meet the Delegates from the other Colonies, and to concert and determine upon such measures, as shall be judged most effectual for the preservation and re-establishment of American rights

¹The original is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress, Connecticut, Credentials of Delegates.*

and priviledges, and for the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies.

Leonard Lispenard	Levi Pawling	Stephen Ward
Isaac Roosevelt	Ch. D'Witt	John Van Derbilt
Ab ^m Walton	John Haring	Nath ⁿ Woodhull
Alex ^r McDougall	Peter Clowes	Jn ^o Sloss Hobart
Ab. Brasher	Israel Derby	Phineas Fanning
Ab ^m Yates jun ^r	A. Hawkes Hay	Thomas Tredwell
Ab ^m Ten Broeck	John Thomas jun ^r	Theod ^s Polhemus
Walter Livingston	Rob ^t Graham	Rich ^d Stillwell. ¹
Morris Graham	Philip Cortlandt	
Egb ^t Benson	Sam ^l Drake	

We, the subscribers, do, in behalf of ourselves, and those Freeholders of Queen's-County, at whose request we attended the Convention, signify our assent to, and approbation of, the above Delegation.

John Talman, Jacob Blackwell,
Zebⁿ Williams, Joseph Robinson.²

¹The Assembly of New York had, in February, discountenanced the measures of the first Continental Congress, and refused to send delegates to the second Congress. It prepared a Petition to the King, a Memorial to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and a Representation and Remonstrance to the Commons of Great-Britain in Parliament assembled. The three papers were dated March 25, 1775, and were signed by John Cruger, Speaker. Copies are in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 75, folios 121-152. The paper on which they are written has the water-mark of J. Whatman & Co., save the outside sheet which has a water-mark "Liberty and Prudence."

The "Town and Country Magazine" for 1775 has the following:

"May 15th, 1775. Mr [Edmund] Burke produced and read in his place a Remonstrance to the Parliament of Great Britain from the General Assembly of New York; he then moved for Leave to bring it up to the Table, and the Question being put by the Speaker, that this Remonstrance be now brought up, Lord North paved the way for getting rid of the main Question by moving an amendment; that the Words 'which is derogatory to the Supreme Authority of the British Parliament' be added, "Upon which a short Debate ensued, the House divided, for the Amendment 186, against it 67. Of course the main Question was lost."

The Duke of Manchester presented the Memorial in the House of Lords, where after a long debate, it was rejected. No answer to the Petition was given by the King.

Henry Cruger, writing to his son, Henry Cruger jr. on April 4, said: "The Assembly is adjourned for a month to prevent the troublesome party from endeavouring to consider the proceedings of the Continental Congress."

²The original is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, New York, *Credentials of Delegates*.

NEW JERSEY

IN ASSEMBLY,

PERTH-AMBOY, *Tuesday, January 24, 1775.*

Resolved unanimously, That James Kinsey, Stephen Crane, William Livingston, John D'Hart, and Richard Smith, Esquires, or any Three of them, be, and they are hereby appointed to attend the Continental Congress of the Colonies, intended to be held at the City of Philadelphia, in May next, or at any other Time and Place; And that they report their Proceedings to the next Session of General Assembly.

A true Copy from the Journals,

RICHARD SMITH,
*Clerk of Assembly.*¹

PENNSYLVANIA

IN ASSEMBLY,

December 15th, 1774, A. M.

Upon Motion,

Resolved, N. C. D. That the Hon[ora]ble Edward Biddle, Speaker, John Dickinson, Thomas Mifflin, Joseph Galloway, Charles Humphreys, John Morton, and George Ross, Esquires, be, and they are hereby appointed Deputies on the Part of this Province, to attend the General Congress, proposed to be held at the City of Philadelphia, on the 10 Day of May next; and that they, or any four of them, do meet the said Congress accordingly, unless the present Grievances of the American Colonies shall before that Time be redressed.

Extract from the Journals,

CHARLES MOORE,
*Clerk of Assembly.*²

¹The original is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, New Jersey, *Credentials of Delegates*.

²The original is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, Pennsylvania, *Credentials of Delegates*. The following paper was not entered in the Journals:

IN ASSEMBLY,

May 12th, 1775, A. M.

Joseph Galloway Esq^r having repeatedly moved to be excused from serving as a Deputy for this Province at the Continental Congress, the House this Day took his Motion into Consideration, and do agree to excuse him from that service.

Extract from the Journals,

CHA^s MOORE,
Cik of Assembly.

IN ASSEMBLY,

May 6, 1775, A. M.

Resolved, N. C. D. That Benjamin Franklin, Esq^r, be, and he is hereby added to the Deputies appointed by this House, to attend the Continental Congress, expected to meet the 10th instant, in this City.

Resolved, N. C. D. That the Hon^{ble} Thomas Willing of Philadelphia, and James Wilson Esq^r of Carlisle be also added to the said Deputies for this Province.

Extract from the Journals,

CHARLES MOORE,

*Clerk of Assembly.*¹

LOWER COUNTIES ON DELAWARE

IN ASSEMBLY,

Thursday, March 16th, 1775, A. M.

On Motion,

Resolved, nemine contradicente, That the Honorable Cæsar Rodney, Speaker, Thomas M^cKean, and George Read, Esquires, be, and they are hereby appointed and authorized to represent this Government at the American Congress, proposed to be held at the City of Philadelphia, on the tenth day of May next, or at any other time or place, with full power to them, or any two of them, together with the Delegates from the other American Colonies, to concert and agree upon such further measures, as shall appear to them best calculated for the accommodation of the unhappy differences between Great-Britain and the Colonies, on a constitutional foundation, which the House most ardently wish for, and that they report their proceedings to the next Sessions of General Assembly.

I do certify the above to be a true copy of the Minutes of Assembly,
DAVID THOMPSON, *Clerk to the Assembly.*²

MARYLAND

At a Meeting of the Deputies, appointed by the several Counties of the Province of Maryland, at the city of Annapolis, by Adjournment, on the 8th day of December, 1774, and continued till the 12th Day of the same month,

¹ See note 2, page 17.

² The original is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress, Delaware, Credentials of Delegates.*

Resolved unanimously, That the Honourable Matthew Tilghman, and Thomas Johnson, jun., Robert Goldsborough, William Paca, Samuel Chase, John Hall, and Thomas Stone, Esqrs. or any three or more of them, be Delegates to represent this Province in the next Continental Congress, and that they, or any three or more of them, have full and ample power to consent and agree to all measures, which such Congress shall deem necessary and effectual to obtain a redress of American grievances; and this Province bind themselves to execute, to the utmost of their power, all resolutions which the said Congress may adopt: And further, if the said Congress shall think necessary to adjourn, we do authorise our said Delegates, to represent and act for this province, in any one Congress to be held by virtue of such adjournment.

Signed by order,

JOHN DUCKETT, *Clerk.*¹

VIRGINIA

At a convention of delegates for the counties and corporations in the colony of Virginia, at the town of Richmond, in the county of Henrico, on Monday, the 20th of March, 1775;

The convention proceeded to the election of delegates, by ballot, to represent this colony in general Congress, to be held at the city of Philadelphia, on the tenth day of May next, when the honorable Peyton Randolph, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Edmund Pendleton, Benjamin Harrison, and Richard Bland, esqrs. were chosen for that purpose.

PEYTON RANDOLPH, *President*,

JOHN TAZEWELL, *Clerk of the Convention.*

NORTH CAROLINA

At a General meeting of Delegates of the Inhabitants of this Province, in Convention, at New Bern, the 5th day of April, 1775;

Present; The Hon[ora]ble John Harvey, Esquire, Moderator, and sixty eight Members:

On Motion,

Resolved, That William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, and Richard Caswell, Esquires, be, and are hereby appointed Delegates to attend the

¹ The original is a printed broadside giving the proceedings of the meeting in full, of which this is only a paragraph. It is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, Maryland, *Credentials of Delegates*.

General Congress, to be held at Philadelphia, on the tenth day of May next, or at any other time and place that shall be appointed for that purpose, and they are hereby invested with such powers as may make any Acts done by them, or any of them, or consent given in behalf of this Province, obligatory, in honor, upon every Inhabitant thereof.

A true Copy from the Minutes,

JOHN HARVEY, *Moderator*.¹

Attested by ANDREW KNOX, *Clk*.

IN THE ASSEMBLY, 7th of April, 1775.

Resolved, that the House do highly approve of the Proceedings of the Continental Congress, lately held at Philadelphia, and that they are determined, as Members of the Community in General, that they will strictly adhere to the said Resolutions, and will use what influence they have, to induce the same observance in every Individual of this Province.

This House having received information, that William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, and Richard Caswell, Esquires, were appointed by the Convention, held at New Bern, as Delegates to attend the meeting of the Continental Congress, soon to be held at Philadelphia;

Resolved, That the House approve of the Choice made by the said Convention.

Resolved, That the Thanks of the House be given to William Hooper, Joseph Hewes and Richard Caswell, Esquires, for the faithful and Judicious discharge of the Important Trust reposed in them as Delegates for this Colony at the late Continental Congress.

JOHN HARVEY, *Speaker*

NEW BERN, NORTH CAROLINA.

Above copy taken from the Journals of the House of Assembly for the Province aforesaid.

JA^s GREEN, JUN., *Clk*.²

SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE COMMONS HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,

FRIDAY, February 3, 1775.

WHEREAS the Continental Congress, held at the City of Philadelphia, in September last, amongst other things, recommended to the several

¹ The original is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 59, Vol. I, folio 9.

² The original is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 76, folio 1.

Colonies in North America, to chuse Deputies as soon as possible, to hold another Congress at the same place, on the tenth day of May next; and whereas, this House being fully satisfied with the conduct and fidelity of their late Deputies at the Congress; do hereby nominate and appoint The Honorable Henry Middleton, Esquire, Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, John Rutledge, and Edward Rutledge, Esquires, Deputies for and in behalf of this Colony, to meet the Deputies appointed, or to be appointed, on the part and behalf of the other Colonies, at the City of Philadelphia, or any other place, that shall be agreed on by the said Deputies in General Congress, with full power and authority to concert, agree to, and effectually prosecute such measures, as in the opinion of the said Deputies, and of the Deputies so to be Assembled, shall be most likely to obtain a redress of American Grievances.

Resolved, That the Deputies hereby appointed on the part and behalf of this Colony, are authorised and empowered to agree, That the Continental Congress may meet at any future time, and at such place, as shall be agreed on, and to adjourn from time to time; Provided it do not exceed Nine Months from the date of their meeting in May next.

Resolved, That this House will provide the sum of One thousand five hundred Pounds Sterling to pay the expence of the said Deputies, going to said Congress.

Attested,

THOMAS FARR, jun^r, *Clerk*.

Extract from the Journals of the Provincial Congress of South Carolina, published by order of the Congress, 11th of January, 1775.

Resolved, That the Hon[ora]ble Henry Middleton, Esquire, Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, John Rutledge, and Edward Rutledge, Esquires, or any three of them, be, and they are hereby appointed and authorized to Represent this Colony, on the 10th day of May next, or sooner, if necessary, at the American Congress, to be held at Philadelphia, or elsewhere; with full Power to Concert, agree upon, direct and order such further Measures, as, in the Opinion of the said Deputies, and the Delegates of the other American Colonies to be Assembled, shall appear to be necessary for the Recovery and Establishment of American Rights and Liberties, and for Restoring Harmony between Great Britain and her Colonies.¹

¹ The original is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, South Carolina, *Credentials of Delegates*.

Upon motion, *Resolved*, That the thanks of the Congress be given to the rev. Mr. Duché, for performing divine service, agreeable to the desire of the Congress, and for his excellent prayer so well adapted to the present occasion.

Ordered, That Mr. [Richard] Bland, Mr. [Thomas] Willing, and Mr. [John] Sullivan, be a committee to wait upon Mr. Duché, and return the thanks of the Congress, agreeable to the above resolution.

~~Circular letter from the Agents.~~

Upon motion, *Resolved*, That the doors be kept shut, during the time of business, and that the members consider themselves under the strongest obligations of honor to keep the proceedings secret, until the majority shall direct them to be made public.

A circular letter from the agents, William Bollan, Benjamin Franklin, and Arthur Lee, Esq^{rs}, directed to the Speakers of several Assemblies, dated 5 Feb^y, 1775, with sundry papers therein referred to, was laid before the Congress and read; the letter is as follows:

[here insert it]

“LONDON, *February 5, 1775.*

SIR,

Our last letter informed you, that the king had declared his intentions of laying the petition before his two houses of parliament. It has accordingly been laid before each house, but undistinguished among a variety of letters and other papers from America.

A motion made by lord Chatham, to withdraw the troops from Boston, as the first step towards a conciliating plan, was rejected; and the ministry have declared in both houses the determination to enforce obedience to all the late laws. For this purpose, we understand, that three regiments of foot, one of dragoons, seven hundred marines, six sloops of war, and two frigates, are now under orders for America.

We think it proper to inform you, that your cause was well defended by a considerable number of good and wise men in both

houses of parliament, though far from being a majority: and that many of the commercial and manufacturing parts of the nation, concerned in the American trade, have presented, or, as we understand, are preparing to present, petitions to parliament, declaring their great concern, for the present unhappy controversies with America, and praying expressly, or in effect, for healing measures, as the proper means of preserving their commerce, now greatly suffering or endangered. But the treatment the petitions, already presented, have hitherto received, is such, as, in our opinion, can afford you no reliance on the present relief through their means.

As soon as we learnt that the petition of the Congress was before the house of commons, we thought it our duty to support it, if we might be permitted so to do, as there was no other opportunity for the numerous inhabitants of the colonies to be heard in defence of their rights: accordingly, we joined in a petition for that purpose. Sir George Saville kindly undertook to present it. But, on previously opening the purport of it, as the order is, a debate arose on the propriety of receiving it, and on a division, it was rejected by a great majority.

The following extract of a letter from general Gage to lord Dartmouth, as laid before parliament, we think it our duty to transmit, viz.

“Dec. 15, 1774. Your lordship’s idea of disarming certain provinces, would doubtless be consistent with prudence and safety, but it neither is, nor has been practicable, without having recourse to force, and being masters of the country.”

It was thrown out in debate by a principal member of administration, that it would be proper to alter the charters of Connecticut and Rhode-Island.

Inclosed, we send you a copy of the resolutions passed in a committee of the whole house, on Thursday last, which are to be reported on Monday. It is said that these resolutions are to be the foundation of several bills to be brought in, but the purport of those bills we have not yet learnt with sufficient certainty.

We send you likewise, a copy of lord Chatham’s first motion in the house of lords, and of his plan of a bill for settling the troubles between Great-Britain and the colonies; both which were rejected on the first reading.

With great respect, we are, sir, your most obedient, humble servants,

(Signed)

WILLIAM BOLLAN,
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
ARTHUR LEE.

||The papers referred to in the foregoing letter, being published in the newspapers, it is not necessary to insert them.||

Mr. [John] Hancock produced and laid before the Congress a Letter from the provincial Congress of Massachusetts bay, together with certain resolutions formed by s^d Congress, and a Copy of a letter, sent by s^d Congress to their agent in England, and an address to the inhabitants of G^t-Bn, on the late engagement between the troops under Gen^l Gage, and the inhabitants of Massachusetts bay; on Wednesday 18 ult: also a number of depositions, duly attested, relative to the commencement of hostilities, all which were read, and are as follows:

[here insert them]

IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS, WATERTOWN, *May 3, 1775.*

To the Honorable American Continental Congress, to be conven'd at Philadelphia, on the tenth of May Instant.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOURS,

The Congress of this colony, impressed with the deepest Concern for their Country, under the present critical and alarming state of its public Affairs, beg leave, with the most respectful submission, whilst acting in support of the Cause of America, to request the direction and assistance of your respectable Assembly.

The inclosed Packet, containing Copies of the Depositions, which we have despatched for London, also an Address to the Inhabitants of Great Britain, and a Letter to our Colony Agent, Benjamin Franklin, Esq^r are humbly submitted to your Consideration.

The sanguinary Zeal of the ministerial Army, to ruin and destroy the Inhabitants of this Colony, in the Opinion of this Congress, hath rendered the Establishment of an Army indispensably necessary. We have accordingly passed an *unanimous* Resolve for thirteen thousand six hundred Men, to be forthwith raised by this Colony; and proposals are made by us to the Congress of New Hampshire, and Governments of Rhode Island and Connecticut Colonies, for furnishing men in the same proportion. The sudden Exigency of our public Affairs, precluded the possibility of waiting for your direction in these important measures; more especially, as a considerable Reinforcement

from Great Britain is daily expected in this Colony, and we are now reduced to the sad alternative of defending ourselves by arms, or submitting to be slaughtered.

With the greatest deference, we beg leave to suggest, that a powerful Army, on the side of America, hath been consider'd, by this Congress, as the only mean left to stem the rapid Progress of a tyrannical Ministry. Without a force, superior to our Enemies, we must reasonably expect to become the Victims of their relentless fury: With such a force, we may still have hopes of seeing an immediate End put to the inhuman Ravages of mercenary Troops in America, and the wicked authors of our Miseries, brought to condign punishment, by the just Indignation of our Brethren in Great Britain.

We hope that this Colony will, at all Times, be ready to spend and be spent in the Cause of America. It is, nevertheless, a Misfortune greatly operating to its Disadvantage, that it has a great Number of Sea Port Towns, exposed to the approach of the Enemy by Sea; from many of which, the Inhabitants have removed, and are now removing their Families and Effects, to avoid Destruction from Ships of War: These, we apprehend, will be generally distressed from want of subsistence, and disabled from contributing Aid for supporting the Forces of the Colony; but we have the greatest Confidence in the wisdom and ability of the Continent to support us, so far as it shall appear necessary for supporting the common cause of the American Colonies.

We also inclose several Resolves for empowering and directing our Receiver General to borrow the Sum of one hundred thousand Pounds, Lawful Money, and to issue his Notes for the same; it being the only measure, which we cou'd have recourse to, for supporting our Forces; And we request your assistance in rendring our measures effectual, by giving our Notes a currency through the Continent.

JOSEPH WARREN, *President, P. T.*¹

The papers inclosed, and referred to, in the above, are as follows:

IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS, WATERTOWN, *May 3, 1775.*

Resolved, That the Receiver General be, and hereby is empower'd and directed to borrow the Sum of One Hundred Thousand Pounds, lawful money, and issue Colony Security for the same, payable, with Annual Interest, at six ¶ cent. June 1st., 1777, and that the Conti-

¹The original is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 65, vol. I, folio 1.

mental Congress be desired to recommend to the several Colonies, to give a currency to such Securities.

A true extract from the minutes,

SAMUEL FREEMAN, *Secretary, P. T.*

IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS, WATERTOWN, *May 3, 1775.*

Resolved, That the Securities given by the Receiver General for the Monies borrowed by him, in pursuance of the aforegoing Resolve, be in the form following, viz.

COLONY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

No. The Day of A. D. 177 Borrowed and received of
A. B. the Sum of lawful money, for the Use and Service of the
Colony of the Massachusetts Bay; and in behalf of said Colony, I do
hereby promise and oblige myself, and successors in the Office of Treas-
urer, or Receiver General, to repay to the said or to his Order,
the first Day of June, 1777, the aforesaid Sum of , lawful Money,
in Spanish Milled Dollars, at six shillings each, or in the several Species
of Coined Silver and Gold, enumerated in an Act made and passed in
the 23d Year of his late Majesty, King George the Second, intituled
“An Act for ascertaining the Rates at which coined Silver and Gold,
English half-pence and farthings, may pass within this Government:”
and according to the Rates therein mentioned, with Interest, to be
paid annually, at six per Cent. Witness my hand

A. B.

C. D.

E. F.

And whereas, Inconveniencies may arise by the Receiver General's
issuing Notes for small Sums: Therefore,

Resolved, That the Receiver General be, and he hereby is directed,
not to issue any Notes for a less Sum than four Pounds, lawful money.

A true extract from the Minutes,

SAMUEL FREEMAN, *Secretary, P. T.*¹

*To the Hon. Benjamin Franklin, Esq. at London.*²

IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS, WATERTOWN, *April 26, 1775.*

SIR,

From the entire Confidence we Repose in your faithfulness and
Abilities, we consider it the happiness of this Colony, that the impor-

¹The original is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 74, folio 53.

²Franklin was on his way to America when this letter was written; and it was given to Arthur Lee, acting agent in London.

tant trust of Agency for it, in this day of unequalled Distress, is devolved on your hands, and we doubt not, your Attachment to the Cause and liberties of Mankind, will make every possible Exertion in our behalf, a Pleasure to you; altho' our circumstances will compell us often to Interrupt your repose, by Matters that will surely give you Pain. A singular instance hereof is the Occasion of the present letter. The Contents of this Packet, will be our Apology for Troubling you with it.

From these, you will see, how and by whom we are at last Plunged into the horrors of a most unnatural war.

Our enemies, we are told, have despatched to G[reat] Britain a fallacious Account of the Tragedy they have begun; to prevent the operation of which, to the Publick injury, we have engaged the Vessel that conveys this to you, as a Packet in the service of this Colony, and we Request your Assistance in supplying Captain Derby,¹ who commands her, with such Necessaries as he shall want, on the Credit of your Constituents in Massachusetts Bay.

But we most ardently wish, that the several papers herewith Inclosed, may be immediately printed, and Disperced thro' every Town in England, and especially communicated to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the city of London, that they may take such Order thereon, as they may think Proper. And we are Confident your fidelity will make such improvement of them, as shall convince all, who are not determined to be in everlasting blindness, that it is the united efforts of both Englands, that must save either. But that whatever Price our Brethren in the one, may be pleased to put on their constitutional liberties, we are authorized to assure you, that the inhabitants of the other, with the Greatest Unanimity, are inflexibly resolved to sell theirs only at the Price of their lives.

Sign'd by order of the Provincial Congress,

JOSEPH WARREN, *President, P. T.*

A true Copy from the original Minutes,

SAMUEL FREEMAN, *Secretary, P. T.*²

¹ Richard Derby.

² "Ordered, that M^r President, Doct. Taylor, Mr. Freeman, [Henry] Gardner, Esq. and Col. Stone, be a committee to draught a letter to our agent in Great Britain." *Provincial Congress*, 28 April, 1775. The letter was brought in and signed the same day. The version printed is taken from the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 65, Vol. I, folio 9.

The depositions relative to the commencement of hostilities, are as follows:¹

No. 1.

LEXINGTON, *April 25, 1775.*

We, Solomon Brown, Jonathan Loring, and Elijah Sanderson, all of lawful Age, and of Lexington, in the County of Middlesex, and Collony of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, do testify and declare, that on the evening of the Eighteenth of April, Instant, being on the Road between Concord and Lexington, and all of us mounted on Horses, we were, about ten of the Clock, suddenly surprized by nine Persons, whom we took to be Regular Officers, who Rode up to us, mounted and armed, each having a Pistol in His Hand, and after Putting Pistols to our Breasts, and seizing the Bridles of our Horses, they swore, that if we stirred another step, we should be all Dead Men, upon which we surrendered our selves. They Detained us until Two o'Clock the next morning, in which time they searched and greatly abused us; having first enquired about the Magazine at Concord, whether any Guards were posted there, and whether the bridges were up, and said four or five Regiments of Regulars would be in Possession of the stores soon; they then brought us back to Lexington, cut the Horses Bridles and Girts, turned them Loose, and then Left us.

SOLOMON BROWN,
JONATHAN LORING,
ELIJAH SANDERSON.

¹On April 22d. the Massachusetts Congress appointed a committee to collect testimony on the conduct of the British troops in their route to Concord, to be sent to England by the first ship from Salem. Mr. Gerry, Colonel Cushing, Colonel Barrett, Captain Stone, Dr. Taylor, Messrs. Sullivan, Freeman and Watson, and Esquire Jonas Dix constituted this committee; and on the 23d, Gerry and Cushing were joined with Dr. Church to draw up an account of the "massacre" of the 19th. The report and narrative were submitted on the 26th, and a number of scribes named to make duplicate copies. One set was entrusted to Captain Richard Derby, who was to hasten to London and deliver them to Franklin. On May 2d, Gerry, Warren, Dexter, Col. Warren and Gerrish were ordered to send a second set to the Southern colonies, to be transmitted to London, and a third set to the Continental Congress. The copies sent to the Congress are in *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 65, vol. I, folios 11-51.

These depositions were printed in the following pamphlet:

A / Narrative, / of the / Excursion and Ravages / of the / King's Troops / Under the Command of General Gage, / On the nineteenth of April, 1775. / Together with the / Depositions / Taken by Order of Congress, / To support the Truth of it. / Published by Authority. / Massachusetts-Bay: / Worcester, Printed by Isaiah Thomas, by order / of the Provincial Congress. / [1775.]. 8°. pp. 23. Copies are in the American Antiquarian Society.

MIDDLESEX, *ff. April 25, 1775.*

Jonⁿ Loring, Solomon Brown, and Elijah Sanderson, being duly cautioned to Testify the whole Truth, made solemn Oath to the Truth of the above Deposition by them subscribed.

Coram

WILLIAM REED	} Just. Pacis.
JOSIAH JOHNSON	
WILLIAM STICKNEY	

LEXINGTON, *April 25, 1775.*

I, Elijah Saunderson, above named, do further testifie and declare, that I was on Lexington Common, the Morning of the Nineteenth of April, aforesaid, having been dismissed by the Officers abovementioned, and saw a Large Body of Regular Troops advancing toward Lexington Company, many of whom were then dispersing. I heard one of the Regulars, whom I took to be an officer, say, "Damn them, we will have them," and immediately the Regulars shouted aloud, Run and fired upon the Lexington Company, which did not fire a Gun before the Regulars Discharged on them; Eight of the Lexington Company were killed while they were dispersing, and at a Considerable Distance from each other, and Many wounded, and altho' a spectator, I narrowly Escaped with my Life.

ELIJAH SAUNDERSON.

MIDDLESEX, *ff. April 25, 1775.*

Elijah Saunderson, above named, being Duly Cautioned to Testify the whole Truth, made Solemn Oath to the Truth of the above Deposition by him subscribed.

Coram.

WILLIAM REED	} Just. Pacis. ¹
JOSIAH JOHNSON	
WILLIAM STICKNEY	

No. 2.

LEXINGTON, *April 23, 1775.*

I, Thomas Rice Willard, of lawful age, do Testify and Declare, that being in the House of Daniel Harrington,² of said Lexington, on the Nineteenth Instant, in the morning, about half an hour before sun-

¹ Each deposition is sworn to before justices of the peace, and duly attested before Nathaniel Gorham, notary and Tabellion public. I give only the names of the justices in each case, and at the end of the depositions give an example of Gorham's attestation.

² Harrington's House is noted on plan in Drake's *Middlesex*, II, 10.

rise, [I] looked out at the window of said house, and saw (as I suppose) about four hundred Regulars in one Body, coming up the road, and marched toward the north part of the Common, back of the meeting-house of said Lexington; and as soon as said Regulars were against the east end of the meeting-house, the Commanding Officer said something, what I know not; but upon that the Regulars ran till they came within about eight or nine rods of about an Hundred of the Militia of Lexington, who were collected on said Common, at which time the Militia of Lexington dispersed; then the Officers made an huzza, and the private Soldiers succeeded them: Directly after this, an officer rode before the Regulars to the other side of the body, and halloed after the Militia of said Lexington, and said, "Lay Down your Arms, Damn you, why Don't you lay Down your arms?" and that there was not a Gun fired till the Militia of Lexington were Dispersed; and further saith not.

THOMAS RICE WILLARD.¹

No. 3.

LEXINGTON, April 25, 1775.

Simon Winship, of Lexington, in the County of Middlesex, and province of Massachusetts Bay, New England, being of lawful age, testified and saith, that on the Nineteenth of April Instant, about four o'Clock in the Morning, as he was passing the Publick Road in said Lexington, peaceably and unarmed, about two miles and an half Distant from the meeting-House in said Lexington, he was met by a Body of the Kings regular Troops, and being stop'd by some Officers of said Troops, was Commanded to Dismount; upon asking why he must dismount, he was obliged by force to Quit his Horse, and ordered to march in the midst of the Body, and being Examined whether he had been Warning the Minute Men, he answered No, but had been out, and was then returning to his fathers. Said Winship further testifies, that he marched with said Troops, untill he came within about half-a-Quarter of a Mile of said meeting-House, where an Officer commanded the Troops to *halt*, and then to prime and load: this being done, the said Troops marched on till they came within a few Rods of Captain Parkers Company, who were partly collected on the place of parade, when said Winship observed an Officer at the head of said Troops, flourishing his Sword, and with a Loud Voice, giving the word fire, fire, which was instantly followed by a Discharge of Arms from said

¹ Sworn to before William Reed, Jonathan Hastings and Duncan Ingraham.

regular Troops, and said Winship is positive, and in the most solemn manner declares, that there was no Discharge of arms on either side, till the word fire was given, by the said Officer as above.

SIMON WINSHIP.¹

No. 4.

LEXINGTON, *April 25, 1775.*

I, John Parker, of lawful Age, and Commander of the Militia in Lexington, do testify and declare, that on the 19th Instant in the Morning, about one of the Clock, being informed that there were a Number of Regular Officers, riding up and down the Road, stopping and insulting People as they passed the Road; and also was informed that a Number of Regular Troops were on their March from Boston in order to take the Province Stores at Concord, ordered our Militia to meet on the Common in said Lexington to consult what to do, and concluded not to be discovered, nor meddle or make with said Regular Troops (if they should approach) unless they should insult or molest us; and, upon their sudden Approach, I immediately ordered our Militia to disperse, and not to fire:—Immediately said Troops made their appearance and rushed furiously, fired upon, and killed eight of our Party without receiving any Provocation therefor from us.

JOHN PARKER.²

No. 5.

LEXINGTON, *April 24, 1775.*

I, John Robins, being of lawful Age, do Testifye and say, that on the Nineteenth Instant, the Company under the Command of Captain John Parker, being drawn up (sometime before sun Rise) on the Green or Common, and I being in the front Rank, there suddenly appear'd a Number of the Kings Troops, about a Thousand, as I thought, at the distance of about 60 or 70 yards from us Huzzaing, and on a quick pace towards us, with three Officers in their front on Horse Back, and on full Gallop towards us, the foremost of which cryed, throw down your Arms ye Villains, ye Rebels! upon which said Company Dispersing, the foremost of the three Officers order'd their Men, saying, fire, by God, fire! at which Moment we received a very heavy and close fire from them, at which Instant, being wounded, I fell, and several of our men were shot Dead by me. Captain Parker's men I believe had not then fired a Gun, and further the Deponent saith not.

JOHN ROBINS.¹

¹Sworn to before William Reed and Josiah Johnson.

²Sworn to before William Reed, Josiah Johnson, and William Stickney.

No. 6.

LEXINGTON, *April 25, 1775.*

We, Benjamin Tidd, of Lexington, and Joseph Abbot, of Lincoln, in the County of Middlesex, and Colony of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, of lawful age, do testify and Declare that, on the morning of the Nineteenth of April Instant, about 5 o'Clock, being on Lexington Common, and mounted on Horses, we saw a Body of regular Troops Marching up to the Lexington Company, which was then dispersing: Soon after, the regulars fired, first, a few guns, which we took to be pistols from some of the Regulars who were mounted on Horses, and then the said Regulars fired a Volley or two before any guns were fired by the Lexington Company; our Horses immediately started, and we rode off. And further say not.

BENJAMIN TIDD,
JOSEPH ABBOT.¹

No. 7.

LEXINGTON, *April 25, 1775.*

We, Nathaniel Mullikin, Phillip Russell, Moses Harrington, jun. Thomas and Daniel Harrington, William Grimes, William Tidd, Isaac Hastings, Jonas Stone, jun. James Wyman, Thaddeus Harrington, John Chandler, Joshua Reed, jun. Joseph Simonds, Phineas Smith, John Chandler, jun. Reuben Lock, Joel Viles, Nathan Reed, Samuel Tidd, Benjamin Lock, Thomas Winship, Simeon Snow, John Smith, Moses Harrington the 3d, Joshua Reed, Ebenezer Parker, John Harrington, Enoch Wellington, John Hosmer, Isaac Green, Phineas Stearns, Isaac Durant, and Thomas Headley,² jun. all of Lawful age, and Inhabitants of Lexington in the County of Middlesex, and Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, do testify and declare, that on the 19th of April instant, about one or two o'Clock in the morning, being Informed that several officers of the Regulars had, the evening before, been riding up and down the Road, and had detained and Insulted the Inhabitants passing the same; and also understanding that a body of Regulars were marching from Boston towards Concord, with intent (as it was supposed) to take the Stores, belonging to the Colony, in that town, we were alarmed, and having met at the place of our Company's Parade, were dismissed by our Captain, John Parker, for the Present, with orders to be ready to attend at the beat of the drum. We further testify and declare, that about five o'Clock in

¹ Sworn to before William Reed, Josiah Johnson and William Stickney.

² Or Hadley.

the morning, hearing our drum beat, we proceeded towards the Parade, and soon found that a Large body of troops were marching towards us: Some of our Company were coming up to the Parade, and others had reached it; at which time the Company began to disperse: Whilst our backs were Turned on the Troops, we were fired on by them, and a number of our men were Instantly killed and wounded. Not a Gun was fired, by any Person in our Company, on the Regulars, to our knowledge, before they fired on us, and they continued Firing untill we had all made our Escape.

[Signed by each of the above deponents.]¹

No. 8.

LEXINGTON, *April 25, 1775.*

We, Nathanael Parkhurst, Jonas Parker, John Munroe, jun. John Winship, Solomon Pierce, John Muzzy, Abner Meeds, John Bridge, jun. Ebenezer Bowman, William Munroe the 3d, Micah Hager, Samuel Saunderson, Samuel Hastings, and James Brown, of Lexington, in the County of Middlesex, and Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, and all of Lawfull age, do Testify and Say, that, on the Morning of the Nineteenth of April Instant, about one or two o'Clock, being informed, that a Number of Regular Officers had been Riding up and down the Road the evening and night preceding, and that some of the Inhabitants, as they were passing, had been Insulted by the Officers, and stopped by them; and being also Informed, that the Regular Troops were on their March from Boston, in order (as it was said) to take the Colony Stores, then Deposited at Concord, we met on the Parade of our Company in this town; After the Company had Collected, we were Ordered, by Captain Parker, (who Commanded us) to Disperse for the Present, and to be Ready to attend the beat of the Drum, and Accordingly the Company went into houses near the place of Parade. We further Testify and Say, that, about five o'Clock in the morning, we attended the beat of our Drum, and were formed on the Parade; we were faced towards the Regulars then marching up to us, and some of our Company were coming to the parade with their backs towards the Troops, and Others on the parade, began to Disperse when the Regulars fired on the Company, before a Gun was fired by any of our company on them. They killed eight of our company, and wounded several, and continued their fire, untill we had all made our escape.

[Signed by each of the deponents.]¹

¹ Sworn to before William Reed, Josiah Johnson and William Stickney.

No. 9.

LEXINGTON, *April 25, 1775.*

I, Timothy Smith, of Lexington, in the County of Middlesex, and Colony of Massachusetts bay, in New England, being of lawful age, do testify and declare, that, on the morning of the nineteenth of April instant, being at Lexington Common, as a spectator, I saw a large body of regular troops marching up towards the Lexington company, then dispersing, and likewise saw the regular troops fire on the Lexington company, before the latter fired a gun; I immediately ran, and a volley was discharged at me, which put me in imminent danger of losing my life; I soon returned to the Common, and saw eight of the Lexington men who were killed, and lay bleeding at a considerable distance from each other; and several were wounded: And further saith not.

TIMOTHY SMITH.¹

No. 10.

LEXINGTON, *April 25, 1775.*

We, Levi Mead and Levi Harrington, both of Lexington, in the County of Middlesex, and Colony of the Massachusetts bay, in New England, and of lawfull age, do Testify and Declare, that on the morning of the Nineteenth of April, being on Lexington Common, as spectators, we saw a Large body of Regular Troops marching up towards the Lexington Company, and some of the Regulars, on Horses, whom we took to be officers, Fired a Pistol or two on the Lexington Company, which were then dispersing: These were the First Guns that were Fired, and they were immediately followed by several volleys from the Regulars, by which Eight men, belonging to said Company, were killed, and several wounded.

LEVI HARRINGTON,
LEVI MEAD.¹

No. 11.

LEXINGTON, *April 25, 1775.*

I, William Draper, of lawful Age, and an Inhabitant of Colrain, in the County of Hampshire, and Colony of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, do testify and Declare, that, being on the Parade of said Lexington, April 19th Instant, about half an hour before sunrise, the King's Regular Troops appeared at the meeting House of Lexington. Captain Parkers Company, who were drawn up back of said meeting house on the Parade, turned from said Troops, making their escape,

¹Sworn to before William Reed, Josiah Johnson and William Stickney.

by dispersing; in the mean time, the Regular Troops made an huzza, and ran towards Captain Parkers Company, who were dispersing, and, immediately after the huzza was made, the Commanding Officer of said troops (as I took him) gave the command to the said troops, "fire! fire! damn you, fire!" and immediately, they fired before any of Captain Parkers Company fired, I then being within three or four Rods of said Regular Troops: And further say not.

WILLIAM DRAPER.¹

No. 12.

LEXINGTON, *April 23, 1775.*

I, Thomas Fessenden, of Lawful age, testify and Declare, that, being in a Pasture near the meeting house, at said Lexington, on Wednesday last, at about half an hour before sunrise, I saw a number of Regular troops pass speedily by said meeting house, on their way towards a Company of Militia of said Lexington, who were assembled to the number of about one hundred in a company, at the Distance of eighteen or twenty rods from said meeting house; and after they had passed by said meeting house, I saw three Officers, on horseback, advance to the front of said Regulars, when one of them, being within six rods of the said Militia, cryed out, "Disperse, you Rebels, immediately," on which he Brandished his sword over his head three times; meanwhile the second Officer, who was about two rods behind him, fired a Pistol, pointed at said Militia, and the Regulars kept huzzaing till he had finished brandishing his sword, and when he had thus finished brandishing his sword, he pointed it Down towards said Militia, and immediately on which the said Regulars fired a Volley at the Militia, and then I ran off as fast as I could, while they continued firing, till I got out of their reach. I further testify, that as soon as ever the officer Cryed "Disperse, you rebels," the said Company of Militia dispersed every way, as fast as they could, and, while they were Dispersing, the regulars kept firing at them incessantly: And further saith not.

THOMAS FESSENDEN.¹

No. 13.

LINCOLN, *April 23, 1775.*

I, John Bateman, belonging to the fifty-second regiment, commanded by Colonel Jones, on Wednesday morning, on the nineteenth Day of April instant, was in the Party marching to Concord, being at

¹Sworn to before William Reed, Josiah Johnson and William Stickney.

Lexington, in the County of Middlesex, being nigh the meeting house in said Lexington, there was a small party of men gathered together in that place, when our said troops marched by, and I Testify and Declare, that I heard the word of command given to the Troops to fire, and some of said Troops Did fire, and I saw one of said small party lay Dead on the ground nigh said meeting house; and I testify, that I never heard any of the Inhabitants so much as fire one gun on said Troops.

JOHN BATEMAN.¹

No. 14.

LEXINGTON, *April 23, 1775.*

We, John Hoar, John Whithead, Abraham Garfield, Benjamin Munroe, Isaac Parks, William Hosmer, John Adams, Gregory Stone, all of Lincoln, in the County of Middlesex, Massachusetts Bay, all of lawfull age, do testify and say, that, on Wednesday last, we were assembled at Concord, in the morning of said Day, in Consequence of information received, that a Brigade of Regular Troops were on their march to the said town of Concord, who had killed six men at the Town of Lexington; About an hour afterwards we saw them approaching, to the Number, as we Apprehended, of about Twelve hundred, on which we retreated to a Hill about Eighty Rods back, and the said Troops then took Possession of the Hill, where we were first Posted; presently after this, we saw the Troops moving towards the North Bridge, about one Mile from the said Concord Meeting House; we then immediately went before them and passed the Bridge just before a party of them, to the Number of about two hundred, arrived; They there left about one half of their two hundred at the Bridge, and proceeded, with the rest, towards Col. Barretts, about two Miles from the said Bridge; we then seeing several fires in the Town, thought the Houses in Concord were in danger, and Marched towards the said Bridge; and the Troops that were stationed there, observing our approach, marched back over the Bridge and then took up some of the Plank; we then hastened our March towards the Bridge, and when we had got near the Bridge, they fired on our men, first three Guns, one after the other, and then a Considerable Number more; and then, and not before (having orders from our Commanding Officers not to fire till we were fired upon) we fired upon the Regulars and they Retreated.

¹ Sworn to before John Cummings and Duncan Ingraham.

On their Retreat through the Town of Lexington to Charlestown, they Ravaged and destroyed private property, and burnt three Houses one Barn and one Shop.

[Signed by each of the above deponents.]¹

No. 15.

LEXINGTON, *April 23, 1775.*

We, Nathan Barrett, Captain; Jonathan Farrar, Joseph Butler, and Francis Wheeler, Lieutenants; John Barrett, Ensign; John Brown, Silas Walker, Ephraim Melvin, Nathan Buttrick, Stephen Hosmer, Jun^r Samuel Barrett, Thomas Jones, Joseph Chandler, Peter Wheeler, Nathan Peirce, and Edward Richardson, all of Concord, in the County of Middlesex, in the province of the Massachusetts Bay, of Lawfull Age, Testify and Declare, that on Wednesday, the Nineteenth Instant, about an Hour after sun rise, we Assembled on a Hill near the meeting House, in Concord aforesaid, in consequence of an information, that a number of regular Troops had killed six of our Countrymen, at Lexington, and were on their march to said Concord; and about an Hour afterwards, we saw them approaching, to the number, as we Inagine, of about Twelve Hundred; on which we retreated to a Hill about Eighty rods back, and the aforesaid Troops then took possession of a Hill where we were first posted. Presently after this, we saw them moving towards the North Bridge, about one mile from the said meeting House; we then immediately went before them, and passed the bridge just before a party of them, to the number of about Two Hundred, arrived. They there left about one half of these two Hundred at the bridge, and proceeded with the rest towards Colonel Barret's, about two miles from the said bridge. We then seing several fires in the Town, thought our houses were in Danger, and immediately march'd back towards said bridge, and the troops who were station'd there, observing our approach, march'd back over the bridge, and then took up some of the planks. We then hastened our Steps towards the bridge, and when we had got near the bridge, they fir'd on our men, first three guns, one after the other, and then a Considerable number more; upon which, and not before, (having orders from our Commanding Officer not to fire till we were fired upon) we fir'd upon the regulars, and they retreated. At Concord, and on their retreat thro' Lexington, they plunder'd many houses, burnt three at Lexington,

¹ Sworn to before William Reed, John Cummings, Jonathan Hastings and Duncan Ingraham.

together with a shop and barn, and committed damage, more or less, to almost every House from Concord to Charlestown.

[Signed by the above deponents.]

We, Joseph Butler, and Ephraim Melvin, do testify and declare, that when the regular troops fir'd upon our people, at the North Bridge, in Concord, as related in the foregoing depositions, they shot one, and we believe two, of our people before we fir'd a single gun at them.

JOSEPH BUTLER,
EPHRAIM MELVIN.¹

No. 16.

CONCORD, *April 23, 1775.*

I, Timothy Minot, Jun^r of Concord, on the nineteenth day of this Instant, April, after that I had heard of the regular troops firing upon Lexington men, and fearing that hostilities might be Committed at Concord, thought it my incumbent Duty to Secure my family. After I had Secured my family, some Time after that, returning towards my own Dwelling, and finding that the bridge on the Northern part of said Concord, were guarded by regular troops, being a Spectator of what had hapened at said bridge, declare, that the regular troops Stationed on [said] bridge, after they saw the men that were collected on the westerly side of said Bridge, marched towards said bridge, then the Troops returned towards the easterly side of said bridge, and formed themselves, as I thought, for regular fight: after that they fired one gun, then two or three more, before the men that were stationed on the westerly part of said bridge fired on them.

TIMOTHY MINOT, JUN.

No. 17.

LEXINGTON, *April 23, 1775.*

I, James Barrett of Concord Colonel of a Regiment of Militia in the County of Middlesex Do testify and say that on Wednesday Morning last about Day-break I was informed of the approach of a number of the Regular Troops to the Town of Concord where was some Magazines belonging to this Province, when there was assembled some of the Militia of this and the neighbouring Towns, when I order'd them to march to the North Bridge (so called) which they had passed and were taking up, I ordered said Militia to march to said bridge and pass

¹Sworn to before Jonathan Hastings, John Cummings and Duncan Ingraham.

²Sworn to before William Reed, Jonathan Hastings, John Cummings and Duncan Ingraham.

the same, but not to fire on the King's Troops unless they were first fired upon. We advanced near said bridge, when the said troops fired upon our Militia, and killed two Men dead on the Spot and wounded several others, which was the first firing of Guns in the town of Concord. My Detachment then returned the fire which killed and wounded several of the King's Troops.

JAMES BARRETT.¹

No. 18.

LEXINGTON, *April 23, 1775.*

We, Bradbury Robinson, Samuel Spring, Thaddeus Bancroft, all of Concord; and James Adams, of Lexington, all in the County of Middlesex, all of Lawful age, do testifie and say, that on Wednesday morning last, near ten of the Clock, we saw near one Hundred of the Regular Troops, being in the Town of Concord, at the North Bridge in said Town (so called) and having passed the same, they were taking up said bridge, when about three Hundred of our Militia were advancing toward said bridge, in Order to pass said Bridge, when, without saying any thing to us, they Discharged a Number of guns on us, which killed two men Dead on the spot, and wounded several others; when we returned the fire on them, which killed two of them, and wounded several, which was the Beginning of hostilities in the Town of Concord.

BRADBURY ROBINSON,
SAMUEL SPRING,
THADDEUS BANCROFT,
JAMES ADAMS.²

WORCESTER, *April 26, 1775.*

Hannah Bradish, of that part of Cambridge, called Menotomy, and daughter of Timothy Paine, of Worcester, in the county of Worcester, esq. of lawful age, testifies and says, that about five o'clock on Wednesday last, afternoon, being in her bed-chamber, with her infant child, about eight days old, she was surprised by the firing of the king's troops and our people, on their return from Concord. She being weak and unable to go out of her house, in order to secure herself and family, they all retired into the kitchen, in the back part of the house. She soon found the house surrounded with the king's

¹ Sworn to before William Reed, Jonathan Hastings and Duncan Ingraham. A facsimile of this deposition is in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, VI, 177.

² Sworn to before William Reed, William Stickney and Jonathan Hastings.

troops; that upon observation made, at least seventy bullets were shot into the front part of the house; several bullets lodged in the kitchen where she was, and one passed through an easy chair she had just gone from. The door of the front part of the house was broken open; she did not see any soldiers in the house, but supposed, by the noise, they were in the front. After the troops had gone off, she missed the following things, which, she verily believes, were taken out of the house by the king's troops, viz: one rich brocade gown, called a negligée, one lutestring gown, one white quilt, one pair of brocade shoes, three shifts, eight white aprons, three caps, one case of ivory knives and forks, and several other small articles.

HANNAH BRADISH.

PROVINCE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY,

Worcester, ss. April 26, 1775.

Mrs. Hannah Bradish, the above deponent, maketh oath before us, the subscribers, two of his majesty's justices of the peace, for the county of Worcester, and of the quorum, that the above deposition, according to her best recollection, is the truth. Which deposition is taken in *perpetuam rei memoriam*.

THOMAS STEEL,
TIMOTHY PAINE.¹

No. 19.

CONCORD, April 23, 1775.

I, James Marr, of Lawful age, Testify and Say, that in the evening of the Eighteenth Instant, I Received Orders from George Hutchinson, Adjutant of the fourth Regiment of the Regular Troops Stationed at Boston, to prepare and march: to which Order I attended, and marched to Concord, where I was ordered by an officer with about one Hundred Men, to guard a certain Bridge there; while attending that service, a Number of People came along, in Order, as I suppose, to Cross said Bridge, at which Time a Number of the Regular Troops first fired upon them.

JAMES MARR.²

No. 20.

MEDFORD, April 25, 1775.

I, Edward Thoroton Gould, of his Majesty's own Regiment of Foot, being of lawful Age, do testify and declare, that on the Evening of

¹ The *Papers of the Continental Congress* do not contain this deposition.

² Sworn to before Duncan Ingraham and Jonas Dix.

the 18th. Instant, under the Orders of General Gage, I embarked with the Light infantry and Grenadiers of the Line, commanded by Colonel Smith, and landed on the Marshes of Cambridge, from whence we proceeded to Lexington; On our arrival at that place, we saw a Body of provincial Troops armed, to the Number of about sixty or seventy Men; on our Approach, they dispersed, and soon after firing began, but which party fired first, I cannot exactly say, as our Troops rush'd on shouting, and huzzaing, previous to the firing, which was continued by our Troops, so long as any of the provincials were to be seen. From thence we marched to Concord. On a Hill near the Entrance of the Town, we saw another Body of provincials assembled; the light Infantry Companies were ordered up the Hill to disperse them; on our approach, they retreated towards Concord; the Grenadiers continued the Road under the Hill towards the Town. Six Companies of light Infantry were ordered down to take possession of the Bridge, which the provincials retreated over; the Company I commanded was one: three Companies of the above Detachment went forwards about Two Miles; in the mean Time, the provincial Troops returned, to the number of about three or four hundred: We drew up on the Concord side [of] the Bridge, the provincials came down upon us, upon which we engaged and gave the first Fire; This was the first Engagement after the one at Lexington; a continued firing from both parties lasted thro' the whole Day; I myself was wounded at the Attack of the Bridge, and am now treated with the greatest Humanity, and taken all possible Care of by the provincials at Medford.

EDWARD THOROTON GOULD,
Lieut. King's own Regiment.

PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY,
Middlesex County, April 25, 1775.

Lieut. Edward Thoroton Gould, aforementioned, personally made Oath to the Truth of the foregoing Declaration by him subscribed, before us.

THAD. MASON,
JOSIAH JOHNSON,
SIMON TUFTS,

Justices of the peace, for the County aforesaid, quorum unus.

Province of Massachusetts-Bay, Charlestown, ss.

I, Nathaniel Gorham, Notary and tabellion Publick, by lawful Authority duly admitted and sworn, hereby certify, to all whom it

doth or may concern, That Thadeus Mason, Josiah Johnson, and Simon Tufts, Esqrs. are three of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace (*quorum unus*) for the County of Middlesex; and that full faith and Credit is, and ought to be given to their Transactions, as such, both in Court and Out. In witness whereof, I have hereunto affixed my name and seal, this twenty-sixth day of April, *Anno Domini*, one thousand seven hundred and seventy five.

NATHANIEL GORHAM, *Notary Public.* (L. S.)

IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS, WATERTOWN, *April 26th, 1775.*

To the Inhabitants of Great Britain.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW SUBJECTS,

Hostilities are at length commenced in this Colony by the Troops under the Command of General Gage, and It being of the greatest Importance, that an early, true, and authentic Account of this inhuman proceeding should be known to you, the Congress of this Colony have transmitted the same, and from Want of a Session of the hon^o continental Congress, think it proper to address you on this alarming Occasion.

By the clearest Depositions, relative to this Transaction, It will appear that, on the Night preceding the nineteenth of April instant, a Body of the King's Troops, under the Command of Colonel Smith, were secretly landed at Cambridge, with an apparent Design to take or destroy the military and other stores, provided for the Defence of this Colony, and deposited at Concord: that some Inhabitants of the Colony, on the Night aforesaid, whilst travelling peaceably on the Road between Boston and Concord, were seized and greatly abused by armed Men, who appeared to be Officers of General Gage's army: that the Town of Lexington, by these Means, was alarmed, and a Company of the Inhabitants mustered on the Occasion: that the regular Troops, on their Way to Concord, marched into the said Town of Lexington, and the said Company, on their Approach, began to disperse: that, notwithstanding this, the Regulars rushed on with great Violence; and first began Hostilities, by firing on said Lexington Company, whereby they killed eight and wounded several others: that the regulars continued their Fire, untill those of said Company, who were neither

killed nor wounded, had made their Escape: that Col: Smith, with the Detachment, then marched to Concord, where a Number of provincials were again fired on by the Troops, two of them killed and several wounded, before the provincials fired on them: and that these hostile Measures of the Troops, produced an Engagement that lasted thro' the Day, in which many of the provincials, and more of the regular Troops, were killed and wounded.

To give a particular Account of the Ravages of the Troops, as they retreated from Concord to Charlestown, would be very difficult, if not impracticable. Let it suffice to say, that a great Number of the Houses on the road were plundered, and rendered unfit for Use; several were burnt; Women in child bed were driven, by the Soldiery, naked into the Streets: old Men, peaceably in their Houses, were shot dead; and such Scenes exhibited as would disgrace the annals of the most uncivilized Nation.

These, Brethren, are Marks of ministerial Vengeance against this Colony, for refusing, with her Sister Colonies, a Submission to Slavery: but they have not yet detached us from our royal Sovereign. We profess to be his loyal and dutiful Subjects, and so hardly dealt with as we have been, are still ready, with our Lives and Fortunes, to defend his person, Family, Crown, and Dignity. Nevertheless, to the persecution and Tyranny of his cruel Ministry, we will not tamely submit. Appealing to Heaven for the Justice of our Cause, we determine to die or be free.

We cannot think that the Honour, Wisdom, and Valour of Britons, will suffer them to be longer inactive Spectators of Measures, in which they themselves are so deeply interested: Measures pursued in Opposition to the solemn protests of many noble Lords, and [the] express'd sense of conspicuous Commoners, whose Knowledge and Virtue have long characterized them as some of the greatest Men in the Nation: Measures executing contrary to the Interest, Petitions and Resolves of many large, respectable and opulent Counties, Cities and Boroughs in Great Britain: Measures highly incompatible with Justice, but still pursued with a specious pretence of easing the Nation of its Burthens: Measures which, if successful, must end in the ruin and Slavery of Britain, as well as the persecuted American Colonies.

We sincerely hope, that the great Sovereign of the Universe, who hath so often appeared for the english Nation, will support you in

every rational and manly Exertion with these Colonies, for saving it from ruin, and that, in a constitutional Connection with the Mother Country, we shall soon be altogether a free and happy people.

Per order,

JOSEPH WARREN, *President*, P. T.¹

Ordered, That the Secretary have the above depositions and affidavits and the address to the inhab^{ts} of G B published in the newspapers.²

Resolved, un. That the Congress will, on Monday next, resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of America.

Ordered, That the Letter from the pro: Congress of Massachusetts bay be referred to that committee.

Adjourned till to Morrow at ten o'Clock.

FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment, and adjourned till to Morrow at 10 o'Clock.

SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

Present, the same as yesterday, and also M^r J. Jay from New York and Thomas Stone from Maryland.

The Congress being informed that Doct^r Lyman Hall attended at the door, as a delegate from the parish of St. John's³ in the colony of Georgia, and desired to know whether, as such, he may be admitted to this Congress;

Agreed unanimously, That he be admitted as a delegate from the parish of St. John's, in the colony of Georgia,

¹ The original, in the writing of Elbridge Gerry, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 65, I, folio 5.

² They appear in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 15 May, 1775.

³ Became Liberty County in 1777. A meeting at Savannah had declined to send any delegates to the Continental Congress, but the Parish of St. John dissented, and Hall was chosen a delegate. See White, *Historical Collections of Georgia*, 520.

subject to such regulations as the Congress shall determine, relative to his voting.

M^r Lyman Hall being accordingly admitted, produced his credentials, which were read and approved, as follows:

Here insert them.

To the Honourable Gentlemen of the Congress, designed to be held at Philadelphia, on May Anno Domini 1775.

The Address of the Inhabitants of the Parish of St. John's, in the Province of Georgia.

GENTLEMEN,

To give a particular Detail of our many Struggles in the Cause of Liberty, the many Meetings thereby occasioned and held in this Parish, the Endeavours we have used to induce the rest of this Province to concur with us, the Attendance of our Committee on the Provincial Congresses, held at Savannah, in this Province, and particularly that of the 18th of January last, with their Proceedings, and the Reasons of our Dissent from them, we think would be tedious to you; and therefore send a summary Abstract; which, with the Account, that may be given by Lyman Hall, Esq^r appointed a Delegate to represent and act for this Parish in the General Continental Congress, to be held on May next, and the Testimonies of the honourable Delegates from South Carolina, we hope will be satisfactory.

Immediately upon our being honoured with an Answer to the Representation of our Case transmitted to the Honourable Congress, which sat at Philadelphia last Year, with a Copy of the Association there entered into, we had a Meeting, and our Proceedings then and since that Time, will, in Brief, appear from the following Abstracts of an Address from this Parish to the Committee of Correspondence in Charles Town, South Carolina, which is as follows:

“GENTLEMEN,

“Herewith will be communicated to you, the several Steps taken by this Parish in their Endeavours to conform, as near as possible, to the Resolutions entered into by the other Colonies: and the particular Measures now adopted, for carrying into Execution the Continental Association,—which we embraced the earliest Opportunity of acceding to, by subscribing it; on Condition that Trade and Commerce with

the other Colonies be continued to us the Subscribers; and thereupon, should have immediately sent to you for your Approbation and Indulgence, but were delayed by a Summons to attend a Provincial Congress in Savannah, on the 18th of January last, for the Purpose, as we understood, of a General Association with the other Colonies, and chusing Delegates: At which Time and Place we attended; and acquainted the other Parishes, assembled on that Occasion, that we had already acceded to the General Association, on condition as above-mentioned, and earnestly requested them to do the same. Had they acceded fully to the General Association, we should have had no Occasion to trouble you with this Address; but, as they did not, we now apply to you, to admit us, the Subscribers, to an Alliance with you, requesting that you will allow Trade and Commerce to be continued to us, the same to be conducted under such Regulations and Restrictions, as shall be consistent with the Continental Association, and which, on our Part, we engage, with all possible Care, to keep inviolate. As we of this Parish are a Body detached from the Rest (i. e. of this Province) by our Resolutions, and sufficiently distinct by local Situation, large enough for particular Notice, adjoining a particular Port, and in that Respect, capable of conforming to the General Association, if connected with you, with the same Fidelity as a distant Parish of your own Province; we must be considered, as comprehended within the Spirit and equitable Meaning of the Continental Association, and hope you will not contemn the Innocent with the Guilty, especially when a due Separation is made between them.

“Give us Leave to add only, that we wait your Answer, shall be glad of your Advice, and are with Esteem,

“Gentlemen, your &c.”

St. John's, 9th February, 1775.

To which we received the following Answer:

“GENTLEMEN,

“Your Letter, accompanying sundry Papers, having been laid before a very full Committee of this Colony, and undergone the most mature Deliberation, I am, by their Desire, to acquaint you, that they have the highest Sense of your arduous Struggles in Favour of the common Cause of America; and most sincerely lament your present unhappy Situation; But would recommend a Continuance of your laudable Exertions, and the laying a State of your Case before the

ensuing Continental Congress, as the only Means of obtaining Relief, and to put you in the Situation you wish, which this Committee apprehend to be entirely out of their Power to do; as it is their Opinion, that the Parish of St. John, being a Part of the Colony of Georgia (which, by not acceding to, has violated the Continental Association) falls under the 14th Article of the said Association, no Part of which any Committee can presume to do away, &c. &c.”

Upon the Receipt of this Answer, it was seriously considered in what Manner to conduct in the present Situation; and proposed, whether we should immediately break off all Connexion and Commerce with Savannah, and all other Inhabitants of this province, who have not fully acceded to the Continental Association.

It was considered, that as we were denied Commerce with any other Colony, and but one Merchant among us considerable for dry Goods, had signed our Association, and he insufficient for a present Supply, and we utterly unable at Present to procure Materials or Manufactures for Cloathing among ourselves, we must, by such a Resolution, become extremely miserable; it was therefore concluded, that till we could obtain Trade and Commerce with some other Colony, it is absolutely necessary to continue it in some Respects with our own, and determined that it be carryed on under the following Regulations:

Ist That None of us shall directly or indirectly purchase any Slave imported at Savannah, (large Numbers of which we understand are there expected,) till the Sense of the Congress shall be made known to us.

II^y That we will not trade at all with any Merchant at Savannah, or elsewhere, that will not join in our Associating Agreement, otherwise than under the Inspection of a Committee, for that Purpose appointed, and for such Things only as they shall judge necessary, and when they shall think there are necessary Reasons for so doing.

A Committee was then nominated, and appointed to sit Weekly on Thursdays, for the Purposes aforesaid.

It was then resolved, that a Delegate be sent from this Parish to the Congress, to be held at Philadelphia, in May next, and that Tuesday, the 21st of March, be appointed for chusing one.

On the said 21st of March, at a full Meeting, Lyman Hall Esq^r was unanimously chosen, to represent and act for the Inhabitants of this Parish, as a Delegate at the General Congress, to be had in Philadelphia, in May next, who are determined faithfully to adhere to, and

abide by the Determinations of him, and the other Honourable Members of the Same.

And are Honourable Gentlemen your very Humble, very obedient Servants.

Signed by Order of the Inhabitants by us of the Committee by them appointed.

Midway, St. John's Parish, in the Province of Georgia, 13th April, Anno 1775.

JOHN WINN
 PARMENAS WAY
 BENJAMIN ANDREW
 SAMUEL STEVENS
 SAMUEL SALTUS
 J. POWELL
 WILLIAM PEACOCK
 JAMES SCREVEN
 JOHN STACY
 DANIEL ROBERTS
 JOHN STEVENS

JAMES MAXWELL
 EDWARD BALL
 JOHN BACON
 JOHN ELLIOTT
 WILLIAM BACON Junr.
 JOHN WINN Junr.
 NATHAN BROWNSON
 JAMES DUNWODY
 JOSEPH OSWALD
 JOHN STEWART.¹

A petition from the county of Frederic, in Virginia, addressed to the Congress, was presented and read.

Agreed, That it be referred to the committee of the whole which is to sit on Monday.

||Adjourned till Monday at nine o'Clock.||

MONDAY, MAY 15, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

M^r. [Henry] Wisner, M^r. [Philip] Schuyler, M^r. [George] Clinton, M^r. L[ewis] Morris and M^r. R[obert] R. Livingston from New York, M^r. James Wilson from Pennsylvania and M^r. R[obert] Goldsborough from Maryland appeared and took their places as members of the congress.²

¹The original is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress, Georgia, Credentials of Delegates.*

²The printed Journals gave also the names of John Jay of New York and Thomas Stone of Maryland, as attending. But see May 13, *ante*.

Upon motion,

Agreed, That the Sec^y be allowed to employ Timothy Matlack as a clerk he having first taken an oath or affirmation to keep secret ~~and not to reveal any of the trans-~~ actions [or secrets] of the Congress, that may be intrusted to him, or may come to his knowledge.

~~The order of the day being read~~

~~The president informed the Congress that he had put into his hands this morning a letter from Murray containing a number of papers which he was desired to lay before the congress, the purport of them he did not know as he had not had an opportunity of reading them.~~

~~Ordered to lye on the table That the president look them over [and then lay them] before they are laid before the congress.~~

~~The order of the day was then read, after some debate~~

~~Resolved, N. C. D., That the order of the day be postponed.~~

~~Resolved, N. C. D., That the congress will tomorrow resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the state of America.~~

The City and County of New York having through the delegates of that Colony, applied to the congress for their advice how ~~they ought~~ to conduct themselves with regard to the troops expected there,—The congress took the matter into their ~~most serious~~ consideration, during their deliberations it became necessary to take the opinion of the Congress by Colonies, upon which a question arose, whether the Delegate from the Parish of S^t John's, in the Colony of Georgia, [Lyman Hall] could be admitted to a vote, after some debate on this question the Delegate from that Parish of S^t Johns arose and after observing that the present distressful situation of American affairs had ~~compelled the Colonies~~ induced a necessity of this

Congress, which was composed of Delegates representing whole colonies ~~though there was no [] law empowering the delegates to represent their particular provinces, yet inasmuch as~~; that as he did not represent a whole colony as [was] ~~established by law~~ but only a part of it, he did not ~~desire~~ insist on giving a vote as a colony, but was contented to hear and assist in the debates, and give his vote in all cases except when the sentiments of the Congress were taken by colonies.

The Congress then resumed the consideration of the matter first under debate. During the debate, Samuel Ward, Esq^r one of the delegates from Rhode island, appeared and produced his credentials, which being read and approved, he took his seat.

His credentials are as follows—

By the honorable the general Assembly of the English colony of
(L. S.) Rhode island and Providence Plantations, in New England,
in America.

To the honorable Stephen Hopkins, Esq^r. and the honorable Samuel Ward, Esq^r. Greeting:

Whereas the general assembly of the colony aforesaid, have nominated and appointed you, the said Stephen Hopkins and Samuel Ward, to represent the people of this colony, in a general Congress of representatives, from this and the other colonies, to be holden in the city of Philadelphia, on the 10th of May instant, you are therefore hereby authorized to repair to the said city of Philadelphia, and there, in behalf of this colony, to meet, and join with the commissioners, or delegates from the other colonies, in consulting upon proper measures to obtain a repeal of the several acts of the British Parliament, for levying taxes upon his Majesty's subjects in America, without their consent; and upon proper measures to establish the rights and liberties of the colonies, upon a just and solid foundation, agreeable to the instructions given you by the general Assembly.

By virtue of an Act of the general Assembly, I, Henry Ward, Esq^r, secretary of the said Colony, have hereunto set my hand and affixed the Seal of the said Colony, this seventh day of May, A. D. 1775, and

in the fifteenth year of the reign of his most sacred Majesty George the third, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, &c.

Signed,

HENRY WARD.¹

The matter under consideration being resumed, the Congress came to the following resolution,

¹ The original is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, Rhode Island, *Credentials of Delegates*. With it is a copy of the Instructions, which were as follows:

At the General Assembly of the Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England in America begun and holden in Consequence of Warrants issued by his Honor the Governor of Providence within and for the said Colony on the First Monday in December in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy four and Fifteenth of the Reign of His Most Sacred Majesty George the Third by the Grace of God King of Great-Britain &c.

Whereas the American Continental Congress held in the City of Philadelphia on the Fifth Day of September last recommended to the several Colonies to choose Deputies as soon as possible to attend a General Congress to be holden on the Tenth Day of May next in the said City of Philadelphia unless the Redress of American Grievances be obtained before that Time: And whereas this Assembly having the greatest Regard to the Recommendation aforesaid, and being determined to co-operate with the other Colonies in every proper Measure for obtaining a Redress of the Grievances, and establishing the Rights and Liberties of all the Colonies upon an equitable and permanent Foundation have unanimously chosen and appointed the Honble Stephen Hopkins Esq^r and the Honble Samuel Ward Esq^r Delegates to represent this Colony: It is therefore unanimously Voted and Resolved,

First, That the said Stephen Hopkins and Samuel Ward Esqrs. be and they are hereby fully authorized and empowered to represent this Colony in a general Congress of Delegates or Representatives of the several Colonies to be holden at the Time and Place above mentioned or at such other Time and Place as shall be agreed upon by the major Part of the Committees from the several Colonies.

Second, That they be and hereby are fully authorized and empowered to consult and advise with the Representatives of the other Colonies and in Conjunction with them or the major Part of them to enter into and adopt in Behalf of this Colony all reasonable lawful and proper Measures for the Support Defence Protection and Security of the Rights Liberties and Privileges both civil and religious of all the said Colonies or any of them.

Third, That they be and hereby are, authorized and empowered to adjourn from Time to Time and at any Time within the Space of One Year to be computed from the said Tenth Day of May next, and at any Place which they shall think proper.

Fourthly, That they be and hereby are directed to endeavour to procure a regular annual Convention of Delegates or Representatives from all the Colonies to be holden at such Time and Place as shall be by the Delegates agreed upon for the Promotion and Establishment of the Peace Welfare and Security of the said Colonies.

A true Copy duly examined.

Witness

HENRY WARD *Secy*

Resolved, That it be recommended for the present to the inhabitants of New York, that if the troops, w^{ch} are expected should arrive, the s^d Colony act on the defensive so long as may be consistent with their safety and security: that the troops be permitted to remain in the barracks, so long as they behave themselves peaceably and quietly, but that they be not suffered to erect fortifications or take any steps for cutting off the communication between the town and country; and that if they commit hostilities or invade private property, the inhabitants should defend themselves and their property and repel force by force; that the warlike stores be removed from the town; that places of retreat in case of necessity be provided for the women and children of New York; and that a sufficient number of men be embodied and kept in constant readiness for protecting the inhabitants from insult and injury.¹

~~M^r. Willing laid upon the table.~~

Two memorials, one from S[amuel] Shoemaker, the other from James and Drinker, respecting some cargoes purchased by them, and intended for NfLand, but w^{ch} are stopped by the Comm of this City, ||were laid before the Congress, and read, and ordered to lie on the table.||

Resolved, that a committee be appointed to consider what posts are necessary to be occupied in the Colony of New York, and by what number of troops it will be necessary they should be occupied guarded.

[Upon motion,]

¹ This resolution, with a letter of transmittal from the New York Delegates in the Congress, was printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 22 May, 1775. Bancroft says: "All parties tacitly agreed to avoid every decision which should invite attack or make reconciliation impossible. In conformity with this policy, Jay made the motion for a second petition to the King."—*History of the United States*, IV, 192. This motion was seconded by John Dickinson. John Adams, in his *Diary* [*Writings*, II, 409], merely states that Dickinson "made or procured to be made" a motion for a petition.

Resolved, That M^r. [George] Washington, M^r. [Thomas] Lynch, M^r. S[amuel] Adams, and the delegates from New York, be the committee for the above service, and that they be desired to report as speedily as possible.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 10 o'Clock.

TUESDAY, MAY 16, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

~~The President after explaining the nature of the letter delivered to him yesterday.~~

A memorial from Robert and John Murray, of New-York, was laid before the Congress, and read.¹

Ordered, That it lye up[on] the table.

Agreeable to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of America;

~~Resolved that a committee be appointed to consider what posts are necessary to be occupied and by what number of forces it will be proper they sh^d. be guarded.~~

~~The president then left the chair and the hon^{ble}. Matthew Tilghman was called to it unanimously chosen to take the chair.~~

~~The order of the day being then read, also the letter from the provincial~~

~~The President having taken the chair~~

After some time spent thereon, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. [Matthew] Tilghman reported from the committee, that they had taken the matter referred to them into their consideration, debated upon it; but not having come to any resolution, desired him to move for leave to sit again.

Whereupon *Resolved*, That the Congress will to-morrow ||again|| resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to

¹See *New Jersey Archives*, First Series, X, p. 561.

take into ||their farther|| consideration the state of America.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 12 o'Clock.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment, and the order of the day being postponed till to Morrow:

Upon motion,

~~Resolved, that the Congress will tomorrow resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the state of America.~~

~~The Congress then taking into consideration the propriety of passing a resolve to enforce the 14th Article of the Association and to stop supplies to Newfoundland and British fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland and the American coast and to army and navy in N. A.~~

~~Upon entering into this debate M^r Willing laid before the the memorial from S. Shoemaker and James and Drinker were read. The Congress then resuming the consideration of the matter in debate came into the following Resolution~~

Resolved unanimously, That all exportations to Quebec, Nova Scotia, the Island of St. John's, Newfoundland, Georgia, except the Parish of St. John's, and to East and West Florida immediately cease, and that no provisions of any kind, or other necessaries be furnished to the British Fisheries on the American coasts until it be otherwise determined by the Congress.¹

Ordered, That this be published immediately.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.²

¹Printed in *Pennsylvania Packet*, 29 May, 1775.

²"COLLEGE OF PHILADELPHIA, *May 17, 1775.*

"This day the public Commencement for Graduates in the Arts was held here, in the presence of the most illustrious assembly this Seminary ever beheld.

"About half an hour after nine o'clock, agreeable to an invitation previously given to them, the Honorable Members of the CONTINENTAL CONGRESS were pleased to pro-

THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The Hon^{ble} S[tephen] Hopkins, from Rhode island, and P[atrick] Henry, Esq^{rs}, from Virginia, attended and took their seats in Congress.

Upon Motion, *Resolved*, That the Rules of conduct to be observed in debating and determining questions laid down by the last Congress be adopted and observed by the present Congress.¹

The president laid before the Congress, some important intelligence he receiv^d last night, by express from New York, relative to the surprising and taking of Ticonderogo, by a detachment from Massachusetts bay and Connecticut, which was read as follows. [Here insert the letters.²]

Upon motion, *Agreed*, That Mr. Brown,³ who brought the express, be called in to give an acco^t of the disposition of the Canadians, the taking of Ticonderogo and the importance of that post. Whereupon he was called in—and having given the necessary information he withdrew. The Congress, taking the matter into consideration came to the following Resolution,

Resolved, Whereas there is indubitable evidence that a

ceed in a body from the State-House to the College, where they were received at the gate by the Provost and conducted to the places prepared for their reception in the Hall. As soon as they were seated, the Trustees, with the Governor as President at their head, followed by the Provost, Vice-provost, Professors, Graduates and other Students, in their proper habits, entered the Hall, and took their places; the Galleries and other parts of the house being filled with as many of the respectable inhabitants of the city as could find room." From the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 22 May, 1775.

In the Library Company of Philadelphia is a pamphlet of eight pages entitled: An Exercise; containing, a Dialogue and Two Odes Set to Music, for the Public commencement, in the College of Philadelphia, May 17th, 1775. Philadelphia: Printed by Joseph Crukshank, MDCCLXXV.

¹See Journals, I, 24, 25, *ante*.

²The letters were not entered upon the Journals.

³John Brown. The information he gave is summarized in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 22 May, 1775.

design is formed by the British Ministry of making a cruel invasion from the province of Quebec, upon these colonies, for the purpose of destroying our lives and liberties, and some steps have actually been taken to carry the said design into execution. And whereas several inhabitants of the northern colonies, residing in the vicinity of Ticonderogo, and immediately exposed to incursions, impelled by a just regard for the defence and preservation of themselves and their countrymen from such imminent dangers and calamities have taken possession of that post, in which was lodged a quantity of cannon and military stores, that would certainly have been used in the intended invasion of these colonies, this Congress earnestly recommend it to the committees of the cities and counties of New York and Albany, immediately to cause the said cannon and ~~military~~ stores to be removed from Ticonderogo to the south end of Lake George; and if necessary to apply to the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts bay, and Connecticut, for such an additional body of forces as will be sufficient to establish a strong post at that place and effectually to secure the s^d cannon and stores or so many of them as it may be judged proper to keep there.—And that an exact inventory be taken of all such cannon and stores in order that they may be safely returned when the restoration of the former harmony between great Britain and these colonies so ardently wished for by the latter shall render it prudent and consistent with the overruling law of self preservation.

Upon motion *Resolved*, That the Congress will to Morrow again resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into [their farther] consideration the state of America.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

FRIDAY, MAY 19, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

~~The Congress agreeable to the order of~~

The committee appointed to consider what posts are necessary to be occupied in the colony of New York, and by what number of troops it will be necessary proper they should be guarded, bro^t in their report, which being read was referred to the committee of the whole.

The Congress then Agreeable to the order of yesterday ||the day,|| the Congress resolved themselves into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of America. And after some time spent therein the President resumed the chair and M^r [Samuel] Ward from the committee reported, that they had taken the matter into consideration, but not having come to any resolutions they had desired him to move for leave to sit again to Morrow.

Resolved that this Congress will to Morrow again resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole to take into consideration the State of America.

Adjourned till to morrow at 9 o'Clock.

SATURDAY, MAY 20, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment and agreeable to the order of the day again resolved itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the state of America and after some time spent therein the president resumed the chair and M^r [Samuel] Ward from the committee reported that they had taken the matter into consideration, but not having come to any resolution, desired him to move for leave to sit again on Monday next.

Resolved, that this Congress will on Monday next again resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the state of America.

Adjourned till Monday at 9 oClock.

MONDAY, MAY 22, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment and agreeable to the order of the day again resolved itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the state of America, and after some time spent therein the president resumed the chair, and M^r [Samuel] Ward from the committee reported that they had proceeded in the business, but not having compleated it, desired him to move for leave to sit again.

Resolved, that this Congress will to Morrow again resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into their farther consideration the state of America.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

TUESDAY, MAY 23, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment and agreeable to the order of the day resolved itself into a committee of the whole to take into their farther consideration [the state] of America, and after some time spent therein the president resumed the chair and M^r [Samuel] Ward reported from the Committee that they had proceeded in the business, but not having compleated it, desired him to move for leave to sit again.

Resolved, that this Congress will again resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into farther consideration the state of America.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 24, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment, but the hon^{ble} Peyton Randolph, Pres^t, being under a necessity of returning home^l and having set out this Morning early,

¹ Lord Dunmore had called a session of the Assembly, in which Randolph was the Speaker.

the chair was vacant. Whereupon on motion, the Hon^{ble} John Hancock was unanimously chosen President.

The president having assumed the chair, the Congress agreeable to the order of the day again resolved itself into a committee of the whole to take into their farther consideration the state of America, and after some time spent therein, the president resumed the chair, and M^r [Samuel] Ward reported from the committee that they had proceeded in the business, but not having come to a conclusion, desired him to move for leave to sit again.

Resolved, That this Congress will to Morrow again resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into their farther consideration the state of America.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

THURSDAY, MAY 25, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment and agreeable to the order of the day again resolved itself into a committee of the whole to take into their farther consideration the state of America, and after some time spent therein, the president resumed the chair, and M^r [Samuel] Ward reported from the committee that they had come to certain resolutions respecting New York, which he was desired to report, but not having gone through the rest of the business referred to them, the committee desired him to move for leave to sit again. The resolutions being severally read and agreed to are as follows:

1. *Resolved*, that a post be immediately taken and fortified at or near King's bridge in the colony of New York, that the ground be chosen with a particular view to prevent the communication between the city of New York and the country from being interrupted by land.

2. *Resolved*, that a post be also taken in the highlands on each side of Hudson's River and batteries erected in such manner as will most effectually prevent any vessels passing that may be sent to harrass the inhabitants on the borders of said river; and that experienced persons be immediately sent to examine said river in order to discover where it will be most adviseable and proper to obstruct the navigation.

3. [*Resolved*,] That the militia of New York be armed and trained and in constant readiness to act at a moments warning; and that a number of men be immediately Embodied and Kept in that city and so disposed of as to give protection to the inhabitants in case any insult should be offered by the troops, that may land there, and to prevent any attempts that may be made to gain possession of the city and interrupt its intercourse with the country.

4. [*Resolved*,] That it be left to the provincial congress of New York to determine the number of men sufficient to occupy the several posts above mentioned, and also that already recommended to be taken at or near lake George, as well as to guard the City, provided the whole do not exceed the number of three thousand men, to be commanded by such officers as shall be thereunto appointed by said provincial congress; and to be governed by such rules and regulations as shall be established by s^d Congress until farther order is taken by this Congress; Provided also that if the s^d provincial congress should be of opinion that the number proposed will not be sufficient for the several services above recommended, that the s^d congress report their sentiments upon this subject to this Congress as soon as may be.

5. [*Resolved*,] That it be recommended to the s^d provincial congress that in raising those forces they allow

no bounties or cloathing, and that their pay shall not exceed the establishment of the New England colonies.

6. [*Resolved,*] That it be further recommended to the provincial Congress afores^d that the troops be enlisted to serve until the last day of December next, unless this Congress shall direct that they be sooner disbanded.

A motion being made for an addition to the foregoing Resolutions, ~~a debate arose thereon and~~ after some debate the same was referred till to Morrow, to which time Congress adjourned.¹

FRIDAY, MAY 26, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

A Delegate from New Jersey laid before the Congress a Minute from the Journals of the Assembly of that province, together with a resolution of the Commons of G-B, which were read and is as follows:

NEW JERSEY, HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, *May 20, 1775.*

His Excellency having laid before the house, a Copy of the Resolution of the Hon House of Commons of Great Britain, of the 20th of February, 1775, containing a Plan formed for the Accommodation of the unhappy Differences between our Parent State and the Colonies; which Plan, under the present Circumstances, this House could not comply with and adopt, and yet this House being desirous of making Use of all proper Means to effect a Reconciliation, do recommend it to their Delegates to lay the same Plan before the Continental Congress, for their Consideration.

A true Copy from the Journals,

RICHARD SMITH, *Clerk of Assembly.*²

¹The proceedings from May 19 to May 26 were thus summarized in the printed Journals: "and continued to do so, from day to day, till Wednesday the 24th, on which day the honorable Peyton Randolph, president, being under a necessity of returning home, and having set out this morning early, the chair was vacant, whereupon,

On motion, the honorable John Hancock, esq. was unanimously chosen president."

²The original is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 68, folio 9.

Copy of a Resolution of the House of Commons, Feb^y 20, 1775.¹

Resolved, That when the governor, council and Assembly, or general Court, of any of his Majesty's provinces, or colonies, in America, shall propose to make provision according to the condition, circumstances, and situation of such province or colony, for contributing their proportion to the common defence, (such proportion to be raised under the authority of the general court, or general assembly of such province or colony, and disposable by parliament,) and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government, and the administration of Justice, in such province or colony, it will be proper, if such proposal shall be approved by his Majesty, and the two houses

¹On the last day of September, 1774, writs were issued for a new election. The action was unexpected, and is believed to have been taken in order that the petition and other papers of the American Congress might not be received in a Parliament which, however favorable to the existing ministry, might be made even stronger in its interest. The King and Lord North took the keenest interest in the elections for the new Parliament, and the system of election admitted of such manipulation as to ensure a majority in favor of the government. Seats were at the command of the highest bidder, and, costly as it was, a House under the control of the ministry was obtained. The King desired the House to contain "gentlemen of landed property," as the "Nabobs, Planters, and other Volunteers are not ready for the battle." *To Lord North*, 24 August, 1774. The policy of the King had been determined. The colonies must submit or triumph. "I do not wish to come to severer measures, but we must not retreat; by coolness and an unremitting pursuit of the measures that have been adopted I trust they will come to submit; I have no objection afterwards to their seeing that there is no inclination for the present to lay fresh taxes on them, but I am clear there must always be one tax to keep up the right, and as such I approve of the Tea Duty." *To Lord North*, 11 September, 1774.

The new Parliament assembled November 30, 1774, and the King's speech spoke of the continued daring spirit of resistance to the laws in America, which in Massachusetts Bay had broken forth in fresh violences of a very criminal nature, and was countenanced and encouraged in other colonies. He declared his resolution to withstand every attempt to weaken or impair the supreme authority of the legislature over all his dominions, the maintenance of which he considered essential to the dignity, safety and welfare of the empire. It was at this time that Franklin wrote an "intended speech" for the opening of the Parliament (*Nation*, 9 February, 1899). The address favorable to the Ministry was carried in both houses, and the Parliament adjourned on December 19, to reassemble on January 19, 1775, when the Papers relating to the "Disturbances in North America" were laid before the House, by his Majesty's command, and referred to the consideration of a committee of the whole House on January 26. In the Lords the papers were received on January 20, and on the next day, Lord Chatham, without having consulted any of his party or followers, made his motion for withdrawing the troops from Boston. The motion was

of Parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such province or colony, to levy any duty, tax or assessment, or to impose any further duty, tax, or assessment, except only such duties as it may be expedient to continue to levy, or to impose, for the regulation of commerce, the net produce of the duties, last mentioned, to be carried to the account of such province, or colony, respectively.

Ordered, That the above be referred to the committee for taking into consideration the state of America.

thrown out by a vote of 68 to 18, and early in February the bill for restraining the trade and commerce of the New England colonies was laid before the House, and three Major-Generals had been selected to be sent to America. The Petition of Congress to the King had received no notice except to be included in the mass of papers sent to Parliament, and the well intentioned efforts to obtain from Franklin some definite propositions of compromise and his personal aid in urging them upon the Colonies had produced no results.

Two days after Parliament had assembled, on January 21, the King's Cabinet had met at the house of the Earl of Sandwich, with the following members present: the Lord Chancellor; the Lord President, the Earls of Sandwich, Dartmouth, Suffolk, Rochford and Lord North. It was agreed "that an address be proposed to the two Houses of Parliament to declare that if the Colonies shall make sufficient and permanent provision for the support of the civil government and administration of justice, and for the defence and protection of the said Colonies, and in time of war contribute extraordinary supplies in a reasonable proportion to what is raised by Great Britain, we will in that case desist from the exercise of the power of taxation, except for commercial purposes only, and that whenever a proposition of this kind shall be made by any of the Colonies we will enter into the consideration of proper laws for that purpose, and in the mean while to entreat his Majesty to take the most effectual methods to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature of Great Britain." Minute of Meeting in *Dartmouth Manuscripts*. This is the first form of what came to be known as Lord North's motion of reconciliation, adopted by Parliament on February 20. Before that date Chatham had submitted his plan of reconciliation to the Lords (February 1), and while it contained some features embodied in the Cabinet minute, it contained others that led to its rejection. Franklin's criticism on Lord North's motion are in his *Writings* (Bigelow), V. 524. That the motion came in the form of a surprise to North's followers is shown in Donne, *Correspondence of George III with Lord North*, I, 231. The Fisheries Bill became a law and military preparations against the Colonies engrossed the attention of government.

The motion was sent to the Colonial Governors in a circular letter from Lord Dartmouth, 3 March, 1775. This letter is printed in the *New Jersey Archives*, First Series, X, 555. It was submitted to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania by Governor John Penn, 2 May, 1775, and is printed, together with the reply of the Assembly, in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 8 May, 1775.

The congress resuming the consideration of the addition proposed yesterday, *Resolved*, that the following addition be made:

Resolved, that it be recommended to the congress afores^d to persevere the more vigourously in preparing for their defence, as it is very uncertain whether the earnest endeavours of the Congress to accommodate the unhappy differences between G. Britain and the colonies by conciliatory Measures will be successful.

Ordered, That the above resolves respecting New York be transmitted by the president in a letter to the prov. Congress of New York, and that it be particularly recommended to s^d Congress by the president not to publish the foregoing resolves, but to keep them as secret as the nature of the services require.

Upon motion agreed that M^r [John] Jay, M^r S[amuel] Adams and M^r S[ilas] Deane be a committee to prepare and bring in a letter to the people of Canada.

The Congress then resolved themselves into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of America; after some time spent therein, the president resumed the chair, and Mr. [Samuel] Ward reported from the committee, that they had come to certain resolutions respecting the state of America, which he was desired to report, but not having finished the business referred to them desired him to move for leave to sit again.

The report from the committee being read, the Congress came into the following Resolutions:

Resolved unanimously, 1, That his Majesty's most faithful subjects, in these colonies, are reduced to a dangerous and critical situation, by the attempts of the british Ministry to carry into execution, by force of arms, several unconstitutional and oppressive acts of the british par-

liament for laying taxes in America; to enforce the collection of those taxes, and for altering and changing the constitution and internal police of some of these colonies, in violation of the natural and civil rights of the colonists.

Unanimously 2. Hostilities being actually commenced in the Massachusetts bay, by the British troops, under the command of General Gage, and the lives of a number of the inhabitants of that colony destroyed, the town of Boston having not only been long occupied as a garrisoned town in an enemy's country, but the inhabitants thereof treated with a severity and cruelty not to be justified even towards declared enemies; large re-inforcements too being ordered and soon expected, for the declared purpose of compelling these colonies to submit to the operation of the s^d acts; *Resolved*, therefore, that for the ~~express~~ purpose of securing and defending these colonies, and preserving them in safety against all attempts to carry the s^d acts into execution by force of arms, these colonies be immediately put into a state of defence.

Unanimously 3. But, as we most ardently wish for a restoration of the harmony formerly subsisting between our Mother country and these colonies, the interruption of which must, at all events, be exceedingly injurious to both countries, *Resolved*, that with a sincere design of contributing by all the means in our power, not incompatible with a just regard for the undoubted rights and true interests of these colonies, to the promotion of this most desirable reconciliation, an humble and dutiful petition be presented to his Majesty.¹

¹“On that same day [25th] Duane moved in the committee of the whole, that ‘the opening of a negotiation to accommodate the unhappy disputes subsisting between Great Britain and the colonies be made a part of the petition to the king.’ After a warm debate of two days, it was unanimously resolved [as above]. . . . To this the motion of Duane was added in spite of an unyielding opposition.” Bancroft, *History of the United States*, IV, 200.

4. *Resolved*, That measures be entered into for opening a Negotiation, in order to accommodate the unhappy disputes subsisting between Great Britain and these colonies, and that this be made a part of the petition to the King.

The Congress agree that the resolutions respecting New York be entered unanimously and inserted after the above.¹

The Congress then resolved itself into a committee of the whole to take into their farther consideration the State of America; and after some time spent therein, the president resumed the chair, and M^r. [Samuel] Ward reported from the committee that they had proceeded farther in the business, but not having come to a conclusion, desired him to move for leave to sit again.

Resolved, That this Congress will, to Morrow, again resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their farther consideration the state of America.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

SATURDAY, MAY 27, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The president laid before the Congress a letter from the convention of New Jersey, which was read, and referred to the committee of the whole.²

Information being given, that there is a gentleman in town who can give the Congress a full and just account of the state of Affairs in Canada;

Ordered, That he be introduced, and he was accordingly introduced. After he withdrew the Congress agreeable

¹ These resolves were those numbered 3 on p. 60 and the resolve on p. 64.

² The original is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 68, folio 9. It inclosed a copy of the Resolution of the House of Commons, February 20, and was referred to the committee of the whole.

to the order of the day resolved itself into a committee of the whole and after some time spent therein,

The committee appointed to dra[ugh]t a letter to the inhabitants of Canada, informed the committee that they had performed that service, and as there was an opportunity of sending it ~~by the gentleman just introduced~~ by a safe conveyance in a few days, they desired to have an opportunity of reporting the letter; whereupon the President resumed the chair and the comm^{tee} reported their letter, w^{ch} was read, and after some debate, recommitted [to the same committee.]

Upon motion, *Agreed*, That M^r. [George] Washington, M^r. [Philip] Schuyler, M^r. [Thomas] Mifflin, M^r. [Silas] Deane, M^r. [Lewis] Morris and M^r. S[amuel] Adams, be a committee, to consider of ways and means to supply these colonies with Ammunition and military stores and to report immediately.

Upon motion, The Memorial of Robert Murray and John Murray, desiring to be restored to their former situation with respect to their commercial priviledges, was taken into consideration, and after some time spent thereon,

Resolved, That where any person hath been or shall be adjudged by a committee, to have violated the continental association, and such offender shall satisfy the convention of the Colony, where the offence was or shall be committed, or the committee of the parish of St. John's, in the Colony of Georgia, if the offence be committed there, of his contrition for his offence, and sincere resolution to conform to the Association for the future, the s^d convention, or committee of the parish of St. John's afores^d, may settle the terms upon which he may be restored to the favour and forgiveness of the public, and that the terms be published.

Ordered, That this be made public.¹

||*Resolved*, That the order of the day be postponed till Monday.||

Adjourned till Monday, at nine o'Clock.

MONDAY, MAY 29, 1775

The Congress met according to Adjournment.

The Committee, to whom the letter to the inhabitants of Canada, was recommitted, brought in a draught,² which was read, and approved, and is as follows:

*To the oppressed Inhabitants of Canada.*³

FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,

Alarmed by the designs of an arbitrary Ministry, to extirpate the Rights and liberties of all America, a sense of common danger conspired with the dictates of humanity, in urging us to call your attention, by our late address, to this very important object.

Since the conclusion of the late war, we have been happy in considering you as fellow-subjects, and from the commencement of the present plan for subjugating the continent, we have viewed you as fellow-sufferers with us. As we were both entitled by the bounty of an indulgent creator to freedom, and being both devoted by the cruel edicts of a despotic administration, to common ruin, we perceived the fate of the protestant and catholic colonies to be strongly linked together, and therefore invited you to join with us in resolving to be free, and in rejecting, with disdain, the fetters of slavery, however artfully polished.

We most sincerely condole with you on the arrival of that day, in the course of which, the sun could not shine on a single freeman in all your extensive dominion. Be assured, that your unmerited degradation has engaged the most unfeigned pity of your sister colonies; and we flatter ourselves you will not, by tamely bearing the yoke, suffer that pity to be supplanted by contempt.

¹ Printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 27 May 1775.

² Drafted by John Jay.

³ "Province of Quebec" was first written.

When hardy attempts are made to deprive men of rights, bestowed by the almighty, when avenues are cut thro' the most solemn compacts for the admission of despotism, when the plighted faith of government ceases to give security to loyal and dutiful subjects, and when the insidious stratagems and manœuvres of peace become more terrible than the sanguinary operations of war, it is high time for them to assert those rights, and, with honest indignation, oppose the torrent of oppression rushing in upon them.

By the introduction of your present form of government, or rather present form of tyranny, you and your wives and your children are made slaves. You have nothing that you can call your own, and all the fruits of your labour and industry may be taken from you, whenever an avaritious governor and a rapacious council may incline to demand them. You are liable by their edicts to be transported into foreign countries to fight Battles in which you have no interest, and to spill your blood in conflicts from which neither honor nor emolument can be derived: Nay, the enjoyment of your very religion, on the present system, depends on a legislature in which you have no share, and over which you have no controul, and your priests are exposed to expulsion, banishment, and ruin, whenever their wealth and possessions furnish sufficient temptation. They cannot be sure that a virtuous prince will always fill the throne, and should a wicked or a careless king concur with a wicked ministry in extracting the treasure and strength of your country, it is impossible to conceive to what variety and to what extremes of wretchedness you may, under the present establishment, be reduced.

We are informed you have already been called upon to waste your lives in a contest with us. Should you, by complying in this instance, assent to your new establishment, and a war break out with France, your wealth and your sons may be sent to perish in expeditions against their islands in the West indies.

It cannot be presumed that these considerations will have no weight with you, or that you are so lost to all sense of honor. We can never believe that the present race of Canadians are so degenerated as to possess neither the spirit, the gallantry, nor the courage of their ancestors. You certainly will not permit the infamy and disgrace of such pusillanimity to rest on your own heads, and the consequences of it on your children forever.

We, for our parts, are determined to live free, or not at all; and

are resolved, that posterity shall never reproach us with having brought slaves into the world.

Permit us again to repeat that we are your friends, not your enemies, and be not imposed upon by those who may endeavour to create animosities. The taking the fort and military stores at Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, and the armed vessels on the lake, was dictated by the great law of self-preservation. They were intended to annoy us, and to cut off that friendly intercourse and communication, which has hitherto subsisted between you and us. We hope it has given you no uneasiness, and you may rely on our assurances, that these colonies will pursue no measures whatever, but such as friendship and a regard for our mutual safety and interest may suggest.

As our concern for your welfare entitles us to your friendship, we presume you will not, by doing us injury, reduce us to the disagreeable necessity of treating you as enemies.

We yet entertain hopes of your uniting with us in the defence of our common liberty, and there is yet reason to believe, that should we join in imploring the attention of our sovereign, to the unmerited and unparalleled oppressions of his American subjects, he will at length be undeceived, and forbid a licentious Ministry any longer to riot in the ruins of the rights of Mankind.¹

Ordered, That the above Letter be signed by the president.

Ordered, That Mr.[John] Dickinson, and Mr.[Thomas] Mifflin, be a committee to get the letter translated into the french language, and to have 1,000 copies of it, so translated, printed, in order to be sent to Canada, and dispersed among the Inhabitants there.

On motion, *Resolved*, That no provisions or necessaries of any kind be exported to the island of Nantucket, except from the colony of Massachusetts bay, the convention of which colony is desired to take measures for effectually providing the s^d Island, upon their application to purchase the same, with as much provision, as shall be necessary for its internal use, and no more.

¹ This address was printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 19 June, 1775.

The Congress deeming it of great importance to North America, that the British fishery should not be furnished with provisions from this continent thro' Nantucket, earnestly recommend a vigilant execution of this resolve to all committees.¹

Ordered, That the above resolve be immediately published.

As the present critical situation of the colonies renders it highly necessary that ways and means should be devised for the speedy and secure conveyance of Intelligence from one end of the Continent to the other,

Resolved, That Mr. [Benjamin] Franklin, Mr. [Thomas] Lynch, Mr. [Richard Henry] Lee, Mr. [Thomas] Willing, Mr. S[amuel] Adams, and Mr. P[hilip] Livingston, be a committee to consider the best means of establishing posts for conveying letters and intelligence through this continent.

||*Resolved*, That the order of the day be postponed till to Morrow.||

Adjourned till to Morrow, at 9 o'Clock.

TUESDAY, MAY 30, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

M^r [Thomas] Willing, one of the delegates for Pennsylvania, informed the Congress, that a gentleman was just arrived from London, who had brought with him a paper, which he says he rec^d from Lord North, and which was written, at the desire of his Lordship, by Mr. Gray Cooper, Under-Sec^y of the Treasury; and he understood it to be his Lordship's desire that it sho^d be communicated to the Congress. He had for that purpose

¹ These two resolutions were printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 5 June, 1775, but the date is wrongly stated as being May 27.

put it into his hands. M^r Willing observed, that he had shewn the paper to D^r Franklin, who was well acquainted with the hand writing of M^r Cooper, and that he verily believed the paper brought by the gentleman was written by M^r Cooper.

The paper being read is as follows :

That it is earnestly hoped by all the real friends of the Americans, that the terms expressed in the resolution of the 20th of February last, will be accepted by all the colonies, who have the least affection for their King and country, or a just sense of their own interest.

That these terms are honourable for Great Britain, and safe for the colonies.

That if the colonies are not blinded by faction, these terms will remove every grievance relative to taxation, and be the basis of a compact between the colonies, and the mother country.

That the people in America ought, on every consideration to be satisfied with them.

That no further relaxation can be admitted.

The temper and spirit of the Nation are so much against concessions, that if it were the intention of administration, they could not carry the Question.

But administration have no such intention, as they are fully and firmly persuaded, that further concessions would be injurious to the colonies as well as to Great-Britain.

That there is not the least probability of a change of administration.

That they are perfectly united in opinion and determined to pursue the most effectual measures, and to use the whole force of the Kingdom, if it be found necessary, to reduce the rebellious and refractory provinces and colonies.

There is so great a spirit in the nation against the Congress, that the people will bear the temporary distresses of a stoppage of the American trade.

They may depend on this to be true.

|| Ordered, To lie on the table. ||

[Agreeable to the order of the day,]¹ the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take under

¹ In a writing other than Thomson's.

their farther consideration the state of America, and after some time spent therein the Pres^t resumed the chair and M^r [Samuel] Ward reported from the Committee that they had proceeded further in the consideration of the business referred to them, but not having yet come to a conclusion desired him to move for leave to sit again.

Resolved, that the Congress will to Morrow again resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into their further consideration the State of America.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 31, 1775

The congress met according to adjournment and agreeable to the order of the day resolved itself into a committee of the whole to take into their further consideration the state of America. ~~During the debate the delegates from Pennsylvania moved for leave to lay some papers before the Congress, which being granted~~ After some time the President resumed the chair and the papers just received being read were referred to the consideration of the committee of the whole. ~~Whereupon~~ the committee sat again and after some time spent, the president resumed the chair, and M^r [Samuel] Ward reported from the committee that they had proceeded farther in the business recommended to them, but not yet having finished, they have desired him to move for leave to sit again.

Resolved, That the Congress will, to Morrow, again resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their farther consideration the state of America.

A Letter from Col. Arnold, dated Crown Point, 23 May, 1775, was laid before the Congress, informing that he had certain intelligence, that "on the 19th there were then 400 regulars at St. John's, making all possible prep-

arations to cross the lake, and expected to be joined by a number of Indians, with a design of retaking Crown-point and Ticonderogo," and earnestly calling for a reinforcement and supplies. This letter being taken into consideration,¹

Resolved, That the Governor of Connecticut be requested immediately to send a strong reinforcement to the garrisons of Crown Point and Ticonderogo, and that so many of the cannon and other stores be retained, as may be necessary for the immediate defence of those posts, until further orders from this Congress, and that the provincial Convention of New York be informed of this resolve, and desired to furnish those troops with provisions and other necessary stores, and to take effectual care that a sufficient number of Batteaus be immediately provided for the lakes.

Ordered, That the above resolve be immediately transmitted in a letter by the pres^t, to Gov^r Trumbull, and the convention of New York.

Ordered, That the president in his letter acquaint Gov^r Trumbull, that it is the desire of Congress, that he sh^d appoint a person, in whom he can confide, to command the forces at Crown Point and Ticonderogo.

||Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.||

THURSDAY, JUNE 1, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The committee appointed to consider ways and means to supply these colonies with ammunition and military stores, brought in their report, which was read, and referred to the committee of the whole.

Upon Motion, *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Government of Connecticut, or the general of the forces

¹ This letter is not in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

of that colony, to appoint Commissaries to receive at Albany and forward the supplies of provisions, for the forces on lake Champlain, from the provincial Convention of New York, and that the s^d Convention use their utmost endeavours in facilitating and aiding the transportation thereof, from thence to where the s^d Commissaries may direct.

As this Congress has nothing more in view than the defence of these colonies,

Resolved, That no expedition or incursion ought to be undertaken or made, by any colony, or body of colonists, against or into Canada; and that this Resolve be immediately transmitted to the commander of the forces at Ticonderoga.

Ordered, That the above resolve be translated into the french Language and transmitted, with the letter, to the inhabitants of Canada—also,

Ordered, That the president transmit a copy of the above to New York, and the other colonies bordering on Canada; ~~and that in his letter to Govr. Trumbull acquaint him that it is the desire of the Congress that he appoint a proper person in whom he can confide to command the forces at Crown Point and Ticonderoga.~~

The Congress then, agreeable to the order of the day, resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of America, and after some time spent therein, the president resumed the chair, and Mr. [Samuel] Ward reported from the Committee, that they had taken the matters referred to them, into consideration, but not having yet come to a conclusion, desired him to move for leave to sit again.

Resolved, That this Congress will, to Morrow, again resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their farther consideration the state of America.

A petition from "the Committee representing the people in that part of Augusta county, in the colony of Virginia, on the west side of the Allegeny Mountain," being laid before the Congress and read, intimating fears of a rupture with the Indians on Acco^t of L^d Dunmore's ~~imprudent~~ conduct, and desiring "commissioners from the colony of Virginia, and province of Pensylvania, to attend a meeting of the Indians at Pittsburgh, on behalf of these colonies." ~~Also a resolve of the s^d committee in these words, viz.—"That the unsettled boundary between this colony and the province of Pensylvania is the occasion of many disputes."~~¹

Ordered, That the above be referred to the delegates of the colonies of Virginia and Pensylvania.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

FRIDAY, JUNE 2, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The president laid before the Congress a letter from the prov: Convention of Massachusetts, w^{ch} was read and is as follows:

IN PROV. CONGRESS, *Watertown, May 16, 1775.*

Resolved, That Doct^r Benjamin Church be ordered to go immediately to Philad^a and deliver to the president of the Hon^{ble} American Congress there now sitting, the following application to be by him communicated to the members thereof: and the s^d Church is also directed to confer with the s^d Congress, respecting such other matters as may be necessary to the defence of this colony and particularly the state of the army therein.

May it please y^r Honours.

That system of colony administration, which in the most firm, dutiful and loyal manner has been in vain remonstrated against by the representative body of the united colonies, seems still, unless speedily and vigorously opposed by the collected wisdom and force of all America to threaten ruin and destruction to this continent.

¹The petition from Virginia is not in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

For a long time past, this colony has, by a corrupt administration in Great Britain and here, been deprived of the exercise of those powers of Government, without which a people can be neither rich, happy or secure. The whole continent saw the blow pending, which if not warded off, must inevitably have subverted the freedom and happiness of each colony; the principles of self defence, roused in the breasts of freemen by the dread of impending slavery, caused to be collected the wisdom of America, in a Congress composed of men, who through time must in every land of freedom be revered among the most faithful assertors of the essential rights of human nature.

This colony was then reduced to great difficulties, being denied the exercise of civil government according to our charter, or the fundamental principles of the English constitution and a formidable navy and army (not only inimical to our safety, but flattered with the prospect of enjoying the fruit of our industry) were stationed for that purpose in our Metropolis. The prospect of deciding the question between our Mother country and us, by the sword, gave us the greatest pain and anxiety; but we have made all the preparation for our necessary defence that our confused state would admit of; and as the question equally affected our sister colonies and us, we have declined though urged thereto by the most pressing necessity to assume the reins of civil government, without their advice and consent; but have hitherto borne the many difficulties and distressing embarrassments necessarily resulting from a want thereof.

We are now compelled to raise an Army, which with the assistance of the other colonies, we hope under the smiles of heaven, will be able to defend us and all America from the further butcheries and devastations of our implacable enemies.—But as the sword should in all free states be subservient to the civil powers and as it is the duty of the Magistrates to support it for the peoples necessary defence, we tremble at having an army (although consisting of our countrymen) established here without a civil power to provide for and controul them.

We are happy in having an opportunity of laying our distressed state before the representative body of the continent, and humbly hope you will favour us with your most explicit advice respecting the taking up and exercising the powers of civil government, w^{ch} we think absolutely necessary for the Salvation of our country and we shall readily submit to such a general plan as you may direct for the colonies, or make it our great study to establish such a form of government here, as shall not only most promote our advantage but the union and interest of all America.

As the Army now collecting from different colonies is for the general defence of the right of America, we w^d beg leave to suggest to y^r consideration the propriety of y^r taking the regulation and general direction of it, that the operations may more effectually answer the purposes designed.

Signed, JOS: WARREN
President P. T.

Ordered to lye on the table.

The above letter referring to Doct. Church, on motion, agreed that he be introduced.

After he withdrew, an express arriving from Massachusetts bay, the president laid before the Congress Letters from the conventions of Massachusetts bay, and New Hampshire, also a letter from Gov^r Trumbull, all which were read.¹

Upon motion, *Resolved*, That no bill of Exchange, draught, or order of any officer in the army or navy, their agents or contractors, be received, or negotiated, or any money supplied to them by any person in America;

That no provisions or necessaries of any kind be furnished or supplied to, or for the use of, the British army or navy, in the colony of Massachusetts bay; and

That no vessel employed in transporting British troops to America, or from one part of North America to another, or warlike stores or provisions for said troops, be freighted or furnished with provisions or any Necessaries, until further orders from this Congress.²

Ordered, That the above resolves be immediately published.

Resolved, that this Congress will to Morrow resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into their further consideration the state of America.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

¹ None of these communications can be identified in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

² This resolution was printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 5 June, 1775.

SATURDAY, JUNE 3, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

A Letter from the prov. Convention of New York, together with sundry Letters and papers enclosed, ||from Albany,|| were laid before the Congress and read.

Ordered, To lie on the table.

Upon motion *Resolved,* That a committee of five persons be chosen to take into consideration the letter from the Convention of Massachusetts bay, dated the 16 of May, and report to this Congress what in their opinion is the proper Advice to be given to that Convention.

The following persons were chosen by ballot, to compose that committee, viz. M^r J[ohn] Rutledge, M^r [Thomas] Johnson, M^r [John] Jay, M^r [James] Wilson, and M^r [Richard Henry] Lee.

Upon motion *Resolved,* That a committee be appointed for the purpose of borrowing the sum of six thousand pounds for the use of America; for the repayment of which with interest, the Congress will make full and ample provision, and that the s^d com[mittee] apply the s^d sum of money to the purchase of gunpowder for the use of the Continental Army.

That the Delegates for Pennsylvania compose s^d Committee, with power as well to borrow the money as to apply it to the purpose intended.

Upon motion *Resolved,* That a committee of five be appointed to draught a petition to the King.

That a committee ||of three|| be appointed to report an address to the people of Great Britain.

Also a committee ||of four be appointed|| to report an address to the people of Ireland.

Also a committee ||of three be appointed|| to draught a letter to the inhabitants of Jamaica.

That the three last committees consist each of three.

That a Committee [of five] be appointed to bring in an estimate of the money necessary to be raised.

That this committee consist of 5 persons.

That the committee to report a petition to the King be M^r: [John] Dickinson, M^r: [Thomas] Johnson, M^r: J[ohn] Rutledge, M^r: [John] Jay, and M^r: [Benjamin] Franklin.

That the Committee to report an Address to the inhabitants of Great Britain be M^r: [Richard Henry] Lee, M^r: R[obert] R. Livingston and M^r: [Edmund] Pendleton.

That M^r: [James] Duane, M^r: Will. Livingston and M^r: S[amuel] Adams and M^r: J[ohn] Adams be y^e com[mittee] to report an Address to the people of Ireland.

That M^r: [William] Hooper, M^r: [James] Wilson and [Thomas] Lynch be a committee to draught a Letter to the inhabitants of Jamaica.

That M^r: [George] Washington, M^r: [Philip] Schuyler, M^r: [Silas] Deane, M^r: [Thomas] Cushing, and M^r: [Joseph] Hewes be a committee to bring in an estimate of the money necessary to be raised.

Resolved, That this Congress will on Monday resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into their farther consideration the State of America.

Adjourned till Monday at 9 o'Clock.¹

¹“The Congress, tho' not numerous, are yet a very unwieldy Body, in their very nature, as no motion or resolution can be started or proposed but what must be subject to much canvassing before it will pass with the unanimous approbation of Thirteen Colonies, whose situation and circumstances are various. And Unanimity is the basis on which we mean to rise; and I thank God, it hitherto prevails to a most surprising degree. Besides, our business has run away with us, as I may say, for though the Northern Expedition met with a warm approbation, yet the resolutions necessary to be formed respecting those posts put by the forming a general plan of operation, which, had it been previously laid, every such manœuvre would, of course, have been provided for at once.” *Silas Deane to his wife*, 3 June, 1775.

Writing to Lord Dartmouth, 7 June, 1775, Lieutenant Governor Colden, of New York, said: “In this gloomy Prospect of Affairs the Friends of Government have received a glimpse of Hope upon hearing that Mr. Duane, a Delegate from New York, has moved in the Continental Congress to introduce a Plan of Accommodation which produced a warm debate, but was carried in favour of the motion.” *Collections of the New York Historical Society*, 1877, p. 421.

MONDAY, JUNE 5, 1775

~~The president and~~ A number of the members met according to adjournm^t But several of the colonies not being represented the president adjourned the Congress till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

TUESDAY, JUNE 6, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment but the several committees not being ready to report adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 7, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The Committee appointed to make an estimate of the money necessary to be raised, brought in a report, ~~that they had prepared~~ which was read and ~~ordered to lie on the table~~ referred to the committee of the whole.

On motion, *Resolved*, That Thursday the 20th of July next, be observed ||throughout the twelve United Colonies,|| as a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer: and that Mr. [William] Hooper, Mr. J[ohn] Adams, and Mr. [Robert Treat] Paine, be a committee to bring in a resolve for that purpose.

The committee appointed to prepare advice in answer to the letter from the convention of Massachusetts bay, dated 16th of May &c. brought in their report, which was read, and ordered to lie on the table ||for consideration.||

The Congress agreeable to the order of the day, resolved themselves into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of America; after some time spent therein, the president resumed the chair; and M^r [Samuel] Ward reported, from the committee that they had proceeded in the business referred to them, but not having

come to a conclusion, desired him to move for leave to sit again.

Resolved, That this Congress will, to Morrow, again resolve themselves into a committee of the whole, to take into their farther consideration the state of America; and that this be a standing order till the business is completed.

||Adjourned till to Morrow at nine o'Clock.||

THURSDAY, JUNE 8, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The Congress being informed, that a major [Philip] Skeene, with some other officers, were arrived ||last evening, in a vessel|| from London, and were, with their papers, now in the custody of the troops of this city and that the said Major Skeene has been lately appointed governor of the forts of Ticonderoga, and Crown Point; that one of the officers a lieutenant has commission in the regular troops, now in the province of Quebec; and moreover, that the s^d Skene had declared, he had authority to raise a Regiment in America; from all this, apprehending that the said Skene ~~from his appointment~~ is a dangerous partizan of Administration, and that his papers may contain intelligence of Ministerial designs against America, very important to be known,

Resolve, That a committee be appointed to examine in the presence of the s^d Skene and lieutenant, all the papers in their possession.

That this committee consist of Mr. J[ohn] Adams, Mr. [Silas] Deane, and [Thomas] Mifflin:

That the s^d committee be upon honor to conceal whatever of a private nature may come to their knowledge by such examination; and that they communicate, to this Congress, whatever may relate to the present dispute, between Great Britain and America.

The congress then resolved themselves into a committee of the whole to take into their farther consideration the state of America, after some time spent therein the presid^t resumed the chair and M^r [Samuel] Ward reported from the committee that not having yet compleated the business referred to them desired him to move for leave to sit again.

Resolved, That this congress will to Morrow again resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into their farther consideration the state of America.

Resolved, That the consideration of the report of the committee, w^{ch} yesterday was ordered to lie on the table, be taken up as the first business to Morrow morning.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

FRIDAY, JUNE 9, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

~~Agreeable to the order of the day~~

The report of the committee, on the Letter from the convention of Massachusetts bay, being again read, Congress came to the following resolution:

Resolved, That no obedience being due to the Act of parliament for altering the charter of the Colony of Massachusetts bay, nor to a Governor, or a lieutenant-Governor, who will not observe the directions of, but endeavour to subvert that charter, the gov^t and lieutenant-gov^t of that Colony are to be considered as absent, and these offices vacant; and as there is no council there, and the inconveniences, arising from the suspension of the powers of Government, are intollerable, especially at a time when Gen^l Gage hath actually levied war, and is carrying on hostilities, against his Majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects of that Colony; that, in order to conform, as near as may be, to the spirit and substance of the charter, it be recommended to the provincial Convention, to write

letters to the inhabitants of the several places, which are intituled to representation in Assembly, requesting them to chuse such representatives, and that the Assembly, when chosen, do elect counsellors; which assembly and council should exercise the powers of Government, until a Governor, of his Majesty's appointment, will consent to govern the colony according to its charter.

Ordered, that the president transmit a copy of the above to the convention of Massachusetts bay.

Upon Motion

Resolved, That this Congress will to Morrow take into consideration the ways and means of raising Money.

Resolved: That the Provincial Convention of New York be requested to convey as soon as possible to Providence in Rhode island, or to any port in the governm^t of Massachusetts bay, five thousand barrels of flour for the use of the Continental Army.

Resolved: That the Committee of correspondance at Providence and in the government of Massachusetts bay where the s^d flour may be carried, be desired to receive and forward it to the camp before Boston as soon as may be, and to lodge such part thereof as cannot be immediately sent thither in places of security.

Resolved: That this Congress will make provision for defraying any expence incurred for this service.

Ordered: That a copy of the above resolves be immediately transmitted by the President, to the convention of New York.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

SATURDAY, JUNE 10, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

Several letters, from Massachusetts Bay, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, &c. were laid before the Congress, and

read; ||and the same being taken into consideration, the Congress came to the following resolutions:||

Upon motion the Congress came to the following resolutions:

Resolved: That it be, and is hereby earnestly recommended to the several Colonies of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut and the interior towns of Massachusetts bay, that they immediately furnish the American army before Boston with as much powder out of their town, and other publick stocks as they can possibly spare; keeping an exact account of the quantities supplied, that it may be again replaced, or paid for by the Continent; this to be effected with the utmost secrecy and dispatch.

That it be recommended to the committees of the several towns and districts in the colonies of the Massachusetts bay, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, and the eastern division of New Jersey, to collect all the salt petre and brimstone in their several towns and districts, and transmit the same, with all possible despatch, to the provincial Convention at New York.

That it be recommended to the provincial Congress ||convention|| of the colony of New York, to have the powder Mills, in that colony, put into such a condition as immediately to manufacture, into gun powder, for the use of the Continent, whatever materials may be procured in the manner above directed.

That it be recommended to the committees of the western division of New Jersey, the colonies of Pennsylvania, lower counties on Delaware and Maryland, that they, without delay, collect the salt petre and sulphur in their respective Colonies, and transmit the same to the committee for the city and liberties of Philadelphia; to the end, that those articles may be immediately manufactured into gun powder, for the use of the continent.

That it be recommended to the conventions and committees of the colonies of Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, that they, without delay, collect the salt petre and sulphur in their respective colonies, and procure these articles to be manufactured, as soon as possible, into gun powder, for the use of the Continent.

That it be recommended to the several inhabitants of the united colonies, who are possessed of salt petre and sulphur, for their own use, to dispose of them for the purpose of manufacturing gun powder.

That the salt petre and sulphur, collected in consequence of the resolves of Congress for that purpose, be paid for out of the continental fund.

Resolved, That Mr. [Robert Treat] Paine, Mr. [Richard Henry] Lee, Mr. [Benjamin] Franklin, Mr. [Philip] Schuyler and Mr. [Thomas] Johnson, be a committee to devise ways and means to introduce the manufacture of salt petre in these colonies.

||The committee for examining governor Skene's letters, &c. having communicated to Congress what they found relative to the dispute between Great Britain and these colonies;||

Resolved, That Gov^r [Philip] Skene, lieutenant Moncrieffe, and Mr. Lundy be released from their present confinement^t, and suffered to go at large any where within eight miles of this city, between Delaware and Schuylkil, on their parole of honor, not to pass those limits, and that they will hold no correspondence with any person whatsoever, on any political subject.

That Mr. [Christopher] Gadsden be added to the committee for examining gov^r Skene's papers, and that ||said committee have it in charge to execute the above resolve.|| they enlarge them upon their parole agreeable to the above resolve.

Resolved, that the order of the day be postponed until Monday next.

Adjourned till Monday at 9 o'Clock.

MONDAY, JUNE 12, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The committee, appointed for preparing a resolve for a fast, brought in a report, which, being read, was agreed to as follows:

As the great Governor of the World, by his supreme and universal Providence, not only conducts the course of nature with unerring wisdom and rectitude, but frequently influences the minds of men to serve the wise and gracious purposes of his providential government; and it being, at all times, our indispensable duty devoutly to acknowledge his superintending providence, especially in times of impending danger and public calamity, to reverence and adore his immutable justice as well as to implore his merciful interposition for our deliverance:

This Congress, therefore, considering the present critical, alarming and calamitous state of these colonies, do earnestly recommend that Thursday, the 20th day of July next, be observed, by the inhabitants of all the English colonies on this continent, as a day of public humiliation, fasting and prayer; that we may, with united hearts and voices, unfeignedly confess and deplore our many sins; and offer up our joint supplications to the all-wise, omnipotent, and merciful Disposer of all events; humbly beseeching him to forgive our iniquities, to remove our present calamities, to avert those desolating judgments, with which we are threatned, and to bless our rightful sovereign, King George the third, and [to] inspire him with wisdom to discern and pursue the true interest of all his subjects, that a speedy end may be put to the civil discord between Great Britain and the American colonies, without farther effusion of blood: And that the British nation may be influenced to regard the things that belong to her peace, before they are hid from her eyes: That these colonies may be ever under the care and protection of a kind Providence, and be prospered in all their interests; That the divine blessing may descend and rest upon all our civil rulers, and upon the representatives of the people, in their several assemblies and conventions, that they may be directed to wise and effectual meas-

ures for preserving the union, and securing the just rights and privileges of the colonies; That virtue and true religion may revive and flourish throughout our land; And that all America may soon behold a gracious interposition of Heaven, for the redress of her many grievances, the restoration of her invaded rights, a reconciliation with the parent state, on terms constitutional and honorable to both; And that her civil and religious privileges may be secured to the latest posterity.

And it is recommended to Christians, of all denominations, to assemble for public worship, and to abstain from servile labour and recreations on said day.

Ordered, That a copy of the above be signed by the president and attested by the Sec^y and published in the newspapers, and in hand bills.¹

On motion ordered that the letter to the Inhabitants of Canada be published in English.

The order of the day being read, after some debate the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the ways and means of raising money. After some time the president resumed the chair, and M^r [Samuel] Ward reported from the Committee that they had proceeded in the business referred to them but not having come to a conclusion desired him to move for leave to sit again.

Resolved that the Congress will to Morrow resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the ways and means of raising money, and also the state of America.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

TUESDAY, JUNE 13, 1775

The Congress met and agreeable to the order of the day resolved itself in a committee of the whole to take

¹ It was printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 19 June, 1775. A portion of one of the original broadside issues is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 23, folio 5. The entry in the Journal of this resolve is in the writing of Timothy Matlack.

into consideration the ways and means of raising money and also the state of America. After some time spent therein the president resumed the chair and M^r [Samuel] Ward reported that the committee not having come to a conclusion desired him to move for leave to sit again.

Resolved, that this Congress will to Morrow resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the ways and means of raising money, and also the state of America.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 14, 1775

The Congress met and agreeable to the order of the day, resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration &c. After some time spent thereon, the president resumed the chair, and M^r [Samuel] Ward reported, that not having yet come to a conclusion they desired him to move for leave to sit again. At the same time they desired him to report some resolutions which they had come into.

The resolutions being read, were adopted as follows:

Resolved, That six companies of expert riflemen, be immediately raised in Pensylvania, two in Maryland, and two in Virginia; that each company consist of a captain, three lieutenants, four serjeants, four corporals, a drummer or trumpeter, and sixty-eight privates.

That each company, as soon as compleated, shall march and join the army near Boston, to be there employed as light infantry, under the command of the chief Officer in that army.

That the pay of the Officers and privates be as follows, viz. a captain @ 20 dollars per month; a lieutenant @ 13½ dollars; a serjeant @ 8 dollars; a corporal @ 7½ dol-

lars; drummer or [trumpeter] @ 7½ doll.; privates @ 6½ dollars; to find their own arms and cloaths.

That the form of the enlistment be in the following words:

I have, this day, voluntarily enlisted myself, as a soldier, in the American continental army, for one year, unless sooner discharged: And I do bind myself to conform, in all instances, to such rules and regulations, as are, or shall be, established for the government of the sa^d Army.

Upon motion, *Resolved*, That Mr. [George] Washington, Mr. [Philip] Schuyler, Mr. [Silas] Deane, Mr. [Thomas] Cushing, and Mr. [Joseph] Hewes be a committee to bring in a dra't of Rules and regulations for the government of the army.

A letter from the convention of New York, dated 10 June, 1775, respecting a vessel which is stopt there, on suspicion of having provisions on board for the army and navy at Boston, was read and referred to the delegates of Massachusetts bay, Connecticut, and New York.

Resolved, That the Congress will, to Morrow, resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the ways and means of raising money, and the state of America. This to be a standing order, until the business is compleated.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

THURSDAY, JUNE 15, 1775

The congress met according to adjournment.

The committee, to whom the letter from the convention of New York was referred, brought in their report, which being read,

Resolved, That the thanks of this congress be given to the convention of New York, for their vigilance in the case of Capt. Coffin's vessel, and that it be recommended

to them that the vessel be unloaded, and the cargo safely stored, until all just suspicions, concerning the destination of it, shall be removed.

Ordered, That this be transmitted, by the Pres^t, in a letter to the chairman of the convention of New York.

Agreeable to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the ways and means of raising money and the state of America; after some time spent therein the president resumed the chair, and Mr. [Samuel] Ward reported, that the committee had come to certain resolutions, which they desired him to report, but not having yet come to a conclusion ordered him to move for leave to sit again.

The report of the committee being read and debated,

Resolved, That a General be appointed to command all the continental forces, raised, or to be raised, for the defence of American liberty.

That five hundred dollars, per month, be allowed for his pay and expences.

The Congress then proceeded to the choice of a general, ||by ballot,|| when George Washington, Esq. was unanimously elected.¹

Resolved, that the Congress will to Morrow again resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the state of America.

Adjourned till to Morrow ||at eight o'clock.||

FRIDAY, JUNE 16, 1775

The congress met according to adjournment.

The president from the chair informed Geo: Wash-

¹These resolutions were printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 11 December, 1775. Washington was nominated by Thomas Johnson of Maryland, and the election was unanimous. The attitude of the Congress and the causes leading to this choice are fully described in the Diary and later correspondence of John Adams.

ington Esq^r that he had the order of the Congress to acq[ain]t him, that the Congress had by a unanimous vote made choice of him to be general and com[mander] in chief to take the supreme command of the forces raised and to be raised, in defence of American Liberty, and desired his acceptance of it. Whereupon Colonel Washington, standing in his place, spoke as follows:

“MR. PRESIDENT,

“Tho’ I am truly sensible of the high Honour done me, in this Appointment, yet I feel great distress, from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important Trust: However, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

“But, lest some unlucky event should happen, unfavourable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered, by every Gentleman in the room, that I, this day, declare with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the Command I am honored with.

“As to pay, Sir, I beg leave to assure the Congress, that, as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to have accepted this arduous employment, at the expence of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any proffit from it. I will keep an exact Account of my expences. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire.”¹

Upon motion *Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed to draught a commission and instructions for the general.

¹This reply, in the writing of Edmund Pendleton, with a single line added by Washington, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 152, vol. I, folio 1.

The committee, to consist of the following Mr. [Richard Henry] Lee, Mr. E[dward] Rutledge, and J[ohn] Adams.

Upon motion *Resolved una*: That a committee of 5 be appointed to take into consideration the papers transmitted from the convention of New York relative to Indian affairs, and report what steps, in their opinion, are necessary to be taken for securing and preserving the friendship of the Indian Nations.

That the committee consist of the following persons, viz, Mr. [Philip] Schuyler, Mr. [Patrick] Henry, Mr. [James] Duane, Mr. [James] Wilson, and Mr. P[hilip] Livingston.

Agreeable to the order of the day the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the state of America. And after some time spent therein the president resumed the chair and M^r [Samuel] Ward reported that the committee had come to certain resolutions, which they had ordered him to report but not having come to a conclusion they desired him to move for leave to sit again.

The resolves of the committee being read, the Congress came to the following Resolutions:—

Resolved, That two¹ major generals be appointed for the American army.

That the pay of each of the Major generals be one hundred and sixty-six dollars per month.

That when any of these act in a separate department, he be allowed, for his pay and expence, three hundred and thirty-two dollars per month.

That there be eight² Brigadiers general. That the pay of each be one hundred and twenty-five dollars per month.

¹ In the ms. the original record stood for *three*; this was changed to *four*, and finally to *two*.

² The original record called for *five*.

That there be one adjutant General, and his pay one hundred and twenty-five dollars per month.

That there be one Commissary general of stores and provisions, and that his pay be eighty dollars per month.

That there be one quarter master general for the grand army, and a deputy, under him, for the separate army. That the pay of the quarter master general be eighty dollars per month, and that of the deputy forty dollars per month.

That there be a pay master general, and a deputy under him, for the army in a separate department; that the pay, for himself, be one hundred dollars per month, and for the deputy pay master, under him, fifty dollars per month.

That there be one chief engineer at the grand army, and that his pay be sixty dollars per month.

That two Assistants be employed under him; that the pay of each of them be twenty dollars per month.

That there be a chief Engineer for the army, in a separate department, and two assistants under him; that the pay of the chief engineer be sixty dollars per month, and the pay of the assistants each, twenty dollars per month.

That there be three aid de camps and that their pay be thirty-three dollars per month each.

That there be a secretary to the general; and his pay sixty-six dollars per month.

That there be a secretary to the Major general, acting in a separate department; and that his pay be thirty-three dollars per month.

That there be a commissary of the musters, and that his pay forty¹ dollars per month.²

¹Originally *twenty dollars*.

²The resolutions passed this day were printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 11 December, 1775.

John Adams thus commented on the pay: "The pay which has been voted to

A Letter from the Convention of New York, rec^d by express, was laid before the Congress and read, which being taken into consideration,

Resolved, That the provincial convention of New York, be desired immediately to apply to Governor Trumbull to order the Connecticut troops, now stationed at Greenwich, Stamford, and parts adjacent, to march towards New York, and that part of them occupy such posts upon that Island as the s^d provincial Convention shall judge best adapted to prevent the communication between the town and country from being cut off, the remainder of the troops to be employed in securing the navigation of Hudson's river by erecting Batteries at such places as the s^d Convention shall judge most proper to answer that purpose.

Resolved, that this Congress will to Morrow again resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into their further consideration the state of America.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

all the officers, which the Continental Congress intends to choose, is so large, that I fear our people will think it extravagant and be uneasy. Mr. Adams, Mr. Paine, and myself, used our utmost endeavors to reduce it, but in vain.

“Those ideas of equality, which are so agreeable to us natives of New England, are very disagreeable to many gentlemen in the other colonies. They had a great opinion of the high importance of a continental general, and were determined to place him in an elevated point of light. They think the Massachusetts establishment too high for the privates, and too low for the officers, and they would have their own way.” *John Adams to Elbridge Gerry*, 18 June, 1775. Works, IX, 358. See also his letter to Joseph Hawley of November 25, in the same volume.

SATURDAY, JUNE 17, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The committee appointed to draught a commission to the general, reported the same, which, being read by paragraphs and debated, was agreed to and is as follows:

IN CONGRESS

The delegates of the United Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Counties of New-Castle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina: To George Washington, Esq.

WE, reposing special trust and confidence in your patriotism, valor, conduct, and fidelity, do, by these presents, constitute and appoint you to be General and Commander in chief, of the army of the United Colonies, and of all the forces now raised, or to be raised, by them, and of all others who shall voluntarily offer their service, and join the said Army for the Defence of American liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof: And you are hereby vested with full power and authority to act as you shall think for the good and welfare of the service.

And we do hereby strictly charge and require all Officers and Soldiers, under your command, to be obedient to your orders, and diligent in the exercise of their several duties.

And we do also enjoin and require you, to be careful in executing the great trust reposed in you, by causing strict discipline and order to be observed in the army, and that the soldiers be duly exercised, and provided with all convenient necessaries.

And you are to regulate your conduct in every respect by the rules and discipline of war, (as herewith given you,) and punctually to observe and follow such orders and directions, from time to time, as you shall receive from this, or a future Congress of these United Colonies, or committee of Congress.

This commission to continue in force, until revoked by this, or a future Congress.

By order of the Congress.¹

Dated, Philad^a June 17, 1775.

¹The original is in the Library of Congress. It was printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 11 December, 1775, together with the Congress pledge and list of officers of

Ordered, ||That the same be fairly transcribed,|| to be signed by the president, and attested by the secretary, and delivered to the General.

Resolved unanimously upon the question, Whereas, the delegates of all the colonies, from Nova-Scotia to Georgia, in Congress assembled, have unanimously chosen George Washington, Esq. to be General and commander in chief, of such forces as are, or shall be, raised for the maintenance and preservation of American liberty; this Congress doth now declare, that they will maintain and assist him, and adhere to him, the said George Washington, Esq^r, with their lives and fortunes in the same cause.

The Congress then proceeded to the choice of the Officers in the army by ballot: when

Artemus Ward, Esq. was chosen first major-general and ~~second in command~~.

Horatio Gates, Esq. was ~~unanimously chosen~~ adjutant general.

Resolved, That Horatio Gates, now chosen adjutant general, shall have the rank of a Brigadier general.

Charles Lee, Esq. was ~~unanimously chosen~~ second Major general ~~to be third in command~~.

Resolved, that this congress will on Monday resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the state of America.

Adjourned till Monday next at 9 o'Clock.

MONDAY, JUNE 19, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The president laid before the Congress sundry letters this day. At the Washington Headquarters, Morristown, New Jersey is a paper which purports to be this commission, or its earliest form. It was found in a shoemaker's shop by David Ames Wells, and he gave it to George Washington Childs, from whom it passed to Ferdinand J. Dreer, who presented it to the Headquarters. It is of doubtful value.

from the conventions of Massachusetts bay and New York, which were read.

Upon motion *Ordered*, That Mr. [Patrick] Henry, Mr. [Thomas] Lynch, and Mr. J[ohn] Adams, be a committee to wait upon Gen^l Lee, and to inform him of his appointment, and request his answer, whether he will accept the command.

Committee returned and reported, that they had waited on Gen^l Lee, and informed him of his appointment, and that he gave for answer: That he ~~expressed a high sense of the honour done him and assured them he was ready to render America all services in his power, but desired as the situation of his affairs was peculiar, to have an opportunity of~~ had the highest sense of the honor conferred upon him by the Congress; that no effort in his power shall be wanting to serve the American cause.—But before he entered upon the service he desired a conference with a committee to consist of one delegate from each of the associated colonies, to whom he desired to explain some particulars respecting his private fortune.

Where upon M^r. [John] Sullivan, M^r. S[amuel] Adams, M^r. [Stephen] Hopkins, M^r. [Eliphalet] Dyer, M^r. P[hilip] Livingston, M^r. W[illiam] Livingston, M^r. [George] Ross, M^r. [Cæsar] Rodney, M^r. [Thomas] Johnson, M^r. [Patrick] Henry, M^r. [Richard] Caswell and Mr. [Thomas] Lynch were appointed a committee to confer with Gen^l Lee.

The committee returned and reported that they had conferred with Gen^l Lee, who had communicated to them an estimate of the Estate he risked by this service; Whereupon,

Resolved, That these colonies will indemnify General Lee for any loss of property which he may sustain by entering into their service, and that the same be done by

this or any future Congress as soon as such loss is ascertained.

Upon motion, *resolved una*:

||The letters from Massachusetts bay being taken into consideration, the Congress come to the following resolve:||

That the governor of Connecticut be requested to direct all the forces raised in that Colony, not employed at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, or recommended by this Congress to be marched ~~into the province of~~ towards New York, to be immediately sent to join the combined army before Boston: And it is earnestly recommended to the colony of Rhode island, and the provincial Convention of New Hampshire, to send immediately to the Army before Boston, such of the forces as are already embodied, towards their quotas of the troops agreed to be raised by the New England Colonies.

Resolved, That Mr. [Richard Henry] Lee, Mr. E[dward] Rutledge, and Mr. J[ohn] Adams, be a committee to prepare the form of a commission for the Major generals, and also for the brigadier generals, and other officers in the army.

Resolved, That there be four Major generals.

The Congress then proceeded to chuse the two remaining Major generals, when ~~upon taking the votes~~ Philip Schuyler. Esq. was chosen third Major General.

Israel Putnam, Esq. was unanimously chosen 4th Major General.

The committee appointed to prepare the form of a Commission reported the same, which was read and agreed for the major generals and brigadier generals, and ordered to be engrossed.

(Here insert the commissions.¹)

¹None of these commissions were entered upon the Journals.

Ordered, That the secretary get a number of commissions printed, with proper blanks, for the other officers.

The committee appointed to prepare a petition to the king, reported the same.

Resolved that this Congress will to Morrow resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take under consideration the state of America¹

Adjourned till to Morrow 9 o'Clock.

TUESDAY, JUNE 20, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The committee appointed to draught instructions to the general, reported the same, which being read, were agreed to, and are as follows:

To George Washington Esq^r.

This Congress having appointed you to be General and Commander in chief of the Army of the united Colonies and of all the forces raised or to be raised by them and of all others who shall voluntarily offer their service and join the said army for the defence of American liberty and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof, you are to repair with all expedition to the colony of Massachusetts bay and take charge of the army of the united colonies.

For your better direction

1st You are to make a return to us as soon as possible of all forces which you shall have under your command together with their military stores and provisions. And also as exact an Account as you can obtain of the forces which compose the British Army in America.

2^{d^y} You are not to disband any of the men you find raised until further direction from this Congress and if you shall think their numbers not adequate to the purpose of security, you may recruit them to a number you shall think sufficient, not exceeding double that of the enemy.

3^d In all cases of vacancy occasioned by the death or removal of a Colonel or other inferior officer, you are by brevet or warrant under your seal to appoint another person to fill up such vacancy until it shall

¹Some of the resolutions of this day were printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 11 December, 1775.

be otherwise ordered by the provincial Convention or Assembly of the colony from whence the troops in which such vacancy happen, shall direct otherwise.

4. You are to victual at the continental expence all such volunteers as have joined or shall join the united Army.

5. You shall take every method in your power consistent with prudence, to destroy or make prisoners of all persons who now are or who hereafter shall appear in Arms against the good people of the united colonies.

6. And whereas all particulars cannot be foreseen, nor positive instructions for such emergencies so before hand given but that many things must be left to your prudent and discreet management, as occurrences may arise upon the place, or from time to time fall out, you are therefore upon all such accidents or any occasions that may happen, to use your best circumspection and (advising with your council of war) to order and dispose of the said Army under your command as may be most advantageous for the obtaining the end for which these forces have been raised, making it your special care in discharge of the great trust committed unto you, that the liberties of America receive no detriment.

Resolved, that this Congress will to Morrow resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the state of America.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o Clock.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 21, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

Mr. Thomas Jefferson appeared as a delegate for the Colony of Virginia, and produced his Credentials, which were read and approved, and are as follows:

At a Convention of Delegates for the Counties and Corporations in the Colony of Virginia, at the Town of Richmond, in the County of Henrico, on Monday the twenty seventh Day of March 1775

On a Motion made,

Resolved that Thomas Jefferson, Esquire, be appointed a Deputy to represent this Colony in General Congress, in the Room of the honor-

able Peyton Randolph, Esquire, in Case of the Non-attendance of the said Peyton Randolph, Esquire.

a Copy Test:

JOHN TAZEWELL
Clerk of the Convention.

At a General Assembly begun and held at the Capitol in the City of Williamsburg on Thursday, the first day of June, in the fifteenth Year of the Reign of our Lord GEORGE the third, by the Grace of GOD, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, defender of the Faith, &c. Annoque Domini 1775.

Monday, the 5th of June 15 Geo: III. 1775.

Resolved, nemine contradicente, that this House doth intirely approve of the Proceedings and Resolutions of the Convention of Delegates for the Counties and Corporations in the Colony of VIRGINIA, held at Richmond Town, in the County of Henrico, on the twentieth day of March, 1775. And that it be recommended to all the good People of this Colony strictly to conform and observe the same.

By the House of Burgesses.

PEYTON RANDOLPH *Speakr.*

Mr. [Patrick] Henry informed the Congress, that the general had put into his hand sundry queries, to which he desired the Congress would give an answer.

The Queries being read ||and debated,||

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to take into their consideration the s^d queries and report their opinion with regard to the answers proper to be given.

That the committee consist of the following persons, viz:

Mr. [Silas] Deane, Mr. [Patrick] Henry, Mr. J[ohn] Rutledge, Mr. S[amuel] Adams, and Mr. [Richard Henry] Lee.

Upon motion, *Resolved*, That the Generals be allowed three aids de camp.

That each of the major generals have two aids de camp.

That the pay of the aids de camp of the Major general be ~~twenty~~ thirty-three dollars per month.

Resolved, that this Congress will to Morrow resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the state of America.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

THURSDAY, JUNE 22, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The Committee appointed to take into consideration the Queries of the general and report thereon, brought in their report, which was read and considered.

Resolved, That the number of Brigadier generals be augmented to eight: The Congress then proceeded to the choice of the Brigadiers, viz:

Seth Pomeroy, Esq. first.
Richard Montgomery, Esq. second.
David Wooster, Esq. third.
William Heath, Esq. fourth.

Joseph Spencer, Esq. fifth.
John Thomas, Esq. sixth.
John Sullivan, Esq. seventh.
Nathanael Greene, Esq. eighth.

Resolved, That the troops, including the Volunteers, be furnished with camp Equipage, and blankets, where necessary, at the Continental expence.

Resolved, That the officers, now in the Army, receive their new commissions through the hands of the general.

Resolved, That a sum not exceeding two millions of Spanish milled dollars be emitted by the Congress in bills of Credit, for the defence of America.

Resolved, That the twelve confederated colonies be pledged for the redemption of the bills of credit, now directed to be emitted.¹

~~*Resolved*, That the pay of the aids de camp of the majors general be increased to thirty three dollars per month.~~

¹The list of Brigadiers and the resolution on bills of credit were printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 11 December, 1775.

Resolved, That the colony of Pennsylvania raise two more companies of riflemen, and that these, with the six before ordered to be raised by them, making eight companies, be formed into a battalion, to be commanded by such field officers, captains and lieut^{ts}, as shall be recommended by the Assembly or convention of the above colony.

Resolved, that this Congress will to Morrow resolve itself into a Committee of the whole to take into consideration the state of America.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

FRIDAY, JUNE 23, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

A letter from the officers of Crown Point, dated June 10, 1775 was laid before the Congress.

Information being given, that Col. Allen and Captⁿ Seth Warner who brought the letter were at the door, ||and had some things of importance to communicate,||

Ordered, That they be called in. After they withdrew, the Congress took the letter and information into consideration.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Officer commanding in the New York department, to procure, as soon as possible, a list of the men employed in taking and garrisoning Crown Point and Ticonderogo, and keeping possession of the lakes, and also of their disbursements, in order that they may be paid.

Resolved, That their pay be the same as that of the officers and privates in the American Army; the highest of the officers not to exceed that of a captain, and that the pay commence the third day of last May, and continue until they are discharged.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the convention of New York, that they, consulting with General Schuyler, employ in the army to be raised for the defence of America, those called Green Mountain Boys, under such officers as the s^d Green Mountain Boys shall chuse.

Upon motion, *Resolved*, That a committee of five be appointed to draw up a declaration, to be published by General Washington, upon his arrival at the Camp before Boston.

That the committee consist of the following members, viz: Mr. J[ohn] Rutledge, Mr. W[illiam] Livingston, Mr. [Benjamin] Franklin, Mr. [John] Jay, and Mr. [Thomas] Johnson.

Agreeable to the order of the day the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into further consideration the state of America, and after some time spent therein, the president resumed the chair, and Mr. [Samuel] Ward reported that the committee had come into certain resolutions which they desired him to report, but not having yet finished, they had ordered him to move for leave to sit again.

The report of the Committee being read,

Resolved, That the Number and denomination of the bills to be emitted be as follows, viz:

49,000 bills of	8 dollars each—	392,000
49,000 do. of	7 dollars each—	343,000
49,000 do. of	6 dollars each—	294,000
49,000 do. of	5 dollars each—	245,000
49,000 do. of	4 dollars each—	196,000
49,000 do. of	3 dollars each—	147,000
49,000 do. of	2 dollars each—	98,000
49,000 do. of	1 dollars each—	49,000
11,800 do. of	20 dollars each—	236,000
<hr/>		
403,800		2,000,000

Resolved, That the form of the bills be as follows, viz:

CONTINENTAL CURRENCY

No.

Dollar.

THIS bill entitles the bearer to receive

Spanish Milled dollars,
or the value thereof in gold or silver, according to the
resolutions of the Congress, held at Philadelphia, on the
10th day of May, A. D. 1775.

Resolved, That Mr. J[ohn] Adams, Mr. J[ohn] Rutledge, Mr. [James] Duane, Doctor [Benjamin] Franklin, and Mr. [James] Wilson, be a committee to get proper plates engraved, to provide paper, and to agree with printers to print the above bills.

Resolved, that this Congress will to Morrow again resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into their farther consideration the state of America.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

SATURDAY, JUNE 24, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

Upon motion, *Ordered*, That the first and second resolves passed 26 May be published.

Upon motion, *Resolved*, That a Committee of seven be appointed to devise ways and means to put the Militia of America in a proper state for the defence of America.

The members chosen Mr. [Robert Treat] Paine, Mr. [Benjamin] Harrison, Mr. [Roger] Sherman, Mr. [Stephen] Hopkins, Mr. [William] Floyd, Mr. [Christopher] Gadsden, and Mr. [John] Dickinson.¹

The Committee appointed to prepare a declaration to be published by Gen^l Washington, upon his arrival at the Camp before Boston, reported the same, which was read

¹ The committee appears to have been chosen on June 26, for an entry to this effect is erased on that day.

and debated, and referred for farther consideration till Monday next.

Resolved, that this Congress will on Monday resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the State of America.

Adjourned till Monday at 9 o'Clock.

MONDAY, JUNE 26, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

A letter from Governor Trumbull was read, and referred to the committee appointed to devise ways and means for introducing the manufacture of salt petre into these colonies.¹

||The state of North Carolina being taken into consideration, the Congress came to the following resolutions:||

Whereas it is represented to this Congress, that the enemies of the liberties of America are pursuing measures to divide the good people of the colony of North Carolina, and to defeat the American Association;

Resolved, That it be recommended to all in that Colony, who wish well to the liberties of America, to associate for the defence of American liberty, and to embody themselves as militia, under proper officers.

Resolved, That in case the Assembly or Convention of that Colony shall think it absolutely necessary, for the support of the American Association and safety of the colony, to raise a body of forces not exceeding one thousand men, this Congress will consider them as an American army, and provide for their pay.²

The Congress then resumed the consideration of the

¹ This letter, dated June 20, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 66, I, folio 9.

² Here were inserted and stricken out the names of the committee on the declaration to be published by General Washington, already given on June 24.

Declaration, and after some debate, the same was re-committed, and Mr. [John] Dickinson and Mr. [Thomas] Jefferson were added to the Committee.

A letter from the Committee of Albany rec^d by express was laid before the Congress and read.¹

The Committee for Indian affairs bro't in their report, which was read.

Upon motion, *Resolved*, That the delegates of Pennsylvania be appointed from this Congress to wait on the Committee of this City and to request of them that a supply of powder be immediately furnished for the use of the fortifications of Ticonderoga and Crown point, and sent forward immediately.

Ordered, That the President write to Governor Trumbul and inform him that the Congress had appointed George Washington Esq^r, Commander in chief of all the forces raised or to be raised for the defence of America.

Ordered, that the President also write to the provincial conventions of Massachusetts and New Hampshire and to the government of Rhode island, and inform them of the same appointment.

Resolved, that this congress will to Morrow resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the state of America.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

TUESDAY, JUNE 27, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

Upon motion, *Resolved*, That Gov^r [Philip] Skene be sent under a guard to Weathersfield, or Middletown, in the County of Hartford, in Connecticut, there to be confined on his parole, not to go out of the bounds prescribed to him by Gov^r Trumbull.

¹ This letter is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 67, I, folio 9.

Ordered, That the Delegates for Pennsylv^a take measures to have the above resolve carried into execution.

A letter from the Convention of Massachusetts bay, dated 20th June received by express, together with several other letters by the same conveyance were laid before the Congress and read.¹

The Congress resumed the consideration of the letter from Albany, and after some debate the Congress came to the following resolutions:

Resolved, That Major General P. Schuyler be directed to repair as soon as conveniently he can to the posts of Ticonderoga and Crown point, to examine into the state thereof, and of the troops now stationed there, and how they are supplied with provision and necessary stores—into the state also of the sloop and other navigation on the lakes—also to obtain the best intelligence he can of the disposition of the Canadians and Indians of Canada. That he confer with Col. Hinman and Col. Arnold, on the subject of Col: Arnold's letter to this Congress, and report, as soon as possible, the state of the whole as near as it can be ascertained, to this Congress. And that he give orders for the necessary preparation of boats and stores for securing to the United Colonies the command of those waters adjacent to Crown point and Ticonderoga.

Resolved, That as Governor Carl[e]ton is making preparations to invade these colonies and is instigating the Indian Nations to take up the Hatchet against them, Major Gen^l Schuyler do exert his utmost power to destroy or take all vessels, boats or floating batteries, preparing by s^d Gov^r or by his order, on or near the waters of the lakes.

Resolved, That if General Schuyler finds it practicable, and that it will not be disagreeable to the Canadians, he

¹These papers are not in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

do immediately take possession of St Johns, Montreal, and any other parts of the country, and pursue any other measures in Canada, which may have a tendency to promote the peace and security of these Colonies.

Resolved, that if General Schuyler shall have occasion for a larger quantity of ready money and ammunition for carrying on such an expedition, than he can in convenient time procure from the provincial Convention of the Colony of New York, that he do in such case apply to the Governor of Connecticut for such supplies as may be necessary, and can be furnished by that Colony; and that Governor Trumbull be desired to furnish such supplies, and that this Congress will make provision for reimbursing the same.

The Committee appointed to draw up an address to the Inhabitants of Great Britain, reported the same, which was read.

Resolved, That this Congress will to Morrow resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the state of America.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 28, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment, and resumed the consideration of the Articles of War. After some debate the farther consideration of them was put off till to Morrow.

The order of the day put off till to Morrow.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

THURSDAY, JUNE 29, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

A number of Letters and speeches from the Chiefs of the Stockbridge Indians to the Congress, also copy of a

Message from s^d Indians to the Canada Indians and their answer were laid before the Congress and read.

The Congress then resumed the consideration of the rules or Articles of War. After some debate the same was deferred till to Morrow.

The order of the day put off and adjourned till to Morrow 9 o'C.

FRIDAY, JUNE 30, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The consideration of the articles of war being resumed, Congress agreed to the same:

*Rules and Regulations*¹

Whereas his Majesty's most faithful subjects in these Colonies are reduced to a dangerous and critical situation, by the attempts of the British Ministry, to carry into execution, by force of arms, several unconstitutional and oppressive acts of the British parliament for laying taxes in America, to enforce the collection of these taxes, and for altering and changing the constitution and internal police of some of these Colonies, in violation of the natural and civil rights of the Colonies.

And whereas hostilities have been actually commenced in Massachusetts Bay, by the British troops, under the command of General Gage, and the lives of a number of the inhabitants of that Colony destroyed; the town of Boston not only having been long occupied as a garrisoned town in an enemy's country, but the inhabitants thereof treated with a severity and cruelty not to be justified even towards declared enemies.

And whereas large reinforcements have been ordered, and are soon expected, for the declared purpose of compelling these Colonies to submit to the operation of the said acts, which hath rendered it necessary, and an indispensable duty, for the express purpose of securing and defending these Colonies, and preserving them in safety against all attempts to carry the said acts into execution; that an armed force be

¹These rules and regulations were not entered in the Manuscript Journal, and I have followed the text printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 17 July, 1775. See Bibliographical Notes, *post*.

raised sufficient to defeat such hostile designs, and preserve and defend the lives, liberties and immunities of the Colonists: for the due regulating and well ordering of which;—

Resolved, That the following Rules and Orders be attended to, and observed by such forces as are or may hereafter be raised for the purposes aforesaid.

Article I. That every officer who shall be retained, and every soldier who shall serve in the Continental Army, shall, at the time of his acceptance of his commission or enlistment, subscribe these rules and regulations. And that the officers and soldiers, already of that army, shall also, as soon as may be, subscribe the same; from the time of which subscription every officer and soldier, shall be bound by those regulations. But if any of the officers or soldiers, now of the said army, do not subscribe these rules and regulations, then they may be retained in the said army, subject to the rules and regulations under which they entered into the service, or be discharged from the service, at the option of the Commander in chief.

Art. II. It is earnestly recommended to all officers and soldiers, diligently to attend Divine Service; and all officers and soldiers who shall behave indecently or irreverently at any place of Divine Worship, shall, if commissioned officers, be brought before a court-martial, there to be publicly and severely reprimanded by the President; if non-commissioned officers or soldiers, every person so offending, shall, for his first offence, forfeit One Sixth of a Dollar, to be deducted out of his next pay; for the second offence, he shall not only forfeit a like sum, but be confined for twenty-four hours, and for every like offence, shall suffer and pay in like manner; which money so forfeited, shall be applied to the use of the sick soldiers of the troop or company to which the offender belongs.

Art. III. Whatsoever non-commissioned officer or soldier shall use any profane oath or execration, shall incur the penalties expressed in the second article; and if a commissioned officer be thus guilty of profane cursing or swearing, he shall forfeit and pay for each and every such offence, the sum of Four Shillings, lawful money.

Art. IV. Any officer or soldier, who shall behave himself with contempt or disrespect towards the General or Generals, or Commanders in chief of the Continental Forces, or shall speak false words, tending to his or their hurt or dishonour, shall be punished according to the nature of his offence, by the judgment of a general court-martial.

Art. V. Any officer or soldier, who shall begin, excite, cause, or join in any mutiny or sedition, in the regiment, troop, or company to which he belongs, or in any other regiment, troop or company of the Continental Forces, either by land or sea, or in any party, post, detachment, or guard, on any pretence whatsoever, shall suffer such punishment, as by a general court-martial shall be ordered.

Art. VI. Any officer, non-commissioned officer, or soldier, who being present at any mutiny or sedition, does not use his utmost endeavours to suppress the same, or coming to the knowledge of any mutiny, or intended mutiny, does not, without delay, give information thereof to the commanding officer, shall be punished by order of a general court-martial, according to the nature of his offence.

Art. VII. Any officer or soldier, who shall strike his superior officer, or draw, or offer to draw, or shall lift up any weapon, or offer any violence against him, being in the execution of his office, on any pretence whatsoever, or shall disobey any lawful commands of his superior officer, shall suffer such punishment as shall, according to the nature of his offence, be ordered by the sentence of a general court-martial.

Art. VIII. Any non-commissioned officer, or soldier, who shall desert, or without leave of his commanding officer, absent himself from the troop or company to which he belongs, or from any detachment of the same, shall, upon being convicted thereof, be punished according to the nature of his offence, at the discretion of a general court-martial.

Art. IX. Whatsoever officer, or soldier, shall be convicted of having advised or persuaded any other officer or soldier, to desert, shall suffer such punishment, as shall be ordered by the sentence of a general court-martial.

Art. X. All officers, of what condition soever, shall have power to part and quell all quarrels, frays, and disorders, though the persons concerned, should belong to another regiment, troop, or company; and either order officers to be arrested, or non-commissioned officers, or soldiers, to be confined and imprisoned, till their proper superior officers shall be acquainted therewith: and whoever shall refuse to obey such officer, (though of an inferior rank,) or shall draw his sword upon him, shall be punished at the discretion of a general court-martial.

Art. XI. No officer or soldier shall use any reproachful or provoking speeches or gestures to another, nor shall presume to send a challenge to any person to fight a duel: And whoever shall, knowingly and willingly, suffer any person whatsoever to go forth to fight a duel, or shall second, promote, or carry any challenge, shall be deemed as a principal; and whatsoever officer or soldier shall upbraid another for refusing a challenge, shall also be considered as a challenger; and all such offenders, in any of these or such like cases, shall be punished at the discretion of a general court-martial.

Art. XII. Every officer, commanding in quarters or on a march, shall keep good order, and, to the utmost of his power, redress all such abuses or disorders which may be committed by any officer or soldier under his command: If upon any complaint [being] made to him, of officers or soldiers beating, or otherwise ill-treating any person, or of committing any kind of riot, to the disquieting of the inhabitants of this Continent; he the said commander, who shall refuse or omit to see justice done on the offender or offenders, and reparation made to the party or parties injured, as far as the offender's wages shall enable him or them, shall, upon due proof thereof, be punished as ordered by a general court-martial, in such manner as if he himself had committed the crimes or disorders complained of.

Art. XIII. If any officer should think himself to be wronged by his colonel or the commanding officer of the regiment, and shall, upon due application made to him, be refused to be redressed, he may complain to the General or Commander in chief of the Continental Forces, in order to obtain justice, who is hereby required to examine into said complaint, and see that justice be done.

Art. XIV. If any inferior officer or soldier, shall think himself wronged by his captain or other officer commanding the troop or company to which he belongs, he is to complain thereof to the commanding officer of the regiment, who is hereby required to summon a regimental court-martial, for the doing justice to the complainant; from which regimental court-martial, either party may, if he thinks himself still aggrieved, appeal to a general court-martial; but if, upon a second hearing, the appeal shall appear to be vexatious and groundless, the person so appealing, shall be punished at the discretion of the general court-martial.

Art. XV. Whatsoever non-commissioned officer or soldier, shall be convicted, at a regimental court-martial, of having sold, or designedly, or through neglect, wasted the ammunition, arms, or provisions, or

other military stores, delivered out to him, to be employed in the service of this Continent, shall, if an officer, be reduced to a private centinel; and if a private soldier, shall suffer such punishment as shall be ordered by a regimental court-martial.

Art. XVI. All non-commissioned officers and soldiers, who shall be found one mile from the camp, without leave in writing from their commanding officer, shall suffer such punishment as shall be inflicted on him or them by the sentence of a regimental court-martial.

Art. XVII. No officer or soldier shall lie out of his quarters or camp, without leave from the commanding officer of the regiment, upon penalty of being punished according to the nature of his offence, by order of a regimental court-martial.

Art. XVIII. Every non-commissioned officer and soldier shall retire to his quarters, or tent, at the beating of the retreat; in default of which, he shall be punished according to the nature of his offence, by order of the commanding officer.

Art. XIX. No officer, non-commissioned officer or soldier, shall fail of repairing, at the time fixed, to the place of parade or exercise, or other rendezvous appointed by the commanding officer, if not prevented by sickness or some other evident necessity; or shall go from the said place of rendezvous, or from his guard, without leave from his commanding officer, before he shall be regularly dismissed or relieved, on penalty of being punished according to the nature of his offence, by the sentence of a regimental court-martial.

Art. XX. Whatsoever commissioned officer shall be found drunk on his guard, party, or other duty, under arms, shall be cashiered for it; any non-commissioned officer or soldier so offending, shall suffer such punishment as shall be ordered by the sentence of a regimental court-martial.

Art. XXI. Whatsoever centinel shall be found sleeping upon his post, or shall leave it before he shall be regularly relieved, shall suffer such punishment as shall be ordered by the sentence of a general court-martial.

Art. XXII. Any person belonging to the Continental army, who, by discharging of fire-arms, beating of drums, or by any other means whatsoever, shall occasion false alarms, in camp or quarters, shall suffer such punishment as shall be ordered by the sentence of a general court-martial.

Art. XXIII. Any officer or soldier, who shall, without urgent necessity, or without leave of his superior officer, quit his platoon or divi-

sion, shall be punished according to the nature of his offence, by the sentence of a regimental court-martial.

Art. XXIV. No officer or soldier shall do violence, or offer any insult, or abuse, to any person who shall bring provisions, or other necessaries, to the camp or quarters of the Continental army; any officer or soldier so offending, shall, upon complaint being made to the commanding officer, suffer such punishment as shall be ordered by a regimental court-martial.

Art. XXV. Whatsoever officer or soldier shall shamefully abandon any post committed to his charge, or shall speak words inducing others to do the like, in time of an engagement, shall suffer death immediately.

Art. XXVI. Any person belonging to the continental army, who shall make known the watch-word to any person who is not entitled to receive it, according to the rules and discipline of war, or shall presume to give a parole, or watch-word, different from what he received, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as shall be ordered by the sentence of a general court-martial.

Art. XXVII. Whosoever belonging to the continental army, shall relieve the enemy with money, victuals, or ammunition, or shall knowingly harbour or protect an enemy, shall suffer such punishment as by a general court-martial shall be ordered.

Art. XXVIII. Whosoever belonging to the continental army, shall be convicted of holding correspondence with, or of giving intelligence to, the enemy, either directly or indirectly, shall suffer such punishment as by a general court-martial shall be ordered.

Art. XXIX. All public stores taken in the enemy's camp or magazines, whether of artillery, ammunition, cloathing, or provisions, shall be secured for the use of the United Colonies.

Art. XXX. If any officer or soldier shall leave his post or colours, in time of an engagement, to go in search of plunder, he shall, upon being convicted thereof before a general court-martial, suffer such punishment as by the said court-martial shall be ordered.

Art. XXXI. If any commander of any post, intrenchment, or fortress, shall be *compelled*, by the officers or soldiers under his command, to give it up to the enemy, or to abandon it, the commissioned officer, non-commissioned officers, or soldiers, who shall be convicted of having so offended, shall suffer death, or such other punishment as may be inflicted upon them by the sentence of a general court-martial.

Art. XXXII. All suttlers and retailers to a camp, and all persons whatsoever, serving with the continental army in the field, though

not inlisted soldiers, are to be subject to the articles, rules, and regulations of the continental army.

Art. XXXIII. No general court-martial shall consist of a less number than thirteen, none of which shall be under the degree of a commissioned officer; and the president shall be a field officer: And the president of each and every court-martial, whether general or regimental, shall have power to administer an oath to every witness, in order to the trial of offenders. And the members of all courts-martial shall be duly sworn by the president; and the next in rank on the court-martial, shall administer the oath to the president.

Art. XXXIV. The members, both of general and regimental courts-martial, shall, when belonging to different corps, take the same rank which they hold in the army; but when courts-martial shall be composed of officers of one corps, they shall take their ranks according to their commissions by which they are mustered in the said corps.

Art. XXXV. All the members of a court-martial, are to behave with calmness, decency, and impartiality; and in giving of their votes, are to begin with the youngest or lowest in commission.

Art. XXXVI. No field officer shall be tried by any person under the degree of a captain; nor shall any proceedings or trials be carried on, excepting between the hours of eight in the morning, and three in the afternoon, except in cases which require an immediate example.

Art. XXXVII. The commissioned officers of every regiment may, by the appointment of their Colonel or commanding officer, hold regimental courts-martial for the enquiring into such disputes or criminal matters as may come before them, and for the inflicting corporal punishment, for small offences, and shall give judgment by the majority of voices; but no sentence shall be executed till the commanding officer (not being a member of the court-martial) shall have confirmed the same.

Art. XXXVIII. No regimental court-martial shall consist of less than five officers, excepting in cases where that number cannot be conveniently assembled, when three may be sufficient; who are likewise to determine upon the sentence by the majority of voices; which sentence is to be confirmed by the commanding officer, not being a member of the court-martial.

Art. XXXIX. Every officer, commanding in any fort, castle, or barrack, or elsewhere, where the corps under his command consists of detachments from different regiments or of independent companies, may assemble courts-martial for the trial of offenders in the same man-

ner as if they were regimental, whose sentence is not to be executed till it shall be confirmed by the said commanding officer.

Art. XL. No person whatsoever shall use menacing words, signs, or gestures in the presence of a court-martial then sitting, or shall cause any disorder or riot, so as to disturb their proceeding, on the penalty of being punished at the discretion of the said court-martial.

Art. XLI. To the end that offenders may be brought to justice; whenever any officer or soldier shall commit a crime deserving punishment, he shall, by his commanding officer, if an officer, be put in arrest; if a non-commissioned officer or soldier, be imprisoned till he shall be either tried by a court-martial, or shall be lawfully discharged by proper authority.

Art. XLII. No officer or soldier who shall be put in arrest, or imprisonment, shall continue in his confinement more than eight days, or till such time as a court-martial can be conveniently assembled.

Art. XLIII. No officer commanding a guard, or provost-marshal, shall refuse to receive or keep any prisoner committed to his charge, by an officer belonging to the Continental forces; which officer shall at the same time deliver an account in writing, signed by himself, of the crime with which the said prisoner is charged.

Art. XLIV. No officer commanding a guard, or provost-marshal, shall presume to release any prisoner committed to his charge, without proper authority for so doing; nor shall he suffer any prisoner to escape, on the penalty of being punished for it, by the sentence of a general court-martial.

Art. XLV. Every officer or provost-martial, to whose charge prisoners shall be committed, is hereby required, within twenty-four hours after such commitment, or as soon as he shall be relieved from his guard, to give in writing to the Colonel of the regiment to whom the prisoner belongs (where the prisoner is confined upon the guard belonging to the said regiment, and that his offence only relates to the neglect of duty in his own corps) or to the commander in chief, their names, their crimes, and the names of the officers who committed them, on the penalty of being punished for his disobedience or neglect, at the discretion of a general court-martial.

Art. XLVI. And if any officer under arrest shall leave his confinement before he is set at liberty by the officer who confined him, or by a superior power, he shall be cashiered for it.

Art. XLVII. Whatsoever commissioned officer shall be convicted

before a general court-martial, of behaving in a scandalous, infamous manner, such as is unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman, shall be discharged from the service.

Art. XLVIII. All officers, conductors, gunners, matrosses, drivers, or any other persons whatsoever, receiving pay or hire, in the service of the continental artillery, shall be governed by the aforesaid rules and articles, and shall be subject to be tried by courts-martial, in like manner with the officers and soldiers of the Continental troops.

Art. XLIX. For differences arising amongst themselves, or in matters relating solely to their own corps, the courts-martial may be composed of their own officers; but where a number sufficient of such officers cannot be assembled, or in matters wherein other corps are interested, the officers of artillery shall sit in courts-martial, with the officers of the other corps.

Art. L. All crimes, not capital, and all disorders and neglects, which officers and soldiers may be guilty of, to the prejudice of good order and military discipline, though not mentioned in the articles of war, are to be taken cognizance of by a general or regimental court-martial, according to the nature and degree of the offence, and be punished at their discretion.

Art. LI. That no persons shall be sentenced by a court-martial to suffer death, except in the cases expressly mentioned in the foregoing articles; nor shall any punishment be inflicted at the discretion of a court-martial, other than degrading, cashiering, drumming out of the army, whipping not exceeding *thirty-nine* lashes, fine not exceeding two months pay of the offender, imprisonment not exceeding one month.

Art. LII. The field officers of each and every regiment are to appoint some suitable person belonging to such regiment, to receive all such fines as may arise within the same, for any breach of any of the foregoing articles, and shall direct the same to be carefully and properly applied to the relief of such sick, wounded, or necessitous soldiers as belong to such regiment; and such person shall account with such officer for all fines received, and the application thereof.

Art. LIII. All members sitting in courts-martial shall be sworn by the President of said courts, which President shall himself be sworn by the officer in said court next in rank:—The oath to be administered previous to their proceeding to the trial of any offender, in form following, viz.

“ You A. B. swear that you will well and truly try, and impartially determine the cause of the prisoner now to be tried, according to the rules for regulating the Continental army. So help you God.”

Art. LIV. All persons called to give evidence, in any case, before a court-martial, who shall refuse to give evidence, shall be punished for such refusal at the discretion of such court-martial:—The oath to be administered in the following form, viz.

“ You swear the evidence you shall give in the case now in hearing, shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. So help you God.”

Art. LV. Every officer commanding a regiment, troop, or company, shall, upon notice given to him by the Commissary of the musters, or from one of his deputies, assemble the regiment, troop, or company under his command, in the next convenient place for their being mustered.

Art. LVI. Every colonel or other field officer, or officer commanding any corps, to which there is no field officer, and actually residing with it, may give furloughs to non-commissioned officers and soldiers, in such numbers, and for so long a time, as he shall judge to be most consistent with the good of the service; but no non-commissioned officer or soldier shall, by leave of his Captain, or inferior officer, commanding the troop or company (his field officer not being present) be absent above twenty days in six months, nor shall more than two private men be absent at the same time from their troop or company, excepting some extraordinary occasion shall require it, of which occasion the field officer present with, and commanding the regiment or independent corps, is to be judge.

Art. LVII. At every muster the commanding officer of each regiment, troop, or company, then present, shall give to the commissary of musters certificates signed by himself, signifying how long such officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, who shall not appear at the said muster, have been absent, and the reason of their absence; which reasons, and the time of absence, shall be inserted in the muster-rolls, opposite to the respective names of such absentees: The said certificates shall, together with the muster-rolls, be by the said Commissary transmitted to the General, and to this or any future Congress of the United Colonies, or Committee appointed thereby, within twenty days next after such muster being taken; on failure whereof, the Commissary so offending shall be discharged from the service.

Art. LVIII. Every officer who shall be convicted before a general court-martial of having signed a false certificate, relating to the absence of either officer, non-commissioned officer, or private soldier, shall be cashiered.

Art. LIX. Every officer, who shall knowingly make a false muster of man or horse, and every officer or Commissary who shall willingly sign, direct, or allow the signing of the muster rolls, wherein such false muster is contained, shall, upon proof made thereof, by two witnesses, before a general court-martial, be cashiered, and moreover forfeit all such pay as may be due to him at the time of conviction for such offence.

Art. LX. Any commissary who shall be convicted of having taken any gift or gratuity on the mustering any regiment, troop or company, or on the signing the muster rolls, shall be displaced from his office, and forfeit his pay, as in the preceding article.

Art. LXI. Any officer who shall presume to muster any person as a soldier, who is at other times accustomed to wear a livery, or who does not actually do his duty as a soldier, shall be deemed guilty of having made a false muster, and shall suffer accordingly.

Art. LXII. Every officer who shall knowingly make a false return to the Commander in Chief of the American forces, or to any his superior officer, authorized to call for such returns, of the state of the regiment, troop, independent company, or garrison under his command, or of arms, ammunition, cloathing, or other stores thereunto belonging, shall, by a court-martial, be cashiered.

Art. LXIII. The commanding officer of every regiment, troop, independent company, or garrison, in the service aforesaid, shall, in the beginning of every month, remit to the Commander in chief of said forces, an exact return of the state of the regiment, troop, independent company, or garrison under his command, specifying the names of the officers not then residing at their posts, and the reason for, and the time of their absence: whosoever shall be convicted of having, through neglect or design, omitted the sending such returns, shall be punished according to the nature of his crime, by the judgment of a general court-martial.

Art. LXIV. No suttler shall be permitted to sell any kind of liquors or victuals, or to keep their houses or shops open, for the entertainment of soldiers, after nine at night, or before the beating of the reveilles, or upon Sundays, during divine service or sermon, on the penalty of being dismissed from all future suttling.

Art. LXV. All officers commanding in the camp, or in any forts, barracks, or garrisons, are hereby required to see that the persons permitted to suttle shall supply the soldiers with good and wholesome provisions at a reasonable price, as they shall be answerable for their neglect.

Art. LXVI. No officers commanding in any camp, garrisons, forts, or barracks, shall either themselves exact exorbitant prices for houses or stalls let out to suttlers, or shall connive at the like exactions in others, nor lay any duty or impositions upon, or be interested in the sale of such victuals, liquors, or other necessaries of life, which are brought into the camp, garrison, fort or barracks, for the use of the soldiers, on the penalty of being discharged from the service.

Art. LXVII. That the general, or commander in chief for the time being, shall have full power of pardoning, or mitigating any of the punishments ordered to be inflicted, for any of the offences mentioned in the foregoing articles; and every offender, convicted as aforesaid, by any regimental court-martial, may be pardoned, or have his punishment mitigated by the Colonel or officer commanding the regiment.

Art. LXVIII. When any commissioned officer shall happen to die, or be killed in the service of the United Colonies, the Major of the regiment, or the officer doing the Major's duty in his absence, shall immediately secure all his effects or equipage, then in camp or quarters; and shall, before the next regimental court-martial, make an inventory thereof, and forthwith transmit the same to the office of the Secretary of the Congress, or assembly of the province in which the corps is stationed or shall happen to be at the time of the death of such officer; to the end that his executors may, after payment of his debts in quarters, and interment, receive the overplus, if any be, to his or their use.

Art. LXIX. When any non-commissioned officer or private soldier, shall happen to die, or be killed in the service of the United Colonies, the then commanding officer of the troop or company, shall, in the presence of two other commissioned officers, take an account of whatever effects he dies possessed of, and transmit the same, as in the case above provided for, in order that the same may be secured for, and paid to their respective representatives.

Ordered, That Mr. [Silas] Deane, Mr. [Thomas] Cushing and Mr. [Joseph] Hewes, be a Committee to examine

the rules and articles of war agreed to by the Congress, and get them printed as soon as possible.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the Congress will, on Monday next, take into consideration the trade of America.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the Committee for Indian Affairs, do prepare proper talks to the several tribes of Indians, for engaging the continuance of their friendship to us, and neutrality in our present unhappy disputes with Great Britain.

The order of the day put off and adjournment made till to Morrow.

SATURDAY, JULY 1, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

On motion, *Resolved*, That in case any Agent of the ministry, shall induce the Indian tribes, or any of them, to commit actual hostilities against these colonies, or to enter into an offensive Alliance with the British troops, thereupon the colonies ought to avail themselves of an Alliance with such Indian Nations as will enter into the same, to oppose such British troops and their Indian Allies.

The Congress then took into consideration the report of the Committee on Indian affairs.

During the debate letters were rec^d by express from Gen^l Schuyler, which requiring an immediate answer, the same were taken into consideration.¹

Resolved, That Gen^l Schuyler be directed not to remove Gen^l Woorster or the troops under his command from N. York, but that he raise as many of the Green Mountain boys under such officers as they shall chuse with such

¹This letter, dated New York, June 29, 1775, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 153, I, folio 5.

other men in the vicinity of Ticonderoga as will be necessary to carry into execution the resolutions of the Congress of the 27 of June last transmitted to him.

Ordered, that this be transmitted to Gen. Schuyler by the Pres^t.

On motion, *Resolved*, That Lieut^t Patrick Moncrieff have liberty to return to England, on giving his parole of honour, that he will not act against the Americans in the present controversy between Great Britain and these colonies.

The order of the day was put off and the Congress adjourned till Monday next at 9 o'Clock.

MONDAY, JULY 3, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

Sundry letters from the Convention of New York, Gen^l Schuyler¹ and a certified copy of a letter from Tho^s Gage to Gov^t Martin, were laid before the Congress, and read.²

Agreeable to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the trade of America. After some time spent therein the president resumed the chair, and Mr. [Samuel] Ward reported that the Committee had come to a Resolution which they ordered him to report, but not having finished they had desired him to move for leave to sit again.

¹ This letter is in *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 153, I folio, 1.

² Letters from General Schuyler, dated New York, June 28 and 30, 1775, are in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 153, I, folios 1 and 10. One from the Convention of New York, dated June 29, 1775, covering a copy of a letter from the South Carolina Committee of Intelligence, dated June 6, and a copy of a letter from General Gage to Governor Joseph Martin, dated April 12th, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 153, I, folios 17 and 21, but the Gage letter is not to be found. A second letter from the Convention dated June 29, 1775, on powder, is in the same volume, folio 23.

The report from the Committee being read, the final determination of it was, at the request of the Colony of South Carolina, deferred till to Morrow.

Resolved, that the Congress will to Morrow again resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the state of America.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

TUESDAY, JULY 4, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment, and having taken up the consideration of the report from the committee came to the following resolution:

Resolved, That the two Acts passed in the first session of the present parliament, the one, intituled "An act to restrain the trade and commerce of the province of Massachusetts bay and New Hampshire, and colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island and Providence plantation, in North America, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British islands in the West Indies; and to prohibit such provinces and colonies from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland or other places therein mentioned, under certain conditions and limitations:" The other, intituled "An Act to restrain the trade and commerce of the colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British islands in the West Indies, under certain conditions and limitations," are unconstitutional, oppressive, and cruel; and that the commercial opposition of these colonies, to certain Acts enumerated in the Association of the last Congress, ought to be made against these, until they are repealed.¹

Ordered, That the above be immediately published.

¹This resolution was printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 10 July, 1775.

~~The Congress then took into consideration the letter of Gen^l Schuyler of 28 ult. and~~

~~Ordered, That the Delegates of the Colony of Pennsylvania procure letters from the German Clergy and other respectable persons of that Nation, in this city to their friends and countrymen in the Colony of New York, and also to their countrymen in North Carolina.~~

~~Resolved, That the Comm^{ee} for Indian Affairs be so far released from the Obligation of secrecy as to have liberty to enquire of proper intelligent persons the situation and condition of the Indian Nations.~~

~~The Congress resumed the consideration of the petition to the king. After some debate, the further consideration of it was postponed till to Morrow.~~

Resolved, that the Congress will to Morrow again resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the state of America.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 5, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

Several letters from Gen^l Schuyler of the 2^a and 3^a of July were rec^d and read.¹

It appearing that Gov^r Philip Skene and Mr. Lundy have designs inimical to American liberty, thereupon,

On motion, it is recommended to the delegates of the colony of Pennsylvania, to have the order of Congress of the 27 June last, respecting the sending Gov^r Skene to Hartford in Connecticut, immediately carried into execution.

¹ Both letters are in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 153, I, folios 12 and 15. A second letter dated July 3 was read on the 7th, but is not mentioned in the Journals.

On motion, *Resolved*, That Mr. Lundy be sent under guard along with Gov^r Skene to Hartford, in Connecticut, there to be confined in the same manner as is ordered with respect to Gov^r Skene, until farther orders from this Congress.

Resolved, That such provision be made for the support of Gov^r Skene and Mr. Lundy, as Gov^r Trumbull shall think proper, which the Continent will take care to pay.

Ordered, That the president write to Gov^r Trumbull on this subject, and enclose him the above orders and resolves.

The Congress resumed the consideration of the petition to the King, which being debated by paragraph, was agreed to, and ordered to be engrossed.

The order of the day was postponed, and the Congress adjourned till to Morrow.

THURSDAY, JULY 6, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment, and resumed the consideration of the address to the Inhabitants of G-B, which after some debate, was re-committed.

The committee, to whom the declaration was re-committed, bro^t in the same, which being read, was taken into consideration, and being debated by paragraphs, was approved and is as follows:

here insert the declaration

*Declaration on Taking Arms.*¹JEFFERSON'S DRAFTS.²

FIRST DRAFT.

SECOND DRAFT.

A Declaration by

We the representatives of the United colonies of America now sitting in General Congress, ~~to all nations—send greeting of~~ setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms.

¹ The Committee appointed to draw up a Declaration to be published by General Washington, upon his arrival at the Camp before Boston, reported a draft on June 24th, which occasioned long and warm debate, and was finally re-committed. No copy of this first draft said, by Jefferson, to have been drawn by John Rutledge, is known to exist. Dickinson had taken a distinguished part in this debate, and with Jefferson was added to the Committee. Jefferson was desired to prepare a draft, but the result was not satisfactory either to Dickinson or to William Livingston. The former criticised it for its harshness, and the latter for its "much fault-finding and declamation, with little sense or dignity. They seem to think a reiteration of tyranny, despotism, bloody, &c. all that is needed to unite us at home and convince the bribed voters of North of the justice of our cause." (*Letter to Lord Stirling*, July 4, 1775.) Jefferson's own account was: "It was too strong for Mr. Dickinson. He still retained the hope of reconciliation with the mother country, and was unwilling it should be lessened by offensive statements. He was so honest a man, and so able a one, that he was greatly indulged even by those who could not feel his scruples. We therefore requested him to take the paper, and put it into a form he could approve. He did so, preparing an entire new statement, and preserving of the former only the last four paragraphs and the half of the preceding one. We approved and reported it to Congress." *Autobiography*, in *Writings* (Ford) I, 16.

² These two papers are found in the Jefferson Manuscripts in the Library of Congress. The second, or later, draft contains some suggested changes in the writing of John Dickinson, and bears on the last page the following memorandum by Jefferson:

"1775. June 23. Congress appointed a commee to prepare a Declaration to be published by Genl Washington on his arrival at the camp before Boston, to wit, J. Rutledge, W. Livingston, Dr. Franklin, M^r. Jay, and M^r. Johnson.

"June 24, a draught was reported.

"June 26. being disliked, it was recommitted and M^r. Dickinson and T. Jefferson added to the committee. the latter being desired by the commee to draw up a new one, he prepared this paper. on a meeting of the commee J. Dickinson objected that it was too harsh, wanted softening, &c., whereupon the commee desired him to retouch it, which he did in the form which they reported July 6, which was adopted by Congress."

Although the Jefferson drafts were never actually laid before Congress they are essential to a proper understanding of the Declaration as finally accepted.

The large ~~advances~~ strides of late taken by the legislature of Great Britain towards establishing ~~in~~ over these colonies their absolute rule, and the hardness of their present attempt to effect by force of arms what by law or right they could never effect, render it necessary for us also ~~to shift~~ change the ground of opposition and to close with their last appeal from reason to arms. And as it behoves those who are called to this great decision to be assured that their cause is approved before supreme reason, so is it of great avail that it's justice be made known to the world whose ~~prayers cannot be wanting intercessions~~ affections will ever ~~be favorable to~~ a people take part with those encountering oppression. Our forefathers, inhabitants of the island of Gr. Britn ~~harassed~~ having ~~there vainly~~ long endeavored to bear up against the evils of misrule, left their native land to seek on these shores a residence for civil and religious freedom. At the expense of their blood, ~~with~~ to the less ruin of their fortunes, with the relinquishment of everything quiet and comfortable in life, they effected settlements in the inhospitable wilds of America; they there established civil societies ~~under~~ with various forms of constitution, but possessing all, what is inherent in all, the full and perfect

The large strides of late taken by the *legislature of Great Britain* towards establishing over these colonies their absolute rule, and the hardness of the present attempt to effect by force of arms what by law or right they could never effect, *render* it necessary for us also to change the ground of opposition, and to close with their last appeal from reason to arms. And as it behoves those, who *are called to this great decision*, to be assured that their cause is approved before supreme reason; so is it of great avail that it's justice be made known to the world, whose affections will ever take part with those encountering oppression. Our forefathers, inhabitants of the island of Great Britain, ~~having long endeavored to bear up against the evils of misrule~~, left their native land to seek on these shores a residence for civil and religious freedom. At the expence of their blood, ~~with~~ to the ruin of their fortunes, with the relinquishment of everything quiet and comfortable in life, they effected settlements in the inhospitable wilds of America; they and there established civil societies with various forms of constitution. ~~But possessing all, what is inherent in all, the full and perfect powers of legislation~~ To continue their connection with the friends whom they had left, they arranged

powers of legislation. To continue their connection with the friends whom they had left ~~and but~~ ~~loved~~ they arranged themselves by charters of compact under the ~~same~~ one common king ~~who became the thro' whom union was ensured to the multiplied~~ who thus became the ~~control~~ link uniting of union between the several parts of the empire. Some occasional assumptions of power by the parl. of Gr. Brit. however ~~foreign and unknown to~~ unacknowledged by the constitution ~~we had formed~~ of our governments were finally acquiesced in [] thro' the warmth of affection. Proceeding thus in the fullness of mutual harmony and confidence both parts of the empire increased in population and in wealth with a rapidity unknown in the history of man. The ~~various soils~~ political institutions of America, its various ~~climes~~ soils and climates opening ~~sure~~ certain resource to the unfortunate and to the enterprising of ~~all~~ every country ~~where~~ and ensured to them the acquisition and ~~free~~ possession of property. Great Britain too acquired a lustre and a weight ~~in the political system~~ among the powers of the ~~world~~ earth which ~~it is thought~~ her internal resources could never have given her. To ~~the~~ a communication of the wealth and the power of the ~~several parts of the whole~~ every part of the empire

themselves by charters of compact under ~~one~~ the same common king, who thus completed their powers of full and perfect legislation and became the link of union between the several parts of the empire.

Some occasional assumptions of power by the parliament of Great Britain, however unacknowledged by the constitution of our governments, were finally acquiesced in thro' warmth of affection. Proceeding thus in the fullness of mutual harmony and confidence, both parts of the empire increased in population and in wealth with a rapidity unknown in the history of man. The political institutions of America, its various soils and climates opened a certain resource to the unfortunate and to the enterprising of every country, and ensured to them the acquisition and free possession of property.

Great Britain too acquired a lustre and a weight among the powers of the earth which her internal resources could never have given her. To a communication of the wealth and the power of ~~the whole~~ every part of the empire we may surely ascribe in some measure the illustrious character

we may surely ascribe in some measure ~~surely ascribe~~ the illustrious character she sustained thro' her last European war and its successful event. At the close of that war however ~~Gr. Britain~~ having subdued all her foes she took up the unfortunate idea of subduing her friends also. Her parliament then for the first time asserted a right of unbounded legislation ~~for~~ over the colonies of America: by ~~an several acts passed in the years of the 5th the 6th and the 7th and the 8th years of the reign of his present majesty several duties were imposed for the purpose of raising a revenue on the American colonists, the powers of courts of admiralty were extended beyond their ancient limits and the inestimable right [of being tried in all cases civil] trial by twelve peers of our vicinage was taken away in cases affecting both life and property. By part of an act passed in the 12th year of the present reign an American colonist charged with the offenses described in that act may be transported beyond sea for trial [of such offense] by the very persons against whose pretended sovereignty [the supposed offense] is supposed to be committed and pursuing with eagerness the newly assumed thought~~ ~~have~~ in the space of 10 years during which they have

she sustained through her last European war, and its successful event. At the close of that war ~~however having subdued all her foes~~¹ it pleased our sovereign to make a change in his counsels. The new ministry finding all the foes of Britain subdued ~~she~~ took up the unfortunate idea of subduing her friends also.² her parliament then for the first time ~~asserted a right~~³ assumed a power of unbounded legislation over the colonies of America; and in the space of ten years during which they have proceeded to exercise this right, have given such decisive specimen of the spirit of this new legislation, as leaves no room to doubt the consequence of acquiescence under it.

¹ John Dickinson has here interlined "her successful and glorious minister was."

² Dickinson has inserted "by their influence."

³ Dickinson changes it to read "were persuaded to assume and assert."

exercisd yt right have ~~made~~ given such ~~decisive~~ ~~severe~~ specimens of the spirit in which this new legislation ~~would be exercised~~ ~~conducted~~ [*illegible word*] towards the establishment of absolute government over us as leaves no room to doubt the consequence of our further acquiescence under it by two three two other acts passed in the 14th year of his present majesty they have assumed a right of altering the form of our governments altogether, and of thereby taking away every security for the possession of life or of property.

By several acts of parliament passed in the reign of his present majesty within scope that period space of time they have imposed upon us duties for the purpose of raising a revenue attempted to take from us our money without our consent, they have ~~taken away~~ the interdicted all commerce first of one of our principal trading towns thereby annihilating it's property, in the hands of the holders, and more lately they have cut off our the commercial intercourse with all of several of these of whole colonies with all foreign countries whatsoever; they have extended the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty beyond their antient limits thereby depriving us of the inestimable right of trial by jury in cases affecting both life and property and ~~subjecting both to the decision~~ arbitrary decision

By several acts of parliament passed within that space of time they have ~~attempted to take from~~ us undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent: a right of which we have ever had the exclusive exercise; they have interdicted all commerce to one of our principal towns, thereby annihilating it's property in the hands of the holders; they have cut off the commercial intercourse of whole colonies with foreign countries; they have extended the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty beyond their antient limits; ~~thereby~~ they have deprived us of the inestimable right privilege of trial by a jury of the vicinage in cases affecting both life and property; they have declared that American Subjects charged with certain offenses shall be transported beyond sea to be tried before the very

of a single and dependent judge; they have declared that American subjects committing charged with certain pretended offences shall be transported beyond sea for trial to be tried before the very persons against whose pretended sovereignty offense is supposed to be committed; they have attempted fundamentally to alter the form of government in one of these colonies, a form established by acts of it's own legislature, and further secured to them by charters of compact with and grants from on the part of the crown; they have erected a tyranny in a neighbouring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a tyranny dangerous to the very existence of all these colonies. But why should we enumerate their injuries in the detail? By one act they have suspended the powers of one American legislature and by another they have declared they may legislate for us themselves in all cases whatsoever. These two acts alone form a basis broad enough whereon to erect a despotism of unlimited extent, when it is considered that the persons by whom these acts are passed are not with us subject to their agents and what is to prevent secure us against the demolition of our present and establishment of new and despotic forms of government? this dreaded evil? The persons who assuming these pow-

ers against whose pretended sovereignty the offense is supposed to be committed; they have attempted fundamentally to alter the form of government in one of these colonies, a form established secured by charters on the part of the crown and confirmed by acts of it's own legislature; and further secured by charters on the part of the crown; they have erected in a neighboring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a tyranny dangerous to the very existence of all these colonies. But why should we enumerate their injuries in the detail? By one act they have suspended the powers of one American legislature, and by another have declared they may legislate for us themselves in all cases what-

soever. These two acts alone form a basis broad enough whereon to erect a despotism of unlimited extent. And what is to secure us against this dreaded evil? The persons assuming these powers are not chosen by us, are not subject to our controul or influence, are exempted by their situation from the operation of these laws, and lighten their own burthens in proportion as they increase ours.

~~ers of doing this~~ are not chosen by ~~ourselves~~ us, are not subject to ~~us~~ our controul ~~from us~~ are ~~them-~~selves freed exempted by their situation from the operation of these laws ~~they thus pass,~~ and ~~remove from themselves as much burthen as they impose on us.~~ lighten their own burthens in proportion as they encrease ours. These ~~are~~ temptations might put to trial the severest characters of antient virtue: with what new armour then shall a british parliament ~~then~~ encounter the rude assault? To ward these deadly injuries from the tender plant of liberty which we have brought over and with so much affection ~~we have planted and have fostered~~ on these our own shores we have pursued every lawful and every respectful measure. We have supplicated our king at various times in terms almost disgraceful to freedom; we have reasoned, we have remonstrated with parliament in the most mild and decent language; we have even proceeded to ~~break off our commercial intercourse with them altogether as to the last peaceable admonition of our determination to be free by breaking of altogether our commercial intercourse with them~~ break off our commercial intercourse with ~~them~~ our fellow subjects as the last peaceable admonition that our attachment to no nation on earth should supplant

These temptations might put to trial the severest characters of antient virtue: with what new armour then shall a British parliament encounter the rude assault? to ward these deadly injuries from the tender plant of liberty which we have brought over, and with so much affection fostered on these our own shores, we have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure. We have supplicated our king at various times, in terms almost disgraceful to freedom; we have reasoned, we have remonstrated with parliament in the most mild and decent language; we have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourse with our fellow subjects, as the last peaceable admonition that our attachment to no nation on earth should supplant our attachment to liberty. And here we had well hoped was the ultimate step of

our attachment to liberty: and here we had well hoped was the ultimate step of the controversy. But subsequent events have shewn how vain was even this last remain of confidence in the moderation of the British ministry. During the course of the last year ~~they~~ their troops in a hostile manner invested the town of Boston in the province of Massachusetts bay, and from that time have held the same beleaguered by sea and land. On the 19th day of April ~~last~~ in the present year they made an unprovoked ~~attack~~ assault on the inhabitants of the ~~sd~~ province at the town of Lexington, ~~killed~~, murdered eight of them on the spot and wounded many others. From thence they proceeded in ~~the same warlike manner~~ all the array of war to the town of Concord where they ~~attacked~~ set upon another party of the inhabitants of the ~~sd~~ same province killing many of them also burning their houses and laying waste their property ~~and continuing these depredations~~ until repressed by the arms of the people assembled to oppose this hostile unprovoked cruel invasion aggression ~~on their lives and properties~~. Hostilities ~~being~~ thus commenced on the part of the British Ministerial troops ~~they~~ army have

the controversy. But subsequent events have shewn how vain was even this last remain of confidence in the moderation of the British ministry.¹ During the course of the last year their troops in a hostile manner invested the town of Boston in the province of Massachusetts bay, and from that time have held the same beleaguered by sea and land. On the 19th day of April in the present year they made an unprovoked ~~attack~~ assault on the inhabitants of the said province at the town of Lexington, murdered eight of them on the spot and wounded many others. From thence they proceeded in ~~the~~ all the array of war to the town of Concord, where they set upon another party of the inhabitants of the same province, killing many of them also, burning houses, and laying waste property, until repressed by ~~the arms of~~² the people³ suddenly assembled to oppose this cruel aggression. Hostilities thus commenced on the part of the ministerial army have been since by them pursued without regard to faith or to fame. The inhabitants of the town of Boston in order to procure their enlargement hav-

¹ Dickinson wrote on margin: "Here insert substance of the Address declaring a Rebellion to exist in Massachusetts Bay."

² Dickinson wrote in the word "country."

³ "Only" inserted by Dickinson.

been since ~~without respite~~ by them pursued ~~the same~~ by them without regard to faith or to fame. The inhabitants of the ~~said~~ town of Boston having entered into treaty with a certain Thomas Gage ~~said to be commander in chief of those adverse troops and who has actually been a principal actor in the seizure of the town of Boston, proffered to the inhabitants of the sd town a liberty to depart from the same on~~ principal and instigator of these enormities ~~violences~~ enormities, it was stipulated that the ~~sd~~ inhabitants having first deposited their arms and ~~mili~~ with their own magistrates their arms and military stores should have free liberty to depart ~~out of the same from~~ out of the ~~sd~~ town taking with them their other goods and ~~other~~ effects. Their arms and military stores ~~were~~ they accordingly delivered in ~~to their magistrates,~~ and claimed the stipulated license of departing with their effects. But in open violation of plighted faith and honour, in defiance of ~~these that~~ the sacred laws ~~of nations~~ obligations of treaty which even the savage nations observe, their arms and warlike stores deposited with their own magistrates to be ~~kept~~ preserved as their property were immediately seized by a body of armed men under orders from the ~~sd~~

ing entered into treaty with a ~~certain Thomas Gage~~ General Gage their Governor ~~principal instigator of these enormities~~¹ it was stipulated that the said inhabitants,² having first deposited their arms with their own magistrates ~~their arms and military stores~~ should have free liberty to depart from out of the said town taking with them their other good and effects.

Their arms ~~and military stores~~ they accordingly delivered in, and claimed the stipulated license of departing with their effects. But in open violation of plighted faith and honour, in defiance of the sacred obligations of treaty which even savage nations observe, their arms ~~and warlike stores,~~ deposited with their own magistrates to be preserved as their property, were immediately seized by a body of armed men under orders from the said ~~Thomas Gage~~ General, the greater part of the inhabitants were detained in the town, and the

¹Dickinson interlined "to procure their enlargement."

²Dickinson inserted "after."

Thomas Gage, the greater part of the inhabitants were detained in the town and the few permitted to depart were compelled to leave their most valuable goods effects behind. We leave to the world ~~their~~ to it's own reflections on this atrocious perfidy. ~~The same Thos Gage on the 18th day of June~~ That we might no longer be in doubt the ultimate purpose object aim of these Ministerial manoeuvres, the same Thos Gage by proclamn bearing date the 12th day of June by after reciting the most abandoned grossest falsehoods and calumnies against the good people of ~~America~~ these colonies proceeds to declare them all, either by name or description, to be rebels and traitors, to supersede by his own authority the exercise of the common law ~~of the land~~ of the sd province and to proclaim and order instead thereof the use and exercise of the law martial ~~throughout the sd province~~. This bloody edict issued, he has proceeded to commit further ravages and murders in the same province burning the town of Charlestown, and attacking and killing great numbers of the people residing or assembled therein; and is now going on in an avowed course of murder and devastation, taking every occasion to destroying the lives and properties of the inhabitants of the said province. whenever he [] find occasion, get them within his power.

few permitted to depart were compelled to leave their most valuable effects behind. We leave the world to ~~their~~ it's own reflections

on this atrocious perfidy. That we might no longer doubt the ultimate aim of these ministerial manoeuvres ~~the same Thomas~~ General Gage, by proclamation bearing date the 12th day of June, after reciting the grossest falsehoods and calumnies against the good people of these colonies, proceeds to declare them all, either by name or description, to be rebels and traitors, to supersede ~~by his own authority~~ the exercise of the common law of the said province, and to proclaim and order instead thereof the use and exercise of the law martial. This bloody edict issued, he has proceeded to commit further ravages and murders in the same province, burning the town of Charlestown, attacking and killing great numbers of the people residing or assembled therein; and is now going on in an avowed course of murder and devastation, taking every occasion to destroy the lives and properties of the inhabitants ~~of the said province~~.

To oppose ~~their~~ his arms we also have taken ~~up~~ arms. We should be wanting to ourselves, we should be ~~wanting~~ perfidious to ~~our~~ posterity, we should be unworthy that free ancestry from ~~which both they and we are derived our one common birth,~~ whom we derive our ~~birth~~ descent, ~~were we to suffer ourselves to be butchered, and our properties to be laid waste~~ should we submit with folded arms to military butchery and depredation to gratify the lordly ambition ~~of any nation on earth~~ and or sate the avarice of a British ministry. We do then most solemnly ~~before~~ before God and the world declare, that, regardless of every consequence at the risk of every distress, ~~that~~ the arms we have been compelled to assume we will wage with ~~bitter~~ perseverance, exerting to their utmost energies all those powers with which our creator hath ~~invested~~ given us to ~~guard~~ preserve that ~~sacred~~ Liberty which He committed to us in sacred deposit, and to protect from every hostile hand our lives and our properties. But that this our declaration ~~and our determined resolution~~ may ~~give~~ give disquietude to not disquiet the minds of our good fellow subjects in any part of the empire, we do further ~~declare~~ ~~and~~ assure them

To oppose his arms, we also have taken arms. We should be wanting to ourselves, we should be perfidious to posterity, we should be unworthy that free ancestry from ~~whom~~ which we derive our descent, should we submit with folded arms to military butchery and depredation to gratify the lordly ambition, or sate the avarice of a British ministry. We do then most solemnly, before god and the world declare that, regardless of every distress, at the risk of every distress, the arms we have been compelled to assume we will ~~wage~~ use with perseverance, exerting to their utmost energies all those powers which our creator hath given us, to ~~guard~~ preserve that liberty which he committed to us in sacred deposit and to protect from every hostile hand our lives and our properties. But that this ~~our~~ declaration may not disquiet the minds of our good fellow subjects¹ *in any* parts of the empire,² we do further assure them that we mean not in any wise to affect that union with them in which we have so long and so happily lived, and which we wish so much to see again restored That necessity must be hard indeed which may force upon us this desperate measure, or induce us to avail ourselves of any aid ~~which~~ their enemies might proffer. We

¹ "Friends and" was suggested by Dickinson.

² "In Britain or other," inserted by Dickinson.

that we mean not in any wise to affect that union with them in which we have so long and so happily lived and which we wish so much to see again restored: that necessity must be hard indeed which could may force upon us this desperate measure, or induce us to avail ourselves of any aid which their enemies of Great Britain might proffer. We took up arms to defend in defense of our persons and properties under actual violation: when that violence shall be removed, when hostilities shall cease on the ministerial the ministerial party therefore shall cease be suspended hostilities on the part ministerial of the aggressors, hostilities they shall be suspended cease on our part also; when the moment they withdraw their armies we will disband ours. next to a vigorous exertion of our own internal force, we throw ourselves for towards we did not embody men a soldiery to commit aggression on them; we did not raise armies for march to or to glory glory or for conquest; we did not invade their island, proffering carrying death or slavery to it's inhabitants Towards the atchievement of this happy event we call for and confide on in the good offices of our fellow subjects beyond the Atlantic. Of their friendly dispositions we can confide we hope with justice reason

did not embody a soldiery to commit aggression on them; we did not raise armies for glory or for conquest; we did not invade their island carrying death or slavery to it's inhabitants. We took arms in defence of our persons and properties under actual violation, we have taken up arms we took up arms; when that violence shall be removed, when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, hostilities shall cease on our part also. The moment they withdraw their armies, we will disband ours. For the atchievement of this happy event, we call for and confide in the good offices of our fellow subjects beyond the Atlantic. Of their friendly dispositions we do not yet cease to hope; aware, as they must be, that they have nothing more to expect from the same common enemy, than the humble favour of being last devoured. And we devoutly implore the assistance of Almighty god to conduct us happily thro' this great conflict, to dispose the minds of his majesty, his ministers, and parliament to reasonable terms reconciliation with us on reasonable terms, and to deliver us from the evils of a civil war.

Q. If it might not be proper to take notice of Ld. Chatham's Plan and its being rejected, mentioning his great abilities.¹

Q. If it might not be proper to

¹ This paragraph is in the writing of Dickinson.

can not yet cease to hope and ~~as-~~ ~~sure~~ ~~them~~ ~~they~~ ~~are~~ ~~aware~~ as they must be that they have nothing more to expect from the same common enemy than the humble favour of being last devoured.

JOHN DICKINSON'S DRAFT.

A Declaration by the Representatives of the United Colonies of North America now ~~sitting~~ met in General Congress at Philadelphia, setting forth the Causes and Necessity of their taking up Arms.

If it was possible for ~~Beings~~ ~~who~~ ~~entert~~ ~~feel~~ ~~a~~ ~~proper~~ ~~Reverence~~ ~~for~~ ~~endued~~ ~~with~~ ~~Reason~~ ~~to~~ ~~believe~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~Divine~~ ~~Author~~ ~~of~~ ~~their~~ ~~Exist-~~ ~~ence~~ Men, who exercise their Reason in contemplating the works of Creation, to believe, that the Divine Author of our Existence, intended a Part of the human Race to hold an absolute property in and an unbounded Power over others, mark'd out by his infinite ~~More~~ Goodness and Wisdom, as the legal Objects of a Domination never rightfully ~~to~~ be resistable, however severe and oppressive, the Inhabitants of these Colonies ~~would~~ ~~might~~ ~~with~~ ~~at~~ ~~least~~ ~~with~~ ~~propriety~~ at least require from the Parliament of Great Britain some Evidence, that this dreadful ~~Authority~~ ~~was~~ ~~vested~~ ~~in~~ ~~that~~ ~~Body~~ Authority over them has been granted to that Body. But since ~~Reflecti~~ ~~Considerations~~ ~~drawn~~ ~~a~~

take notice how many great Men in Parlt. and how many considerable Cities and Towns in England have acknowledg'd the Justice of our Cause.¹

Q. Ld. North's Proposal.¹

FINAL FORM.

A declaration by the Representatives of the United Colonies of North America, now met in General Congress at Philadelphia, setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms.

If it was possible for men, who exercise their reason, to believe, that the Divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and an unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom, as the objects of a legal domination never rightfully resistible, however severe and oppressive, the Inhabitants of these Colonies might at least require from the Parliament of Great Britain some evidence, that this dreadful authority over them, has been granted to that body. But a reverence for our great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end. The legislature

¹These paragraphs are in the writing of Dickinson.

~~due Reverence a Reverence for our great Creator, Sentiments Principles of Humanity and the Dictates of Reason have convinced the wise and good and the Dictates of Common Sense, have must convince all those who will reflect upon the Subject, that Government was instituted to promote the Welfare of Mankind, and ought to be administered for the Attainment of that End, since these generous and noble Principles have on no Part of the Earth been so well asserted vindicated and enforced as in Great Britain, the Legislature of that Kingdom hurried on by an inordinate passion for Power, of Ambition for a Power¹ which their own most admired Writers and their very Constitution, demonstrate to be unjust; and which they know to be inconsistent² with their own political Constitution the Legislature of Great Britain stimulated by an inordinate Passion for a Power not only generally pronounc'd held to be unjust, but unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very Constitution of that Kingdom, and desperate of Success in a Mode of Contest in any Mode of Contest, where any a Regard should be had to Truth, or Justice, or Reason, have at last appeal'd length Law or~~

of Great Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for a power, not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom, and desperate of success in any mode of contest, where regard should be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these Colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from Reason to Arms.—Yet, however blinded that assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so to slight justice and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound, by obligations of respect to the rest of the world, to make known the justice of our cause.

¹ An alternative phrase, also rejected, was here interlined: "Passion for a Power manifestly unjust and which"

² "be reprobated by the very," was here inserted, but struck out.

Right, have at length attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic Purpose by Violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to ~~change~~ close with their last Appeal from Reason to Arms. Yet however blinded ~~they~~ that Assembly may be by their intemperate Rage, yet we esteem ourselves bound by Obligations of Respect to the rest of the World, to make known the Justice of our Cause.

Our Forefathers, inhabitants of the Island of G. B. left their native Land, to seek ~~in the distant and inhospitable Wilds of America~~ on inhospitable Wilds of America on these Shores, a Residence for civil and religious Liberty Freedom. To describe the Dangers, Difficulties and Distresses, ~~the Expence of Blood and Fortune, Treasure~~ they were obliged to encounter in executing their generous Resolutions, would require Volumes. It may suffice to observe, that, at the Expence of their Blood, to the Ruin of their Fortunes, ~~and every Prospect of Advantage in their native Country~~ without the least Charge to the Country from which they removed, ~~with~~ by unceasing Labor and an unconquerable Spirit, they effected Settlements in the distant and inhospitable Wilds of America, then filled with numerous and warlike Nations of Barbarians. Societies or Governments, vested with perfect legisla-

Our forefathers, inhabitants of the island of Great Britain, left their native land, to seek on these shores a residence for civil and religious freedom. At the expence of their blood, at the hazard of their fortunes, without the least charge to the country from which they removed, by unceasing labor, and an unconquerable spirit, they effected settlements in the distant and inhospitable wilds of America, then filled with numerous and warlike nations of barbarians. Societies or governments, vested with perfect legislatures, were formed under charters from the crown, and an harmonious intercourse was established between the colonies and the kingdom from which they derived their origin. The mutual benefits of this union became in a short time so extraordinary, as to excite astonishment. It is universally confessed, that the amazing increase of the wealth, strength, and navigation of the

tures ~~within them,~~ were formed under Charters from the Crown, and such an harmonious Inter-course and Union was established between the Colonies and the Kingdom from which they derived their Origin. ~~The mutual benefits of this Union that some occasional Assumptions of~~ The mutual Benefits of this Union became in a short Time so extraordinary as to excite the Astonishment of other Nations. Every British Writer of Eminence, who has treated of the Subject Politics for near a Century past, has uniformly asserted that the amazing Increase of the Wealth, Strength and Navigation of ~~that Kingdom~~ the Realm, arose from this Source; and the Minister who so ~~gloriously presided~~ ably wisely and successfully directed the ~~Councils, Affairs,~~ Measures of Great Britain ~~during~~ in the last War, publicly declared, that these Colonies ~~had enabled~~ enabled her to triumph over her Enemies.

At Towards the Conclusion of that War, it pleased our Sovereign to make a Change in his Counsels. From that fatal Moment, the Affairs of the British Empire began to ~~slide~~ fall into Confusion, ~~that since has been continually increasing and now has produced the most alarming Effects~~ and gradually ~~declining~~ sliding from that splendid Summit of glorious Prosperity to which they had been ear-

realm, arose from this source; and the minister, who so wisely and successfully directed the measures of Great Britain in the late war, publicly declared, that these colonies enabled her to triumph over her enemies.—Towards the conclusion of that war, it pleased our sovereign to make a change in his counsels.—From that fatal moment, the affairs of the British empire began to fall into confusion, and gradually sliding from the summit of glorious prosperity, to which they had been advanced by the virtues and abilities of one man, are at length distracted by the convulsions, that now shake it to its deepest foundations. The new ministry finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace, and of then subduing her faithful friends.

ried advanced by the Virtues and Abilities of one Man, are at Length distracted by the ~~present most most~~ ~~alarming~~ Convulsions, that now shake it to its ~~lowest~~ deepest Foundations. The new Ministry finding the ~~brave brave~~ Foes of Britain subdued, ~~took up the unfortunate Idea of defeated bravely~~¹ tho frequently defeated, yet ~~bravely~~ still contending, took up the unfortunate Ideas of granting them a hasty Peace and these to them, and then of subduing her faithful Friends.

~~They judged those devoted Colonies were judged to present to then~~

[A paragraph of some nine lines incomplete and not legible is omitted. The sense and a good part of the very words seem to have been used in the next paragraph.]

These devoted Colonies were judged to be in such a State as to present a ~~Prospect~~ Victories without Bloodshed, and all the easy Emoluments of statutable Plunder. The uninterrupted Tenor of their peaceable and respectful Behaviour from the Beginning of Colonization, their dutiful, zealous and useful services during the War, that has been mentioned, tho so recently and amply acknowledged in the most honorable Manner by his Majesty, by the late King, and by Parliament, could not avail to

These devoted colonies were judged to be in such a state, as to present victories without bloodshed, and all the easy emoluments of statuteable plunder.—The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and respectful behaviour from the beginning of colonization, their dutiful, zealous, and useful services during the war, though so recently and amply acknowledged in the most honorable manner by his majesty, by the late king, and by Parliament, could not save them from the meditated innovations.—

¹ Another line, illegible, is here inserted but was stricken out. The words "struggle," "contending" and "defeated" may be deciphered.

save them from the meditated Innovations. Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious Project, and to ~~facilitate its Execution~~ by assuming a new Power over them, have in the Course of eleven Years, given such decisive Specimens of the Spirit and Consequences attending this Power, as to leave no Doubt concerning the Effects of Acquiescence under it. Statutes have been passed for taking our Money from us without our own Consent, tho every Colony on this Continent has from its Beginning always we have ever exercised an exclusive Right to dispose of our own Property; for extending the Jurisdiction of Courts of Admiralty and Vice admiralty beyond their antient Limits; for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable Priviledge of Trial by Jury in Cases affecting both Life and Property; for ~~interdicting all Commerce to one~~¹ of our principal Towns; for ~~exempting the Murderers of colonists from legal Punishment~~, for suspending the Powers of Legislature of one of the Colonies; for interdicting all Commerce² of another; and for altering fundamentally the Form of Government in one of the Colonies, a Form secured established by Charter, and con-

Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project, and assuming a new power over them, have, in the course of eleven years, given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt concerning the effects of acquiescence under it. They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property; statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of courts of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty beyond their ancient limits; for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable privilege of trial by jury, in cases affecting both life and property; for suspending the legislature of one of the colonies; for interdicting all commerce to the capital of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by charter, and secured by acts of its own legislature solemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting the "murderers" of colonists from legal trial, and in effect, from punishment; for erecting in a neighboring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a despotism dangerous to our very existence; and for

¹ Some words that are illegible were interlined at this point.

² Although the manuscript shows no omission here, the words "to the capital" were printed.

~~firmly~~ secured by Acts of its own Legislature solemnly ~~and assented~~ to confirmed by the Crown; ~~for erecting in a neighbouring~~ for exempting the "Murderers" of colonists from legal Punishment; for erecting in a neighbouring Province, ~~conquered~~ acquired by the joint Arms of Great Britain and America, a ~~Tyranny~~ Despotism dangerous to ~~the~~ our very existence ~~of the Colonies~~ and for quartering Officers and Soldiers upon the Colonists in time of profound Peace. It has also been ~~declared~~ resolved in Parliament that Colonists charged with committing certain Offences, shall ~~by Virtue of a Statute made before any of~~ be transported to England to be tried.

But why should we enumerate our Injuries in Detail? By one ~~Act of Parl~~ Statute it is declared, that Parliament can "of right make Laws to bind us IN ALL CASES WHATSOEVER." What is to defend us against ~~such so enormous a~~ Power so enormous, so unlimited a Power? ~~The persons assuming them~~ Not one of a single Man of those who assume it, is chosen by us; or is subject to our Controul or Influence; but on the contrary is they are all of them exempt from the Operations of such Laws, and actually lighten their own Burdens, in exact proportion to ~~these~~ the Burdens they impose on us. ~~These Temptations might put~~

quartering soldiers upon the colonists in time of profound peace. It has also been resolved in parliament, that colonists charged with committing certain offences, shall be transported to England to be tried.

But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one statute it is declared, that parliament can "of right make laws to bind us IN ALL CASES WHATSOEVER." What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? Not a single man of those who assume it, is chosen by us; or is subject to our controul or influence; but, on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws, and an American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens in proportion as they increase ours. We saw the misery to which such des-

~~search are too great to be offered to Characters of the severest~~

Administration, sensible that we should regard these oppressive Measures as Freemen ought to do, sent over Fleets and Armies to enforce them. The Indignation of the colonies ~~was rous'd by their~~ ~~Virtue~~ Americans was rous'd, it is true: but it was the Indignation of a virtuous, peaceable, loyal, subjects and affectionate People. A Congress of Delegates from the United Colonies was assembled at Philadelphia on the fifth Day of last September. We felt saw the Weapons levell'd at our ~~Brea~~ Bosoms, but we perceiv'd them at the same Time ~~held in~~ grasp'd by a Parent's Hands. We cast ourselves upon our Knees prostrate at the Foot of ~~the Throne~~ our Sovereign. Tho for ten years we had ~~fatigued the~~ ~~besieged the Throne~~ ~~Ears of Authority with Petitions, Supplications,~~¹ yet the ineffectually besieged the Throne as Supplicants, yet we resolved again to offer an humble and dutiful Petition to the King, and agreed also to send an Address to our Fellow Subjects in Great Britain, informing them of our agreement at a certain Days to break off all our Commercial Intercourse with ~~our~~

potism would reduce us. We for ten years incessantly and ineffectually besieged the Throne as supplicants; we reasoned, we remonstrated with parliament, in the most mild and decent language. But Administration, sensible that we should regard these oppressive measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them. The indignation of the Americans was roused, it is true; but it was the indignation of a virtuous, loyal, and affectionate people. A Congress of Delegates from the United Colonies was assembled at Philadelphia, on the fifth day of last September. We resolved again to offer an humble and dutiful petition to the King, and also addressed our fellow-subjects of Great Britain. We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure: we have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourse with our fellow-subjects, as the last peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation upon earth should supplant our attachment to liberty.— This, we flattered ourselves, was the ultimate step of the controversy: But subsequent events have shewn, how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies.

¹The words "ineffectual and despis'd" are here interlined.

~~Fellow Subjects in Great Britain as the last peaceable~~ them as a peaceable Admonition, that our Attachment to no Nation upon the Earth should supplant our Attachment to Liberty. This, we flattered ourselves, was the ultimate Step of the Controversy: But subsequent Events have shewn, how vain was this ~~last~~ Hope of Moderation in the ~~Ministry~~ our Enemies.

Our Petition was treated with Contempt. Without the least Mention of ~~its~~ our Application several threatening Expressions against the Colonies were inserted in his Majesty's Speech to ~~both~~ the two Houses of Parliament; and afterwards the Petition was huddled into the House of Commons the last amongst a neglected Bundle of American Papers. The Lords and Commons in their Address ~~to his Majesty~~, in the Month of February, said, that "a Rebellion at that Time actually existed within the Province of Massachusetts Bay; ~~and~~ that those concerned in it, had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful Combinations and Engagements entered into by his Majesty's Subjects in several of the other Colonies; and therefore they besought his Majesty, that he would take the most effectual Measures to enforce due Obedience to the Laws and Authority of the Supreme Legislature." Soon after the commercial Intercourse of whole Col-

Several threatening expressions against the colonies were inserted in his Majesty's speech; our petition, though we were told it was a decent one, and that his Majesty had been pleased to receive it graciously, and to promise laying it before his Parliament, was huddled into both houses amongst a bundle of American papers, and there neglected. The Lords and Commons in their address, in the month of February, said, that "a rebellion at that time actually existed within the province of Massachusetts bay; and that those concerned in it, had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements, entered into by his Majesty's subjects in several of the other colonies; and therefore they besought his Majesty, that he would take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature."—Soon after, the commercial intercourse of whole colonies, with foreign countries, and

onies with foreign Countries was cutt off by an Act of Parliament; and by another, several of them were entirely prohibited from the Fisheries in the neighbouring Seas near their coasts, on which they always depended for their Sustenance; and large Reinforcements of Ships and Troops were immediately sent over to General Gage.

~~With such a headlong heedless Rage fury were these outrageous Proceedings hurried on, that all the Prayers~~ Fruitless were all the Entreaties, Arguments and Eloquence of the ~~a very considerable~~ an illustrious Band of the most distinguished Peers and Commoners, who nobly confest and strenuously asserted the Justice of our Cause, to stay or even to mitigate the heedless Fury of with which these accumulated and unexampled Outrages were rapidly hurried on. Equally fruitless was the interference of that the august City of London, ~~supplicating~~ of Bristol, and many other respectable Towns in our Favor. A Plan of Reconciliation digested by the patriotic Cares of that great and good man beforementioned, and which might easily have been improved to produce every Effect his generous Heart desired, was contemptuously rejected, to give way to an insidious Ministerial Manœuvre, calculated to divide us, to establish a perpetual Auction of Taxation,

with each other, was cut off by an act of Parliament; by another, several of them were entirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coasts, on which they always depended for their sustenance; and large re-inforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to General Gage.

Fruitless were all the entreaties, arguments, and eloquence of an illustrious band of the most distinguished Peers, and Commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to stay, or even to mitigate the heedless fury with which these accumulated and unexampled outrages were hurried on.—Equally fruitless was the interference of the city of London, of Bristol, and many other respectable towns in our favour. Parliament adopted an insidious manœuvre calculated to divide us, to establish a perpetual auction of taxations where colony should bid against colony, all of them uninformed what ransom would redeem their lives; and thus to extort from us, at the point of the bayonet, the unknown sums that should be sufficient to gratify, if possible to gratify, ministerial rapacity, with the miserable indulgence left to us of raising, in our own mode, the prescribed tribute. What terms more rigid and humiliating could have been dictated

¹Some illegible words here interlined.

where Colony should bid against Colony, all of them uninformed what Ransom would redeem their Lives, and thus to extort from us at the Point of the Bayonet Sums the unknown Sums that should be sufficient to gratify, if possible to gratify, ministerial Rapacity, with the miserable Indulgence left to us of raising in our own Modes the prescribed Tribute.

~~When the Intelligence of these Proceedings arrived on this Continent, we perceived it appeared evident, that our Destruction was determined upon, and that we had no Alternative or choice to make but of. Our choice must be either an "unconditional Submission," as one of the Ministry express'd himself, or of Resistance.~~

Soon after the Intelligence of these Proceedings arrived on this Continent, where General Gage, who in the Course of the last Year, had taken Possession of the Town of Boston, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and still occupied it as a Garrison, Plans, on the 19th Day of last April last, sent out of from that Place a large Detachment of his Army, who made an unprovoked Assault on the Inhabitants of the said Province, at the Town of Lexington, as appears by the Affidavits of a great Number of Persons, some of whom were Officers and Soldiers of that Detachment, murdered Eight of the Inhabitants, and wounded many

by remorseless victors to conquered enemies? In our circumstances to accept them, would be to deserve them.

Soon after the intelligence of these proceedings arrived on this continent, General Gage, who in the course of the last year had taken possession of the town of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, and still occupied it as a garrison, on the 19th day of April, sent out from that place a large detachment of his army, who made an unprovoked assault on the inhabitants of the said province, at the town of Lexington, as appears by the affidavits of a great number of persons, some of whom were officers and soldiers of that detachment, murdered eight of the inhabitants, and wounded many others. From thence the troops

others. From thence the Troops proceeded in warlike array to the Town of Concord, where they set upon another party of the Inhabitants of the same Province, killing several and wounding others more, until compell'd to retreat by the People suddenly assembled to repell this cruel Aggression. Hostilities thus commenc'd by the British Troops, have been since prosecuted by them without Regard to Faith or Reputation. The Inhabitants of Boston being confined within that Town by the General their Governor and having in order to procure their Dismission entered into a Treaty with him, it was stipulated ~~between the~~ that the said Inhabitants having deposited their arms with their own Magistrates, should have free Liberty to depart, ~~out of the said Town,~~ taking with them their other Effects. They accordingly delivered up their Arms, but in open violation of Honor, in Defiance of the Obligations of a Treaties, which even savage Nations esteem sacred, General Gage the Governor ordered the Arms deposited as aforesaid that they might be preserved for their Owners, to be seized by a Body of ~~armed men,~~ soldiers, detained the greater Part of the Inhabitants in the Town, and compelled the few who were permitted to retire, to leave their most valuable Effects behind. By this perfidy, wives are separated from their

proceeded in warlike array to the town of Concord, where they set upon another party of the inhabitants of the same province, killing several and wounding more, until compelled to retreat by the country people suddenly assembled to repell this cruel aggression. Hostilities, thus commenced by the British troops, have been since prosecuted by them without regard to faith or reputation.—The inhabitants of Boston being confined within that town by the General their Governor, and having, in order to procure their dismission, entered into a treaty with him, it was stipulated that the said inhabitants having deposited their arms with their own magistrates, should have liberty to depart, taking with them their other effects. They accordingly delivered up their arms, but in open violation of honor, in defiance of the obligation of treaties, which even savage nations esteemed sacred, the Governor ordered the arms deposited as aforesaid, that they might be preserved for their owners, to be seized by a body of soldiers; detained the greatest part of the inhabitants in the town, and compelled the few who were permitted to retire, to leave their most valuable effects behind.

By this perfidy wives are separated from their husbands, chil-

Husbands, children from their Parents, the aged and sick from their Relatives and Friends who wish to attend and ~~relieve~~ take care of them; and those who have been used to live with Elegance in Plenty and even Elegance, are reduced to deplorable Distress.

The General further emulating ~~the~~ his ministerial Masters, by a Proclamation bearing Date on the 12th Day of June, after venting the grossest Falsehoods and Calumnies against the good People of these Colonies, proceeds to “declare them all either by Name or Description to be Rebels and Traitors, to supercede the Course of the Common Law, and instead thereof to publish and order the Use and Exercise of the Law Martial.” His Troops have butchered our Countrymen; have burnt Charlestown, besides a considerable Number of Houses in other Places; our Ships and Vessels are seized; and the necessary supplies of Provisions are stopp’d intercepted; and he is now spreading Destruction and Devastation around him as far as he can, all the complicated Cal and he is exerting the utmost Power to spread Destruction and Devastation around him. We have received certain Intelligence that ~~Governor~~ General Carleton, the Governor of Canada, by Orders from the Ministry is instigating the People of that Province and

dren from their parents, the aged and the sick from their relations and friends, who wish to attend and comfort them; and those who have been used to live in plenty and even elegance, are reduced to deplorable distress.

The General, further emulating his ministerial masters, by a proclamation bearing date on the 12th day of June, after venting the grossest falsehoods and calumnies against the good people of these colonies, proceeds to “declare them all, either by name or description, to be rebels and traitors, to supersede the course of the common law, and instead thereof to publish and order the use and exercise of the law martial.”—His troops have butchered our countrymen, have wantonly burnt Charles-Town, besides a considerable number of houses in other places; our ships and vessels are seized; the necessary supplies of provisions are intercepted, and he is exerting his utmost power to spread destruction and devastation around him.

We have received certain intelligence that General Carleton, the Governor of Canada, is instigating the people of that province and the Indians to fall upon us; and we have but too much reason to

the Indians to fall upon us; and that Schemes have been form'd to excite domestic Enemies against us. In brief, a Part of the Colonies now feels, and all of them are sure of feeling, as far as the Vengeance of Administration can inflict them, all the complicated Calamities of Fire, Sword and Famine. ~~By our The Suggestions of Duty and Affection can no longer lull us into a lethargic Notion, too lately relinquish'd, that Armies and Fleets are only design'd to intimidate us.~~ We are reduced to the Alternative of chusing an unconditional Submission to the Tyrannic Vengeance of irritated Ministers who know we despise them and that they deserve to be thus despised are therefore implacable Tyranny of irritated ministers, or Resistance by Force. The latter is our Choice.

~~We know, that by an infamous Surrender of the Freedom and Happiness of ourselves and our Posterity, we might obtain that wretched Honor, Justice and Humanity forbid us basely to surrender that Freedom Liberty and Happiness which we receiv'd from our gallant Ancestors, and which it is our Duty to transmit undiminished to our Posterity. Called upon by the Law of self preservation implanted in our Nature by our allwise Creator, with prepared~~

apprehend, that schemes have been formed to excite domestic enemies against us. In brief, a part of these colonies now feels, and all of them are sure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of administration can inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, sword, and famine.— We are reduced to the alternative of chusing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force.— The latter is our choice.— We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery.—Honor, justice, and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

~~Hands~~ We have counted the Cost of this Contest, and ~~being perfectly convinced, that it is infinitely~~ find nothing so dreadful ~~and resolved~~ ~~Hearts we will~~ in our Computation, as ~~Infamy and~~ voluntary Slavery ~~united,~~ Honor, Justice and Humanity forbid us tamely to surrender that Freedom which we receiv'd from our gallant Ancestors, and which our innocent Posterity have a Right to receive from us. We cannot endure the Infamy and Guilt of resigning succeeding Generations to that Wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary Bondage upon them.

Our Cause is just. Our Union is perfect. ~~Our hearts are resolved.—Our Hands are prepared.~~ Our preparations are nearly completed. Our internal Resources ~~within our own Country~~ are ~~many~~ great; and our Assurance of foreign Assistance is certain. We gratefully acknowledge as a singular Instance of the Divine ~~Goodness~~ Favor ~~and consider it as a singular mark of his Favor~~ towards us, ~~in not permitting us to be~~ that his Providence would not permit us to be called into the severe Controversy, ~~until our~~ we were grown up to our present Strength, ~~was~~ had been previously exercised in warlike Operations, ~~to which some Years ago we were almost entire Strangers,~~ and ~~that we were pos-~~

Our cause is just. Our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great, and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable.—We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of the Divine favour towards us, that his Providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operation, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves.—With hearts fortified with these animating reflections, we most solemnly, before God and the world, declare, that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers, which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us, the

sest of the Means for defending ourselves, ~~of which till lately we were in Want.~~ With Hearts fortified by these animating Reflections, We do most solemnly before God and the World declare, that, exerting the utmost Energies of those Powers, which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us, the Arms we have been ~~thus~~ compell'd by our Enemies to assume ~~for our just Defence,~~ we will in Defiance of every Hazard with unabating Firmness and perseverance, ~~in Defiance of every Hazard,~~ now we will employ for the preservation of our Liberties, ~~deeming it infinitely preferable~~ being with one Mind resolved to dye free men rather than to live Slaves.

Least this Declaration should disquiet the Minds of our Friends and fellow subjects in any part of the World Empire, we assure them, that we mean not ~~in any Manner~~ to dissolve that Union with them ~~in which we have~~ has so long and so happily ~~lived~~ subsisted between us, and which we ~~so ardently~~ much sincerely wish to see restored. The Necessity ~~must be hard indeed~~ has not yet driven us into that desperate Measure, or to excite ~~their~~ other Nations to war against them. We have not rais'd armies ~~from~~ with ambitious Designs of separating from Great Britain and establishing independ-

arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the presevation of our liberties; being with our [one] mind resolved to dye Free-men rather than live Slaves.

Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that Union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored.—Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them.—We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent states. We fight not for glory or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle

ent States. We have fight not invaded that Island proffering to its Inhabitants Death or Slavery for Glory or for Conquest. We exhibit to Mankind the remarkable Spectacle of a People charged till attack'd without any Imputation or even Suspicion of Offence by unprovoked Enemies, who proffer to them the not milder Forms Conditions than Death or Slavery boast of their Freedom Priviledges and Civilization, and yet proffer no milder Conditions than Death or Slav Servitude or Death.

In our Native Land, in Defence of Liberties the Liberty Freedom that is our Birthright, and which we ever enjoyed till the late Violations of it,—for the Protection of our Property acquired, solely by the honest Industry of our Forefathers and ourselves, against we have taken up arms, solely to oppose and repell the violence actually offered to us Violence actually offered, we have taken up Arms. We shall We shall lay them down when Hostilities shall cease on the Part of the Aggressors, and all Danger of their being renewed, shall be removed, and not before.

With an humble Confidence in the divine Mercies of the supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the Universe, we most devoutly implore Almighty God his divine Goodness to conduct us happily thro' this great Conflict,

of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation or even suspicion of offence. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death.

In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birth-right, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it—for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our fore-fathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.

With an humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the universe, we most devoutly implore his divine goodness to protect us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries

to dispose our Adversaries to Reconciliation on Reasonable Terms, and thereby to relieve the Empire from the Evils Calamities of Civil War.

to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war.

By order of Congress,
JOHN HANCOCK,
President.

Attested,
CHARLES THOMSON,
*Secretary.*¹

Philadelphia, July 6th, 1775.

On motion, *Resolved*, That a letter be prepared to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the city of London, expressing the thanks of this Congress, for their virtuous and spirited opposition to the oppressive and ruinous system of colony administration adopted by the British ministry.

The committee appointed to dra^t a Letter to the people of G-B, to prepare this.

The order of the day was postponed, and the Congress adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

FRIDAY, JULY 7, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The Committee to whom the address to the people of G-B, was recommitted, brought in the same, which was again read and after some debate, the farther consideration of it was referred till to Morrow.

Order of the day put off and the Congress adjourned till to Morrow.²

¹This address was printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 10 July, 1775. A contemporary translation of this paper into the Italian is in the Jefferson Papers: "Dichiarazione dei Rappresentanti delle Colonie unite dell' America settentrionale adunati in Congresso Generale in Filadelfia, che espone le ragioni della loro necessit  di prender l' armi." It bears annotations by the translator, but I have not identified the writer.

²A letter from Schuyler, dated July 3, was read on this day, and is in *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 153, vol. I, folio 14.

SATURDAY JULY 8, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The Petition to the King being engrossed, was compared, and signed by the several members.¹

To the king's most excellent Majesty:

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 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 these 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 interests of Great Britain and these colonies, entertained pleasing and reasonable expectations of seeing an additional force and extention² 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

¹ "Congress gave a signal proof of their indulgence to Mr. Dickinson, and of their great desire not to go too fast for any respectable part of our body, in permitting him to draw their second petition to the King according to his own ideas, and passing it with scarcely any amendment." Jefferson, *Autobiography*, in his *Writings* (Ford), I, 17.

² In the printed version this word is *exertion*.

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 honorable 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 dangers of a foreign quarrel quickly succeeded by domestic dangers, in their judgment, of a more dreadful kind.

Nor were their anxieties alleviated by any tendency in this system to promote the welfare of the Mother country. For tho' 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, thro' a series of years past, the progress of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and these colonies, which 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 your¹ 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 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 the 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, honor 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 ever have been, with their lives and fortunes, to assert and maintain the rights and interests of your Majesty, and of our Mother country.

¹The word *Majesty's* is here inserted in the printed version.

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 through 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 mean time, 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 honor to themselves and happiness to their subjects, is our sincere and fervent prayer.

JOHN HANCOCK

colony of New hampshire	colony of New York
John Langdon	Phil. Livingston
colony of Massachusetts bay	Ja ^s Duane
Thomas Cushing	John Alsop
Sam ^l Adams	Fran ^s Lewis
John Adams	John Jay
Rob ^t Treat Paine	Rob ^t R Livingston jun ^r
colony of Rhode island and provi-	Lewis Morris
dence plantations	W ^m Floyd
Step Hopkins	Henry Wisner
Sam: Ward	New Jersey
colony of Connecticut	Wil: Livingston
Elipt Dyer	John D ^e Hart
Roger Sherman	Rich ^d Smith
Silas Deane	

Pennsylvania

John Dickinson

B Franklin

Geo: Ross

James Wilson

Cha^s HumphreysEdw^d Biddle

counties of New Castle Kent and

Sussex on delawar

Cæsar Rodney

Tho^s M^c Kean

Geo: Read

Maryland

Mat. Tilghman

Th^s Johnson Jun^rW^m Paca

Samuel Chase

Tho^s Stone

colony of Virginia

P. Henry J^r

Richard Henry Lee

Edmund Pendleton

Benj^s Harrison

Th: Jefferson

North Carolina

Will Hooper

Joseph Hewes

South Carolina

Henry Middleton

Tho Lynch

Christ Gadsden

J. Rutledge

Edward Rutledge.¹

The committee appoint[ed] to prepare a Letter to the Lord Mayor, reported the same, which was read.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the above Committee prepare a letter to ~~Mr. Bollen, Mr. Lee and Mr. R[ichard]~~ Penn, Esq^r and the colony Agents by name in England.²

The Congress resumed the Consideration of the address to the Inhabitants of Gt Britain, which being read and debated by paragraphs, was approved and ~~ordered to be printed~~ is as follows:

[here insert it]

¹ Endorsed: "Petition of the Congress to The King. Sept^r 1st 1775—Delivered to the Earl of Dartmouth by Mess^{rs} Penn and Lee." The text is taken from the original petition, reproduced in facsimile in Stevens's *Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives relating to America*, No. 454.

² Penn sailed for England four days later, and arrived in London August 14. A copy of the petition was not received by Lord Dartmouth until the 28th.

*The Twelve United Colonies, by their Delegates in Congress, to the Inhabitants of Great Britain.*¹

FRIENDS, COUNTRYMEN, AND BRETHERN!

By these, and by every other Appellation that may designate the Ties, which bind *us* to each other, we entreat your serious Attention to this our second Attempt to prevent their Dissolution. Rememberance of former Friendships, Pride in the glorious Achievements of our common Ancestors, and Affection for the Heirs of their Virtues, have hitherto preserved our mutual Connexion; but when that Friendship is violated by the grossest Injuries; when the Pride of Ancestry becomes our Reproach, and we are no otherwise allied than as Tyrants and Slaves; when reduced to the melancholy Alternative of renouncing your Favour or our Freedom; can we hesitate about the Choice? Let the Spirit of *Britons* determine.

In a former Address we asserted our Rights, and stated the Injuries we had then received. We hoped, that the mention of our Wrongs would have roused that honest Indignation which has slept too long for your Honor, or the Welfare of the Empire. But we have not been permitted to entertain this pleasing expectation. Every Day brought an accumulation of Injuries, and the Invention of the Ministry has been constantly exercised, in adding to the Calamities of your *American* Brethren.

After the most valuable Right of Legislation was infringed; when the Powers assumed by your Parliament, in which we are not represented, and from our local and other Circumstances cannot properly be represented, rendered our Property precarious; after being denied that mode of Trial, to which we have long been indebted for the safety of our Persons, and the preservation of our Liberties; after being in many instances divested of those Laws, which were transmitted to us by our common Ancestors, and subjected to an arbitrary Code, compiled under the auspices of *Roman* Tyrants; after those Charters, which encouraged our Predecessors to brave Death and Danger in every Shape, on unknown Seas, in Deserts unexplored, amidst barbarous and inhospitable Nations, were annulled; when, without the form of Trial, without a public Accusation, whole Colonies were condemned, their Trade destroyed, their Inhabitants impoverished; when Soldiers were encouraged to embrue their Hands in the Blood of *Americans*, by offers

¹ The Address is not entered in the MS. Journals, and I have used the text given in the first printed edition of the Journal.

of Impunity; when new modes of Trial were instituted for the ruin of the accused, where the charge carried with it the horrors of conviction; when a despotic Government was established in a neighbouring Province, and its Limits extended to every of our Frontiers; we little imagined that any thing could be added to this black Catalogue of unprovoked Injuries: but we have unhappily been deceived, and the late Measures of the *British* Ministry fully convince us, that their object is the reduction of these Colonies to Slavery and Ruin.

To confirm this Assertion, let us recal your attention to the Affairs of *America*, since our last Address. Let us combat the Calumnies of our Enemies; and let us warn you of the dangers that threaten you in our destruction. Many of your Fellow-Subjects, whose situation deprived them of other Support, drew their Maintenance from the Sea; but the deprivation of our Liberty being insufficient to satisfy the resentment of our Enemies, the horrors of Famine were super-added, and a *British* Parliament, who, in better times, were the Protectors of Innocence and the Patrons of Humanity, have, without distinction of Age or Sex, robbed thousands of the Food which they were accustomed to draw from that inexhaustible Source, placed in their neighbourhood by the benevolent Creator.

Another Act of your Legislature shuts our Ports, and prohibits our Trade with any but those States from whom the great Law of self-preservation renders it absolutely necessary we should at present withhold our Commerce. But this Act (whatever may have been its design) we consider rather as injurious to your Opulence than our Interest. All our Commerce terminates with you; and the Wealth we procure from other Nations, is soon exchanged for your Superfluities. Our remittances must then cease with our trade; and our refinements with our Affluence. We trust, however, that Laws which deprive us of every Blessing but a Soil that teems with the necessaries of Life, and that Liberty which renders the enjoyment of them secure, will not relax our Vigour in their Defence.

We might here observe on the Cruelty and Inconsistency of those, who, while they publicly Brand us with reproachful and unworthy Epithets, endeavour to deprive us of the means of defence, by their Interposition with foreign Powers, and to deliver us to the lawless Ravages of a merciless Soldiery. But happily we are not without Resources; and though the timid and humiliating Applications of a *British* Ministry should prevail with foreign Nations, yet Industry, prompted by necessity, will not leave us without the necessary Supplies.

We could wish to go no further, and, not to wound the Ear of Humanity, leave untold those rigorous Acts of Oppression, which are daily exercised in the Town of *Boston*, did we not hope, that by disclaiming their Deeds and punishing the Perpetrators, you would shortly vindicate the Honour of the *British* Name, and re-establish the violated Laws of Justice.

That once populous, flourishing and commercial Town is now garrisoned by an Army sent not to protect, but to enslave its Inhabitants. The civil Government is overturned, and a military Despotism erected upon its Ruins. Without Law, without Right, Powers are assumed unknown to the Constitution. Private Property is unjustly invaded. The Inhabitants, daily subjected to the Licentiousness of the Soldiery, are forbid to remove in Defiance of their natural Rights, in Violation of the most solemn Compacts. Or if, after long and wearisome Solicitation, a Pass is procured, their Effects are detained, and even those who are most favoured, have no Alternative but Poverty or Slavery. The Distress of many thousand People, wantonly deprived of the Necessaries of Life, is a Subject, on which we would not wish to enlarge.

Yet, we cannot but observe, that a *British* Fleet (unjustified even by Acts of your Legislature) are daily employed in ruining our Commerce, seizing our Ships, and depriving whole Communities of their daily Bread. Nor will a Regard for your Honour permit us to be silent, while *British* Troops sully your Glory, by Actions, which the most inveterate Enmity will not palliate among civilized Nations, the wanton and unnecessary Destruction of *Charlestown*, a large, ancient, and once populous Town, just before deserted by its Inhabitants, who had fled to avoid the Fury of your Soldiery.

If you still retain those Sentiments of Compassion, by which *Britons* have ever been distinguished, if the Humanity, which tempered the Valour of our common Ancestors, has not degenerated into Cruelty, you will lament the Miseries of their Descendants.

To what are we to attribute this Treatment? If to any secret Principle of the Constitution, let it be mentioned; let us learn, that the Government, we have long revered, is not without its Defects, and that while it gives Freedom to a Part, it necessarily enslaves the Remainder of the Empire. If such a Principle exists, why for Ages has it ceased to operate? Why at this Time is it called into Action? Can no Reason be assigned for this Conduct? Or must it be resolved into the wanton Exercise of arbitrary Power? And shall the Descendants of *Britons* tamely submit to this?—No, Sirs! We never will,

while we revere the Memory of our gallant and virtuous Ancestors, we never can surrender those glorious Privileges, for which they fought, bled, and conquered. Admit that your Fleets could destroy our Towns, and ravage our Sea-Coasts; these are inconsiderable Objects, Things of no Moment to Men, whose Bosoms glow with the Ardor of Liberty. We can retire beyond the Reach of your Navy, and, without any sensible Diminution of the Necessaries of Life, enjoy a Luxury, which from that Period you will want—the Luxury of being Free.

We know the Force of your Arms, and was it called forth in the Cause of Justice and your Country, we might dread the Exertion: but will *Britons* fight under the Banners of Tyranny? Will they counteract the Labours, and disgrace the Victories of their Ancestors? Will they forge Chains for their Posterity? If they descend to this unworthy Task, will their Swords retain their Edge, their Arms their accustomed Vigour? *Britons* can never become the Instruments of Oppression, till they lose the Spirit of Freedom, by which alone they are invincible.

Our Enemies charge us with Sedition. In what does it consist? In our Refusal to submit to unwarrantable Acts of Injustice and Cruelty? If so, shew us a Period in your History, in which you have not been equally Seditious.

We are accused of aiming at Independence; but how is this Accusation supported? By the Allegations of your Ministers, not by our Actions. Abused, insulted, and contemned, what Steps have we pursued to obtain Redress? We have carried our dutiful Petitions to the Throne. We have applied to your Justice for Relief. We have retrenched our Luxury, and withheld our Trade.

The Advantages of our Commerce were designed as a Compensation for your Protection: When you ceased to protect, for what were we to compensate?

What has been the Success of our Endeavours? The Clemency of our Sovereign is unhappily diverted; our Petitions are treated with Indignity; our Prayers answered by Insults. Our Application to you remains unnoticed, and leaves us the melancholy Apprehension of your wanting either the Will, or the Power, to assist us.

Even under these Circumstances, what Measures have we taken that betray a Desire of Independence? Have we called in the Aid of those foreign Powers, who are the Rivals of your Grandeur? When your Troops were few and defenceless, did we take Advantage of their Distress and expel them our Towns? Or have we permitted them to fortify, to receive new Aid, and to acquire additional Strength?

Let not *your* Enemies and *ours* persuade you, that in this we were influenced by Fear or any other unworthy Motive. The Lives of *Britons* are still dear to us. They are the Children of our Parents, and an uninterrupted Intercourse of mutual Benefits had knit the Bonds of Friendship. When Hostilities were commenced, when on a late Occasion we were wantonly attacked by your Troops, though we repelled their Assaults and returned their Blows, yet we lamented the Wounds they obliged us to give; nor have we yet learned to rejoice at a Victory over *Englishmen*.

As we wish not to colour our Actions, or disguise our Thoughts, we shall, in the simple Language of Truth, avow the Measures we have pursued, the Motives upon which we have acted, and our future Designs.

When our late Petition to the Throne produced no other Effect than fresh Injuries, and Votes of your Legislature, calculated to justify every Severity; when your Fleets and your Armies were prepared to wrest from us our Property, to rob us of our Liberties or our Lives; when the hostile Attempts of General *Gage* evinced his Designs, we levied Armies for our Security and Defence. When the Powers vested in the Governor of *Canada*, gave us Reason to apprehend Danger from that Quarter; and we had frequent Intimations, that a cruel and savage Enemy was to be let loose upon the defenceless Inhabitants of our Frontiers; we took such Measures as Prudence dictated, as Necessity will justify. We possessed ourselves of *Crown Point* and *Ticonderoga*. Yet give us leave most solemnly to assure you, that we have not yet lost Sight of the Object we have ever had in View, a Reconciliation with you on constitutional Principles, and a Restoration of that friendly Intercourse, which, to the Advantage of both, we till lately maintained.

The Inhabitants of this Country apply themselves chiefly to Agriculture and Commerce. As their Fashions and Manners are similar to yours, your Markets must afford them the Conveniences and Luxuries, for which they exchange the Produce of their Labours. The Wealth of this extended Continent centres with you; and our Trade is so regulated as to be subservient only to your Interest. You are too reasonable to expect, that by Taxes (in Addition to this) we should contribute to your Expence; to believe, after diverting the Fountain, that the Streams can flow with unabated Force.

It has been said, that we refuse to submit to the Restrictions on our Commerce. From whence is this Inference drawn? Not from our

Words, we have repeatedly declared the Contrary; and we again profess our Submission to the several Acts of Trade and Navigation, passed before the Year 1763, trusting, nevertheless, in the Equity and Justice of Parliament, that such of them as, upon cool and impartial Consideration, shall appear to have imposed unnecessary or grievous Restrictions, will, at some happier Period, be repealed or altered. And we cheerfully consent to the Operation of such Acts of the *British* Parliament, as shall be restrained to the Regulation of our external Commerce, for the Purpose of securing the commercial Advantages of the whole Empire to the Mother Country, and the commercial Benefits of its respective Members; excluding every Idea of Taxation internal or external, for raising a Revenue on the Subjects in *America*, without their Consent.

It is alledged that we contribute nothing to the common Defence. To this we answer, that the Advantages which *Great Britain* receives from the Monopoly of our Trade, far exceed our Proportion of the Expence necessary for that Purpose. But should these Advantages be inadequate thereto, let the Restrictions on our Trade be removed, and we will cheerfully contribute such Proportion when constitutionally required.

It is a fundamental Principle of the *British* Constitution, that every Man should have at least a Representative Share in the Formation of those Laws, by which he is bound. Were it otherwise, the Regulation of our internal Police by a *British* Parliament, who are and ever will be unacquainted with our local Circumstances, must be always inconvenient, and frequently oppressive, working our wrong, without yielding any possible Advantage to you.

A Plan of Accommodation (as it has been absurdly called) has been proposed by your Ministers to our respective Assemblies. Were this Proposal free from every other Objection, but that which arises from the Time of the Offer, it would not be unexceptionable. Can Men deliberate with the Bayonet at their Breast? Can they treat with Freedom, while their Towns are sacked; when daily Instances of Injustice and Oppression disturb the slower Operations of Reason?

If this Proposal is really such as you would offer and we accept, why was it delayed till the Nation was put to useless expence, and we were reduced to our present melancholy Situation? If it holds forth nothing, why was it proposed? Unless indeed to deceive you into a Belief, that we were unwilling to listen to any Terms of Accommodation. But what is submitted to our Consideration? We contend for

the Disposal of our Property. We are told that our Demand is unreasonable, that our Assemblies may indeed collect our Money, but that they must at the same Time offer, not what your Exigencies or ours may require, but so much as shall be deemed sufficient to satisfy the Desires of a Minister and enable him to provide for Favourites and Dependants. A Recurrence to your own Treasury will convince you how little of the Money already extorted from us has been applied to the Relief of your Burthens. To suppose that we would thus grasp the Shadow and give up the Substance, is adding Insult to Injuries.

We have nevertheless again presented an humble and dutiful Petition to our Sovereign, and to remove every imputation of Obstinacy, have requested his Majesty to direct some Mode, by which the united Applications of his faithful Colonists may be improved into a happy and permanent Reconciliation. We are willing to treat on such Terms as can alone render an accommodation lasting, and we flatter ourselves that our pacific Endeavours will be attended with a removal of ministerial Troops, and a repeal of those Laws, of the Operation of which we complain, on the one part, and a disbanding of our Army, and a dissolution of our commercial Associations, on the other.

Yet conclude not from this that we propose to surrender our Property into the Hands of your Ministry, or vest your Parliament with a Power which may terminate in our Destruction. The great Bulwarks of our Constitution we have desired to maintain by every temperate, by every peaceable Means; but your Ministers (equal Foes to *British* and *American* freedom) have added to their former Oppressions an Attempt to reduce us by the Sword to a base and abject submission. On the Sword, therefore, we are compelled to rely for Protection. Should Victory declare in your Favour, yet Men trained to Arms from their Infancy, and animated by the Love of Liberty, will afford neither a cheap or easy Conquest. Of this at least we are assured, that our Struggle will be glorious, our Success certain; since even in Death we shall find that Freedom which in Life you forbid us to enjoy.

Let us now ask what Advantages are to attend our Reduction? the Trade of a ruined and desolate Country is always inconsiderable, its Revenue trifling; the Expence of subjecting and retaining it in subjection certain and inevitable. What then remains but the gratification of an ill-judged Pride, or the hope of rendering us subservient to designs on your Liberty.

Soldiers who have sheathed their Swords in the Bowels of their *American* Brethren, will not draw them with more reluctance against

you. When too late you may lament the loss of that freedom, which we exhort you, while still in your Power, to preserve.

On the other hand, should you prove unsuccessful; should that Connexion, which we most ardently wish to maintain, be dissolved; should your Ministers exhaust your Treasures and waste the Blood of your Countrymen in vain Attempts on our Liberty; do they not deliver you, weak and defenceless, to your natural Enemies?

Since then your Liberty must be the price of your Victories; your Ruin, of your Defeat: What blind Fatality can urge you to a pursuit destructive of all that *Britons* hold dear?

If you have no regard to the Connexion that has for Ages subsisted between us; if you have forgot the Wounds we have received fighting by your Side for the extention of the Empire; if our Commerce is not an object below your consideration; if Justice and Humanity have lost their influence on your Hearts; still Motives are not wanting to excite your Indignation at the Measures now pursued; Your Wealth, your Honour, your Liberty are at Stake.

Notwithstanding the Distress to which we are reduced, we sometimes forget our own Afflictions, to anticipate and sympathize in yours. We grieve that rash and inconsiderate Councils should precipitate the destruction of an Empire, which has been the envy and admiration of Ages, and call God to witness! that we would part with our Property, endanger our Lives, and sacrifice every thing but Liberty, to redeem you from ruin.

A Cloud hangs over your Heads and ours; 'ere this reaches you, it may probably burst upon us; let us then (before the remembrance of former Kindness is obliterated) once more repeat those Appellations which are ever grateful in our Ears; let us entreat Heaven to avert our Ruin, and the Destruction that threatens our Friends, Brethren and Countrymen, on the other side of the *Atlantic*.

Ordered, That the Address be published and a number of them sent by M^r Penn to England.¹

The Letter to the Lord Mayor, &c., being read again and debated, was approved, and is as follows:

MY LORD,

Permitt the Delegates of the people of twelve antient colonies, to pay y^r Lordship, and the very respectable body of which you are head,

¹This address was printed as a Postscript to the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 17 July, 1775.

the just tribute of gratitude and thanks, for the virtuous and unsolicited resentment you have shewn to the violated rights of a free people. The city of London, my Lord, having in all ages, approved itself the patron of liberty, and the support of just government, against lawless tyranny and oppression, cannot fail to make us deeply sensible of the powerful aid, our cause must receive from such advocates. A cause, my Lord, worthy the support of the first city in the world, as it involves the fate of a great continent, and threatens to shake the foundations of a flourishing, and, until lately, a happy empire.

North America, my Lord, wishes most ardently for a lasting connection with Great Britain on terms of just and equal liberty; less than which generous minds will not offer, nor brave and free ones be willing to receive.

A cruel war has at length been opened agst us, and whilst we prepare to defend ourselves like the descendants of Britons, we still hope that the mediation of wise and good citizens, will at length prevail over despotism, and restore harmony and peace, on permanent principles, to an oppressed and divided empire.

We have the honor to be, my Lord,
 With great esteem, y^r Lordship's
 Faithful friends and fellow-subjects.

Signed by order of the Congress,

JOHN HANCOCK
*President.*¹

Ordered, That the above Letter be fairly transcribed, and signed by the president, and sent by M^r Penn.

The Committee appointed to prepare a letter to M^r Penn and the Colony Agents, bro^t in the same, which being read was approved:

GENTLEMEN,

The perseverance of the British ministry in their unjust and cruel system of colony administration, has occasioned the meeting of another Congress.

We have again appealed to the justice of our sovereign for protection agst the destruction which his Ministers meditate for his American subjects. This Petition to his Majesty you will please, Gentlemen, to present to the King with all convenient expedition, after which we

¹This letter was printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 11 December, 1775.

desire it may be given to the public. We likewise send you our second application to the equity and interest of our fellow subjects in G B, and also a Declaration setting forth the causes of our taking up arms: Both which we wish may be immediately put to press, and communicated as universally as possible.

The Congress entertain the highest sense of the wise and worthy interposition of the Lord Mayor and Livery of London, in favour of injured America. They have expressed this, their sense, in a letter to his Lordship and the livery, which we desire may be presented in the manner most agreeable to that respectable body.

You will oblige us, Gentlemen, by giving the most early information to the Congress, and to the speakers of our respective assemblies, of your proceeding in this business, and such further intelligence as you may judge to be of importance to America in this great contest.

We are, with great regard, gentlemen, y^r most obedient and very humble serv^{ts}.

By order of the Congress,

[JOHN HANCOCK,
Pres.]

Ordered, That the above be fairly transcribed, and to be signed by the pres^t, and then by him sent under cover, with the petition to the King, and address to the Inhabitants of G B, and letter to the L^d Mayor of London to R[ichard] Penn, Esq^r and to request him, in behalf of the Congress, to join with the Colony Agents in presenting the petition to the King.

Order of the day put off, and adjourned till Monday at 9 o'Clock.¹

MONDAY, JULY 10, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

It being suggested, that there was a gentleman in town well acquainted with the situation and disposition of the Indians,

¹A letter from General Schuyler, dated June 30, was received by express and read this day. The letter is in *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 153, I, folio 10.

On motion, that he be introduced; he was introduced accordingly.

After he withdrew,

The Committee appointed to prepare proper talks to the Indians reported the same, which was read.

The Committee appointed to devise ways and means for putting the militia in a proper state of defence, brought in their report, which was read.

M^r [John] Alsop informed the Congress that he had an Invoice of Indian goods, which a gentleman in this town had delivered to him and which the s^d Gentleman was willing to dispose of to the Congress.

Ordered that M^r P[hilip] Livingston, M^r [Patrick] Henry and M^r [John] Alsop be a Committee to examine s^d Invoice and report to the Congress.

The Congress resumed the consideration of the Committee respecting the Militia, and after some debate the same was deferred till to Morrow.

The order of the day put off, and the Congress adjourned till to Morrow.

TUESDAY, JULY 11, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The report of the Committee on Indian Affairs was resumed and, after some debate, the same was deferred till to Morrow.

On Information that there were two companies of riflemen raised in Lancaster instead of one,

Resolved, That both the companies be taken into the continental service.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the delegates from Pennsylvania have liberty to treat with and employ 50 Hussars, who have been in actual service, and send them forward to join the troops before Boston under Gen^l Washington.

“An address ~~and Application~~ from delegates of the several of the deputies from the different parishes of the Islands of Bermuda,” to the Congress, was presented and read.¹

The order of the day was postponed and the Congress adjourned till to Morrow at nine o’Clock.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 12, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

Information being given that there was a gentleman from the province of Quebec in town who could give some intelligence of the disposition of the Canadians,

On motion, *Resolved*, that he be called in, and he was accordingly introduced and examined.

Two letters, one from N[icholas] Cooke,² lieut. Governor of Rhode Island, the other from Gen^l [Artemas] Ward³ were read.

The report of the Committee on Indian affairs was then taken into consideration, which being debated by paragraphs, the Congress came to the following Resolutions:

That the securing and preserving the friendship of the Indian Nations, appears to be a subject of the utmost moment to these colonies.

That there is too much reason to apprehend that Administration will spare no pains to excite the several Nations of Indians to take up arms against these colonies; and that it becomes us to be very active and vigilant in exerting every prudent means to strengthen and confirm the friendly disposition towards these colonies, which has

¹ This address is not found in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

² The letter is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 64, folio 348. It is endorsed as having been read on the 11th.

³ The letter is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 159, folio 348. It bears the same endorsement as the Rhode Island letter.

long prevailed among the northern tribes, and which has been lately manifested by some of those to the southward.

As the Indians depend on the Colonists for arms, ammunition, and cloathing, which are become necessary to their subsistence, That Commissioners be appointed by this Congress, to superintend Indian affairs in behalf of their colonies.

That there be three departments of Indians, the northern, middle and southern. The northern to extend so far south as to include the whole of the Indians known by the name of the Six Nations, and all the Indians northward of those nations. The southern department to extend so far north as to include the Cherokees, and all the Indians that may be to the southward of them. The middle to contain the Indian Nations that lie between the other two departments.¹

That five Commissioners be appointed for the southern department.

That for each of the other two departments, there be appointed three commissioners.

That the commissioners have power to treat with the Indians in their respective departments, in the name, and on behalf of the united colonies, in order to preserve peace and friendship with the s^d Indians, and to prevent their taking any part in the present commotions.

That the Commissioners for the southern department, receive from the continental treasury the sum of ten thousand dollars; the commissioners for the middle and northern department, the sum of six thousand six hundred and sixty-six dollars and two-thirds of a dollar for each of their respective departments, for defraying the expence of treaties and presents to the Indians.

¹This paragraph, in the writing of James Duane, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 30, folio 165. It is endorsed, "Indian Department defined, 12th July, 1775."

That the Commissioners respectively have power to take to their assistance gentlemen of influence among the Indians, in whom they can confide, and to appoint Agents, residing near or among the Indians, to watch the conduct of the superintendants and their emissaries.

That in case the Commissioners for the respective districts, or any one of them in either district, shall have satisfactory proof, that the King's superintendants, their deputies or agents, or any other person whatsoever, are active in stirring up or inciting the Indians or any of them, to become inimical to the American colonies, such Commissioners or commissioner, ought to cause such superintendent or other offender, to be seized and kept in safe custody until order shall be taken therein by a majority of the Commissioners of the districts where such seizure is made, or by the Continental Congress, or a committee of s^d Congress, to whom such seizure, with the causes of it, shall, as soon as possible after, be made known.

That the Commissioners shall exhibit fair accounts of the expenditure of all monies by them respectively to be received for the purposes aforesaid, to every succeeding Continental Congress, or committee of Congress, together with a general state of Indian affairs, in their several departments; in order that the colonies may be informed from time to time, of every such matter as may concern them to know and avail themselves of, for the benefit of the common cause.

That as there is a seminary for the instruction of Indian youth, which has been established under the care of doctor Wheelock,¹ on Connecticut River; and as there are nine or ten Indian youth at that school, chiefly from the tribes residing in Quebec; and as for want of a proper

¹Elcazar Wheelock.

fund, there is danger that these youth may be sent back to their friends, which will probably excite jealousy and distrust, and be attended with bad consequences,

[*Resolved,*] that the Commissioners for Indian Affairs in the northern Department, be authorized to receive out of the continental treasury, a sum not exceeding five hundred dollars, to be applied by them for the support of the s^d Indian youths.

Resolved, that the election of the Commissioners be deferred till to Morrow.

On motion, *Resolved,* That a committee of five be appointed to devise ways and means to protect the trade of these Colonies.

The Congress then proceeded to the election of the committee and the following persons were chosen, viz: Mr. [John] Jay, Mr. [Benjamin] Franklin, Mr. [Christopher] Gadsden, Mr. [Silas] Deane, and Mr. [Richard Henry] Lee.

Resolved, that the consideration of the report of the committee respecting the Militia be entered upon to Morrow.

The order of the day was postponed and the Congress adjourned till to Morrow at 8 o'Clock.

THURSDAY, JULY 13, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The Committee appointed to prepare a speech to the Indians, reported the same.

The speech to the Six Nations being read and debated by paragraphs was agreed to and is as follows:—

here insert it¹

¹The manuscript of this speech is not in the *Papers of the Continental Congress* nor was the text inserted in the MS. Journals. I have used the printed text of the issue of Volume I of the Journals, 1777. The Speech was printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 11 December, 1775.

A Speech to the Six Confederate Nations, Mohawks, Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senekas, from the Twelve United Colonies, convened in Council at Philadelphia.

BROTHERS, SACHEMS, AND WARRIORS,

We, the Delegates from the Twelve United Provinces, viz. New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, now sitting in general Congress at Philadelphia, send this talk to you our brothers. We are sixty-five in number, chosen and appointed by the people throughout all these provinces and colonies, to meet and sit together in one great council, to consult together for the common good of the land, and speak and act for them.

Brothers, in our consultation we have judged it proper and necessary to send you this talk, as we are upon the same island, that you may be informed of the reasons of this great council, the situation of our civil constitution, and our disposition towards you our Indian brothers of the Six Nations and their allies.

(Three Strings, or a small Belt.)

BROTHERS AND FRIENDS, NOW ATTEND,

When our fathers crossed the great water and came over to this land, the king of England gave them a talk: assuring them that they and their children should be his children, and that if they would leave their native country and make settlements, and live here, and buy, and sell, and trade with their brethren beyond the water, they should still keep hold of the same covenant chain and enjoy peace.—And it was covenanted, that the fields, houses, goods and possessions which our fathers should acquire, should remain to them as their own, and be their children's forever, and at their sole disposal.

Trusting that this covenant should never be broken, our fathers came a great distance beyond the great water, laid out their money here, built houses, cleared fields, raised crops, and through their own labour and industry grew tall and strong.

They have bought, sold and traded with England according to agreement, sending to them such things as they wanted, and taking in exchange such things as were wanted here.

The king of England and his people kept the way open for more than one hundred years, and by our trade became richer, and by a

union with us, greater and stronger than the other kings and people who live beyond the water.

All this time they lived in great friendship with us, and we with them; for we are brothers—one blood.

Whenever they were struck, we instantly felt as though the blow had been given to us—their enemies were our enemies.

Whenever they went to war, we sent our men to stand by their side and fight for them, and our money to help them and make them strong.

They thanked us for our love, and sent us good talks, and renewed their promise to be one people forever.

BROTHERS AND FRIENDS, OPEN A KIND EAR!

We will now tell you of the quarrel betwixt the counsellors of king George and the inhabitants and colonies of America.

Many of his counsellors are proud and wicked men.—They persuade the king to break the covenant chain, and not to send us any more good talks. A considerable number have prevailed upon him to enter into a new covenant against us, and have torn asunder and cast behind their backs the good old covenant which their ancestors and ours entered into, and took strong hold of.

They now tell us they will slip their hand into our pocket without asking, as though it were there own; and at their pleasure they will take from us our charters or written civil constitution, which we love as our lives—also our plantations, our houses and goods whenever they please, without asking our leave.—That our vessels may go to this island in the sea, but to this or that particular island we shall not trade any more.—And in case of our non-compliance with these new orders, they shut up our harbours.

Brothers, this is our present situation—thus have many of the king's counsellors and servants dealt with us.—If we submit, or comply with their demands, you can easily perceive to what state we will be reduced.—If our people labour on the field, they will not know who shall enjoy the crop.—If they hunt in the woods, it will be uncertain who shall taste of the meat or have the skins.—If they build houses, they will not know whether they may sit round the fire, with their wives and children. They cannot be sure whether they shall be permitted to eat, drink, and wear the fruits of their own labour and industry.

BROTHERS AND FRIENDS OF THE SIX NATIONS, ATTEND,

We upon this island have often spoke and intreated the king and his servants the counsellors, that peace and harmony might still con-

tinue between us—that we cannot part with or lose our hold of the old covenant chain which united our fathers and theirs—that we want to brighten this chain—and keep the way open as our fathers did; that we want to live with them as brothers, labour, trade, travel abroad, eat and drink in peace. We have often asked them to love us and live in such friendship with us as their fathers did with ours.

We told them again that we judged we were exceedingly injured, that they might as well kill us, as take away our property and the necessaries of life.—We have asked why they treat us thus?—What has become of our repeated addresses and supplications to them? Who hath shut the ears of the king to the cries of his children in America? No soft answer—no pleasant voice from beyond the water has yet sounded in our ears.

Brothers, thus stands the matter betwixt old England and America. You Indians know how things are proportioned in a family—between the father and the son—the child carries a little pack—England we regard as the father—this island may be compared to the son.

The father has a numerous family—both at home and upon this island.—He appoints a great number of servants to assist him in the government of his family. In process of time, some of his servants grow proud and ill-natured—they were displeas'd to see the boy so alert and walk so nimbly with his pack. They tell the father, and advise him to enlarge the child's pack—they prevail—the pack is increased—the child takes it up again—as he thought it might be the father's pleasure—speaks but few words—those very small—for he was loth to offend the father. Those proud and wicked servants finding they had prevailed, laugh'd to see the boy sweat and stagger under his increased load. By and by, they apply to the father to double the boy's pack, because they heard him complain—and without any reason said they—he is a cross child—correct him if he complains any more.—The boy intreats the father—addresses the great servants in a decent manner, that the pack might be lightened—he could not go any farther—humbly asks, if the old fathers, in any of their records, had described such a pack for the child—after all the tears and entreaties of the child, the pack is redoubled—the child stands a little, while staggering under the weight—ready to fall every moment. However he entreats the father once more, though so faint he could only lisp out his last humble supplication—waits a while—no voice returns. The child concludes the father could not hear—those proud servants had intercepted his

supplications, or stopped the ears of the father. He therefore gives one struggle and throws off the pack, and says he cannot take it up again—such a weight would crush him down and kill him—and he can but die if he refuses.

Upon this, those servants are very wroth—and tell the father many false stories respecting the child—they bring a great cudgel to the father, asking him to take it in his hand and strike the child.

This may serve to illustrate the present condition of the king's American subjects or children.

Amidst these oppressions we now and then hear a mollifying and reviving voice from some of the king's wise counsellors, who are our friends and feel for our distresses, when they heard our complaints and our cries, they applied to the king, also told those wicked servants, that this child in America was not a cross boy, it had sufficient reason for crying, and if the cause of its complaint was neglected, it would soon assume the voice of a man, plead for justice like a man, and defend its rights and support the old covenant chain of the fathers.

BROTHERS, LISTEN!

Notwithstanding all our entreaties, we have but little hope the king will send us any more good talks, by reason of his evil counsellors; they have persuaded him to send an army of soldiers and many ships of war, to rob and destroy us. They have shut up many of our harbours, seized and taken into possession many of our vessels: the soldiers have struck the blow, killed some of our people, the blood now runs of the American children: They have also burned our houses and towns, and taken much of our goods.

Brothers! We are now necessitated to rise, and forced to fight, or give up our civil constitution, run away and leave our farms and houses behind us. This must not be. Since the king's wicked counsellors will not open their ears, and consider our just complaints, and the cause of our weeping, and hath given the blow, we are determined to drive away the king's soldiers, and to kill and destroy all those wicked men we find in arms against the peace of the twelve United Colonies upon this island. We think our cause is just; therefore hope God will be on our side. We do not take up the hatchet and struggle for honor and conquest; but to maintain our civil constitution and religious privileges, the very same for which our forefathers left their native land and came to this country.

BROTHERS AND FRIENDS!

We desire you will hear and receive what we have now told you, and that you will open a good ear and listen to what we are now going to say. This is a family quarrel between us and Old England. You Indians are not concerned in it. We don't wish you to take up the hatchet against the king's troops. We desire you to remain at home, and not join on either side, but keep the hatchet buried deep. In the name and in behalf of all our people, we ask and desire you to love peace and maintain it, and to love and sympathise with us in our troubles; that the path may be kept open with all our people and yours, to pass and repass, without molestation.

Brothers! we live upon the same ground with you. The same island is our common birth-place. We desire to sit down under the same tree of peace with you: let us water its roots and cherish its growth, till the large leaves and flourishing branches shall extend to the setting sun, and reach the skies.

BROTHERS, OBSERVE WELL!

What is it we have asked of you? Nothing but peace, notwithstanding our present disturbed situation—and if application should be made to you by any of the king's unwise and wicked ministers to join on their side, we only advise you to deliberate, with great caution, and in your wisdom look forward to the consequences of a compliance. For, if the king's troops take away our property, and destroy us who are of the same blood with themselves, what can you, who are Indians, expect from them afterwards?

Therefore, we say, brothers, take care—hold fast to your covenant chain. You now know our disposition towards you, the Six Nations of Indians, and your allies. Let this our good talk remain at Onondaga, your central council house. We depend upon you to send and acquaint your allies to the northward, the seven tribes on the river St. Lawrence, that you have this talk of ours at the great council fire of the Six Nations. And when they return, we invite your great men to come and converse farther with us at Albany, where we intend to re-kindle the council fire, which your and our ancestors sat round in great friendship.

Brothers and Friends!

We greet you all farewell.

(The large belt of intelligence and declaration.)

BROTHERS!

We have said we wish you Indians may continue in peace with one another, and with us the white people. Let us both be cautious in our behaviour towards each other at this critical state of affairs. This island now trembles, the wind whistles from almost every quarter—let us fortify our minds and shut our ears against false rumors—let us be cautious what we receive for truth, unless spoken by wise and good men. If any thing disagreeable should ever fall out between us, the twelve United Colonies, and you, the Six Nations, to wound our peace, let us immediately seek measures for healing the breach. From the present situation of our affairs, we judge it wise and expedient to kindle up a small council fire at Albany, where we may hear each other's voice, and disclose our minds more fully to each other.

(*A small belt.*)

Ordered, That a similar talk be prepared for the other Indian nations, preserving the tenor of the above, and altering it so as to suit the Indians in the several departments.

The Congress then proceeded to the choice of Commissioners for the several departments. After some debate, agreed that the nomination of the Commissioners for the southern department be postponed till Tuesday next.

Mr. [Benjamin] Franklin, Mr. [Patrick] Henry, and Mr. [James] Wilson, were unanimously elected for the middle department.

On motion, *Resolved*, that there be one more added to the number of the Commissioners for the Northern Department.

The following gentlemen were chosen, viz: Gen^l Philip Schuyler, Major Joseph Hawley, M^r Turbot Francis and M^r Oliver Woolcot, and

On motion, *agreed*, that M^r Volkert P. Douw be¹

Resolved, that the Congress will to Morrow take into consideration the report of the Committee on the Militia.

¹ An unfinished entry.

The order of the day was postponed and the Congress adjourned till to Morrow at 8 o'Clock.

FRIDAY, JULY 14, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

Agreeable to the order of yesterday the Congress resumed the consideration of the report of the Committee on the militia, and after some debate, the same was referred till to Morrow ||for farther consideration.||

A motion being made by Doct^r [Benjamin] Franklin and seconded,

Resolved, that the same be taken into consideration to Morrow morning.

The order of the day was postponed and the Congress adjourned till to Morrow at 8 o'Clock.

SATURDAY, JULY 15, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

Agreeable to the order of yesterday, the motion made by M^r F[ranklin] was taken into consideration, and after some debate they came to the following Resolution:—

Whereas, the government of Great Britain hath prohibited the exportation of arms and ammunition to any of the plantations, and endeavoured to prevent other nations from supplying us:

Resolved, That for the better furnishing these colonies with the necessary means of defending their rights, every vessel importing Gun powder, Salt petre, Sulphur, provided they bring with the sulphur four times as much salt petre, brass field-pieces, or good muskets fitted with Bayonets, within nine Months from the date of this resolution, shall be permitted to load and export the produce

of these colonies, to the value of such powder and stores afores^d, the non-exportation agreement notwithstanding; and it is recommended to the committees of the several provinces to inspect the military stores so imported, and to estimate a generous price for the same, according to their goodness, and permit the importer of such powder and other military stores aforesaid, to export the value thereof and no more, in produce of any kind.

Ordered, That a copy of the above be delivered to the delegates of the Colony of Pennsylvania, who are desired to request the committee of this city to forward the same in hand bills to the West Indies and such places as they think proper, taking care that it be not published in the news papers.¹

Extracts from sundry intercepted letters from L^d Dartmouth to Gov^r Wright and Gov^r Martin were laid before the Congress, and read.

The Congress then resumed the talk to the Stockbridge [Indians], which was agreed to, and is as follows:

[Here insert it]²

On motion, *Resolved*, That the Congress will, on Thursday next, attend divine service together, both morning and after noon.

Resolved, That M^r [Thomas] Lynch, and M^r [John] Dickinson, wait on M^r [Jacob] Duché, and request him to preach for the Congress on next Thursday morning, and to wait upon Doct^r [Francis] Allison, and request him to preach at his Church for the Congress, on the after noon of the said day.

Adjourned till Monday next at 8 o'Clock.

¹It was not printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet* until 10 November, 1775.

²Not found in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*.

MONDAY, JULY 17, 1775

Met according to adjournment.

A letter from General Schuyler, with sundry papers were laid before the Congress, and read, and the same being taken in[to] consideration,¹

Resolved, That the president write to Gen^l Worster directing him to send in the most expeditious manner one thousand of the Connecticut forces under his command to Albany, there to remain encamped, until they shall receive orders from General Schuyler as to their future proceedings.

Resolved, That a commissary of stores and provisions be appointed for the New York department, during the present campaign.

By un[animous] vote Walter Livingston was chosen.

That a deputy quarter master general be appointed for the said department.

M^r Donald Campbell unanimously elected.

Ordered, That M^r Campbell, have the rank of Colonel in the army.

That a deputy muster master be appointed for s^d department.

M^r Gunning Bedford elected.

Resolved, That the Convention of New York be desired to recommend to Gen^l Schuyler, a proper person for a deputy adjutant general or a Brigade Major, for the army in the New York department.

Upon motion, *Resolved*, That M^r [Thomas] Cushing, M^r [Patrick] Henry and M^r [Silas] Deane be a committee to confer with M^r [Samuel] Kirkland, and report what in their opinion is an adequate compensation for his services among the Indians.

¹This letter, dated July 11, and inclosures, are in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 153, 1, folio 18.

The address from the deputies of the several parishes of the Islands of Bermuda being again read,

Ordered, That the president return them an answer acknowledging the rec^t of the Address, and informing them that it will be considered, and desiring them to send an acco^t of the provisions imported for some years past for the use of the inhabitants of that island, and also inclose them a copy of the resolves entered into on Saturday last respecting the importation of gunpowder, &c.

Adjourned till to Morrow.

TUESDAY, JULY 18, 1775

Met according to adjournment.

The Committee appointed to confer with M^r [Samuel] Kirkland brought in their report which being taken into consideration,

Resolved, That there be and there is hereby allowed to the Rev^d M^r Samuel Kirkland three hundred dollars to discharge the expences he has been at among the Indians of the Six Nations, and to defray the expences of his Journey from and to the Oneida Country and that he receive the same out of the Continental Treasury.

And it is hereby recommended to the Commissioners of the Northern Department to employ the s^d M^r Kirkland among the Indians of the Six Nations, in order to secure their friendship and to continue them in a state of Neutrality with respect to the present controversy between Great Britain and these Colonies.

The Congress resumed the report of the Committee for putting the Militia into a proper state of defence and after debating the same by paragraphs came to the following resolutions:

Resolved, That it be recommended to the inhabitants of all the united English Colonies in North America, that all

able bodied effective men, between sixteen and fifty years of age in each colony, immediately form themselves into regular companies of Militia, to consist of one Captⁿ, two lieutenants, one ensign, four serjeants, four corporals, one clerk, one drummer, one fifer, and about 68 privates.

That the officers of each company be chosen by the respective companies.

That each soldier be furnished with a good musket, that will carry an ounce ball, with a bayonet, steel ramrod, worm, priming wire and brush fitted thereto, a cutting sword or tomhawk, a cartridge-box, that will contain 23 rounds of cartridges, twelve flints and a knapsack.

That the Companies be formed into Regiments or Battalions, officered with a Colonel, lieutenant Colonel, two Majors, an Adjutant, and Quarter Master.

That all officers above the Rank of a captain, be appointed by their respective provincial assemblies or conventions, or in their recess, by the committees of safety appointed by s^d assemblies or conventions.

That all officers be commissioned by the provincial Assemblies or conventions, or in their recess by the committees of safety appointed by s^d Assemblies or conventions.

That all the Militia take proper care to acquire military skill, and be well prepared for defence by being each man provided with one pound of good gun powder, and four pounds of ball, fitted to his gun.

That one fourth part of the Militia in every Colony, be selected for minute men, of such persons as are willing to enter into this necessary service, formed into companies and Battalions, and their officers chosen and commissioned as aforesaid, to be ready on the shortest notice, to march to any place where their assistance may be required, for the defence of their own or a neighbouring

colony; And as these minute men may eventually be called to action before the whole body of the militia are sufficiently trained, it is recommended that a more particular and diligent attention be paid to their instruction in military discipline.

That such of the minute men, as desire it, be relieved by new draughts as aforesaid, from the whole body of the Militia, once in four months.

As there are some people, who, from religious principles, cannot bear arms in any case, this Congress intend no violence to their consciences, but earnestly recommend it to them, to contribute liberally in this time of universal calamity, to the relief of their distressed brethren in the several colonies, and to do all other services to their oppressed Country, which they can consistently with their religious principles.

That it be recommended to the assemblies or Conventions in the respective colonies to provide, as soon as possible, sufficient stores of ammunition for their colonies; Also that they devise proper means for furnishing with Arms, such effective men as are poor and unable to furnish themselves.

That it be recommended to each Colony to appoint a committee of safety, to superintend and direct all matters necessary for the security and defence of their respective colonies, in the recess of their assemblies and conventions.

That each colony, at their own expence, make such provision by armed vessels or otherwise, as their respective assemblies, conventions, or committees of safety shall judge expedient and suitable to their circumstances and situations, for the protection of their harbours and navigation on their sea coasts, against all unlawful invasions, attacks, and depredations, from cutters and ships of war.

That it be recommended to the makers of arms for the use of the Militia, that they make good substantial muskets, with barrels three feet and half in length, that will carry an ounce ball, and fitted with a good bayonet and steel ram-rod, and that the making such arms be encouraged in these United Colonies.

Where in any colony a militia is already formed under regulations approved of by the convention of such colony, or by such assemblies as are annually elective, we refer to the discretion of such convention or assembly, either to adopt the foregoing regulations in the whole or in part, or to continue their former, as they, on consideration of all circumstances, shall think best.¹

Adjourned till to Morrow at 8 o'Clock.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 19, 1775

Met according to adjournment.

The president laid before Congress a Letter from the General, with sundry papers enclosed, which were read and being taken into consideration,²

Ordered, That Mr. [James] Wilson apply to the committee of the city and liberties of Philadelphia, and request them to make diligent enquiry what q[uan]tity of Duck, Russia sheeting, tow cloth, Oznaburgs and ticklenburgs can be procured in this city, and make return as soon as possible to this Congress.

Resolved, That Joseph Trumbull be commissary general of stores and provisions for the army of the United Colonies.

¹ The resolutions of this day were printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 24 July, 1775.

² This letter, dated July 10, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 152, I, folio 9. It covered the proceedings of a Council of War, 9 July, 1775, and the number of killed and wounded at Bunker Hill. Washington's letter is printed in the *Writings of George Washington*, (Ford) III, 8.

Resolved, That the appointment of a quarter master general, Commissary of Musters, and a Commissary of Artillery, be left to General Washington.

That a company of Matrosses be raised in the city of Philadelphia and sent to Boston.

That a Committee of three be appointed to devise ways and means of raising the above company.

The Committee chosen are, M^r [Thomas] Lynch, M^r [Richard Henry] Lee and M^r [Christopher] Gadsden.

That the President be desired to write to the powder committees or committees of safety in this city and New York (where it is said a supply of powder is lately arrived) to forward to the Camp as much good gunpowder as they can spare.

That General [John] Thomas be appointed first Brigadier General in the army of the United Colonies, in the room of Gen [Seth] Pomeroy, who never acted under the Commission sent to him, and that Gen^l Thomas's commission bear the same date that General Pomroy's did.

That it be left to General Washington, if he thinks fit, to appoint three Brigade Majors, and commission them accordingly.

That a Committee of three be appointed to report the method of establishing an hospital.

The committee chosen, Mr. [Francis] Lewis, Mr. [Robert Treat] Paine, and Mr. [Henry] Middleton.

That it be recommended to the Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts bay, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, to compleat the deficiencies in the regiments belonging to their respective Colonies, retained by the General in the continental Army before Boston.

That it be recommended to the Colony of Rhode Island, to compleat and send forward to the camp before Boston, as soon as possible, the three hundred and sixty men, lately voted by their general Assembly.

That it be recommended also to the colony of Connecticut, to compleat and send forward to the camp before Boston, as soon as possible, the fourteen hundred men lately voted by their general Assembly.

~~That the paragraph of the General's letter respecting an easier communication between him and this Congress, be referred for consideration till Saturday next.~~

That a Committee be appointed to bring in an Estimate of the expences, incurred by the votes and resolves of this Congress.

Mr. [Silas] Deane, Mr. [Thomas] Johnson, and Mr. [Thomas] Cushing chosen.

Agreed, That the Congress meet here to Morrow morning, at half after 9 o'Clock, in order to attend divine service at M^r Duché's Church; and that in the afternoon they meet here to go from this place and attend divine service at Doct^r Allison's church.

Resolved, That the nomination of three of the commissioners for Indian Affairs, in the southern department, be left to the council of safety, appointed by the colony of South Carolina.

That Mr. John Walker, of Virginia, be appointed one of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs for the southern Department.

Adjourned till to Morrow at $\frac{1}{2}$ after 9.

THURSDAY, JULY 20, 1775

Met according to adjournment.

An Express arriving with dispatches from Gen^l Schuyler, the same were read.¹

A letter was likewise received from the Convention of Georgia, and read, setting forth, that that Colony had

¹This letter, dated July 15, is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 153, I, folio 37.

acceded to the general Association, and appointed delegates to attend this Congress.¹

Adjourned till one o'Clock, P. M.

¹To complete the record of credentials of delegates, the following are printed, although they were not entered on the MS. Journals.

Sr. As we appear so late in the American Cause, We must introduce ourselves with Expressions of Regret, that our Province has been so long divided, A Number of Incidents have Contributed thereto, which we think the less necessary to particularize as we hope they are pretty well got over.—

It gives us therefore pleasure to inform You, That a Provincial Congress being appointed to be held at Savannah, was accordingly opened on Tuesday the 4th Instant, to which every Parish has sent Delegates, except the two Small Parishes of St James and St Patrick,—These Parishes are Scarcely inhabited and we do not Suppose Contain a Score of Freeholders Inhabitants. Some Parishes that upon former Occasions seemed rather reluctant and even Protested against our Proceedings have manifested a very Laudable Zeal upon this Occasion. Several Gentlemⁿ in this Place that have been hitherto neuter or declared against America, now Speak of the Proceedings of Parliament, as Illegal and Oppressive. We flatter ourselves for the future You may look upon Us as an United People.

The Congress addressed our Governor, that he would appoint a Day of Fasting and Prayer to obtain a Happy Reconciliation with the Parent State, To which he Sent a very Civil answer in writing, importing, that he could not look upon the Congress as a Constitutional Meeting, but would certainly comply with their request and issue his Proclamation accordingly—

We have also proceeded to the Choice of Delegates to represent Us in Continental Congress, when John Houstoun, Arch^d Bullock Esq^r The Rev^d D^r Zubly, Lyman Hall and Noble Wimberly Jones Esq^r were duly Elected, One of these Gentlemen is with you, and three others have agreed to attend the Congress with all convenient Speed, And we doubt not will be received as their great Zeal for the Common Cause deserves.

We have already Resolved strictly to adhere to the Continental Association, and are heartily disposed Zealously to Enter into every measure that your Congress may deem necessary for the Saving of America,

We subjoin a Copy of the Resolve Entered into at the time of Electing our Delegates, And have the Honor to be Sir

Y^r most Obed^t Servants

By Order of the Congress

ARCH^d BULLOCK *president*

SAVANNAH in GEORGIA 8th July 1775.

Resolved, that five persons be chosen to Represent this Province in the Continental Congress, begun and holden at the City of Philadelphia the tenth day of May last, And that any three of them be a Quorum for that purpose.

A true Copy from the Minutes.

GEO WALTON, *Secretary*.

P. M. met according to adjournment.

The dispatches from General Schuyler being taken into consideration,

Resolved, That Gen^l P. Schuyler be empowered to dispose of and employ all the troops in the New York department, in such manner as he may think best for the protection and defence of these colonies, the tribes of Indians in friendship and amity with us, and most effectually to promote the general Interest, still pursuing, if in his power, the former orders from this Congress, and subject to the future orders of the commander in chief.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.

FRIDAY, JULY 21, 1775

Met according to adjournment.

The Committee appointed to prepare an Address to the Inhabitants of Jamaica, having bro't in their report, the same was read.

Ordered, To lie on the table for farther consideration.

The Committee appointed to prepare an Address to the Inhabitants of Ireland, ||brought in a draught||

Ordered, To lie on the table.

Resolved, That Mr. Richard Bache, Mr. Stephen Paschall, and Mr. M[ichael] Hillegas, be appointed to superintend the press, and to have the oversight and care of printing the bills of Credit ordered to be struck by this Congress.

Resolved, That Mr. Willie Jones, of North Carolina, be the fifth commissioner of Indian Affairs in the southern department.

~~Mr. [James] Wilson having made a return of the duck, &c that can be procured in this City,~~

~~Ordered, that M^r. Wilson enquire whether Russia sheeting will answer for making tents.~~

Ordered, That the resolves respecting the militia be immediately published.

Agreeable to the standing order, the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of America, and after some time spent therein, the president resumed the chair, and M^r. [Samuel] Ward reported, that the Committee had come to certain resolutions, which he read, and desired leave to sit again.

*Franklin's Articles of Confederation*¹

Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union, entered into ~~agreed~~ *proposed* by the Delegates of the several Colonies of New Hampshire, &c, in general Congress met at Philadelphia, May 10, 1775.

ART. I.

The Name of this Confederacy shall henceforth be *The United Colonies of North America*.

ART. II.

The said United Colonies hereby severally enter into a firm League of Friendship with each other, binding on themselves and their Posterity, for their common Defence ~~and Offence~~, against their Enemies for the Security of their Liberties and Propertys, the Safety of their Persons and Families, and their ~~common and~~ mutual and general Welfare.

¹ In a volume of the *Papers of the Continental Congress* No. 9, containing a history of the Confederation, the first entry in the writing of Charles Thomson reads:

“July 21. 1775. Agreeably to Order the Congress resolved itself into a Committee of the whole to take into Consideration the State of America, when doct. B. Franklin submitted to their Consideration the following Sketch of Articles of Confederation.”

The original MS. is in No. 47, folio 1. It has long been believed that the trade propositions submitted by Franklin on this day originally formed part of the Articles of Confederation, and the two documents are usually printed together. In 1775 a British vessel captured copies on their way to South Carolina and the two papers were published as one; and again in the *Archives of New Jersey*, vol. X, p. 691. But Thomson's entry must be conclusive. The Articles were probably submitted by Franklin of his own motion.

ART. III.

That each Colony shall enjoy and retain as much as it may think fit of its own present Laws, Customs, Rights, and Privileges, and peculiar Jurisdictions within its own Limits; and may amend its own Constitution as shall seem best to its own Assembly or Convention.

ART. IV.

That for the more convenient Management of general Interests, Delegates shall be annually elected in each Colony to meet in General Congress at such Time and Place as shall be agreed on in each the next preceding Congress. Only where particular Circumstances do not make a Deviation necessary, it is understood to be a Rule, that each succeeding Congress be held in a different Colony till the whole Number be gone through, and so in perpetual Rotation; and that accordingly the next Congress after the present shall be held ~~in the~~ at Annapolis in Maryland.

ART. V.

That the Power and Duty of the Congress shall extend to the Determining on War and Peace, to sending and receiving ambassadors, and entering into Alliances, [the Reconciliation with Great Britain;] the Settling all Disputes and Differences between Colony and Colony about Limits or any other cause if such should arise; and the Planting of new Colonies when proper.

The Congress shall also make ~~and propose~~ such general Regulations Ordinances as tho' necessary to the General Welfare, particular Assemblies ~~from their local Circum~~ cannot be competent to; viz. ~~such as may relate to~~ those that may relate to our general Commerce; or general Currency; to the Establishment of Posts; and the Regulation of our common Forces. The Congress shall also have the Appointment of all General Officers, civil and military, appertaining to the general Confederacy, such as General Treasurer, Secretary, &c.

ART. VI.

All Charges of Wars, and all other general Expences to be incurr'd for the common Welfare, shall be defray'd out of a common Treasury, which is to be supply'd by each Colony in proportion to its Number of Male Polls between 16 and 60 Years of Age; the Taxes for paying that proportion are to be laid and levied by the Laws of each Colony. ~~And all Advantages gained at a common Expence.~~

ART. VII.

The Number of Delegates to be elected and sent to the Congress by each Colony, shall be regulated from time to time by the Number of such Polls return'd; so as that one Delegate be allowed for every [5000] Polls. And the Delegates are to bring with them to every Congress, an authenticated Return of the number of Polls in the respective Provinces which is to be annually triennially taken for the Purposes above mentioned.

ART. VIII.

At every Meeting of the Congress One half of the Members return'd exclusive of Proxies be necessary to make a Quorum, and Each Delegate at the Congress, shall have a Vote in all Cases; and if necessarily absent, shall be allowed to appoint any other Delegate from the same Colony to be his Proxy, who may vote for him.

ART. IX.

An executive Council shall be appointed by the Congress out of their own Body, consisting of [12] Persons; of whom in the first Appointment one Third, viz. [4], shall be for one year, [4] for two Years, and [4] for three Years; and as the said Terms expire, the Vacancy shall be filled by Appointments for three Years, whereby One Third of the Members will be changed annually. And each Person who has served the said Term of three Years as Counsellor, shall have a Respite of three Years, before he can be elected again. ~~The Appointments to be determined by Ballot.~~ This Council (of whom two thirds shall be a Quorum,) in the Recess of the Congress is to execute what shall have been enjoyn'd thereby; to manage the general continental Business and Interests to receive Applications from foreign Countries; to prepare Matters for the Consideration of the Congress; to fill up [*Pro tempore*] general continental Offices that fall vacant; and to draw on the General Treasurer for such Monies as may be necessary for general Services, & appropriated by the Congress to such Services.

ART. X.

No Colony shall engage in an offensive War with any Nation of Indians without the Consent of the Congress, or great Council above mentioned, who are first to consider the Justice and Necessity of such War.

ART. XI.

A perpetual Alliance offensive and defensive, is to be enter'd into as soon as may be with the Six Nations; their Limits to be ascertain'd and secur'd to them; their Land not to be encroach'd on, nor any private or Colony Purchases made of them hereafter to be held good; nor any Contract for Lands to be made but between the Great Council of the Indians at Onondaga and the General Congress. The Boundaries and Lands of all the other Indians shall also be ascertain'd and secur'd to them in the same manner; and Persons appointed to reside among them in proper Districts, who shall take care to prevent Injustice in the Trade with them, and be enabled at our general Expence by occasional small Supplies, to relieve their personal Wants and Distresses. And all Purchases from them shall be by the General Congress for the General Advantage and Benefit of the United Colonies.

ART. XII.

As all new Institutions ~~are Subject to~~ may have Imperfections which only Time and Experience can discover, it is agreed, That the General Congress from time to time shall propose such Amendments of this Constitution as ~~they~~ may be found necessary; which being approv'd by a Majority of the Colony Assemblies, shall be equally binding with the rest of the Articles of this Confederation.

ART. XIII.

Any ~~other~~ and every Colony from Great Britain upon the Continent of North America and not at present engag'd in our Association shall may upon Application and joining the said Association be receiv'd into this Confederation, viz. [Ireland] the West India Islands, Quebec, St. Johns, Nova Scotia, Bermudas, and the East and West Floridas; and shall thereupon be entitled to all the Advantages of our Union, mutual Assistance and Commerce.

These Articles shall be propos'd to the several Provincial Conventions or Assemblies, to be by them consider'd, and if approv'd they are advis'd to impower their Delegates to agree to and ratify the same in the ensuing Congress. After which the *Union* thereby establish'd is to continue firm till the Terms of Reconciliation proposed in the Petition of the last Congress to the King are agreed to; till the Acts since made restraining the American Commerce and Fisheries are repeal'd; till Reparation is made for the Injury done to Boston by

shutting up its Port; for the Burning of Charlestown; and for the Expence of this unjust War; and till all the British Troops are withdrawn from America. On the Arrival of these Events the Colonies [shall] return to their former Connection and Friendship with Britain: But on Failure thereof this Confederation is to be perpetual.¹

¹ Endorsed,

“Sketch of Articles of Confederation. July '75.

“This sketch in handwriting of Doct Franklin.

“Read before Congress July 21, 1775.”

A manuscript in the Library of Congress gives a copy of the Franklin Articles of Confederation and some comments or amendments made by G: W., *i. e.* George Wythe. The comments are as follows:

	By the Albany plan.	The present plan (5,000) polls to a Delegate supposed.
New Hampshire.....	2	Near 5½
Massachusetts.....	7	18
Conecticut.....	5	10½
Rhode Island.....	2	3
N York.....	4	10½
New Jersey.....	3	6½
Pennsylvania.....	6	15½
Lower Counties.....	---	1½
Maryland.....	4	13
Virginia.....	7	20½
North Carolina.....	4	10
South Carolina.....	4	10
	48	124½

“Massach: Pennsylvania Virginia & Maryland 66 members more than half the whole.

“Remarks by G. W.

“Addition to 6th article.

and the Delegates are to Bring with them to Every Congress an authenticated Return of the No. of the polls in their respective Colonies which is to be triennially taken in order that Each Colonies proportion of the General taxes may be Equitably affixed.

“Art 7th.

“Each Colony shall Choose what No. of Delegates the Assembly or Convention of such Colony pleases not Exceeding for any one Colony.

“Art 8th.

“Each Delegate at the Congress shall have a vote in the first Instance in all Cases but if any Colony or Colonies are Dissatisfied with the majority of voices so taken the Colonies shall be Called seperately and Each Colony whatever its No of Delegates may be, shall have only one vote as hath heretofore been Customary in Congress.”

The committee appointed to devise ways and means to protect the trade of these colonies, brought in their report, which was read.

*Benjamin Franklin*¹

Whereas It hath pleased God to bless these Countries with a most plentiful Harvest, whereby much corn [] and other Provisions can be spared to foreign Nations who may want the same.

Resolved, That ~~from and after~~ after the expiration of Six Months from the [20th of July Instant,]² ~~being one full year after~~ being the Day appointed by a late Act of the Parliament of Great Britain, for restraining the Trade of the Confederate Colonies, all the Custom-Houses therein (if the said Act be not first rescinded) shall be shut up, and all the Officers of the same discharged from the Execution of their several Functions, and all the Ports of the said Colonies are hereby declared to be thenceforth open to the Ships of every State in Europe that will admit our Commerce and protect it; who

Richard Henry Lee

Whereas it hath pleased God to bless these Colonies with a most plentiful Harvest, whereby much Corn and other provisions can be spared to foreign Nations who may want the same; and whereas by some late Acts of the British Parliament for restraining the Trade of the Confederate Colonies they are prohibited from exporting their produce to any other place than Great Britain, Ireland and the British West Indies

Resolved that on the expiration of [months] next, all the Custom houses in the said confederate Colonies (if the said Acts be not first repealed) shall be shut up, and all the Officers of the same discharged from the execution of their several functions; and all the Ports of the said Colonies are hereby declared, to be thenceforth open to the Ships of every Foreign

¹ In the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 24, folio 7, is a page in the writing of Benjamin Franklin, giving certain resolutions on trade. The endorsement reads: "Articles of Confederation and a proposal for opening the ports of N. A. read July 21, 1775. referred. On motion, postponed for further consideration." The words "Articles of Confederation" and "referred" have been stricken out. In the same collection, No. 36, IV, folio 167, is an undated paper, in the writing of Richard Henry Lee, on the subject of trade, and with phrases not unlike those of the Franklin propositions. There is no date in the endorsement, but I print the two papers together, as in all probability they were intended for the same purpose.

² Brackets inserted by Franklin.

may [*torn*] and expose to Sale free of all Duties their respective Produce and Manufactures, and every kind of Merchandize, excepting Teas, and the Merchandize of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British West India Islands.

Resolved, That we will to the utmost of our Power, maintain and support this Freedom of Commerce for two years certain after its Commencement, any Reconciliation between us and Britain notwithstanding; and as much longer beyond that Term, as the late Acts of Parliament for Restraining the Commerce and Fisheries, and altering the Laws and Charters of any of the Colonies, shall continue unrepealed.

state in Europe that may think proper to enter them for the purpose of purchasing our Produce that such States may bring in and expose to sale free of all duties their respective produce and manufactures and every kind of Merchandise, except Teas, and the Merchandise of G. Britain, Ireland, and the British West India Islands

Resolved that we will to the utmost of our power maintain and support this freedom of Commerce for certain after its commencement, and as much longer beyond that term, as the late Acts of Parliament, for restraining the Commerce and Fisheries and altering the laws and charters of any of the Colonies shall continue unrepealed.

Resolved That ~~in the opinion~~ of all exportation from the Confederate Colonies by the Colonists themselves shall cease ~~in~~ after the day of next As well to prevent by ~~all~~ every means in our power the Army and Ships of war of our Enemies from being supplied with provisions, as to compel the most speedy and just settlement of the dispute between these Colonies and Great Britain.

Ordered, That the same be taken into consideration to Morrow morning.

The Congress then entered upon the consideration of the report from the Committee of the whole, and after some debate,

Resolved, That such a body of troops be kept up in the Massachusetts bay, as General Washington shall think necessary, provided they do not exceed twenty two thousand men.

Adjourned till to Morrow.

SATURDAY, JULY 22, 1775

Met according to adjournment.

Took into consideration the report of the Committee to devise ways and means to protect the trade of these colonies, and after some debate, the same was postponed to be taken up at some future day.

~~The Congress then resolved itself into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the state of America, and after some time spent therein the Presid^t resumed the chair and M^r. [Samuel] Ward reported that the committee had taken into consideration the matter referred to them, but not having come to a conclusion desired leave to sit again.~~

On motion, *Resolved*, That Doct^r [Benjamin] Franklin, Mr. [Thomas] Jefferson, Mr. J[ohn] Adams, and Mr. [Richard Henry] Lee, be a Committee to take into consideration, and report on the resolution of the House of Commons, Feb^r 20, 1775, commonly called lord North's motion.

~~Resolved that this Congress will on Monday again resolve itself into a committee of the whole to take into farther consideration the state of America.~~

Adjourned till Monday at 8.

MONDAY, JULY 24, 1775

Met according to adjournment.

A letter from the General dated 14 July with an inclosed list of the officers of the ministerial troops killed and wounded in the late battle at Charlestown was laid before Congress and read.¹

The Congress then resolved themselves into a committee of the whole to take into consideration the state of America. After some time spent therein the pres^d resumed the Chair, and M^r [Samuel] Ward reported that the Committee had taken the matter referred to them into consideration, but not having come to a conclusion desired leave to sit again.

The Committee for that purpose app[oin]t^d bro't in a report for establishing a hospital. Ordered to lie on the table.

Adjourned till to Morrow.

TUESDAY, JULY 25, 1775

Met according to adjournment.

The Committee for that purpose appointed, brought in a report for establishing an hospital, which was read.²

The Committee appointed to consider the ways and means of establishing posts, bro't in their report, which was read, and ordered to be taken into consideration to Morrow.

The Committee appointed to bring in an answer to the resolution of the house of Commons, bro't in their report, which was read, and ordered to lie on the table for consideration.

¹ This letter and enclosures are in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 152, I, folio 27.

² Probably an entry inserted at a later date, as the report was presented on the 24th.

The Congress being informed that a quantity of the Continental gun powder, amounting to ab^t six tons and half, was arrived in this city.

Ordered, That the delegates of this colony take measures to have it sent under a safe convoy with all possible despatch to Gen^l Washington at the Camp before Boston.

That the delegates be empowered to order a detachment of the riflemen raised for the continental army, consisting of at least two Officers and thirty men to meet the powder waggons at Trenton and from thence to escort the same to the camp.

The Congress then resumed the Consideration of the Address to the Assembly of Jamaica, which being debated by paragraphs, was agreed to and is as follows:

[Here insert the Address.]¹

MR. SPEAKER AND GENTLEMEN OF THE ASSEMBLY OF JAMAICA,

We would think ourselves deficient in our duty, if we suffered this Congress to pass over, without expressing our esteem for the assembly of Jamaica.

Whoever attends to the conduct of those who have been entrusted with the administration of the British affairs, during these last twelve years, will discover in it, a deliberate plan to destroy, in every part of the empire, the free constitution, for which Britain has been so long and so justly famed. With a dexterity, artful and wicked, they have varied the modes of attack, according to the different characters and circumstances of those whom they meant to reduce. In the East Indies, where the effeminacy of the inhabitants promised an easy conquest, they thought it unnecessary to veil their tyrannic principles under the thinnest disguise. Without deigning even to pretend a justification of their conduct, they sacrificed the lives of millions to the gratification of their insatiable avarice and lust of power. In Britain, where the maxims of freedom were still known, but where luxury and dissipation had diminished the wonted reverence for them, the attack has been carried on in a more secret and indirect manner: Corruption has been employed to undermine them. The Americans are not ener-

¹This address was not entered upon the Journals.

vated by effeminacy, like the inhabitants of India; nor debauched by luxury, like those of Great Britain: It was, therefore, judged improper to assail them by bribery, or by undisguised force. Plausible systems were formed; specious pretences were made: All the arts of sophistry were tried to shew that the British ministry had by law a right to enslave us. The first and best maxims of the constitution, venerable to Britons and to Americans, were perverted and profaned. The power of parliament, derived from the people, to bind the people, was extended over those from whom it was never derived. It is asserted that a standing army may be constitutionally kept among us, without our consent. Those principles, dishonorable to those who adopted them, and destructive to those to whom they were applied, were nevertheless carried into execution by the foes of liberty and of mankind. Acts of parliament, ruinous to America, and unserviceable to Britain, were made to bind us; armies, maintained by the parliament, were sent over to secure their operation. The power, however, and the cunning of our adversaries, were alike unsuccessful. We refused to their parliaments an obedience, which our judgments disapproved of: We refused to their armies a submission, which spirits unaccustomed to slavery, could not brook.

But while we spurned a disgraceful subjection, we were far from running into rash or seditious measures of opposition. Filled with sentiments of loyalty to our sovereign, and of affection and respect for our fellow subjects in Britain, we petitioned, we supplicated, we exposulated: Our prayers were rejected;—our remonstrances were disregarded;—our grievances were accumulated. All this did not provoke us to violence.

An appeal to the justice and humanity of those who had injured us, and who were bound to redress our injuries, was ineffectual: we next resolved to make an appeal to their interests, though by doing so, we knew we must sacrifice our own, and (which gave us equal uneasiness) that of our friends, who had never offended us, and who were connected with us by a sympathy of feelings, under oppressions similar to our own. We resolved to give up our commerce that we might preserve our liberty. We flattered ourselves, that when, by withdrawing our commercial intercourse with Britain, which we had an undoubted right either to withdraw or continue, her trade should be diminished, her revenues impaired, and her manufactures unemployed, our ministerial foes would be induced by interest, or compelled by necessity, to depart from the plan of tyranny which they had so long

pursued, and to substitute in its place, a system more compatible with the freedom of America, and justice of Britain. That this scheme of non-importation and non-exportation might be productive of the desired effects, we were obliged to include the islands in it. From this necessity, and from this necessity alone, has our conduct towards them proceeded. By converting your sugar plantations into fields of grain, you can supply yourselves with the necessaries of life: While the present unhappy struggle shall continue, we cannot do more.

But why should we make any apology to the patriotic assembly of Jamaica, who knows so well the value of liberty; who are so sensible of the extreme danger to which ours is exposed; and who foresee how certainly the destruction of ours must be followed by the destruction of their own?

We receive uncommon pleasure from observing the principles of our righteous opposition distinguished by your approbation: We feel the warmest gratitude for your pathetic mediation in our behalf with the crown.¹ It was indeed unavailing—but are you to blame? Mournful experience tells us that petitions are often rejected, while the sentiments and conduct of the petitioners entitle what they offer to a happier fate.

That our petitions have been treated with disdain, is now become the smallest part of our complaint: Ministerial insolence is lost in ministerial barbarity. It has, by an exertion peculiarly ingenious, procured those very measures, which it laid us under the hard necessity of pursuing, to be stigmatized in parliament as rebellious: It has employed additional fleets and armies for the infamous purpose of compelling us to abandon them: It has plunged us in all the horrors and calamities of civil war: It has caused the treasure and blood of Britons (formerly shed and expended for far other ends) to be spilt and wasted in the execrable design of spreading slavery over British America: It will not, however, accomplish its aim: In the worst of contingencies, a choice will still be left, which it never can prevent us from making.

The peculiar situation of your island forbids your assistance. But we have your good wishes. From the good wishes of the friends of liberty and mankind, we shall always derive consolation.

¹In the Library of Congress is a pamphlet: To the | King's most excellent Majesty | In Council, | the Humble | Petition | and | Memorial, | of the | Assembly of Jamaica, | (voted in the Assembly on the 28th of December, 1774.) 8°. pp. 8. In *Hazard Pamphlets*, vol. 42.

Ordered, That a fair copy be made out, to be signed by the pres^t, and transmitted by the first opportunity.

The Congress then, resuming the consideration of the report of the ||committee of the|| whole, came to the following resolutions:

Resolved, That a body of forces not exceeding five thousand, be kept up in the New York department, for the purpose of defending that part of America, and for securing the lakes, and defending the frontiers from invasions or incursions.

Resolved, That a farther sum, amounting to one million of dollars, be struck in bills of Thirty dollars each.

As the signing so great a number of bills as has been directed to be issued by this Congress, will take more time than the members can possibly devote to that business, consistent with the attention due to the public service,

Resolved, That the following Gentlemen be appointed and fully authorized to sign the same, viz. Luke Morris, Samuel Meredith, Judah Foulke, Samuel Morris, Frederic Kuhl, Robert Strettle Jones, Thomas Coombe, ~~John Merton~~ Ellis Lewis, John Mease, Thomas Lawrence, ~~Robert Ritchie~~ Daniel Clymer, John Maxwell Nesbit, Thomas Barclay, John Bayard, William Craig, Thomas Bartow Jun^r, John Shee, Isaac Hazelhurst, Robert Roberts, Anthony Morris, Mordecai Lewis, George Mifflin, Robert Tuckniss, Andrew Bunner, William Jackson, Joseph Sims, James Milligan, and James Reed.

That each of the continental bills be numbered and signed by two of the above gentlemen.

That each gentleman who signs the continental money, be allowed and paid out of the continental treasury, one Dollar and one third of a dollar for each and every thousand bills signed, and numbered by him.

That the gentlemen appointed to number and sign the

Bills, do give their receipts for the same, expressing the number and denomination of them; and after numbering and signing them, shall deliver the same to the continental Treasurers, taking their receipts for the bills so delivered.

On motion, *Resolved*, That Mr. S[amuel] Adams, Mr. [Richard Henry] Lee, and Mr. J[ohn] Rutledge, with the Secretary, be a committee to revise the Journal of the Congress, and prepare it for the press.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 8 o'Clock.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 26, 1775

Met according to adjournment.

Agreeable to the order of yesterday, the Congress resumed the consideration of the report of the Committee on the post office; which being debated by paragraphs, was agreed to as follows:

That a postmaster General be appointed for the United Colonies, who shall hold his office at Philad^a, and shall be allowed a salary of 1000 dollars per an: for himself, and 340 dollars per an: for a secretary and Comptroller, with power to appoint such, and so many deputies as to him may seem proper and necessary.

That a line of posts be appointed under the direction of the Postmaster general, from Falmouth in New England to Savannah in Georgia, with as many cross posts as he shall think fit.

That the allowance to the deputies in lieu of salary and all contingent expences, shall be 20 per cent. on the sums they collect and pay into the General post office annually, when the whole is under or not exceeding 1000 Dollars, and ten per cent. for all sums above 1000 dollars a year.

That the rates of postage shall be 20 p^r cent less than those appointed by act of Parliament.¹

¹Suspended September 30.

That the several deputies account quarterly with the general post office, and the postmaster general annually with the continental treasurers, when he shall pay into the rec^t of the s^d Treasurers, the profits of the Post Office; and if the necessary expence of this establishment should exceed the produce of it, the deficiency shall be made good by the United Colonies, and paid to the postmaster general by the continental Treas^r.

On motion made, *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the postmaster general to establish a weekly post to South Carolina.

That it be left to the postmaster general to appoint a sec^y and comptroller.

The Congress then proceeded to the election of a postmaster general for one year, and until another is appointed by a future Congress, when Benjamin Franklin, Esq^r was unanimously chosen.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 8 o'Clock.

THURSDAY, JULY 27, 1775

Met according to adjournment.

The Congress took into consideration the report of the committee on establishing an hospital, and the same being debated, was agreed to as follows:

That for the establishment of an hospital for an army, consisting of 20,000 men, the following officers and other attendants be appointed, with the following allowance or pay, viz.

One Director general and chief physician, his pay per day, 4 dollars.¹

Four surgeons, per diem each, one and one third of a dollar.

¹The original plan provided for a Director general and a Physician, each to receive four dollars a day.

One apothecary, one and one third of a dollar.

Twenty [surgeons'] mates, each, two thirds of a dollar.

One clerk, two thirds of a dollar.

Two storekeepers, each four dollars per month.

One nurse to every 10 sick, one fifteenth of a dollar per day, or 2 dollars per month.

Labourers occasionally.

The duty of the above officers: viz.

Director to furnish medicines, Bedding and all other necessaries, to pay for the same, superintend the whole, and make his report to, and receive orders from the commander in chief.

Surgeons, apothecary and mates,	}	To visit and attend the sick, and the mates to obey the orders of the physicians, surgeons and apothecary.
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Matron. To superintend the nurses, bedding, &c.

Nurses. To attend the sick, and obey the matron's orders.

Clerk. To keep accounts for the director and store keepers.

Store keeper. To receive and deliver the bedding and other necessaries by order of the director.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the sum of twenty five thousand dollars be paid by the continental treasurers to Reese Meredith, George Clymer, Samuel Meredith and Samuel Miffin, Merch^{ts} of the city of Philad^a, and that the like sum of twenty five thousand dollars be paid by the s^d Treasurers to Philip Livingston, John Alsop and Francis Lewis, Merch^{ts} of New York, to be by them applyed to the purpose of importing gunpowder for the continental armies, and that they be allowed out of the same five p^t cent: for their trouble and expences therein, that they keep all their proceedings as much as possible a

secret from every other person but the Congress and the general of the continental forces for the time being; that they keep up a correspondence with the s^d general, and make such dispositions of the powder they may import as he shall order.¹

The Congress then proceeded to the choice of officers for the Hospital, when,

Benjamin Church was unanimously elected as director of, and chief physician in, the hospital.

Resolved, That the appointment of the four surgeons and the Apothecary be left to Doct^r Church.

That the Mates be appointed by the Surgeons;

That the number do not exceed twenty; and

That the number be not kept in constant pay, unless the sick and wounded should be so numerous as to require the attendance of twenty, and to be diminished as circumstances will admit; for w^{oh} purpose, the pay is fixed by the day, that they may only receive pay for actual service.

That one Clerk, two storekeepers, and one nurse to every 10 sick, be appointed by the Director.

On motion made, *Resolved*, That the paymaster give bond, with two sureties, in the sum of fifty thousand dollars, for the faithful performance of his office.

That the bond be made payable to the same persons, as the bonds of the continental treasurers are payable to.

James Warren, unanimously elected pay master general.

Resolved, That the pay master in the New York department give bond to the same persons as above directed, with two sureties, in the sum of twenty five thousand dollars, for the faithful performance of his Office.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 8 o'Clock.

¹ On the margin is written "This most secret, not to be published"

FRIDAY, JULY 28, 1775

Met according to adjournment.

The Congress being informed that a quantity of Gunpowder belonging to the Continent is arrived in some part of New Jersey,

Ordered, That the delegates of New Jersey do take care that the said powder be safely conveyed to Dobbs Ferry on the North River.

On motion made, *Ordered*, That the Colony of Virginia be supplied with one ton of gun powder from the next quantity arriving here, and that from the same supply Pennsylvania be repaid the powder heretofore borrowed by the Congress, if the same shall not be wanted by Gen^l Washington.

Ordered, That M^r [Thomas] M'Kean, and M^r [James] Wilson do prepare the bonds for the continental treasurers to execute.

Jonathan Trumbull, jun. Esq. was unanimously elected Pay master of the forces for the New York department.

The Congress then took into consideration the address to the people of Ireland, which being read and debated, was agreed to as follows:

Here insert the address.¹

To the people of Ireland. From the Delegates appointed by the United Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Lower Counties on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in General Congress at Philadelphia, the 10th of May, 1775.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-SUBJECTS!

As the important contest, into which we have been driven, is now become interesting to every European state, and particularly affects

¹The address was not entered upon the Journals.

the members of the British Empire, we think it our duty to address you on the subject. We are desirous, as is natural to injured innocence, of possessing the good opinion of the virtuous and humane. We are peculiarly desirous of furnishing *you* with a true state of our motives and objects; the better to enable you to judge of our conduct with accuracy, and determine the merits of the controversy with impartiality and precision.

However incredible it may appear, that, at this enlightned period, the leaders of a nation, which in every age has sacrificed hecatombs of her bravest patriots on the altar of liberty, should presume gravely to assert, and, by force of arms, attempt to establish an arbitrary sway over the lives, liberties, and property of their fellow subjects in America, it is, nevertheless, a most deplorable and indisputable truth.

These colonies have, from the time of their first settlement, for near two centuries, peaceably enjoyed those very rights, of which the Ministry have, for *ten* years past, endeavoured, by fraud and by violence, to deprive them. At the conclusion of the last war, the genius of England and the spirit of wisdom, as if offended at the ungrateful treatment of their sons, withdrew from the British councils, and left that nation a prey to a race of ministers, with whom ancient English honesty and benevolence disdained to dwell. From that period, jealousy, discontent, oppression and discord have raged among all his Majesty's subjects; and filled every part of his dominions with distress and complaint.

Not content with our purchasing of Britain, at her own price, cloathing and a thousand other articles used by near three million of people on this vast Continent; not satisfied with the amazing profits arising from the monopoly of our trade, without giving us either time to breathe after a long, though glorious war, or the least credit for the blood and treasure we have expended in it; Notwithstanding the zeal we had manifested for the service of our Sovereign, and the warmest attachment to the constitution of Britain and the people of England, a black and horrid design was formed, to convert us from freemen into slaves, from subjects into vassals, and from friends into enemies.

Taxes, for the first time since we landed on the American shores, were, without our consent, imposed upon us; an unconstitutional edict to compel us to furnish necessaries for a standing army, that we wished to see disbanded, was issued; and the legislature of New York suspended for refusing to comply with it. Our antient and inestimable right of trial by jury was, in many instances, abolished; and the com-

mon law of the land made to give place to Admiralty jurisdictions. Judges were rendered, by the tenure of their commissions, entirely dependent on the will of a Minister. New crimes were arbitrarily created: and new courts, unknown to the constitution, instituted. Wicked and insidious Governors have been set over us; and dutiful petitions, for the removal of even the notoriously infamous Governor *Hutchinson*, were branded with the opprobrious appellation of scandalous and defamatory. Hardy attempts have been made, under colour of parliamentary authority, to seize Americans, and carry them to Great Britain to be tried for offences committed in the Colonies. Ancient charters have no longer remained sacred; that of the Massachusetts Bay was violated; and their form of government essentially mutilated and transformed. On pretence of punishing a violation of some private property, committed by a few disguised individuals, the populous and flourishing town of Boston was surrounded by fleets and armies; its trade destroyed; its port blocked up; and thirty thousand citizens subjected to all the miseries attending so sudden a convulsion in their commercial metropolis; and, to remove every obstacle to the rigorous execution of this system of oppression, an act of parliament was passed evidently calculated to indemnify those, who might, in the prosecution of it, even embroil their hands in the blood of the inhabitants.

Tho' pressed by such an accumulation of undeserved injuries, America still remembered her duty to her sovereign. A Congress, consisting of Deputies from Twelve United Colonies, assembled. They, in the most respectful terms, laid their grievances at the foot of the throne; and implored his Majesty's interposition in their behalf. They also agreed to suspend all trade with Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies; hoping, by this peaceable mode of opposition, to obtain that justice from the British Ministry which had been so long solicited in vain. And here permit us to assure you, that it was with the utmost reluctance we could prevail upon ourselves, to cease our commercial connexion with your island. *Your* parliament had done us no wrong. *You* had ever been friendly to the rights of mankind; and we acknowledge, with pleasure and gratitude, that *your* nation has produced patriots, who have nobly distinguished themselves in the cause of humanity and America. On the other hand, we were not ignorant that the labor and manufactures of Ireland, like those of the silk-worm, were of little moment to herself; but served only to give luxury to those who *neither toil nor spin*. We perceived that if we continued

our commerce with you, our agreement not to import from Britain would be *fruitless*, and were, therefore, compelled to adopt a measure, to which nothing but absolute necessity would have reconciled us. It gave us, however, some consolation to reflect, that should it occasion much distress, the fertile regions of America would afford you a safe assylum from poverty, and, in time, from oppression also; an assylum, in which many thousands of your countrymen have found hospitality, peace, and affluence, and become united to us by all the ties of consanguinity, mutual interest, and affection. Nor did the Congress stop here: Flattered by a pleasing expectation, that the justice and humanity which had so long characterized the English nation, would, on proper application, afford us relief, they represented their grievances in an affectionate address to their brethren in Britain, and intreated their aid and interposition in behalf of these colonies.

The more fully to evince their respect for their sovereign, the unhappy people of Boston were requested by the Congress to submit with patience to their fate; and all America united in a resolution to abstain from every species of violence. During this period, that devoted town suffered unspeakably. Its inhabitants were insulted and their property violated. Still relying on the clemency and justice of his Majesty and the nation, they permitted a few regiments to take possession of their town, to surround it with fortifications; and to cut off all intercourse between them and their friends in the country.

With anxious expectation did all America wait the event of their petition. All America laments its fate. Their Prince was deaf to their complaints: And vain were all attempts to impress him with a sense of the sufferings of his American subjects, of the cruelty of their *Task Masters*, and of the *many Plagues* which impended over his dominions. Instead of directions for a candid enquiry into our grievances, insult was added to oppression; and our long forbearance rewarded with the imputation of cowardice. Our trade with foreign states was prohibited; and an act of Parliament passed to prevent our even fishing on our own coasts. Our peaceable Assemblies, for the purpose of consulting the common safety, were declared seditious; and our asserting the very rights which placed the Crown of Great Britain on the heads of the three successive Princes of the House of Hanover, stiled rebellion. Orders were given to reinforce the troops in America. The wild and barbarous savages of the wilderness have been solicited, by gifts, to take up the hatchet against us; and instigated to deluge our settlements with the blood of innocent and defenceless

women and children. The whole country was, moreover, alarmed with the expected horrors of domestic insurrections. Refinements in parental cruelty, at which the genius of Britain must blush! Refinements which admit not of being even recited without horror, or practised without infamy! We should be happy, were these dark machinations the mere suggestions of suspicion. We are sorry to declare, that we are possessed of the most authentic and indubitable evidence of their reality.

The Ministry, bent on pulling down the pillars of the constitution, endeavoured to erect the standard of despotism in America; and if successful, Britain and Ireland may shudder at the consequences!

Three of their most experienced Generals are sent to wage war with their fellow-subjects: and *America* is amazed to find the name of *Hove* in the catalogue of her enemies: She loved his brother.

Despairing of driving the Colonists to resistance by any other means than actual hostility, a detachment of the army at Boston marched into the country in all the array of war; and, unprovoked, fired upon, and killed several of the inhabitants. The neighbouring farmers suddenly assembled, and repelled the attack. From this, all communication between the town and country was intercepted. The citizens petitioned the General for permission to leave the town, and he promised, on surrendering their arms, to permit them to depart with their other effects. They accordingly surrendered their arms, and the General violated his faith. Under various pretences, passports were delayed and denied; and many thousands of the inhabitants are, at this day, confined in the town, in the utmost wretchedness and want. The lame, the blind, and the sick, have indeed, been turned out into the neighbouring fields; and some, eluding the vigilance of the centries, have escaped from the town, by swimming to the adjacent shores.

The war having thus began on the part of General Gage's troops, the country armed and embodied. The re-inforcements from Ireland soon after arrived; a vigorous attack was then made upon the provincials. In their march, the troops surrounded the town of Charlestown, consisting of about four hundred houses, then recently abandoned to escape the fury of a relentless soldiery. Having plundered the houses, they set fire to the town, and reduced it to ashes. To this wanton waste of property, unknown to civilized nations, they were prompted the better to conceal their approach under cover of the smook. A shocking mixture of cowardice and cruelty, which then first tarnished the lustre of the British arms, when aimed at a brother's breast! But,

blessed be God, they were restrained from committing further ravages, by the loss of a very considerable part of their army, including many of their most experienced officers. The loss of the inhabitants was inconsiderable.

Compelled, therefore, to behold thousands of our Countrymen imprisoned, and men, women and children involved in promiscuous and unmerited misery! When we find all faith at an end, and sacred treaties turned into tricks of state; When we perceive our friends and kinsmen massacred, our habitations plundered, our houses in flames, and their once happy inhabitants fed only by the hand of charity; Who can blame us for endeavouring to restrain the progress of desolation? Who can censure our repeling the attacks of such a barbarous band? Who, in such circumstances, would not obey the great, the universal, the divine law of self-preservation?

Though vilified as wanting spirit, we are determined to behave like men. Though insulted and abused, we wish for reconciliation. Though defamed as seditious, we are ready to obey the laws. And though charged with rebellion, will cheerfully bleed in defence of our Sovereign in a righteous cause. What more can we say? What more can we offer?

But we forbear to trouble you with a tedious detail of the various and fruitless offers and applications we have repeatedly made, not for pensions, for wealth, or for honors, but for the humble boon of being permitted to possess the fruits of honest industry, and to enjoy that degree of Liberty, to which God and the Constitution have given us an undoubted right.

Blessed with an indissoluble union, with a variety of internal resources, and with a firm reliance on the justice of the Supreme Disposer of all human events, we have no doubt of rising superior to all the machinations of evil and abandoned Ministers. We already anticipate the golden period, when liberty, with all the gentle arts of peace and humanity, shall establish her mild dominion in this western world, and erect eternal monuments to the memory of those virtuous patriots and martyrs, who shall have fought and bled and suffered in her cause.

Accept our most grateful acknowledgments for the friendly disposition you have always shewn towards us. We know that *you* are not without your grievances. We sympathize with you in your distress, and are pleased to find that the design of subjugating us, has persuaded administration to dispense to Ireland, some vagrant rays of ministerial

sunshine. Even the tender mercies of government have long been cruel towards *you*. In the rich pastures of Ireland, many hungry parricides have fed, and grown strong to labour in its destruction. We hope the patient abiding of the meek may not always be forgotten; and God grant that the iniquitous schemes of extirpating liberty from the British empire may be soon defeated. But we should be wanting to ourselves—we should be perfidious to posterity—we should be unworthy that ancestry from which we derive our descent, should we submit, with folded arms, to military butchery and depredation, to gratify the lordly ambition, or sate the avarice of a British Ministry. In defence of our persons and properties, under actual violation, we have taken up arms; When that violence shall be removed, and hostilities cease on the part of the aggressors, they shall cease on our part also. For the atchievement of this happy event, we confide in the good offices of our fellow-subjects beyond the Atlantic. Of their friendly disposition, we do not yet despond; aware, as they must be, that they have nothing more to expect from the same common enemy, than the humble favour of being last devoured.

By order of the Congress,

JOHN HANCOCK *President*¹

Philadelphia, July 28, 1775.

Whereas the safety and freedom of every community depends greatly upon having the means of defence in its own power, and that the United Colonies may not, during the continuance of their present important contest for Liberty, nor in any future time, be under the expensive, uncertain and dangerous necessity of relying on foreign importations for Gun Powder: And it being very certain from observation and experiment, that Salt Petre is to be obtained in great abundance from most parts of this Northern Continent; that the surface of the earth, in long used tobacco warehouses and their yards, or of common tobacco houses, is particularly and strongly impregnated with Nitre.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the Provincial Conventions of the tobacco Colonies, that as quickly as

¹This address was printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 7 August, 1775.

may be, they appoint one or more manufactories on each river, contiguous to the great inspections, and under the direction of persons qualified by their skill and diligence to bring this important business to a speedy and successful issue.

To the Assemblies and Conventions of the other Colonies, it is recommended immediately to put in practice such other mode of making Salt Petre, as may be found best adapted to their respective circumstances.

That all persons may be encouraged to apply themselves to the manufacture of Salt Petre, it is recommended to the several Assemblies and Conventions, to buy up, on account of the United Colonies, all the good and merchantable Salt Petre at *half a dollar* for each pound, that is, or shall be made in their respective Colonies before the first day of October, 1776.

It is recommended that the collecting Sulphur be encouraged:—And it is recommended to the several Provincial Conventions, to grant such premiums, for the refining of Sulphur in their respective Provinces, as may be judged proper.

And it is further recommended to the several Assemblies and Conventions, that they cause mills to be erected, and skilful persons to be procured and employed for making Gun Powder.

As Salt Petre is an article so necessary for defence, and in other respects, so extensively useful, it is an object that not only requires the public patronage, but demands the attention of individuals:—The following systems or methods of making Salt-Petre, suited to different circumstances and different materials, is recommended to the attention of the good people of these United Colonies.¹

Adjourned till to Morrow.

¹ No mention of these resolutions on Saltpetre is to be found in the Manuscript or printed Journals, and they are found in the pamphlet on Methods of making Salt-petre, printed and distributed by the Congress. See Bibliographical Notes, *post*.

SATURDAY, JULY 29, 1775

Met according to adjournment.

The Congress resumed the consideration of the report from the Committee of the whole,

Resolved, That the pay of the commissary general of musters be 40 dollars per month.

That the pay of the deputy commissary gen^l of stores and provisions be 60 dollars ditto.

Deputy adjutant general, 50 do.

Deputy muster master general, 40 do.

Brigade Major, 33 do.

Commissary of Artillery, 30 do.

Judge advocate, 20 do.

Colonel, 50 do.

Lieutenant colonel, 40 do.

Major, $33\frac{1}{3}$.

Captain, 20.

Lieutenant, $13\frac{1}{3}$.

Ensign, 10.

Serjeant, 8.

Corporal, drummer, and fifer, each $7\frac{1}{3}$.

Private, $6\frac{2}{3}$.

Adjutant, $18\frac{1}{3}$.

Quarter master, $18\frac{1}{3}$.

Chaplain, 20.

That the pay of the light infantry be the same as that in the Regiment from a captain to a private, and both included.

That in the artillery, the pay of captain be $26\frac{2}{3}$ dollars per month.

Captain lieutenant, 20.

First and second lieutenants, each $18\frac{1}{3}$.

Lieutenant fire worker, $13\frac{1}{3}$.

Serjeant, 8½.

Corporals, 7½.

Bombardiers, 7.

Matrosses, 6½.

That the appointment of provost Marshal, waggon master, and master carpenter, be left to the commander in chief of the army, who is to fix their pay, having regard to the pay such receive in the ministerial army, and the proportion that the pay of the Officers in said army bears to the pay of our Officers.

William Tudor, Esq^r was elected Judge Advocate of the army.

Resolved, That Michael Hillegas, and George Clymer, Esqrs. be, and they are hereby appointed, joint treasurers of the United Colonies: that the Treasurers reside in Philadelphia, and that they shall give bond, with surety, for the faithful performance of their office, in the sum of 100,000 Dollars, to John Hancock, Henry Middleton, John Dickinson, John Alsop, Thomas Lynch, Richard Henry Lee, and James Wilson, Esqrs. and the survivor of them, in trust for the United Colonies.

That the provincial Assemblies or conventions do each chuse a treasurer for their respective colonies, and take sufficient security for the faithful performance of the trust.

That each colony provide ways and means to sink its proportion of the bills ordered to be emitted by this Congress, in such manner as may be most effectual and best adapted to the condition, circumstances, and usual mode of levying taxes in such colony.

That the proportion or quota of each colony be determined according to the number of Inhabitants, of all ages, including negroes and mulattoes in each colony; But, as

this cannot, at present, be ascertained, that the quotas of the several colonies be settled for the present, as follows, to undergo a revision and correction, when the list of each colony is obtained.

New Hampshire,	124, 069½	Delaware,	37, 219½
Massachusetts bay,	434, 244	Maryland,	310, 174½
Rhode Island,	71, 959½	Virginia,	496, 278
Connecticut,	248, 139	North Carolina,	248, 139
New York,	248, 139	South Carolina,	248, 139
New Jersey,	161, 290½		
Pennsylvania,	372, 208½		
			3, 000, 000

That each Colony pay its respective quota in four equal annual payments, the first payment to be made on or before the last day of November, which will be in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and seventy nine; the second, on or before the last day of November, 1780; the third, on or before the last day of November, 1781; and the fourth or last, on or before the last day of November, 1782. And that for this end, the several provincial assemblies, or conventions, provide for laying and levying taxes in their respective provinces or colonies, towards sinking the continental bills: That the said bills be received by the collectors in payment of such taxes, and be by the s^d collectors p^d into the hands of the provincial treasurers, with all such other monies as they may receive in lieu of the continental bills, which other monies the s^d provincial treasurers shall endeavour to get exchanged for continental bills, and where that cannot be done, shall send to the continental treasurers the deficiency in silver or gold, with the bills making up the quota to be sunk in that year, taking care to cut, by a circular punch, of an Inch diameter, an hole in each bill, and to cross the same, thereby to render them unpassable, though the sum or value is to remain fairly legible: And

the continental treasurers, as fast as they receive the said quotas, shall, with the assistance of a committee of five persons, to be appointed by the Congress, if sitting, or by the assembly or convention of the province of Pennsylvania, examine and count the continental bills, and in the presence of the said committee, burn and destroy them. And the silver and gold sent them to make up the deficiencies of quotas, they shall retain in their hands until demanded in redemption of continental bills, that may be brought to them for that purpose, which bills so redeemed, they shall also burn and destroy in presence of the said committee. And the treasurers, whenever they have silver or gold in their hands for the redemption of continental bills, shall advertise the same, signifying that they are ready to give silver or gold for such bills, to all persons requiring it in exchange.

The provincial treasurers and collectors are to have such allowances for their respective services, as shall be directed by the several assemblies or conventions, to be paid by their respective province or colony,

That the continental treasurers be allowed for their service this year, five hundred dollars each.

Resolved, That the paymaster general, commissary-general, quartermaster general, and every of their deputies, shall take an Oath, truly and faithfully to discharge the duties of their respective stations.

Ordered, That the damaged powder now in the State house be delivered to the committee of the city and Liberties of Philadelphia to be made fit for use.

Ordered, That the continental Treasurers do pay to Col. William Thompson, or his order, five thousand dollars, on Account, being by advance for the service of a Battalion of riflemen under his command.

Resolved, That this Congress will, as soon as the public business permits, adjourn to the 5th of Sept^r next.

Resolved, That the Congress will, on Monday next, consider of the state of trade, after the 10th of next September.

Mr. [Thomas] M'Kean, from the Committee, for that purpose appointed, reported the form of a bond, to be given by the ~~joint~~ continental Treasurers.

Ordered, That the said Committee do inspect into the sufficiency of the sureties.

Adjourned till Monday at 8 o'Clock.

MONDAY, JULY 31, 1775

Met according to adjournment.

The Congress took into consideration the report of the committee on the resolve of the house of Commons, and the same being debated by paragraphs, was agreed to as follows:

here insert it¹

The several Assemblies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, having referred to the Congress a resolution of the House of Commons of Great Britain, which resolution is in these words:

Lunæ, 20^o Die Feb. 1775.

The House in a Committee on the American papers. Motion made, and question proposed:

That it is the opinion of this Committee, that when the General Council and Assembly, or General Court of any of his Majesty's provinces, or colonies in America, shall propose to make provision, according to the condition, circumstance, or situation of such province or colony, for contributing their proportion to the common defence (such proportion to be raised under the authority of the General Court, or General Assembly of such province or colony, and disposable by Parliament) and shall engage to make provision also, for the support of the civil government, and the administration of justice in such province or colony, it will

¹ This report was not entered upon the Journals.

be proper, if such proposal shall be approved by his Majesty, and the two Houses of Parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear in respect of such province or colony, to lay any duty, tax, or assessment, or to impose any farther duty, tax, or assessment, except only such duties as it may be expedient to continue to levy or impose, for the regulation of commerce; the net produce or the duties last mentioned to be carried to the account of such province or colony respectively.

*Report on Lord North's Motion*¹

The Congress proceeding to take into their consideration a resolution of the House of Commons of Gr. Br. referred to them by the several assemblies of New Jersey, Pnnsylv^a and Virg^a, which resolⁿ is in these words "that it is the opinion &c" are of Opinion

That the colonies of America possess ~~an~~ the exclusive ~~right~~ privilege of giving and granting their own money; that this involves a right of deliberating whether they will ~~give any sums~~ make any gift, for what purposes ~~they will give them~~ it shall be made, and what shall be it's ~~the amount of the gift,~~ and that it is a high breach of this privilege for any body of men, extraneous to their constitutions, to prescribe the purposes for which money shall be levied on

The Congress took the said resolution into consideration, and are thereupon, of opinion,

That the colonies of America are entitled to the sole and exclusive privilege of giving and granting their own money: that this involves a right of deliberating whether they will make any gift, for what purposes it shall be made, and what shall be its amount; and that it is a high breach of this privilege for any body of men, extraneous to their constitutions, to prescribe the purposes for which money shall be levied on them, to take to themselves the authority

¹In his "Autobiography" Jefferson wrote: "On the 22d. of July Dr Franklin, Mr. Adams, R. H. Lee and myself, were appointed a commee to consider and report on Ld. North's conciliatory resolution. The answer of the Virginia Assembly on that subject having been approved I was requested by the commee to prepare this report, which will account for the similarity of feature in the two instruments." *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, (Ford), I, 18. This first form of the report was probably submitted on July 25, and laid on the table. The original of this draft report is in the Jefferson Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, Fifth Series, Vol. VIII, No. 5.

them, and to take to themselves the authority of judging ~~what shall be a sufficient levy~~ of their conditions circumstances, and situations, and of determining the ~~sufficiency or insufficiency of any the levy~~ proposed amount of the contribution to be levied.

That as they possess a right of appropriating their gifts, so are they entitled at all times to inquire into ~~it's~~ their application; to see that ~~it~~ they be not ~~distributed~~ wasted among the venal and corrupt ~~to sap~~ for the purpose of ~~sapping~~ undermining ~~their~~ the civil rights of the givers, ~~of overbearing them by with military force power by diverting them~~ nor yet applied be diverted to the support of standing armies ~~for the purpose of overbearing these rights by military~~ inconsistent with domestic quiet ~~the right to make~~ their freedom and subversive of ~~our~~ their quiet. To propose therefore as this resolution does that the monies given by the colonies shall be subject to the disposal of parliament alone, is to propose that they shall ~~surrender give away~~ relinquish this right of enquiry; and ~~to~~ put it in the power of others to render their gifts ruinous in proportion as they are liberal.

That this privilege of giving or of withholding our monies is an important barrier against in the undue exertion of prerogative, which if left altogether without

of judging of their conditions, circumstances, and situations, and of determining the amount of the contribution to be levied.

That as the colonies possess a right of appropriating their gifts, so are they entitled at all times to enquire into their application, to see that they be not wasted among the venal and corrupt for the purpose of undermining the civil rights of the givers, nor yet be diverted to the support of standing armies, inconsistent with their freedom and subversive of their quiet. To propose, therefore, as this resolution does, that the monies given by the colonies shall be subject to the disposal of parliament alone, is to propose that they shall relinquish this right of inquiry, and put it in the power of others to render their gifts ruinous, in proportion as they are liberal.

That this privilege of giving or of withholding our monies, is an important barrier against the undue exertion of prerogative, which, if left altogether without

controul ~~might~~ may be exercised to our great oppression; ~~and that is also~~ and all history shews it's how efficacious it's intercession for redress of grievances and re-establishment of rights and how improvident would be the surrender of so powerful a mediator.

~~We are further of opinion~~

That the proposition contained in this resolution is ~~uncandid unequal~~ unreasonable and insidious: ~~uncandid unequal~~ unreasonable because if we declare we accede to it we declare ~~in absolute terms~~ without reservation we will purchase the favour of parliament not ~~with- out knowg~~ ~~not~~ at the same time ~~what and leave the price of that purchase to be fixed by the sellers alone,~~ at what price they will please to estimate their favour; it is insidious because ~~a colony on refusal of any a proffered sum~~ any individual colonies having bid and bidden again till it they find the ~~height of parliamentary~~ avidity of the seller unattainable by all ~~it's~~ their powers, are then to return into opposition ~~single and unsupported~~ divided from ~~it's~~ their sister colonies ~~having being in the meantime been taken~~ whom the minister ~~shall~~ will have previously ~~being artfully~~ detached from the Union by ~~accept- ance~~ a grant of easier terms, ~~or deluded into inactivity by keeping up into a definitive answer or by delaying of a the definitive answer~~ or by an artful procrastination of a definitive answer.

controul, may be exercised to our great oppression; and all history shews how efficacious is its intercession for redress of grievances and re-establishment of rights, and how improvident it would be to part with so powerful a mediator.

We are of opinion that the proposition contained in this resolution is unreasonable and insidious: Unreasonable, because, if we declare we accede to it, we declare, without reservation, we will purchase the favor of parliament, not knowing at the same time at what price they will please to estimate their favor; it is insidious, because, individual colonies, having bid and bidden again, till they find the avidity of the seller too great for all their powers to satisfy; are then to return into opposition, divided from their sister colonies whom the minister will have previously detached by a grant of easier terms, or by an artful procrastination of a definitive answer.

That the suspension of the exercise of their pretended power to ~~tax~~ levy taxes of taxation being expressly made commensurate with the ~~duration~~ continuance of our gifts, ~~in order~~ these must be perpetual to make that so: and ~~experience has invariably proved that to render a governing power perpetually independent it is not the best method of preserving the friendship and good offices of any part of government to render it independent by vesting it with perpetual revenues and~~ whereas no experience has shewn that a gift of perpetual revenues secures a perpetual return of duty or of good kind dispositions. On the contrary the parliament itself, ~~with a wisdom we mean worthy to imitation~~ prudently ~~cautiously~~ wisely attentive to this ~~circumstance~~ observation are in the established practice of granting their own money ~~but~~ from year to year only.

~~We are of opinion that our brethren of Britain even fair terms could hardly be accepted by free men when attended with circumstances so insulting circumstances~~

Tho' desirous and determined to consider in the most dispassionate light view every advance towards reconciliation made by the British parliamt, yet we feel what ~~must~~ could have been the sacrifice to men of free spirits had ~~to accept~~ even fair terms been proffered as these were with ~~the most irritating~~ cir-

That the suspension of the exercise of their pretended power of taxation being expressly made commensurate with the continuance of our gifts, these must be per-

petual to make that so. Whereas no experience has shewn that a gift of perpetual revenue secures a perpetual return of duty or of kind disposition. On the contrary, the parliament itself, wisely attentive to this observation, are in the established practice of granting their supplies from year to year only.

Desirous and determined, as we are, to consider, in the most dispassionate view, every seeming advance towards a reconciliation made by the British parliament, let our brethren of Britain reflect, what would have been the sacrifice to men of free spirits, had even fair terms been proffered, as these

cumstances of insult and defiance. A proposition to give our money, ~~when~~ accompanied with large fleets and armies seems addressed to our fears rather than to our freedom. ~~Let Britons our brethren of Britain reflect with what patience they would they have received articles of treaty from any power on earth when sent by such messengers plenipotentiaries the hands of borne by on the point of a bayonet by military plenipotentiaries? on the point of a bayonet.~~

We think ~~that~~ the attempt ~~like~~ ~~unaccountable~~ and unnecessary and unaccountable to raise upon us by force or by threats our proportional contributions to the common defense, when all know, and themselves acknowledge we have ~~ever~~ ~~freely~~ and fully given these contributed whenever called upon ~~as~~ to contribute in the character [of] freemen ~~should be is one among a plain proof, among many others that not the obtaining this but the reducing to their absolute dominion was not the ultimate end of Parliamentary object of parliament.~~

We are of opinion it is not just ~~yt~~ the colonies should ~~make any~~ be required to oblige themselves stipulate to other contributions while Great Britain possesses a monopoly of their trade. This ~~is~~ ~~of~~ does of itself lay them under a heavy contribution ~~levied on them.~~ To demand therefore ~~another~~ addi-

insidious proposals were with circumstances of insult and defiance. A proposition to give our money, accompanied with large fleets and armies, seems addressed to our fears rather than to our freedom. With what patience would Britons have received articles of treaty from any power on earth when borne on the point of the bayonet by military plenipotentiaries?

We think the attempt unnecessary to raise upon us by force or by threats, our proportional contributions to the common defence, when all know, and themselves acknowledge, we have fully contributed, whenever called upon to do so in the character of freemen.

We are of opinion it is not just that the colonies should be required to oblige themselves to other contributions, while Great Britain possesses a monopoly of their trade. This of itself lays them under heavy contribution. To demand, therefore, additional aids in the form of a tax, is to de-

tional contribution ~~by way~~ in the form of a tax is to demand the double of their equal proportion. ~~We conceive no reason~~ If we are to contribute ~~proportionably~~ equally with the other parts of the empire, let us equally with them enjoy ~~like them equal rights~~ of free commerce with the whole world. But while the restrictions on our trade shut up to us the resources of wealth ~~we cannot bear it is it un-~~ just we should ~~be expected to bear~~ all other burthens equally with those to whom ~~are under no restriction~~ have every resource is open?

9. We conceive that the Brit. parl. has no right to intermeddle with our provision for the support of civil govermnt, or administration of justice. That the provisions ~~has been made in such manner as to we have already~~ we have made are such as please ourselves, they answer the substantial purposes of govermt and of justice, and other purposes than these should not be answered. We do not mean ~~to burthen~~ that our people shall be burthened with ~~heavy and~~ oppressive taxes to provide sinecures for the ~~drones of crea-~~ ~~tion ministerial partisans~~ the idle or wicked under color of providing for a civil list. ~~But~~ while parliament pursue ~~their un-~~ ~~meddled~~ their plan of civil govmt within their own jurisdiction we also hope to pursue ours ~~also~~ without molestation.

mand the double of their equal proportion: if we are to contribute equally with the other parts of the empire, let us equally with them enjoy free commerce with the whole world. But while the restrictions on our trade shut to us the resources of wealth, is it just we should bear all other burthens equally with those to whom every resource is open?

We conceive that the British parliament has no right to intermeddle with our provisions for the support of civil government, or administration of justice. The provisions we have made, are such as please ourselves, and are agreeable to our own circumstances: they answer the substantial purposes of government and of justice, and other purposes than these should not be answered. We do not mean that our people shall be burthened with oppressive taxes, to provide sinecures for the idle or the wicked, under colour of providing for a civil list. While parliament pursue their plan of civil government within their own jurisdiction, we also hope to pursue ours without molestation.

8. We are of opinion the proposition is altogether unsatisfactory, because ~~the parliament~~ it imports only a suspension, not a renunciation of the right to tax us; because too it ~~is~~ does not propose to repeal the several acts of parl. passed for the purposes of restraining the trade and altering the form of government of the Eastern colonies; extending the boundaries, and changing the government and religion of Quebec; enlarging the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty and vice admiralty; taking from us the rights of trial by a jury of the vicinage in cases affecting both life and property; ~~exempting the murderers of colonists from legal trial~~ transporting us into other countries to be tried for criminal offenses; exempting by mock-trial the murderers of colonists from punishment; and ~~for~~ quartering soldiers on us in times of profound peace. Nor do they renounce the power of suspending our own legislatures and of legislating for us themselves in all cases whatsoever. ~~So far indeed from repealing the injurious acts of parl. before mentioned they pass others at the same time equally injurious~~ On the contrary to shew they mean no discontinuance of their exercise of of injury at the very time of making this proposition they are passing acts at the very time of ~~making~~ holding out

We are of opinion the proposition is altogether unsatisfactory, because it imports only a suspension of the mode, not a renunciation of the pretended right to tax us: because, too, it does not propose to repeal the several Acts of Parliament passed for the purposes of restraining the trade, and altering the form of government of one of our colonies: extending the boundaries and changing the government of Quebec; enlarging the jurisdiction of the courts of Admiralty and vice-Admiralty; taking from us the rights of trial by a jury of the vicinage, in cases affecting both life and property; transporting us into other countries to be tried for criminal offences; exempting, by mock-trial, the murderers of colonists from punishment; and quartering soldiers on us in times of profound peace. Nor do they renounce the power of suspending our own legislatures, and of legislating for us themselves in all cases whatsoever. On the contrary, to shew they mean no discontinuance of injury, they pass acts, at the very time of holding out this proposition, for restraining the commerce and fisheries of the provinces of New England, and for interdicting the trade of other colonies with all foreign nations, and with each other. This proves, unequivocally, they mean not to relin-

this proposition, for restraining the commerce and fisheries of the provinces of New England and for interdicting ~~in general~~ the trade of other colonies with all foreign nations. This ~~proof is~~ proves unequivocally ~~of what we may expect in future~~ they mean not ~~discontinuance of~~ to relinquish ~~this usurpation~~ the exercise of indiscriminate legislation over us.

Upon the whole

This proposition seems to have been held up to the world to deceive ~~them~~ it into a belief that ~~the colonies are unreasonable~~ there was no matter &c. [that there was no matter in dispute between us but the single circumstance of the mode of levying taxes, which mode as they are so good as to give up to us, of course that the colonies are unreasonable if they are not thereby perfectly satisfied: whereas in truth our adversaries not only still claim a right of demanding *ad libitum* and of taxing us themselves to the full amount of their demands if we do not fulfill their pleasure, which leaves us without any thing we can call property, but what is of more importance and what they keep in this proposal out of sight as if no such point was in contest, they claim a right of altering all our charters and established laws which leaves us without the least security for our lives or liberties. the proposition seems also calculated

quish the exercise of indiscriminate legislation over us.

Upon the whole, this proposition seems to have been held up to the world, to deceive it into a belief that there was nothing in dispute between us but the *mode* of levying taxes; and that the parliament having now been so good as to give up this, the colonies are unreasonable if not perfectly satisfied: Whereas, in truth, our adversaries still claim a right of demanding *ad libitum*, and of taxing us themselves to the full amount of their demand, if we do not comply with it. This leaves us without any thing we can call property. But, what is of more importance, and what in this proposal they keep out of sight, as if no such point was now in contest between us, they claim a right to alter our charters and established laws, and leave us without any security for our lives or liberties. The proposition seems also to have been calculated more particularly to lull into fatal security, our well-affected fellow subjects on the other side the water, till time

more particularly]¹ ~~but~~ and more particularly to lull into fatal security our well affected fellow subjects on ~~that~~ the other side the water ~~into a fatal security~~ till time should be given for the operation of those arms which a British minister pronounced would instantaneously reduce the "*cowardly*" sons of America to unreserved submission. But when the world reflects how inadequate to justice are the vaunted terms ~~offered~~, when it attends to the rapid and bold succession of injuries which ~~for the space~~ during a course of 11 years have been aimed at these colonies ~~by a wicked administration~~, when it reviews the pacific and respectful ~~applications—complaints~~ expostulations which during that whole time have been ~~made~~ the sole arms we oppose to ~~their—usurpations~~ them, when it ~~considers~~ observes that our complaints were either not heard at all, or were answered with new and accumulated injury, should be given for the operation of those arms, which a British minister pronounced would instantaneously reduce the "cowardly" sons of America to unreserved submission. But, when the world reflects how inadequate to justice are these vaunted terms; when it attends to the rapid and bold succession of injuries, which, during the course of eleven years, have been aimed at these colonies; when it reviews the pacific and respectful expostulations, which, during that whole time, were the sole arms we opposed to them; when it observes that our complaints were either not heard at all, or were answered with new and accumulated injury; when it recollects that the minister himself, on an early occasion, declared "that he would never treat with America, till he had brought her to his feet," and that an avowed partisan of ministry has more lately denounced against us the dreadful

¹ A paragraph inserted. A manuscript in the writing of Benjamin Franklin, found in the Jefferson Papers, proves that this paragraph was an amendment offered by Franklin. This paper is as follows:

"amendment by Dr Franklin.

"that there was no Matter in Dispute between us but the single Circumstance of the *Mode* of Levying Taxes, which *Mode* as they are so good as to give up to us; of course that the Colonies are unreasonable if they are not thereby perfectly satisfied: Whereas in truth our Adversaries not only still claim a Right of demanding *ad libitum*, and of taxing us themselves to the full Amount of their Demands if we do not fulfill their Pleasure, which leaves us without anything we can call *Property*; but what is of more importance, and what they keep in this Proposal out of sight, as if no such Point was in Contest, they claim a Right (and actually do practice it) of altering all our Charters and establish'd Laws, which would leave us not the Shadow of Liberty without the least Security for our Lives or *Liberty*. The Proposition seems also calculated more particularly &c"

when it ~~considers~~ recollects that the minister himself declared ~~from the beginning~~ on an ~~former~~ early occasion he would never cease [*blank space in copy*]¹ till America was at his feet, and that an avowed partisan of ministry has more lately denounced against America the dreadful sentence "Delenda est Carthago," that this was done in the presence of a British senate and being unproved by them we must ~~considered~~ be taken to be ~~as approved~~ their own sentiment; when it considers the great armaments ~~by sea and land~~ with which they have invaded us ~~by sea and land~~, and the circumstances of cruelty with which these have commenced and prosecuted hostilities; when these things we say are laid together and attentively considered, can the world be deceived ~~by the artifices of a ministry~~ into an opinion that we are unreasonable, or can it hesitate to believe with us that nothing but our own exertions ~~can~~ may defeat the ministerial sentence of death or submission.

sentence, "*delenda est Carthago;*" that this was done in the presence of a British senate, and being unproved by them, must be taken to be their own sentiment, (especially as the purpose has already in part been carried into execution, by their treatment of Boston and burning of Charles-Town;) when it considers the great armaments with which they have invaded us, and the circumstances of cruelty with which these have commenced and prosecuted hostilities; when these things, we say, are laid together and attentively considered, can the world be deceived into an opinion that we are unreasonable, or can it hesitate to believe with us, that nothing but our own exertions may defeat the ministerial sentence of death or abject submission.

By order of the CONGRESS,
John Hancock,

PRESIDENT²

Philadelphia, July 31, 1775.

On motion made, *Resolved*, That M^r. [John] Langdon, M^r. J[ohn] Adams, M^r. [Stephen] Hopkins, M^r. [Silas] Deane, M^r. [George] Clinton, M^r. [Stephen] Crane, Doct^r [Benjamin] Franklin, M^r. [Cæsar] Rodney, M^r. [Thomas] Johnson, M^r. [Patrick] Henry, M^r. [Joseph] Hewes, M^r. [Christopher] Gadsden, and M^r. [Lyman] Hall, be a Com-

¹In the final version the words "that he would never treat with America till he had brought her to his feet" are inserted here.

²This paper was printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 7 August, 1775.

mittee, in the recess of Congress, to make enquiry in all the colonies, after virgin lead, and leaden ore, and the best methods of collecting, smelting, and refining it.

Resolved, That the above named gentlemen be a Committee, in the recess of the Congress, to inquire into the cheapest and easiest methods of making salt in these colonies.

Agreeable to the order of the day, the Congress took into consideration the state of trade after the 10th of Sept^r, and after some debate, the same was postponed to a future day.

On motion made, *Resolved*, That when the Congress adjourns for recess, it be adjourned to meet at Philadelphia.

Two petitions were laid before the Congress respecting disputes between the people of Connecticut and Pennsylvania on lands lying ~~between the east and west branches~~ on the waters of Susquehannah, and the same being read,

Ordered, to lie on the table for the perusal of the members.

Two petitions, one from sundry merchants in New York, the other from sundry merchants in Philadelphia, respecting the sale of Teas imported before the late association, were laid before the Congress.

Ordered, To lie on the table.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 8 o'Clock.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 1, 1775

Met according to adjournment.

Resolved, That the sum of five hundred thousand dollars be immediately forwarded from the continental Treasury, to the paymaster general, to be applied to the use of the army in Massachusetts bay, in such manner, as General Washington, or the commander in chief for the time

being, by his warrant, shall limit and appoint; and if the above sum shall be expended before the next meeting of the Congress, then that General Washington, or the commander in chief for the time being, be empowered to draw upon the continental Treasury, for the sum of two hundred thousand dollars, in favour of the paymaster general, to be applied for the use and in the manner above mentioned.

Ordered, That the delegates for Pennsylvania be a committee to receive and count the above sum of 500,000 dollars, and forward the same, under the care of the delegates of Massachusetts bay, provided so much is now ready in the treasury: If that is not the case, then to receive, count, and forward, by the said delegates, what is ready, and the remainder by the first Opportunity in the safest and best manner.

Resolved, That a sum not exceeding one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars be paid to the provincial Convention of New York, to be applied towards the discharge of the monies advanced and the debts contracted for the public service, by the said provincial convention and the committee of Albany, in pursuance of the directions of this Congress; and that the said provincial convention account to this Congress, at their next meeting, for the application of the s^d money.

Resolved, That the treasurers be, and they are hereby, ordered to pay to the delegates of the Colony of Connecticut, viz. Eliphalet Dyer, Roger Sherman, and Silas Deane, Esquires the sum of Fifty thousand dollars, to be by them paid unto the Governor and Company of the said colony, in part of the sums by them disbursed in the continental service: The said Governor and Company to account therefor.

Resolved, That the sum of one hundred thousand dollars be immediately forwarded from the continental treasury, to the paymaster general, to be applied to the use of the Army in the New York department, in such manner as General Schuyler, by his warrant, shall limit and appoint; and that if the above sum shall be expended before the next meeting of this Congress, then that General Schuyler, or the commander in chief, for the time being, in that department, be empowered to draw upon the continental treasury, for a further sum, not exceeding two hundred thousand dollars, to be applied for the use and in the manner above mentioned.

Resolved, That the sum of sixteen thousand dollars be paid to the delegates of the colony of Pennsylvania, in full for the like sum by them borrowed by order of the Congress, on June 3^d last, for the use of the Continent.

Resolved, That the sum of two hundred and ninety three dollars be paid to the delegates of South Carolina for the expence and freight of transporting a quantity of powder from South Carolina to this place by order of the Congress.

Resolved, That the sum of ten thousand dollars be placed in the hands of the delegates of Pennsylvania, or any three of them, for contingent services, and that out of the same, be paid the expences incurred for raising and arming the riddle companies, and for expresses and other small charges, of which the Congress have not been able to procure exact Accounts; and that the said committee do lay before the Congress, at their next meeting, an account of their proceeding in that matter.¹

¹ "Philadelphia, August 10. By Order of the Congress. The Delegates for this province will attend at Philadelphia, from the 28th instant to the 3d. of September inclusive, to settle the accounts of expences, incurred for raising and arming the Rifle Companies of Pennsylvania, for expresses, &c." In the Postscript to the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 14 August, 1775.

Resolved, that out of the powder belonging to the continent now in this city, five tons be sent to General Washington in the speediest and safest manner by the delegates of the colony of Pennsylvania.

That out of the next that arrives, the delegates of New Jersey be allowed to purchase 1000 lb. for the use of the western parts of their colony, and that the delegates of the lower counties on Delaware be allowed to purchase 1000 lb. for the use of said counties.

That out of the same parcel the quantity of one ton be reserved for North Carolina, to be lodged in the Magazine of New York and delivered to the order of the speaker of the Assembly or president of the convention of North Carolina, provided the necessity of General Washington and General Schuyler will admit.

The Congress resumed the consideration of the petitions respecting the disputes between the people of Connecticut and Pennsylvania, and after some debate,

Resolved, That the farther consideration of this matter be referred to the next meeting of this Congress.

The Congress having reconsidered a Resolve passed the 11 July, respecting the employing of fifty Hussars,

Resolved, That the delegates of this province be desired not to proceed in executing said resolve, and if any hussars are engaged or enlisted, to discharge the same; and that the said delegates settle and pay any expences already incurred in consequence of the former resolve and report their proceeding to the Congress at their next meeting.

Whereas, at a former Congress, it was resolved, that, if certain acts of parliament, in the continental Association enumerated and complained of, should not be repealed on or before the 10th day of September, 1775, the inhabitants of these United Colonies would not, directly

or indirectly, export any merchandize or commodity whatsoever, to Great Britain, Ireland, or the West Indies; and as some doubts have arisen with respect to the true spirit and construction of said resolve; to the end, that such doubts may be removed,

Resolved, That under the prohibition, in the said association contained, to export to, or import from, the Islands of Great Britain and Ireland, this Congress intends to comprize all exportation to, and importation from, the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Sark, Alderney, and Mann, and every European island and settlement within the British dominions; and that under the denomination of West Indies, this Congress means to comprehend all the West India islands, British and foreign, to whatever state, power, or prince belonging, or by whomsoever governed, and also the Summer islands, Bahama Islands, Berbicia and Surinam on the Main, and every island and settlement within the latitude of the southern line of Georgia and the Equator.¹

Adjourned to ||Tuesday,|| the 5 of Sept^r next.

||The above is a copy of the journal of the proceedings of the Congress, from their meeting on the tenth of May, to this time, except that some resolutions, relative to military operations, carrying on, are omitted.

JOHN HANCOCK, *President*.

CHARLES THOMSON, *Secretary*.||

¹ Printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, 21 August, 1775.

JOURNALS.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1775

Agreeable to adjournment, a number of the members met, but there not being sufficient to enter upon business, the Congress was adjourned from day to day until Wednesday the 13th.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1775

The Congress met according to adjournment.

The province of Georgia, having appointed delegates to represent them in Congress, and three of the said Delegates attending, their credentials were produced, read, and approved, and are as follows:

here insert¹

GEORGIA. The alarming and critical situation of affairs upon the Continent of America, having, at length, roused the attention of this Province, and the several Inhabitants thereof, being desirous of uniting with their Sister Colonies in the great and important Cause, A general election was held throughout the Province for Delegates to sit in Provincial Congress; And the said Delegates having so met in Savannah, on the fourth day of July, proceeded upon the consideration of such Business as appear'd to be fit and necessary; And amongst other things, they made choice of five Delegates to represent this Province in the Grand Continental Congress, now sitting in Philadelphia, to wit, Archibald Bullock and John Houstoun, Esquires, the Rev^d Doctor [John J.] Zubly, Noble Wimberly Jones, and Lyman Hall, Esquires. Now, therefore, Be it known, and we, the several Delegates for the different Parishes and Districts in this Province, in Provincial Congress assembled, Do hereby declare the said Archibald Bullock

¹ The credentials were not entered upon the Journals.

and John Houstoun, the Rev^d Doctor [John J.] Zubly, Noble Wimberly Jones, and Lyman Hall, Esquires, duely and fairly elected, as the Delegates, for this Province; And we do authorize and require the said Archibald Bullock, and John Houstoun, the Rev^d Doctor [John J.] Zubly, Noble Wimberly Jones, and Lyman Hall, Esquires, or any three of them, immediately to repair to the said City of Philadelphia, and there to take their seats, as the Representatives of the Province of Georgia, in the General Congress now sitting, To do, transact, join and concur with the several Delegates from the other Colonies and Provinces upon this Continent, in all such Matters and things as shall appear eligible and fit, at this alarming time, for the preservation and defence of our Rights and Liberties, and for the restoration of Harmony upon constitutional principles, between Great Britain and America.

And we give and grant to the said Archibald Bullock, John Houstoun, Esquires, the Rev. Doctor Zubly, Noble Wimberly Jones, and Lyman Hall, Esquires, or any three of them, In whose fidelity, Honor, and Ability we very much confide, our full and whole Power in the Premises; And do promise and engage, in behalf of ourselves and our Constituents Respectively, (the Inhabitants of the Province of Georgia) under the sacred Ties of Virtue, Honor, and Love of our Country, to abide by, enforce, and carry into Execution, or endeavor, at the Risque or Expence of Life and property, so to do, all and whatsoever our said Delegates, or any three of them, in Concurrence with the Rest of the Delegates from the several Colonies and Provinces upon this Continent, shall resolve and agree upon, or, as shall be agreed and resolved upon by the said Continental Congress, now sitting in Philadelphia aforesaid, while our said Delegates or any three of them shall be so sitting.

Signed in Provincial Congress, this Fifteenth day of July, 1775.

STEP: DRAYTON
ELISHA BUTLER
B. COWPER JR.
JA^s MAXWELL
W^m JONES
JN^o MARTIN
JOHN MOREL
JOHN M^cINTOSH
WILL^m BRYAN

PET^r TAARLING
L. MARBURY
NATHAN BROWNSON JR.
WILLIAM OBRYEN
LUKE MANN
HENRY JONES
WILL^m LORD
DANIEL ROBERTS
ANDREW MOORE

JOHN FULTON	JA GOLDWIN
JOHN M ^c CLUER	JOHN SMITH
GEO: HOUSTOUN	WILLIAM EWEN
SAMUEL ELBERT	PHILIP BOX
WILL ^s YOUNG	JAMES PUGH
W ^m GIBBONS	DAVID LEWIS
D. ZUBLY JUN ^r	JOSEPH CLAY
JOSEPH REYNOLDS	JN ^o WALTON
GEO WALTON	JOHN GLEN
JONATHAN COCHRAN	JON ^a BRYAN
HUGH BRYAN	EDW ^p TELFAIR
WIL LECONTE	JAMES RAE
JOS GIBBONS	JOSEPH HABERSHAM
ISAAC YOUNG	FRANCIS HENRY HARRIS
ALLAN STUART	SETH JN ^o CUTHBERT
JAMES SCREVEN	AMBROSE WRIGHT
BENJ. LEWIS	AND ^r BURNEY ¹
W ^m MAXWELL	

The Delegates from Virginia, appointed by a Convention of that Colony, at Richmond, August 11, 1775, produced their credentials, which were read and approved, as follows:

VIRGINIA.

IN CONVENTION, *Friday, August 11th, 1775*

The Convention being about to proceed to the choice of Deputies to represent this Colony in General Congress, Edmund Pendleton, Esq^{rs} expressed his most grateful acknowledgments for the honour done him in two former Appointments to that important Trust, but, on account of the declining State of his health, entreated to be Excused from the present Nomination, which Excuse being accepted,

Resolved, unanimously, That the thanks of this Convention are Justly due to George Washington, Patrick Henry, and Edmund Pendleton, Esqrs., three of the worthy Deputies, who represented this colony in the late Continental Congress, for their faithful discharge of that important Trust, and this Body are only induced to dispense with their future services of the like nature, by the Appointment of

¹The original is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress, Georgia, Credentials of Delegates.*

the two former to other offices in the public Service, incompatible with their attendance on this, and the Infirm State of health of the latter.

Mr. President accordingly delivered the thanks of the Convention to Mr Henry, and Mr Pendleton, in their places; who Expressed the great pleasure they received from the distinguished Testimony of their Country's approbation of their services.

Resolved that the President, be desired to transmit the thanks of this Convention, by Letter, to his Excellency General Washington.

The Convention then proceeded according to the order of the Day to the Appointment of Deputies to represent this Colony in General Congress, for one Year, and the Members having prepared Ticketts, with the names of the Deputies to be Appointed, and put the same into the Ballot box, Mr. Robert Carter Nicholas, Mr. Cary, Mr. Pendleton, and Mr. Adams were appointed to Examine the Ballot box, and report upon whom the Majority fell, who retired, and after some time, returned into Convention, and reported, that they had, according to Order, Examined the Ballot box, and that the numbers appeared as follows:

	For the hon. PEYTON RANDOLPH, Esq.	89	
RICHARD HENRY LEE, Esq.	88	THOMAS NELSON, Esq.	66
THOMAS JEFFERSON, Esq.	85	RICHARD BLAND, Esq.	61
BENJAMIN HARRISON, Esq.	83	GEORGE WYTHE, Esq.	58

Resolved, That the said Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, Richard Bland, and George Wythe, Esquires, be appointed Deputies to represent this Colony in General Congress for one Year, and that they have power to meet and to Adjourn for such time and to such place or places as may be thought most proper.

Resolved, That the said Deputies, or any four of them, be a sufficient number to represent this Colony.

SATURDAY, August 12th, 1775.

Richard Bland, Esq. returned the Convention his most grateful Acknowledgments for the great honor they had pleased a third time to confer on him, by appointing him one of the Deputies to represent this Colony in General Congress, and said this fresh instance of their approbation was sufficient for an Old man, almost deprived of sight, whose greatest Ambition had ever been to receive the plaudit of his country, whenever he should retire from the Publick Stage of Life:

That the honorable Testimony he lately received of this Approbation, joined with his present appointment, should ever animate him, as far as he was able, to support the glorious cause in which America is now Engaged, but that his advanced age rendered him incapable of taking an active part in those weighty and Important concerns, which must necessarily be agitated in the Great council of the United Colonies; and, therefore, begging leave to decline the honor they had been pleased to confer on him, and desiring that some person, more fit and able, might supply his place.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Convention are justly due to the said Richard Bland, Esq. one of the worthy Deputies who represented this Colony in the late Continental Congress, for his faithful discharge of that Important trust, and this Body are only induced to dispense with his future Services of the like nature, on account of his advanced Age.

The president accordingly delivered the thanks of the Convention to the said Richard Bland Esquire in his place, who Expressed the great pleasure he received from this distinguished Testimony of his Countrys approbation of his Services.

Resolved that this Convention, will on Tuesday next, proceed to the Appointment of a Deputy, to represent this Colony in the room of the said Richard Bland Esquire.

TUESDAY, *August 15, 1775*

The Convention then according to the order of the Day proceeded to the Appointment of a Deputy to represent this Colony in General Congress, in the room of Richard Bland, Esquire, who hath resigned, and the Members having prepared Ticketts, with the name of the Deputy to be appointed, Mr. Robert Carter Nicholas, Mr. [Edmund] Pendleton, Mr. [Patrick] Henry, Mr. George Mason and Mr. [Archibald] Cary were appointed a committee to Examine the Ballot box, and report on whom the Majority fell; who retired, and after some time, reported that the numbers stood as follows:

FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE, Es-	CARTER BRAXTON, Esquire . . . 36
quire 37	JOHN BANISTER, Esquire . . . 1

and the Question then being put whether the said Francis L. Lee, Esq^r, or Carter Braxton, Esq^r, who appeared to have the greatest numbers on the Ballot, should be appointed a Deputy to represent this Colony in General Congress, the Majority appeared in favour of Francis Lightfoot Lee, Esquire.

Resolved, That the said Francis Lightfoot Lee, Esquire, be appointed a Deputy to represent this Colony in General Congress.

JOHN TAZEWELL, *Clerk of the Convention*.¹

Also the delegates from Maryland having been reappointed by the Convention of their Colony at Annapolis, 26 July, 1775, produced their credentials, which were read and approved:

MARYLAND.

At a meeting of the Delegates appointed by the several counties of the province of Maryland, at the city of Annapolis, on Wednesday, the 26th of July, 1775, and continued till the 14th day of August, in the same year:

Resolved, That the honourable Matthew Tilghman, Esq. and Thomas Johnson, jun. Robert Goldsborough, William Paca, Samuel Chase, Thomas Stone, and John Hall, Esqrs. or any three or more of them, be deputies to represent this province in Continental Congress, and that they, or any three or more of them, have full and ample power to consent and agree to all measures, which such Congress shall deem necessary and effectual to obtain a redress of American grievances; and further, we do authorize our said deputies, to represent and act for this province in any continental Congress, which may be held before the 25th day of March next.

(Signed)

G. DUVALL, *Clerk*.²

The Congress being informed that only 172,520 dollars were transmitted to the paymaster General for the use of the army in the Massachusetts Bay, and y^t the Gen^l was under great diff[iculty] for want of money:

Ordered, That the delegates for Pennsylvania do immediately send, under a proper Guard, to the pay-mr Gl, for the use of the army in the Mass Bay, the sum of 527,480 dollars, w^{ch}, with that sent, will make up the 700,000 dollars voted at the last sessions.

¹The original is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress, Virginia, Credentials of Delegates*.

²A paragraph taken from a four-page folio broadside containing an account of the meeting, of which Matthew Tilghman was Chairman.

Sundry letters received during the recess of Congress, were produced and read, viz.

Two from Gen^l Washington, N. 4, and 5, with sundry enclosed papers;

Four from Gen^l Schuyler, 16 and 21 July, and 2 and 31 of August, with sundry papers enclosed.¹

One from Messrs. L[ewis] Morris, and J[ames] Wilson, of 6 Sept^r, and

One from G[unning] Bedford, D. M. G. with enclosed papers.²

Also, a Letter from the deputies of the several districts in Bermuda, dated 12 Aug, with an acco^t of y^e provisions imported and expended in that Island, for 3 y^{rs} last past, taken from y^e custom house books, and an estimate of y^e provisions necessary for the support of the Inhabitants for one year.

A memorial from James Stewart and Samuel Jackson, owners of the ship *Friendship*, Thomas Jann, Master, was presented to the Congress and read, setting forth that the s^d ship, on the 28 of August last, saild from Maryland with a cargo of Tobacco, but being overtaken by the late storm, she was driven on shoals and much damaged, and got into Hampton Road, with the loss of all her masts; and praying that the memorialists may be allowed to unload s^d ship, and that after being refitted, she may take the said cargo on board, and proceed on her voyage.

The Congress, taking into consideration the above memorial,

Resolved, That the s^d cargo be unloaded under the inspection of the committee of Norfolk, and that the said

¹ Washington's No. 4 was dated August 4, and No. 5 is without date, but was written August 31. Both are to be found in *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 152, I, folios 51 and 95, and are printed in *Writings of George Washington* (Ford), III, 58, 104. The letters from Schuyler are in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 153, I, folios 47, 51, 89 and 121.

² This letter is in *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 78, II, folio 1.

ship, being refitted, be allowed to take s^d cargo on board again, and proceed on her voyage; and in case, on examination, the s^d ship is condemned as unfit for sea, that the s^d cargo be put on board some other vessel, under the inspection of the Committee aforesaid, and exported.

Information being given to Congress, that Doct^r B[enjamin] Franklin had on board the *Mary and Elizabeth*, Capt. N. Falconer, from London, sundry cases, containing his books, papers, and household furniture, which were in his use when he lived in London, and which were imported for his own use, and not for sale; and it being submitted to the consideration of the Congress, whether such importation is comprehended within the first article of the Association,

Resolved, That such importation is not to be comprehended within the meaning of the s^d first article of the Association, and that the s^d books, papers, and furniture may be landed and delivered to the owner.

A memorial from “the Committee of the county of Westmoreland, in the province of Pennsylvania,” was presented and read.

Adjourned to 10 o’Clock to Morrow.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1775

Met according to adjournment.

A number of letters rec^d by several members, during the recess of Congress, being produced, were read, viz:

1., a Letter from M^r Jos. Hawley, excusing his not acting as a Commissioner for Indian affairs, on account of his bad state of Health.¹

¹ Hawley’s letter declining the appointment is in *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 58, folio 247, and is as follows:

SIR, I have been regularly Notified That I have the honour to have been appointed by the Hon^{ble} Continental Congress one of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs for the Northern department.

As the duties resulting from that Appointment are too laborious and important to

2^d, a letter from Elisha Phelps, appointed a Commissary for the Northern Army by Gov^r Trumbull, in pursuance of an Order of Congress, together with a copy of his commission and appointment.

3^d, a letter from M^r J[oseph] Reed, esq. Sec^y to General Washington, among other things, intimating the desire of the General, that the cloathing lately intercepted by the Committee of Philadelphia, should be forwarded to the Camp for the use of the American Army.¹

On motion made, *Resolved*, That the above cloathing be immediately forwarded, under a proper guard, by the delegates for Pensylvania, to Gen^l Washington, for the use of the American Army.

4th, a letter from the Committee of Safety in New York, with an enclosed copy of a letter from Gen^l Washington:²

These being taken into consideration,

Ordered, That the delegates for Pensylvania prepare and lay before the Congress to Morrow, an Account of the

consist with my low state of health, I intreat the Hon^{ble} Congress to be so candid to me as not to impute my declining to serve the publick in that way, to any want of zeal for the good of our country, as I assure them that if my health was firm, no service that I can think of, would be more agreeable to me.

As I have a very direct oppertunity to write General Schuyler I shall improve it and advise him that I am for infirmity and want of health oblidged to decline that Service and that I have made the Hon^{ble} Congress acquainted therewith.

I have the honour to be with the greatest respect,

Your Honours most Obed^t humble Ser^t

JOSEPH HAWLEY

WATRETTOWN Jul 22^d 1775

To the Hon^{ble} John Hancock Esq^r to be communicated to the Hon^{ble} Continental Congress

¹This letter is in *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 69, I, folio 19. It was dated August 24, and was received September 2, by the Committee of Safety of Philadelphia, to whom it was addressed.

²That of Washington is in *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 152, I, folio 107. On the back of this letter from Washington, Charles Thomson has made the following endorsement:

“The delegates from Pensyl. having informed the Congress that from sundry occurrences they had not p^d any of the expences &c. recommended to be p^d by them

powder belonging to the Continent, received, and how it is disposed of, also an account of all the powder now in this city.

On Motion, *Resolved*, That Edward Flemming be appointed deputy adjutant general for the army in the New York or northern department, with the rank of a Colonel, and that the president make out a Commission for him accordingly, and forward the same by the first opportunity.

Ordered, That the President forward to General Schuyler four hundred blank Commissions for the officers in his Army, to be by him filled up, agreeable to the order of Congress.

5th, sundry letters from General Schuyler,¹

The same being taken into consideration,

On motion made, *Resolved*, That Samuel Stringer, Esq^r be appointed director of the Hospital, and chief Physician and surgeon for the Army in the northern department.

That the pay of the s^d Samuel Stringer, as Director, Physician, and surgeon, be four Dollars per day.

That he be authorized and have power to appoint a number of surgeon mates under him, not exceeding four.

That the pay of said mates be $\frac{2}{3}$ of a dollar per day.

That the number be not kept in constant pay, unless the sick and wounded be so numerous as to require the

and desiring that some members be added from other Colonies as sundry debts have been incurred in other Colonies.

“Resolv^d that M^r Chase &c be added to the delegates from Pen. and that any five of them be a quorum to settle the acco^{ts} of expences riflemen and the Hussars, &c.

M^r CHASE

Col. NELSON

M^r CRANE

M^r JAY

M^r DEANE

Col^o DYER

M^r LYNCH

JAY

J. ADAMS

LEWIS”

The second column of names must apply to the Committee on Medicines. See p. 250, *post*.

¹ Letters dated July 26, 27, 28 and August 6, read in Congress on this day, are in *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 153, folios 63, 71, 77, 102.

constant attendance of four, and to be diminished as circumstances will admit, for which reason the pay is fixed by the day, that they may only receive pay for actual service.

That the deputy Commissary general be directed to pay Doctr. Stringer for the Medicines he has purchased for the use of the army, and that he purchase and forward such other medicines as General P. Schuyler shall, by his warrant, direct, for the use of said army.

That M^r [Eliphalet] Dyer, M^r [Thomas] Lynch, M^r [John] Jay, M^r J[ohn] Adams, and M^r [Francis] Lewis, be a Committee to devise ways and means for supplying the continental army with Medicines.

The delegates for Pennsylvania appointed, at the last session, a committee to settle and pay the expences incurred for raising and arming the riddle companies, as well as those incurred in consequence of the resolve for raising a company of Hussars, and for expresses, &c. having informed the Congress, that, on account of sundry difficulties, they had not executed that service, and desiring that some members from other colonies, where debts have been contracted, may be added,

Resolved, That M^r [Samuel] Chase, M^r [Thomas] Nelson, M^r [Stephen] Crane, M^r [John] Jay, and M^r [Silas] Deane, be added to the delegates for Pennsylvania, and that any five of them be a quorum to settle and pay the above accounts, and that they report of their proceedings to the Congress.¹

The Delegates from the Colony of Georgia informed the Congress, that they were ordered by their constituents to lay before the Congress sundry papers from that colony, and the same being produced, were read.

The Commissioners for Indian Affairs, in the northern

¹ See note 1 on p. 249, *ante*.

department, having transmitted to the Congress the minutes of a Treaty held with the Six Nations at Albany, in August, the same were read.

The Congress then resumed the consideration of the Letter ||of the 6th Instant|| received from Messrs. L. Morris, and J. Wilson, and upon motion,

Resolved That the enterprize proposed in their letter be not undertaken.

Resolved, That Col. Lewis Morris, who is now at Pittsburg, act as a commissioner for Indian Affairs in the middle department, at the treaty proposed to be held on the 20th inst^t, Doctr. B[enjamin] Franklin, the standing commissioner, not being able to attend.

||*Ordered*, That the president write to Messrs. Morris and Wilson, and inform them of the foregoing resolution.||

Adjourned till 10 o'clock to Morrow.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1775

Met according to adjournment.

On motion made, *Resolved*, That Doctr. Thomas Walker be appointed a Commissioner for Indian Affairs in the middle department, in the room of M^r Patrick Henry, who has declined that service.

The Delegates from Georgia informed the Congress, that when the convention of that Colony agreed to enter into the general ||continental|| association, they resolved, among other things, "that if any vessels arrived from Gr Britain, between the sixth of July and the sixth of August, the goods imported should be stored and there remain until the Congress determined what should [be] done with them."—That during that time two vessels had arrived with goods, which were accordingly stored; they therefore desired the determination of the Congress on that matter.

The Congress taking this matter into consideration,
Resolved, That it be recommended to the convention of Georgia, to cause the cargoes, which have arrived there from Great Britain or Ireland, between the sixth day of July and the sixth day of August, at the election of the proprietors, either to be sent back or sold at public auction; that out of the monies arising from such sales, the proprietors or shippers, be paid the prime cost of the said cargoes, and all charges attending the same, and the overplus be retained by the said convention, and by them be applied towards putting their province into a posture of defence.

Adjourned till 9 o'Clock to Morrow.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1775

Met.

The Delegates from New Hampshire appeared and produced their credentials, w^{ch} were read and approved, as follows:

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

COLONY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, IN CONGRESS,
 AT EXETER, *August 23^d, 1775.*

Voted, That Colonel Josiah Bartlett be appointed in the Room and Stead of John Sullivan, Esq^r (now Engaged in the Army,) In Conjunction with Captain John Langdon, to Represent this Colony in the Congress of the United Colonies at Philadelphia, and that Either of them, in the Absence of the other, Have full Power to Represent this Colony at said Congress.

MATTHEW THORNTON, *President.*

A true Copy from the Journal,
 Attest,

E. THOMPSON, *Secretary.*¹

M^r: [Thomas] McKean laid before y^e Congress y^e obligation for office, viz. 100,000 dollars of Michael Hillegas, one

¹The original is in the *Papers of the Continental Congress*, New Hampshire, *Credentials of Delegates.*

of the joint treasurers for y^e United Colonies in N. America, July 31, 1775. Also obligation of George Clymer, the other joint treasurer, dated July 29, delivered to the president.

The Congress resumed the consideration of the letters from General Washington, N. 4, 5, and 6, and the same being read and considered by paragraphs; and after some debate, the farther consideration of them was deferred till Monday next.

Resolved, That this Congress will, on Wednesday next, take into consideration the state of the trade of America.

Adjourned till 9 o'Clock on Monday.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1775

Met according to adjournment.

On motion made, *Resolved*, that a ||secret|| Committee be appointed to contract and agree for the importation and delivery of any quantities of gunpowder, not exceeding, in the whole five hundred tons.

That in case such a quantity of gunpowder cannot be obtained, then to contract for the importation of as much saltpetre with a proportionable quantity of sulphur, as with the powder they may procure will make up the quantity of five hundred tons.¹

That the said committee be empowered to procure forty brass field pieces, six pounders.

That the said Committee be empowered to contract for the importation and delivery of any number not exceeding twenty thousand good plain double bridled musquet locks.

That the said Committee be empowered to contract for the importation of ten thousand stand of good arms.

¹ See John Adams's Notes of Debates in this volume.

That the said Committee be enabled to draw orders on the continental treasurers for sufficient sums of money to defray the expence of such contracts.

That the s^d Committee consist of nine, five of whom to be a quorum.

That the business be conducted with as much secrecy as the nature of the service will possibly admit.

Resolved, That this Congress will to Morrow proceed to the election of the said Committee.

The committee appointed to settle the account^{ts} of the riflemen, reported that they had rec^d and examined the accounts of Mr. West and Mr. Donaldson, amounting both to the sum of £1,988. 17. 8. pensyl. curr^v = 5,303 $\frac{3}{4}$ dollars, which was money by them advanced for the purchase of rifles, shirts, &c. for the privates of several companies, which is regularly charged to the men, and for blankets and ammunition supplied them, on acco^t of the continent.

Agreed, That the committee pay the above accounts.

An express arrived with letters from Gen^l Schuyler, dated Isle-au-Noix, 8 Sept^r, which were read.¹

Resolved, That the Congress will to Morrow resume the consideration of the letters from Gen^l Washington, also the letters from Gen^l Schuyler.

Adjourned till to Morrow.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1775

Met according to adjournment.

The Congress took into consideration the letter received yesterday by express from General Schuyler.

Upon motion made, *Ordered*, That the Sec^y publish an authentic account of the intelligence received.²

¹This letter is in *Papers of the Continental Congress*, No. 153, I, 125. An Address to the Inhabitants of Canada by Schuyler was enclosed.

²A part of Schuyler's letter of September 8 was printed in *Pennsylvania Packet*, 25 September, 1775.

Upon motion, *Resolved*, That M^r [Silas] Deane, M^r [Samuel] Chase, M^r J[ohn] Rutledge, and M^r [John] Jay, be a committee to draught a letter to Gen^l Schuyler.

Agreeable to the order of the day the Congress proceeded to the election of nine to compose a committee for the purpose expressed in the resolve of yesterday. The votes being taken the following gentlemen were duly elected, viz: M^r [Thomas] Willing, Doct^r [Benjamin] Franklin, M^r P[hilip] Livingston, M^r [John] Alsop, M^r [Silas] Deane, M^r [John] Dickinson, M^r [John] Langdon, M^r [Thomas] McKean, and M^r [Samuel] Ward.

A motion being made in behalf of one Col. John Fenton, who had been taken into custody by the Convention of New Hampshire, for being concerned in measures dangerous to the rights of America, and who, by order of the General, now remains, on his parole, a prisoner at Hartford; that he may be permitted to go to Great Britain or Ireland,

Resolved, That General Washington be instructed to discharge the said Colonel John Fenton from custody, on his giving his parole of honour to proceed to New York, and from thence to Great Britain or Ireland, and not to take up arms against the good people of this Continent.

||*Resolved*, That the Congress will, to Morrow, take into consideration the letters from General Washington.||

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1775

Met according to adjournment.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the president write to the provincial Congress of New York, or the Committee of Safety, directing them immediately to send forward the whole of the troops ordered to be raised, that they may be

immediately equipped and join General Schuyler, as soon as possible.

~~That the president write to Governor Trumbull and acquaint him that the Congress have directed the troops under the command of General Wooster and three companies under the command of Col. Webb immediately to march to Albany to be ready for the orders of General Schuyler, and to request him to order such other of the Connecticut troops as are now unemployed in that colony to march to Albany, there to wait the orders of Gen^l Schuyler in case he should stand in need of farther reinforcements: to request Gov^r. Trumbull to issue such orders and give such directions to his officers as may effectually prevent all disputes in point of rank or command.~~

The Committee appointed to prepare a letter to Gen^l Schuyler, ||brought in the same,|| which was read and approved,

Ordered, That it be signed by the president and forwarded.

Ordered, That a copy of Gen^l Schuyler's letter be forwarded to Gen^l Washington.

The Congress resumed the consideration of Gen. Washington's letter N. 4.

Resolved, That Mr. [Richard] Gridley have a commission as Colonel of the Artillery.

That the appointment of a Brigadier general be deferred till to Morrow.

That the Congress will to Morrow take into consideration the state of the trade of America.

Adjourned till to Morrow at 9 o'Clock.