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ELIAS BOUDINOT
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THE LIFE
PUBLIC SERVICES, ADDRESSES
AND LETTERS
OF
ELIAS BOUDINOT, LL. D.

PRESIDENT OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

EDITED BY

J. J. BOUDINOT

MEMBER OF THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I.



BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY
The Riverside Press, Cambridge
1896

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The Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A.
Electrotyped and Printed by H. O. Houghton and Company.



PREFACE.

LAPSE of time and the stirring events of our Civil War have thrown somewhat into shade our patriot fathers, with the exception of the one colossal figure looming above the later troubled sea of strife and war, the light of whose patriotism has pierced all misty shadows of the past, and whose name is a watchword for all that is grand and noble. The spell of that great name we invoke to bid "come again, ye children of men," and marshal before us his faithful followers and co-workers.

Elias Boudinot was one of these, the friend of Washington, an ardent patriot and philanthropist, resolute and earnest, of strong intellectual fibre; he gave the greater part of a long life to the service of his country.

Be it ever remembered that these men were treading a new and untried path, leading and legislating for a new order of things. To all of them, as time yields us more and more of their records, do we owe our homage.

The purpose of this volume is to place before the reader the services, speeches, and letters of Elias Boudinot, in such chronological sequence

that they shall for themselves tell the history of his life.

It is to be regretted that often in the early period of our national existence our fathers failed to realize what a precious heritage for us would be the letters to and from these great men. Though many were preserved, many have been destroyed or lost, some given away, and others stolen; the latter was the case with some of the most valuable of those of Elias Boudinot, such having found their way into the dealers' hands, and their marketable value is slowly bringing them to light.

Mr. Boudinot himself says: "A great many interesting anecdotes that happened during the American Revolutionary War are likely to be lost to posterity by the negligence of the Parties concerned in not recording them, so that in future time they may be resorted to as throwing light on the eventful crisis of this important Era. I shall therefore, without any attention to order, but merely as they arise in my memory, set down those that I have had any acquaintance with, attending principally to the Truth of the Fact."

When it is remembered that these accounts of Mr. Boudinot were written chiefly from personal observation, or participation in the events recorded, and, even when he was not himself an actor in the scene, he reflects the feelings and views of

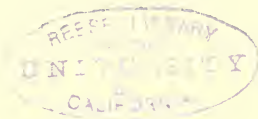
those who were, an added zest is given to the narrative. Corroboration of the main facts, with later accounts culled from various sources, and the absolute integrity of the writer, give a verisimilitude to the whole, even though it apparently differs in some details from accepted versions.

There is also evidence that these Reminiscences were written while Mr. Boudinot was still in the vigor of manhood, and not at all in declining years, when age and illness might have impaired his memory. Many of his official letters as President of the Continental Congress are in the Department of State at Washington, where with courtesy those in charge welcome the student of history with intelligent helpfulness.

I am indebted to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for copies of valuable documents; to Justin Winsor, Esq., Librarian of Harvard College Library, for access to Jared Sparks' manuscript collection; to Charles Roberts, Esq., of Philadelphia, for copies of letters from his manuscript collection; to John Nicholas Brown, Esq., of Providence, R. I., for permission to copy from "The Reminiscences" written by Elias Boudinot, which are in his valuable collection of Americana; for Mr. Boudinot's letter book to Boudinot Keith, Esq., of New York; for copies of records from Marans, France, to M. Louis de Richemond, Archiviste du Département, Corresp. du Ministère

Trav. Histor. La Rochelle; for the "Procès Verbal," to the Rev. W. W. Atterbury, of New York, and for family letters other than my own and those of my brother, W. B. S. Boudinot, Esq. I am under obligations to Boudinot Colt, Esq., of Newark, N. J.; to General William S. Stryker, of Trenton, N. J.; to Mrs. Edwin A. Stevens, of Castle Point, Hoboken, N. J.; to J. Turner Atterbury, Esq., of New York; and to the Hon. Garret D. W. Vroom, of Trenton, N. J. I am also indebted to the courtesy of William Nelson, Esq., of Paterson, N. J.

JANE J. BOUDINOT.



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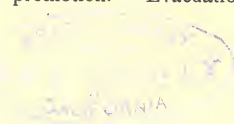
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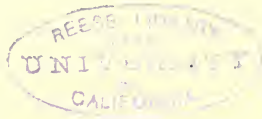
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ELIAS BOUDINOT.

CHAPTER I.

State of New Jersey at the beginning of the Revolution. — Recalled in petition to Congress in 1840, from trustees of the First Presbyterian Church. — Elias Boudinot one of the Committee of Correspondence for Essex County, N. J., 11th June, 1774. — Resolutions. — Other counties. — Elias Boudinot member of a committee appointed by Provincial Congress, May 2, 1775. — Advice of same. — Elias Boudinot deputy to Provincial Congress, May, June, and August, 1775. — Is sent with William Pear-tree Smith to Continental Congress for directions. — Extract of letter from Governor Franklin to Joseph Galloway. — Copy of "Alarm" from Watertown. — Powder sent to Boston. — Chairman of secret committee deserted to the enemy. — Gave information. — William Livingston elected governor and brigadier-general; Elias Boudinot, Aid-de-camp. — Letter of Lord Stirling regarding confinement of Governor Franklin in Mr. Boudinot's house. — Extract from Elias Boudinot's Reminiscences. — Relates debate with Rev. John Witherspoon. — Speech in First Provincial Congress. — Allusion to ancestor under Louis XIV.

It is difficult in these days of peace and prosperity, of rapid transportation and easy communication, for us to realize the anxieties, the constant strain upon nerve, as well as purse, in which our grandsires of the Revolutionary epoch lived.

New Jersey, peculiarly exposed from its central position during the war, a highway between North and South, friend and foe were continually marshaling their forces within her borders; for some time the actual seat of war, her battlefields were many; and from her nearness to

New York and Staten Island, she was constantly subject to sallies from these places in the hands of the British.

Her faithful sons gave nobly of their blood and treasure. No State could boast a fuller roll-call of patriots.

In a petition to Congress in 1840, from the trustees of the First Presbyterian Church of Elizabethtown, praying for indemnification for property destroyed during the Revolutionary War, is the following:—

“The blood of our fathers and brothers and neighbors mingle with the soil of Flatbush and Monmouth and Princeton and Trenton and Brandywine and Germantown. But for their suffering and blood we feel amply repaid in the possession of that broad inheritance of civil and religious liberty which they so dearly purchased for us. As a congregation we contributed our fair proportion to the civil and military services of the Revolution; to the army, we gave a Dayton, father and son, a Spencer, an Ogden, and as chaplain and commissary, our beloved Caldwell; to the state, we gave a Boudinot, a Livingston, a Clark, a Dayton, an Ogden; and we feel not merely proud but thankful to God that we were enabled to send such men to the field and to the cabinet, in the day of darkness and peril, when wisdom to direct was as necessary as valor to execute.”

Midnight alarm, capture, plunder, raids unceas-

ing,— these were the order of the day; but the petition continues:—

“These things we regard as necessarily incidental to the great contest; and a few old Romans there are yet among us, who remember the cup of wormwood, but who yet rejoice in sufferings that have resulted so gloriously. For these things we ask no remuneration, congress could grant us no equivalent. We would not sell the laurels we have won in the Revolutionary contest for the public domain. We mention these things merely to show you the amount of our contribution to the wisdom, and valor, and firmness, and suffering, which achieved our glorious independence; all that we desire now from our country is a compensation for our public property destroyed, and destroyed because of being converted to public purposes for the benefit of the American army.”¹

Peace loving and law abiding, but firm in the conviction that vigorous measures should be adopted to secure the common rights and liberties of the colonies, Elias Boudinot is found among the first to respond to the call for united action. He becomes one of the Committee of Correspondence for Essex County, New Jersey, on the 11th day of June, 1774, when it resolved, “That this county will most readily and cheerfully join their brethren of the other counties in this prov-

¹ *New Jersey Historical Collection*, by John W. Barber and Henry Howe, pp. 170, 171.

ince in promoting such congress of deputies, to be sent from each of the colonies, in order to form a general plan of union, so that the measures to be pursued for the important ends in view may be uniform and firm. That it is our unanimous opinion that it would conduce to the restoration of the liberties of America should the colonies enter into a joint agreement not to purchase or use any articles of British manufacture, and especially any commodities imported from the East Indies, under such restrictions as may be agreed upon by general congress of the said colonies hereafter to be appointed. That the late Act of Parliament relative to Boston, which so absolutely destroys every idea of safety and confidence, appears to us big with the most dangerous and alarming consequences, especially as subversive of that very dependence which we should earnestly wish to continue, as our best safeguard and protection;" and they declare, "That under the enjoyment of our constitutional privileges and immunities we will ever cheerfully render all due obedience to the crown of Great Britain, as well as full faith and allegiance to his most gracious Majesty King George the Third, and do esteem a firm dependence on the mother country essential to our political security and happiness."¹

These men, then, had no idea of separation and

¹ *Minutes of the Provincial Congress and the Council of Safety of the State of New Jersey*, p. 7.

independence; but the logic of events was urging them forward, and having put their hands to the plow, there was no turning back.

The other counties follow fast the lead of Essex, with spirited resolutions; and a committee appointed by the Provincial Congress, of which Elias Boudinot is one, on May the 2d, 1775, "advise and direct," "in view of the alarming and very extraordinary conduct of the British Minister for carrying into execution sundry Acts of Parliament for the express purpose of raising a revenue in America and other unconstitutional measures therein mentioned, and also the several acts of hostilities that they have actually commenced for this purpose by the regular forces under General Gage sent against our brethren of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, are unanimously of opinion and do hereby advise and direct that the Chairman do immediately call a provincial congress, to meet at Trenton, on Tuesday, the 23d of this instant, in order to consider of and determine such matters as may then and there come before them, and the several counties are hereby desired to nominate and appoint their respective deputies."¹

We find Elias Boudinot's name among the deputies who attended this Provincial Congress of May, June, and August of 1775. On Thursday, May the 25th, he, with William Peartree Smith, is sent to the Continental Congress for

¹ *Minutes of the Provincial Congress and Council of Safety*, p. 109.

“directions concerning the line of conduct in which we ought to act.”

On March the 12th, Governor Franklin had written to Joseph Galloway,¹ of Philadelphia:—

“I am sorry the Assembly here did not take my advice and avoid giving any express approbation of the members of the Congress, but they were hurried precipitately into it early in the session by Kinsey, who was weak enough to suffer himself to be made a tool of by Governor William Livingston and Elias Boudinot, who came down on purpose from Elizabethtown and caballed among the members. They persuaded them that if they approved of the proceedings immediately, it would be a means of influencing the New York Assembly, then sitting, to do the like, for that they would not choose to stand single; and besides, it would be better to do it at once, for otherwise the governor, if he should get intelligence that they intended it or had it under consideration, would prevent them by a dissolution.”²

The following is a copy of the “Alarm,” from Watertown, Mass., received by Mr. Boudinot, which sent a thrill of angry indignation through the country, and stirred the fires smouldering in every patriot’s heart, of which the Jersey beacon lights became the outward symbols; flaring up

¹ Member of the Provincial Congress, and in 1776 became an ardent loyalist.

² *New Jersey Archives*, First Series, vol. x. p. 575.

from hilltop to hilltop, as Short Hills flashed to Fort Hill, and Fort Hill to Denville, and so on through the Somerset Hills. These were the signals for arousing the stout yeomanry, who, dropping flail and scythe for a musket, emerged from every byway and mountain path, joining band to band, hastening forward to present an unexpected and resolute front to the enemy.

Copy of the Alarm sent by the Committee of Watertown near Boston, to raise the Country, rec^d by me as Chairman of the Committee of Safety at Elizabeth Town on the Evening of 23^d April 1775 —

WATER TOWN —

Wednesday Morning near 11 of Clock.

To all friends of american liberty, be it known, that this morning before break of day, a Brigade, consisting of about 1000 or 1200 Men, landed at Phipp's Farm at Cambridge and marched to Lexington, where they found a Company of our Militia in Arms, upon whom they fired without any provocation and killed 6 Men & wounded 4 others — By an express from Boston we find another Brigade are now upon their March from Boston, supposed to be about 1000 — The Bearer Israel Bissel is charged to alarm the Country quite to Connecticut; and all Persons are desired to furnish him with fresh Horses, as they may be needed — I have spoken with several, who have seen the dead & wounded —

J. PALMER one of the Committee of s—y —

Forwarded from Worcester April 19, 1775

Brooklyn —	Thursday 11 o Clock
Norwich	4 o Clock
New London	7 o Clock
Lynne —	Friday Morning 1 o Clock
Say Brook —	4 o Clock
Shillingsworth —	7 o Clock
E Guilford —	8 o Clock
Guilford —	10 o Clock
Bradford —	12 o Clock
New Haven —	April 21

Recd & forwarded on certain Intelligence

Fairfield April 22^d 8 o Clock¹

Thursday 3 O'clock Afternoon.

Since the above rec'd the following by second Express.

SIR

I am this moment informed by Express from Woodstock taken from the mouth of the Express that arrived there 2 o'clock afternoon that the contest between the first Brigade that marched to Concord, was still continuing this morning at the Town of Lexington, to which 2d Brigade had retreated. That another Brigade said to be the second mentioned in the letter of this morning had landed with a quantity of artillery at the place where the first did. The Provincials were determined to prevent the two Brigades from joining their strength if possible, and remain in great need of Succour.

— N B The Regulars when in Concord, burnt

¹ MSS., Elias Boudinot.

the Court house — took 2 pieces of Cannon which they rendered useless and began to take up Concord bridge, on which Capt. — (who with many on both sides were soon killed) made an attack on the King's Troops, when they retreated to Lexington. I am &c.

EB WILLIAMS

P S. Mr. and Mrs Farland of Plainfield Mascts, has just returned from Boston by way of Providence, who conversed with an Express from Lexington, who further informs, that about 4000 of our Troops had surrounded the first Brigade who were on a Hill in Lexington. That the action continued & there were about 50 of the men killed and 150 Regulars as near as they could determine when the Express came away. It will be expedient for every man to go, who is fit & willing.

NEW YORK COMMITTEE CHAMBER 4 o'clock.

23d April 1775 P. M.

Recd. the within Act by Express, forw^d by Express to N Brunswick with directions to stop at Elizabeth Town & acquaint the Committee there with the foregoing particulars by order

J S. Low Chairman

The Committee of N Brunswick are desired to forward this to Philadelphia.¹

Marshall, in his "Life of Washington," tells of the terrible lack of powder discovered on Wash-

¹ MSS., Elias Boudinot.

ington's arrival in camp at Cambridge. He says: "All the colonial governments and committees, as well as Congress, were applied to and entreated to send every pound of powder and lead which could be spared; no quantity, however small, they were assured, was beneath notice. In the mean time every saving was practiced, and every effort was used to bring these essential articles into the country. This critical state of things continued for about a fortnight, when the danger resulting from it was in some degree diminished by the arrival of a small supply of powder sent from Elizabethtown, New Jersey. A circumstance attending this transaction will furnish some view of the difficulties encountered by those who then conducted the affairs of America. All essential to the general safety, as it apparently was, to replenish with the utmost possible expedition the magazines of that army which lay in camp in the face of the enemy, the committee of Elizabethtown were under the necessity of transmitting this necessary aid, privately and under other pretexts, lest the people of the neighborhood should seize and retain it for their own security."

In the marginal note of his copy of this work, Mr. Boudinot writes: "I was Chairman of this committee and forwarded this powder, not more than a few quarter casks, say 8 or 10." Marshall continues: "The utmost address was used to conceal from the enemy the alarming deficiency which has been stated; but when it is recollected

in how many various directions and to what various authorities application for assistance was unavoidably made, it will appear scarcely possible that these efforts at secrecy could have been completely successful. It is more probable that the communications which must have been made to the British General were not credited.”¹

Here Mr. Boudinot's marginal note continues, saying: “ This is certainly the case: the Chairman of the secret committee, hearing the fact, became terrified with what was likely to be the inevitable consequence, deserted to the enemy, and communicated to General Gage the destitute situation of the American army with regard to powder, and was by General Gage treated as a spy, charging him with a design of deceiving the British army, just to have them destroyed by believing this falsehood. General Washington told me himself that he had 12 or 13 miles of lines to guard for 14 days, without more than 8 rounds of powder per man for his infantry, and one round for artillery; he dared not fire the morning and evening gun.”

The first legislature under the republican constitution met in Princeton in 1776, and by it William Livingston was elected governor. He moved to Elizabethtown in 1772. In 1776 he was elected brigadier-general, took command of the New Jersey militia, and fixed his camp at Eliz-

¹ *Life of Washington*, by John Marshall, vol. ii. p. 245.

abethtown, where Elias Boudinot was his aid-de-camp.¹

Lord Stirling writes to President Hancock : —

ELIZABETH TOWN Jan^y 10, 1776

SIR

I now send you inclosed Copies of some letters which have passed between Governor Franklin and Lieut Colonel Winds. As it is evident from the last Letter from the Governor that he intends no longer to remain quiet, I thought it most prudent to secure him and remove him to this place ; I accordingly sent orders to Lieut Colonel Winds this morning for that purpose. I have provided good genteel private Lodgings for the Govr. at Mr. Boudinot's which I expect he will occupy this afternoon, and where I intend he shall remain until I have directions from Congress what to do with him.

I am

With great Regard

Your Most Humble Servant

STIRLING

The Honorable JOHN HANCOCK.²

At this epoch Elias Boudinot throws himself heart and soul into the patriotic struggle which, only after weary years of labor and anxiety, was to culminate in the freedom of his country, and permit him to enjoy that domestic happiness and repose so dear to him.

¹ *Notes on Elizabethtown*, by Nicholas Murray.

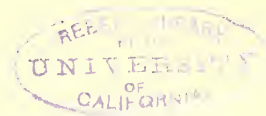
² MSS, Department of State, Washington, D. C., *Letters of General Officers*, No. 162, p. 360.

Mr. Boudinot writes:—

“I was among the first of the Citizens of New Jersey who exerted ourselves in Opposition to the unconstitutional Acts of Great Britain, then the Mother Country, and to whom the Citizens of America were bound by the strongest habits of filial Affection & Religious Obedience—Nothing was farther from our Ideas, than a State of Independence on the Country from which we drew all our Ideas Principles of Happiness & Enjoyment.

“I had read an excellent Treatise, said to have been written by Lord Kames, which in a very extraordinary Measure foretold the certainty of American Independence, in some future day, and that founded on a Train of solid Reasoning, but we talked of it and treated it as the generality of People now do the Accounts they read of the Millenium.

“In 1775 I was chosen a member of the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, and when a Proposition was made by a few weak & violent men for raising a Regiment of Troops, it was opposed by all the Men of Note & Understanding as a Measure wholly against our Duty of Allegiance to Great Britain and rejected as contrary to every Sentiment or Desire of our Constituents—A few weak, violent Men (particularly a William Smith of Woodbridge) were not only for raising a Regiment of Soldiers, but expressly moved for an Order to burn every man's House who should refuse to join the Opposition—It required Pru-



dence & Patience to get rid of the Effects of these hot-headed Measures — But I could not help remarking that these very Men were the first to join the Enemy as soon as they appeared in force.

“In 1776, in the Month of April, an Invitation was given in a Newspaper of New Jersey (but without a name) for each County to choose Delegates or a Committee to meet at New Brunswick, on Matters which greatly concerned the Province — As it was generally conceived to be designed to promote some general Plan relative to a Market for Home Manufactures in each County, Committees were generally appointed, altho’ the Publication made but little Impression on the Minds of the People at large — At this Time the Stated Meeting of the Trustees of the College of New Jersey was held at Princeton — Being one of the Trustees, I attended, but we were surprised, to find our President, the Rev^d John Witherspoon had absented himself on the second Day of our Meeting — We finished our Business and the Next Day, was returning Home, without reflecting at all on the Meeting to be held at New Brunswick, having totally forgotten it — In Company with Wm. P. Smith, Esq., another of the Trustees, arrived at New Brunswick about 11 o’clock A. M. and after feeding our Horse meant to have dined at Woodbridge — In the meantime an Acquaintance from the County of Burgen came into the Tavern — He informed us, that he was one of the Committee from that County — That Dr. Withers-

spoon had met the united Committees, and acknowledged himself the Author of the Publication, and informed them, that the Design of the Meeting was, to consider the peculiar Situation of the Province, and the Propriety of declaring a Separation from Great Britain, and forming an independent Constitution for ourselves, and as he did not wish to precipitate so important a Step, he proposed adjourning till the Afternoon, when he would offer his Reasons at large, and in the meantime each Member might think seriously on the Subject — This unexpected Account, raised our Curiosity, and Mr. Smith & myself agreed to stay and hear what might be said on the Subject; but before the Meeting adjourned, they resolved to request, that as the Subject was one which interested every inhabitant of the Province, any of the Audience might come forward & deliver his Sentiments, altho' he could not vote on the Questions — We accordingly attended the Meeting in the Afternoon when Dr. W—— rose and in a very able, and elegant Speech of one Hour & half endeavored to convince the Audience & the Committee of the absurdity of opposing the extravagant demands of Great Britain, while we were professing a perfect Allegiance to her Authority and supporting her Courts of Justice — The Character of the Speaker, his great Influence among the People, his known Attachment to the Liberties of the People, and the artful Manner in which he represented the whole subject as worthy

their Attention, had an Effect, on the Assembly that astonished me —

“ There appeared a general Approbation of the Measure, and I strongly suspected an universal Acquiescence of both Committees & Audience in approving the doctor's scheme — I never felt myself in a more mortifying Situation — The anonymous Publication — The Meeting of the Trustees of the College but the Day before, made up wholly of Presbyterians — Their President leaving them to attend the Meeting & avowing himself the Author of it — The Doctor known to be at the Head of the Presbyterian Interest, and Mr. Smith & myself both Presbyterians, arriving at New Brunswick in the Morning, as if intending to go forward and then staying and attending the Meeting, altogether looked so like a preconcerted Scheme, to accomplish the End, that I was at my Wit's End, to extricate myself from so disagreeable a Situation, especially as the Measure was totally agt my Judgment — On a Minute's Conversation with Mr. Smith, I determined at all Events to step forward & bear my Testimony agt the Scheme in toto — Two of the Committee had delayed the Question by speaking in favor of it, but no one had spoken in Opposition, till I arose and in a Speech of about half an Hour or better, stated my peculiar Situation and endeavored to show the Fallacy of the Doctor's Arguments — That his Plan was neither founded on Wisdom, Prudence nor Economy — That we had

chosen a Continental Congress, to whom we had resigned the Consideration of our public Affairs — That they coming from every Part of the Union, would best represent all the Colonies now thus united — They would know the true Situation of our Country with regard to Finances, Union & the Prospects we had of a happy Reconciliation with the Mother Country — They would also be possessed of our relative Circumstances with regard to the other Nations of Europe — In short that they were the only proper Judges of the Measures to be pursued, and that we had no right to involve them in Distress & Trouble by plunging ourselves into a Measure of so delicate a Nature until they should advise us in what Manner to Proceed, &c. &c.

“ This Opposition wholly unsuspected by the Doctor with the great Attention of all present, a little disconcerted him but he soon recovered himself and began a Reply, when two or three gent^l of the Audience came to me & desired that I would inform the Doctor, that if he proceeded any farther, they would not be answerable for his Safety — I answered, that the Request was an unreasonable one — That I had been the only Person present who had opposed him, that he had a Right to be heard in Reply, and if they disliked the Proposition they ought openly to come forward & to give their Opinions —

“ The Doctor had not spoken twenty Minutes, when I observed some persons whispering to

him — He directly stopped — Informed the Chairman that he found that he was giving Offense, and therefore he should say no more on the Subject, but hoped that the Committees would return to their respective Counties & consult their Constituents, without coming to any Determination on the Subject — To this I objected, urging the Impropriety of breaking up without a Vote, as in that Case the Opinion of the Meeting would be variously reported in the different Counties according to each Man's political Creed and the People would by these Means be led astray —

“ The Doctor was a good deal out of Humour, & contended warmly agt a Vote — But a large Majority of the Meeting insisted on a Vote, which being taken, out of 36 Members there were but 3 or 4 who voted for the Doctor's Proposition, the Rest rejecting it with great Warmth — Thus ended this first Attempt to try the Pulse of the People of New Jersey on the Subject of Independence, and yet when advised by the Continental Congress, no Part of the Union was more hearty, than the State of New Jersey.”¹

The following is the speech made by Mr. Boudinot in the First Provincial Congress of New Jersey: —

“ Under these circumstances the Committee to whom this Department was committed were assured that no common representation of the People was equal to the necessity of our affairs

¹ *Reminiscences of Elias Boudinot*, Library of Mr. John Carter Brown.

and not knowing how soon such disorder and confusion might reach this Province as would prevent even self defence, thought proper to recommend, and the good People of this Province have approved the present Congress. Thus Mr. Chairman we are met on the most important Business that ever has been agitated in this Colony, every man must feel himself unequal to the task. I hope we are all come here, for the Purpose (not of overturning or destroying our happy Constitution as our Enemies absurdly assert) but of supporting, maintaining and building it up secure agt all the attack of every Invader. Our Elder Brethren forgetfull of their former affection have treated us as Aliens and Enemies, but let us not forget the happy Tye. Let us enter on this Important Business under the Idea that we are Christians, on whom the Eyes of the World are now turned. Christians who profess to see the unhappy Mistakes of those who would oppress us. Let us in the first Place conscious of our own weakness, and utter Inability to help defend ourselves, humbly and penitently implore the Aid of that Almighty God, whom we profess to Serve—let us earnestly call and beseech him for Christs sake to preside in our Councils and to overrule our determination for all the general Good.

“Let us not be elated with the prospect of success on the first dawn of the Contest, and thereby be lead to behave to our Enemies in a manner we should not wish them to behave to us were

they to get the upperhand. The fortune of war is precarious, the race not being to the swift nor the Battle to the Strong.

“As our Consultations must be on subjects that I believe are strange to every Individual, let us proceed with diffidence cautiously and deliberately. Let not the Expence of Time deter us from exercising Patience, knowing how many Thousands are affected by our determinations. Let every one thoroughly understand every subject and be well satisfied in his own Mind before he determines and if a Matter is doubtfull let us not rashly pursue it.

“Let us set out upon Principle and strictly adhere to it, and we shall be most likely to keep on the Path of Wisdom. Let Peace, harmony, and Union be our great Pole Star and if it can be obtained on any rational Terms whatever let us pursue it with all our might, remembering that the Lips of Wisdom have pronounced Blessed is the Peace Maker for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven. Let every endeavour be used to prevent Effusion of human Blood, for which End let all our preparations for a Case of necessity be solely directed.

“Let us lay aside every selfish private view remembering that we now represent a whole Colony and indeed future Generations yet unborn. That we are not our own but the publicks. That we know no Man but as a Member of the great whole.

“ Having thrown out these general Hints, I shall conclude, after recommending you to the Grace of God and the influence of his Spirit, and with making a Motion in the following words, making no Apology for the length of Time I have engaged the attention of this worthy Board, than that from the necessity and Importance of the Case, we should be glad of hearing every Thing from the meanest Member, that we may on the whole determine with Propriety and Judgment.

“ In as much as the Business likely to engage the attention and deliberation of the present Congress is of the utmost consequence to the good People of this Colony; for the successfull determination whereof, we can only depend on the all powerfull Influence of the Spirit of God, whose divine aid and assistance it becomes us as a Christian People most devoutly to implore. Therefore I move, that some Minister of the Gospel be requested to attend this Congress every morning at o'clock during the Sessions in order to open the Meeting with Prayer humbly supplicating Almighty God to preside over and direct our Councils for the Accomplishment of Peace Unanimity and Harmony between Great Britain and these distressed Colonies, and to grant that success to our publick affairs that will advance the great designs of his Providence.”¹

¹ MS. indorsed, “ Address to Provincial Congress at their first sitting.” (Pennsylvania Historical Society.)

It is amid such scenes that the figure of Elias Boudinot comes naturally to view. Born on May 2, 1740, he grew up amid the discontents of the colony and the threatening of the coming storm, which, as we have seen, burst upon the devoted country at a period of his life when he could give the best of his years to her service.

His home training and his education were such as to fit him for the duties that manifestly lay before him. He had inherited from his Huguenot ancestors that stern rectitude of character and love of liberty for which they had suffered.

Following the natural laws of evolution, he is found in the front rank of patriots. Possessing a sound and vigorous mind, allied to a tender and loving heart, resolute and firm in his convictions, he never for a moment doubts the path of duty, nor does he sacrilegiously lay his hand upon aught of worth that time and custom had sanctioned. With his brother patriots, he seeks every redress from constituted authority within the limit of possibility, and then, and only then, when all is in vain, does he turn his back upon the past.

The blood that stirred in the veins of his ancestor, the fourth Elias Boudinot in direct ascent from himself, under the stringent and merciless edicts of Louis XIV. of France, tingled in his own at the recital of the wrongs inflicted upon his countrymen in Boston. True to those instincts, the heritage from the "persecuted for righteousness' sake," he takes his stand not only for liberty, but justice.

CHAPTER II.

Mr. Boudinot's law studies. — Dr. Cannon's recollections of the two Boudinot brothers as related by Mr. Justice Bradley. — Election of Judge Elisha Boudinot. — William Peartree Smith. — Boudinot ancestors. — Elie Boudinot, the first in this country. — One of the founders of the French Church in New York. — Protest to Lieutenant-Governor Leisler. — His lands in the Jerseys. — Mr. Boudinot's marriage to Hannah Stockton. — Annis Boudinot, Mrs. Stockton. — Pintards. — Annis Stockton conceals papers from the British. — Her correspondence with Washington. — Elisha Boudinot. — His marriages. — William Peartree Smith. — Nathan Hale confined in Beekman House. — Elisha Boudinot's letters relating to early movements of the Revolution. — Commissary of Prisoners for New Jersey. — Essex County Committee of ladies. — Female Charitable Society. — Elisha Boudinot's house in Newark.

MR. BOUDINOT studied law with his brother-in-law, Richard Stockton, the signer of the Declaration of Independence, was licensed as counselor and attorney at law on November 9, 1760, and licensed as serjeant at law on September 11, 1770. He had received a classical education, and the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by Yale College in 1790.

The late Mr. Justice Bradley, of the Supreme Court of the United States, writes : —

“ Old Dr. Cannon, a professor in New Brunswick, told me, that when he was a boy fourteen or fifteen years old he was at school at Hackensack and used to love to attend the court there, and Dr. Peter Wilson, the principal of the Academy,

let him go to the court, and two brothers, lawyers, elegant men, tall, handsome and every way prepossessing, used to attend the court, coming from Elizabethtown for that purpose; Their names were Boudinot, and whenever they spoke, crowds were attracted to hear them, on account of the elegance and eloquence of their speeches; these brothers were Elias and Elisha Boudinot. I wish I could describe them as Dr. Cannon did; For many years no professional man stood so high in Newark as Elisha Boudinot during the same period; he was a Newark lawyer (from Elizabethtown first) of high reputation, a rigid Presbyterian and a strong Federalist, a supporter of the Federal Constitution and of Washington, its representative champion. The Federalists of New Jersey wishing to have him on the Bench, passed a law making an additional Judge of the Supreme Court, there were only three before, and elected him as Judge. Before his term expired the Jeffersonians (or the mob) got the political power and repealed the law, so that when his term expired, there was no election to fill his place.”¹

They, the two Boudinots, with William Pear-tree Smith, whose daughter Elisha married on October 14, 1778, were men peculiarly distinguished by the British raiders, as witness the family portraits hewn and gashed by the Hessians in the visitation to their homes; lucky substitutes for the masters, whose absence saved their own

¹ Letter to J. J. Boudinot.

heads, for which rewards were offered by the enemy.

The father of these brothers was Elias Boudinot, who married, in Antigua, Catherine Williams; their grandfather Elias married Mary Catherine Carée, a Huguenot, and their great-grandfather, whose wife was Janice Berand,¹ came from Marans, in the Province of Rochelle, France, in 1685, having been driven thence by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He first went to London, where he became naturalized by royal letters patent, as he says in his will, executed in London, by Andre Mincot, Notaire Royal: "Ayant été contraint d'abandoner ma patrie pour éviter la continuelle persécution qu'on me fesoit pour la profession de l'Evangile I retired en ce lieu avec ma femme et nos enfans. Je recommande mon âme à la sainte et glorieuse Trinité, &c., déclarant que je veux vivre et mourir en la créance et profession de la religion réformée à laquelle j'ai été par la grâce de Dieu élevé."

In the will above referred to, he speaks of a contract of marriage executed by Andre Mincot, Notaire Royal, of London, and also of his son Elie (Elias), "mon fils de mon premier mariage." His first wife was Janice Berand, his second, Susanne Papin; there were three other children registered in London, John, Peter, and Mary, under date of 1686, or 20th March, year of James II., the name there spelled Boudinet.

From London the first Elias (or Elie) of this

¹ See Jeanne Barreau, Genealogical Notes, Appendix.

country came to New York about the year 1687. He was one of the founders of the French Church in New York, and its first elder; he had also been an elder in the Reformed Church at Marans. He was able to bring only a part of his fortune with him, leaving some of his possessions in France. He, with Pieretz (*Ecclesiæ Gallicæ* pastor) and Eudolphus Varick (pastor *Ecclesiæ reliquæ in insula longa*), addressed to their Majesties William and Mary a protest against the cruel and oppressive acts of Lieutenant-Governor Leisler.¹

Though settled as a merchant in New York, Elie Boudinot bought extensive lands in Bergen County, N. J.; but the family did not become residents of that State until about the epoch of the Revolution.

Little is recorded of Mr. Boudinot's youth; his courtship of his "Eugenia" began at an early age. When eighteen years old, in reply to a letter from her, in which she appears to deprecate her own standing as a Christian, and refers to what must have been a somewhat unusually frank and independent frame of mind for a young woman of her surroundings, he writes, urging that "she press forward towards a heavenly goal,"

¹ Rev. William Hall, from *Protestant Exiles*, by Rev. David C. Agnew, London, 1871; *Family Records and Wills: Correspondence with M. Louis de Richemond*, archiviste du département correspondant du Ministère Histoire, La Rochelle, France.

See *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, by Charles W. Baird, D. D., in which he refers to the title of Seigneur de Cressy as belonging to Elie Boudinot.

and begs that she "will not let one who is but mortal, and flesh and blood like herself, be a means of drawing off her soul from the great things of another world."

"I return you my most cordial acknowledgment for your expressions of the thankful heart to the Almighty God for me, oh that he would turn the blessing on your own breast, with the addition of his heavenly influence and make me worthy the title you so lavishly bestow upon me."¹

In 1761, he writes her of his disappointment, hoping that their correspondence would by that time have ceased, owing to a nearer connection; "yet, nevertheless, I live in great hopes that all is for the best. The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice; knowing that neither death nor life, for the present, nor things to come, can separate us from the love of God, who has assured us that all things work together for their good that fear his holy name."

Mr. Boudinot married, April 21, 1762, Hannah Stockton. Hannah and Elias, previous to their marriage, addressed each other as Eugenia and Narcissus, following a fashion which appears to have been in vogue with lovers in those days, which, to our modern, practical, and workaday minds, may seem somewhat stilted; but we may apply Mr. Boudinot's own words, when writing to his only daughter later as to her conduct: "I am too well acquainted with the human heart to

¹ Family letters.

wish you entirely to change the manners of the present day, or to appear altogether affectedly singular. It will be most for your advancement, as well as happiness, to take the world as you find it, and endeavor to convert even the prejudices of fashion and common life into such proper channels, as to make them subservient to your advancement in usefulness.”¹

Hannah Stockton was the sister of Richard Stockton, the patriot, “signer” from New Jersey, who married Annis Boudinot, the sister of Elias Boudinot; they, with the Pintards (who were also descended from Elie Boudinot) and the Smiths, formed a strong family alliance in favor of the patriot cause; and many services were rendered and important information conveyed to the Councils of the State and to the commander-in-chief, through them.

Annis Boudinot, beautiful and gifted, was full of courage and high spirit. It was after her marriage to Richard Stockton, as the mistress of Morven, that delightful colonial home of the Stocktons, on the borders of Princeton, that her presence of mind during the battle of Princeton enabled her to secrete and save important state papers, as well as those of the American Whig Society of Princeton College, for which service her name was placed upon its rolls as an honorary member. Loving verses and inspiring odes attest the quality of her heart and mind. Some

¹ Family letters.

of these drew from Washington graceful and lively epistles. On the receipt of some verses on the surrender of Cornwallis, he writes:—

PHILADELPHIA, PA., July 22nd, 1782.

MADAM:—

Your favour of the 17th, conveying to me your pastoral on the subject of Lord Cornwallis' capture, has given me great satisfaction. Had you known the pleasure it would have communicated, I flatter myself your diffidence would not have delayed it to this time. Amidst all the compliments which have been made me on this occasion, be assured, madam, that the agreeable manner and the very pleasing sentiments in which yours is conveyed, have affected my mind with the most lively sensations of joy and satisfaction.

This address from a person of your refined taste and elegance, affords a pleasure beyond my powers of utterance, and I have only to lament that the hero of your pastoral, is not more deserving of your pen, but the circumstance shall be placed among the happiest events of my life.

I have the honor to be, madam, your most obedient and respectful servant.

GO. WASHINGTON.¹

The following she addressed to Washington upon the announcement of the peace in 1783:—

“ With all thy country's blessings on thy head,
 And all the glory that encircles man,
 Thy deathless fame to distant nations spread,
 And realms unblest by Freedom's genial plan ;

¹ Family letters.

Addressed by statesmen, legislators, kings,
 Revered by thousands as you pass along,
 While every muse with ardour spreads her wings
 To greet our hero in immortal song;
 Say, can a woman's voice an audience gain,
 And stop a moment thy triumphal car?
 And wilt thou listen to a peaceful strain,
 Unskilled to paint the horrid wrack of war?
 For what is glory — what are martial deeds —
 Unpurified at Virtue's awful shrine?
 Full oft remorse a glorious day succeeds,
 The motive only stamps the deed divine.
 But thy last legacy, renowned chief,
 Hath decked thy brow with honours more sublime,
 Twined in thy wreath the Christian's firm belief,
 And nobly owned thy faith to future time." ¹

We have not the letter in which she incloses the ode, but he answers:—

ROCKY HILL, Sept. 24th, 1783.

You apply to me, my dear madam, for absolution, as though you had committed a crime, great in itself, yet of the venial class. You have reason good, for I find myself strangely disposed to be a very indulgent ghostly adviser on this occasion, and notwithstanding you are the most offending soul alive (that is if it is a crime to write elegant poetry,) yet if you will come and dine with me on Thursday, and go through the proper course of penitence which shall be prescribed, I will strive hard to assist you in expiating these poetical trespasses on this side purgatory. Nay, more, if it rests with me to direct your future lucubrations, I shall certainly urge you to a repetition of the same conduct — on purpose to show what an ad-

¹ Family letters.

mirable knack you have at confession and reformation; and so without more hesitation I shall venture to recommend the muse not to be restrained by ill-grounded timidity, but to go on and prosper. You see, madam, when once the woman has tempted us, and we have tasted the forbidden fruit, there is no such thing as checking our appetite, whatever the consequences may be. You will, I dare say, recognize our being genuine descendants of those who are reputed to be our progenitors. Before I come to the more serious conclusion of my letter, I must beg leave to say a word or two about these fine things you have been telling in such harmonious and beautiful numbers. Fiction is to be sure the very life and soul of poetry. All poets and poetesses have been indulged in the free and indisputable use of it — time out of mind, and to oblige you to make such an excellent poem on such a subject without any materials but those of simple reality would be as cruel as the edict of Pharaoh, which compelled the children of Israel to manufacture bricks without the necessary ingredients. Thus are you sheltered under the authority of prescription, and I will not dare to charge you with an intentional breach of the rules of the decalogue in giving so bright a colouring to the services I have been enabled to render my country, though I am not conscious of deserving more at your hands than what the purest and most disinterested friendship has a right to claim; actuated by which

you will permit me to thank you in the most affectionate manner for the kind wishes you have so happily expressed for me and the partner of all my domestic enjoyments. Be assured we can never forget our friend at Morven, and that I am, my dear madam, with every sentiment of friendship and esteem, your most obedient and obliged servant.

GO. WASHINGTON.¹

Mrs. STOCKTON.

Mr. Elisha Boudinot, born January 2, 1749, was nine years younger than his brother Elias: between them there existed an unusually strong attachment, and the younger studied law with the elder.

Elisha was licensed as counselor at law on November 17, 1773, and as serjeant at law November 10,³ 1792.

His first wife was the daughter of William Peartree Smith, grandson of William Peartree, mayor of New York, 1703-1707.²

Mr. Smith, with his friends, Governor Livingston and the Boudinots, removed from New York to Elizabethtown at the same time. He graduated at Yale College in 1742, studied law, but, being possessed of an ample fortune, did not practice. He was an ardent patriot, and employed his pen as the advocate of his country's cause. Articles of his appeared in the "Independent

¹ Family letters and papers.

² Martha Lamb's *History of New York*.

Reflector," of New York, from 1752 to 1753 and 1754. He was mayor of the borough of Elizabethtown for several years, a member of the Committee of Safety, deputy to the Colonial Congress, and after the Revolution one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas for the county of Essex.

Mr. Elisha Boudinot's second wife was Rachel Bradford, sister of Washington's attorney-general, a woman noted for her intellectual endowments, and correspondence with many of the great men of the age, both in America and Europe. His third wife was Catherine Beekman, daughter of James Beekman, Esq., of New York. It was in her father's house, then in possession of the British, that the young patriot, Nathan Hale, was confined and tried by court-martial and sentenced to be hanged.

Elisha Boudinot's strong personality has left its impress upon the times. In various public and official documents we find the records of this younger member of the family circle. Some of these carry us back to the opening scenes of the revolutionary struggle in New Jersey. He was elected commissary of prisoners for that State by joint meeting, December 12, 1778. The similarity in the names of the two brothers and the offices they held might lead to some confusion, unless the reader is reminded that Elias Boudinot was commissary-general of prisoners, while his brother Elisha was commissary of prisoners for the State of New Jersey only. The latter was also

one of the Committee of Correspondence for the township of Newark in May, 1775. On August 4, we find him acting with Lewis Ogden and William Burnet as a special committee, writing to Captain Ross, commander of a company of riflemen, approving of his conduct, as follows:—

TO CAPTAIN ROSS, COMMANDER OF A COMPANY OF RIFLEMEN.

August 4th, 1775.

SIR:

We the Subscribers being members of the special Committee for the Township of New-Ark, County of Essex & Province of New Jersey having carefully examined James Campbell are of opinion from the Inconsistency of his Story, and his refusing to give us satisfaction as to his Connections or Business and from his Behaviour at Philadelphia and in this Province towards your Company, that you acted very Right, and in the Line of your Duty in confining the said Campbell, as he might have given Information to the Man of War, of your Rout, which would have been attended with bad Consequences, and do advise you to take him with you into New England, where you can leave him with some Committee who will be able to take Charge of him otherwise to carry him on to the Camp.

We are Your H'ble Servts

LEWIS OGDEN

WM. BURNET

ELISHA BOUDINOT

August 4th 1775

To Capt. Ross Commander
of a Company of Riflemen.
(Endorsed) Examination of JAMES
CAMPBELL at Newark
Newark Augt. 4, 1775
from ELIAS BOUDINOT
& others
to Capt. Ross.¹

REV. ALEXANDER MCWHORTER AND MR. ELISHA BOUDI-
NOT TO GOVERNOR LIVINGSTON.

NEWARK April 26, 1777

May it please your Excellency: The unhappy situation of this town being so contiguous to the enemy, who threaten us daily with an invasion, renders it absolutely necessary that the militia of this place should be put on a more respectable footing and officered with gentlemen whose tried fidelity in a time of distress entitles them to the confidence of their country. A number of the inhabitants have agreed to recommend as officers the persons mentioned in the enclosed petition to your Excellency. And as some particular reasons render it absolutely necessary that no time should be lost in having proper officers appointed, we have sent Mr. Banks as an express. He is a person who is capable of giving a true representation of the state of the town and who may be depended on. If your Excellency and the council

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, *Letters to Washington*, vol. vi. p. 122.

A clerical error in the indorsement of this letter as from Elias instead of Elisha Boudinot in index of Department of State, Washington.

should approve of the gentlemen recommended, we beg Mr. Banks may be dispatched with the commissions immediately.

We have the honor to be your Excellency's
ob't and

humble servants

A. McWHORTER,

ELISHA BOUDINOT¹

Governor LIVINGSTON

MR. JOSEPH HEDDEN, JR., TO GOVERNOR LIVINGSTON.

NEWARK June 21st 1777

SIR :

I take this opportunity by a light horse sent by Mayor Hayes, to transmit to your Excellency the names of the women that have their husbands at New York or Bergen, with the enemy. Nothing new in this town since I saw your Excellency. I am daily applied to by some of the inhabitants of this place to nominate some fit person to act as deputy Surrogate. There are a number of wills to be proved, and letters of administration granted and no person in this county qualified to act in that office. If your Excellency would please to appoint Elisha Boudinot Esqr. to that office it would greatly oblige a number of the inhabitants of this town. There yesterday came to this town one Caleb Bruen, who was taken prisoner about eight weeks ago by the enemy, at or near Paramus. I suppose he is sent by Mr. Brown and

¹ From correspondence of the executive of New Jersey, *Revolutionary Correspondence*, p. 58.

Mr. Isaac Ogden to get intelligence. He is to return back to New York in three or four days, and shows a pass from Gen. Pigot to come to Newark and return to New York. If your Excellency thinks proper said Bruen should be permitted to return to New York, please to inform me by the bearer.

I am your Excellency's most ob't and h'e
servant

JOS. HEDDEN JR.¹

His Excellency Gov. LIVINGSTON

MR. ELISHA BOUDINOT TO GOVERNOR LIVINGSTON.

NEWARK Oct. 9th, 1777.

SIR

I received your favor yesterday relative to the appointment with which your Excellency and the Committee of Safety have honored me. The inadequate salary would not have been the obstacle against my accepting the office, as during the present distress of my country, I would freely devote my time to its service, and I should have immediately set out for Bordentown on the reception of your letter, had I not previous to this, received an office in the military department. I am in hopes, however, to get liberty to act as secretary for the short time you will set, which I suppose will be no longer than the meeting of the Legislature.

I shall be able to determine this on Monday, which if it is according to my wishes, I will set

¹ *New Jersey Revolutionary Correspondence*, p. 72.

out on Tuesday. If it should be otherwise, must beg your Excellency and the Committee of Safety to accept of my thanks for the polite offer and to be assured that it is with the greatest reluctance, if I am obliged to decline the appointment.

I have the honor to be your Excellency's
most ob't
and humble serv't.,

ELISHA BOUDINOT

His Excellency Gov. LIVINGSTON¹

MR. ELISHA BOUDINOT TO COLONEL ALEXANDER
HAMILTON.

HEAD QUARTERS

29th Aug. 1778.

Saturday Morg 5 Oc-

The person mentioned to you came over last night and informs me that Gen^l Clinton with his whole Army has set off for Rhode Island. They are gone up the Sound and across the East end of Long Island there are only a small guard left in the City — not a canoe is suffered to pass up the East River least it should be known, they moved with the utmost secrecy — as it might be, you have not heard of this movement I send this by express

I am, with esteme

Yours as ever

ELISHA BOUDINOT.²

The "New Jersey Journal" has in its issue of July 5, 1780, the following: —

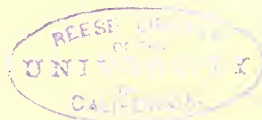
¹ Selections from *New Jersey Revolutionary Correspondence*, p. 105.

² Family papers.

“On July 4th Mrs. Josiah Hornblower was designated with Mrs. Governor Livingston, and Mrs. Elisha Boudinot and Mrs. William Burnet as a committee of Essex County ladies with others equally prominent throughout the State to receive subscriptions for the succor of the country’s defenders in the field.”

At the present writing there still exists in active operation a society of ladies for aiding the poor of Newark, known as the “Female Charitable Society,” which had its origin in Mrs. Boudinot’s parlor. It is largely carried on by the descendants of the ladies there assembled; and the seed there sown has grown into a most flourishing tree, as shown by the fine building dedicated to the work of “helping the poor to help themselves,” with its kindergarten, cooking, sewing, and industrial schools, supplemented by mothers’ meetings, and a children’s refuge.

Judge Elisha Boudinot’s house is still standing in the centre of Park Place; its ample rooms, and dining-room fifty feet long, testifying to its old-time hospitality; but the spacious garden, which covered the entire block, has given place to modern encroachment.

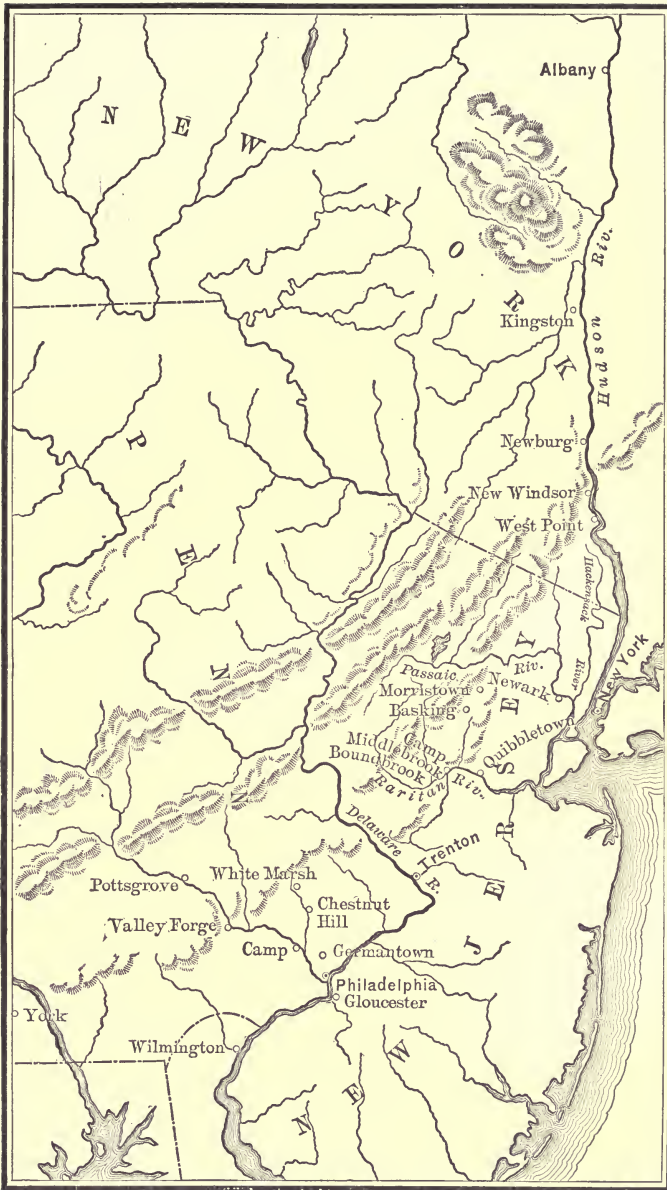


CHAPTER III.

Respecting prisoners captured by the British.—General Washington requests Mr. Boudinot to accept a commission as commissary-general of prisoners.—Resolution of Congress granting the same.—Exertions of Mr. Boudinot to obtain supplies for prisoners.—Supplies funds.—General Washington tells him he will share losses.—Resolves of Congress to issue warrants in favor of Elias Boudinot for sums borrowed of him.—Mr. Loring to General Washington, on distress of prisoners in New York, April 24, 1777.—Mr. Boudinot to Richard Peters, Esq., regarding prisoners.—Enemy retreating to Brunswick.—Mr. Boudinot to Governor Livingston, informing him of the movement of the army.—Harassing British army in retreat.—Surprise of General Lincoln at Bound Brook.—Commissary Loring to Mr. Boudinot.—4th July.—Removal of family from Elizabethtown to Baskingridge.—Daughter Susan: anecdotes relating to her childhood.—Mr. Boudinot from camp near New Windsor to Mrs. Boudinot.—Washington watching the enemy, undecided as to their destination.—Mr. Boudinot to Mrs. Boudinot from Philadelphia, September 12.—Battle of Brandywine.—To Mrs. Boudinot from headquarters at Germantown, September 4.—From camp near Schuylkill, September 23.—Same day Potts Grove.—The enemy on the move up Schuylkill.—Mr. Jeremiah Wadsworth to Mr. Boudinot.

THE papers and letters which follow from Elias Boudinot carry us with him from his seat in the Provincial Congress to the camps and into the path of the army. We see him filled with anxieties for his country and with tender solicitude for his family, while exposed to the rigors of Valley Forge, and endeavoring to fill up gaps in the public purse by drafts upon his own pocket, to feed, clothe, and shelter his needy prisoners.

In the discharge of his duties as commissary-



ROUTE OF THE COMMISSARY GENERAL ELIAS BOUDINOT
1777-1778

RECEIVED
UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA

general of prisoners and conducting the intelligence of the army doubtless began that respect, esteem, and affection for the great leader which he possessed in such a high degree.

Up to this time our prisoners captured by the British had been treated merely as rebels, and suffered great cruelty at their hands, until retaliation and the remonstrance of the commander-in-chief induced a change.

“No commissary of prisoners having been appointed, they had been turned over to the different states and committees; and it became necessary to search out and collect them, in order to their exchange. Great delays were unavoidably produced by this state of things, and the suffering Americans were taught to impute the continuance of their captivity to their own general. In addition to this, it not infrequently happened that the British prisoners were sent in without the knowledge of General Washington, and in some cases they passed unobserved, with permits from the state authority, through his camp, directly into that of the enemy.”¹

Orders and resolutions of Congress respecting the exchange and treatment of prisoners complicated matters still further. Many of our prisoners, too, were so enfeebled by hardship that they died when sent out for the purpose of being exchanged, and Washington refused a return for these.

Sir William Howe refused to permit a resident

¹ Marshall's *Life of Washington*, note on p. 26.

agent in New York for supplying our prisoners; these facts, with the exchange of General Lee and Ethan Allen, brought about angry discussion and delay. The office and the officer were alike new and untried; everything in the department had to be defined and regulated, abuses suppressed, and law and order established.

Mr. Boudinot writes: —

“In the spring of 1777 General Washington wrote me a letter dated Morristown April 1st, 1777, requesting me to accept a commission as commissary-General of Prisoners in the Army of America. I waited on him and politely declined the task, urging the wants of the Prisoners and having nothing to supply them: He very kindly objected to the conduct of gentlemen of the country refusing to join him in his arduous Struggle. That he had nothing in view but the salvation of his Country, but it was impossible for him to accomplish it alone: That if men of character and influence would not come forward and join him in his exertions, all would be lost — Affected by this address and Supposing that I could be of some service to the Prisoners and at the same time have an eye on the military Power and prevent its encroachments on the Civil authority, I consented to accept the Commission, on the General's assurance that I should be supplied by the secret Committee of Congress with hard money for the relief of Prisoners and that I should only

be subject to his orders, in the conduct of my department.”¹

With his kind heart and benevolent disposition, he doubtless feared to witness distress which he could not relieve. He enters, however, almost immediately upon the duties of the office.

On June 6, 1777, Congress resolved:—

“That a commission be granted to Elias Boudinot Esq^r as Commissary General of Prisoners, the said commission to be dated the 15 day of May last and Mr. Boudinot to be allowed the pay and rations of a colonel. That Elias Boudinot be empowered to appoint two Deputy Commissioners of Prisoners the said Deputies to be allowed the pay and rations of Majors”—and on June 23^d “Resolved that Elias Boudinot Esq^r Commissary Genl of Prisoners have power to appoint three Deputies under him in addition to those he heretofore was authorized to appoint.

“Further resolved that the Commissary of Prisoners be empowered to make such contracts on behalf of the United States of America and to make such reasonable alterations from the directions of the board of War as he may find necessary to obtain an equitable bargain for the mutual supply of Prisoners.”²

Mr. Boudinot writes:—

“Soon after I had entered my Department, the Applications of the Prisoners were so numerous

¹ *Reminiscences, Elias Boudinot*, Library of Mr. John Carter Brown.

² *Journal of Congress*.

and their distress was so urgent, that I exerted every Nerve to obtain Supplies but in Vain — Excepting £600 — I had received from the Secret Committee on Bills Of Exchange at my first Entrance into the Office — I could not by any Means get a Farthing more, except in Continental Money, which was of no Avail in New York — I applied to the General describing my delicate Situation and the continual Application of the Officers, painting their extreme Distress and urging the Assurance they had rec^d that on my Appointment, I was to be furnished with adequate Means for their full Relief — The General appeared greatly distressed and assured me that it was out of his Power to afford me any Supplies — I proposed drawing Cloathing from the public stores, but to this he objected as not having anything like a sufficient Supply for the Army — He urged my considering & adopting the best Means in my Power to satisfy the Necessities of the Prisoners & he would confirm them — I told him I knew of no Means in my Power but to take what Monies I had of my own & to borrow from my Friends in New York, to accomplish the desirable Purpose — He greatly encouraged me to the Attempt, promising me that if I finally met with any Loss, he would divide it with Me — On this I began to afford them some Supplies of Provisions over & above what the Enemy afforded them, which was very small & very indifferent.”¹

¹ *Reminiscences, Elias Boudinot*, Library of Mr. John Carter Brown.

On December 20, 1777, Congress resolved:—

“That the following warrants be drawn on Thomas Smith, Commissioner of the Loan Office of the State of Pennsylvania, viz: one in favor of Elias Boudinot for 5000 dollars to be paid in loan-office certificates bearing date the 21st of May last being in discharge of so much borrowed of him at that time by William Palfrey pay-master General”

“One in favour of Elias Boudinot for 1200 dollars to be dated the 7th of July last being in discharge of so much borrowed of him at that time by W. Palfrey Pay-master General.”¹

Again on March 18, 1778, for the sum of \$25,000—sums of far greater value than the like amount in the present day, calling for great sacrifice on the part of the lender; thus drawing from his own private revenue, and being at times compelled to beg from one to another, to supply the wants of the starving and shoeless soldiers as well as to abandon a lucrative and congenial profession and the comforts of home, to follow the army and endure the discomforts and dangers of camp life.

Mr. Joshua Loring, British commissary-general of prisoners writes to General Washington:—

NEW YORK HEADQUARTERS April 24 1777.

SIR

I am directed by his Excellency Sir William Howe to inform you, that your Prisoners here

¹ Reports of the Board of Treasury, MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington.

are in the greatest Distress for want of cloathing. The sick in the Hospitals are particularly in Want of this Article, so essential to their Health; To guard against the sufferings which the Prisoners lately in our hands underwent for want of cloathing and of the other necessaries which they had a Right to expect from their friends and to prevent the unjust Interpretations which have been thrown out with Regard to their Sufferings, His Excellency has thought proper to have this early information conveyed to you, that you may take such steps as you shall judge necessary for their immediate supply.

I am likewise to inform you that the General has no objection to your employing Mr. Pintard or any other Person in furnishing your Prisoners with Provision, or any other necessary articles you may be desirous of sending in to them.

I am Sir with due Respect
your most obedient and
most Humble Servant

JOS^A LORING
Commissary for Prisoners.¹

General WASHINGTON, &c.

MR. BOUDINOT TO RICHARD PETERS, ESQ.

CAMP MIDDLE BROOK, June 20 1777

SIR,

Give me leave to trouble you with a state of our unhappy Prisoners with the Enemy on Long Island & New York, as I cannot doubt but the

¹ Family papers.

Board of War will exert themselves & have something done for those brave men, after such a scene of suffering as they have gone thro —

The last evening, an officer from that Island, who has broke his Parole, called upon me, and gave me such a history of their treatment as made my Heart ake.

He assures me that most of them are without Cloathes, food or Friends — Daily insulted with being deserted by their General, the Congress and all those who have first brought them into the scrape, and afterwards totally neglected them — at the same time tempted with the fairest Prospects, upon their Submission & joining the Kings Troops —

He assures me that but a Short time since, he saw Col. Miles, that brave officer, almost in rags; and that a Lieut Col has been seen taking care of a British officers Horse.

Upon this Gentleman (my informant) being ordered to return to his Parole on Long Island (by his Excellency Gen^l Washington) he assured me that he would prefer being shot to returning to the Enemy — I have been trying for two months to get a few Cloathes for these poor fellows, having had the Generals Warrant for 100 suits but have not yet been able to accomplish it, altho when at Philadelphia, I saw them began to be counted out, but have not heard any thing of them since.

The Bills of Exchange lately sent, did but trifle

with their wants, as the sum was not equal to one Eighth of their arrears for Board — The secret Committee promised a farther sum in Specie, which I assured them they might depend upon, but it has not yet appeared.

How far the Information above mentioned may be depended upon as to the particulars, I will not take upon me to say; but I have not the least doubt, from the concurrent Testimony of all that have come out since I have been in the service, added to their appearance, but that their Situation is truly deplorable, and deserves much greater attention from Congress than has been yet given to them —

As for my own part, it would give me pleasure to do anything in my power to relieve them — From the best Information I can get, it will take 100 suits of officers Cloathes & 200 suits of soldiers to satisfy the most needy —

Since writing the above, I have been called off & distressed with the enclosed Examination. The Examinant is still in the Enemys power, being only on his Parole for five days, therefore a necessity of keeping his Name secret —

Enclosed you have also a Letter, as it came in from the Enemys Lines, with two others

I am with great respect

Sir

Your very Hub'le Servt

ELIAS BOUDINOT

Commissary Gen of Prisoners.

RICHARD PETERS, Esq.

The Enemy have retreated with Precipitation to Brunswick, and we are informed are pushing for New York — June 20, 1777.

No. 191, Letter from E. BOUDINOT,
C. G. of Prisoners,
dated Camp Middle Brook,
June 20, 1777.¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO HIS EXCELLENCY, WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.

QUIBBLE TOWN, June 25, 1777.

DEAR SIR: —

Having obtained a moment of Leisure in the general movement, I improve it to inform you, that the General being informed on last Saturday afternoon, that the enemy intended leaving Brunswick that night, he ordered out proper detachments to endeavor to harass them in their retreat. Our troops did not appear till day light, when General Howe with the rear, consisting of about 4000 men immediately left the Town. Coll. Morgan came up with a detachment of about 1500 men, and not knowing their number, attacked them with a small party of 150 men. This attack made with chosen men, was at the mean distance of about 20 yds., so that every shot took place. We are well assured that their loss is the greatest part of 500 men. Our men finally came off with the loss of 6 or 8 killed and wounded. The enemy are now encamped on Strawberry Hill in Woodbridge. The chief part of our army is here, two or three Brigades being

¹ Washington Letters, No. 78, vol. ii. B, p. 337, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

near Woodbridge, The whole army are in high spirits and the better opinion is, that the enemy are leaving this Province.

Am dear Sir your very humble servt.

ELIAS BOUDINOT.

P. S. Brunswick is almost entirely destroyed, it looks more like a collection of gaols than dwelling houses.¹

His Excellency WM. LIVINGSTON, Esq.
Morris Town

Mr. Boudinot writes: —

“ In 1777 Gen^l Lincoln was surprised just at the dawn of Day in his Quarters at Bound Brook, by Lord Cornwallis who had marched from Brunswick, passed his out Sentinels, captured or destroyed his main Guard, and was at the Gen^l's Quarters before he knew anything of it — He had but just time to escape out of a back Door — Several Men were killed and one or Two pieces of Ordinance taken — It was some time a Mystery how this had been effected with so much Secrecy till I was well informed by a Gent^l of Note who was with the Enemy at Brunswick, that a certain Farmer whose name he mentioned and who lived in the Midst of our Camp, had communicated to Lord Cornwallis our Countersign by which he had accomplished his Intentions — My Spirit was very much roused agt this Traitor; and with great Zeal I went to Genl Washington with the Information, stating the Substance of it,

¹ Sparks MSS., Harvard College Library.

but keeping back the Name of my Informant, as he had assured me his Life depended on my Prudence & faithfulness to him — I urged the Genl Orders to seize the Culprit without Delay & make an Example of him. The Genl did not immediately answer me — He then said did you not tell me that the Life of your Informant depended on your Secrecy — Would you take up a citizen and confine him without letting him know his Crime & his Accuser — No — Let him alone for the Present, watch him carefully, and if you can catch him in any other Crime, so as to confront him by Witnesses we will then punish him severely — My Mortification was very great, to think, that I who had entered the Army to watch the Military & to preserve the Civil Rights of my Fellow Citizens, should be so reproved by a military Man, who was so interested in having acted otherwise — I rec^d it as a severe Lecture on my own Imprudence.”¹

Washington's postscript, dated April 13, to his letter of April 12, dated “Headquarters, Morris Town,” addressed to the President of Congress (John Hancock) is:—

“13th. I have this moment rec^d a line from Genl Lincoln informing me that the Enemy attempted to Surprize him early this morning at his post at Bound Brook, but he made good his retreat to the pass of the Mountains just in his rear, with trifling loss.”²

¹ *Elias Boudinot, Reminiscences*, Library of Mr. John Carter Brown.

² Letters of Presidents, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Boudinot's solicitations and peremptory demands on behalf of our prisoners in the hands of the enemy appear to have aroused the ire of the British commissioner. Declining to "write briefs" to the lawyer commissary on our side, he is betrayed into a lengthy scold, as follows:—

MR. LORING TO MR. BOUDINOT.

NEW YORK 4th July 1777.

SIR

When I acquainted General Washington of the Desertion of a number of his Officers I made no comments of my own on the Subject, but just stated the Facts: It appears to me that had you been pleased to observe a like conduct, it would have enabled us to have transacted our Business with Propriety and would have put it in our Power to have relieved the Distress of numbers of unhappy Prisoners. I am not disposed to write Briefs. The chief Business between you and me is but lost in those unnecessary altercations in which you wish to engage me. They are foreign at least to the Purport of my Commission, & until you are pleased simply to propose the matters that may concern my Department, I can see no good that can accrue from our correspondence. As to your absolute Requisition of Col Luce I can only answer that I have made every Inquiry and cannot find that he has or ever had any Commission in our Service—Cap McKoy and the other gentlemen you mention were then in the

Canadian Army and I consequently am ignorant of their conduct. I am

Your most humble Servant

JOS^A LORING

Commissary for Pris^r.¹

ELIAS BOUDINOT Esq^r

Mr. Boudinot now had his family removed, for greater security, from their home in Elizabethtown to an estate he had purchased near Baskingridge, situated among the Somerset hills of New Jersey, near which tradition points out the house in which General Charles Lee was captured. The distance from Washington's headquarters at Morristown being eight miles, Mrs. Washington was often their guest. His little daughter would repeat in her old age the amusing incident of her terror at the target practice of the recruits, and how she at first took them for the invading foe; taking flight one day from her attendant with whom she was walking, she flew home as fast as her heels could carry her, dashing in at the front door, and crying, "The British are coming! the British are coming!" Mrs. Washington, at the moment descending the stairs, caught her in her arms, and, reassuring her, explained the situation. It was this young girl, when nine years of age, having a cup of tea pressed upon her while visiting at Governor Franklin's, proclaimed her rebel principles by only raising the cup to her lips, and

¹ Family papers.

then, suddenly crossing the room, throwing the contents from the window.¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO MRS. BOUDINOT.

Camp 10 Miles from NEW WINDSOR.

July 22d 1777

MY DEAREST WIFE

Having a leisure hour for the first Time I cannot please myself so well or use it better than by conversing with the dear object of my warmest and most tender affections. We owe more to our gracious God than we can easily conceive for the numerous Indulgences of his Providence and among the rest the ability of conveying our ideas, our wants, wishes, enjoyments and indeed every sentiment of the soul on Paper to those we love and thereby anticipate the evil of distance and separation, is not the least.

We are now advanced near to the North River but are halted on being convinced that the Enemy have not yet discovered the Place of their Destination by any movement they have yet made. The General lately rec'd letters from Elizabeth Town and from my Brother² which assure him that there has not been any movement among the shipping, especially up the East River so that he is at a loss to know which way to steer his course; this is the reason of the present stop, altho' I repeat, it will not last longer than this day — I must confess that I do not enjoy my present wandering life with any degree

¹ Told by herself to the writer.

² Elisha Boudinot.

of relish but what arises from a conviction of its not only being duty but the Path marked out by divine Providence. To leave the centre of my earthly Happiness, the objects of every affectionate connection, all the sweets of domestic felicity and Peace which was enjoyed in a higher degree by very few of the happiest Sons of Mortality, added to the loss of the many religious advantages I am blessed with and which increased and heightened every other favour, I say, to leave these, only real blessings of life, for the boisterous noisy, fatiguing unnatural and disrelishing state of War and slaughter, without enjoyment, Satisfaction, Ease, requires some Philosophy to think on with Pleasure, or suffer with Patience.

Whenever I have an opportunity of thinking, my dear family in every degree engage more of my Meditations, and could I reconcile it with my duty and their Welfare, in which I include the obligations I owe to my Country, I should not hesitate to indulge my eager desires by adding to their number and solacing myself with domestic enjoyments and the softening intercourse of Friendship — But alas! it has become necessary to check even these innocent and sweetest desires and longings of the human Heart, for God and my country calls to a different exercise of my talents and forbid every tender feeling that will lead to the least repining at the inscrutable and surprising dealings of his Providence whose ways are past finding out — This I know to be

duty, yet I am still but a poor frail mortal and cannot at times help looking back to the Leaks and Onions of Egypt. My dearest wife will be uppermost in my thoughts as she is in my affections and could I but now and then fly to her embraces for a moment, the intervals of Bustle, Hurry and fatigue would be happily seasoned by such a Mercy. However, my hope is in that kind and watchful Providence which has so often disappointed our fears and exceeded our highest expectations. To him, we have the highest encouragement to look, on whom we cannot but depend without the most horrid act of Ingratitude. To him therefore I now cordially commit my beloved wife and only Daughter a dear Family and affectionate friends. I have no news to communicate but the taking of a 32 gun Frigate by Cap^t Mealy and Mr. Noel. They immediately manned her at sea and sent her on a cruise. Mr. Noel is come on to report, and brought in a Jamaicaman with 400 Hhds of sugar. We also learn that the Ticonderoga affair is not half so bad as at first represented, and that the evacuation was directed by prudence and necessity, in their retreat; our People cut to powder the 9th Regiment British troops and that the whole country is in motion.

My kind love to Susan, Molly and the family. Remember me to Polly and the little ones. If Elisha is with you, give my love to him and to all friends and neighbors. I rec'd your letter of last

week which gave me most sensible pleasure. I am with the tenderest affection and real esteem

Your constant

BOUDINOT.¹

Mrs. BOUDINOT,
Baskinridge.

The following was written the day after the battle of the Brandywine.

MR. BOUDINOT TO MRS. BOUDINOT.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept 12, 1777.

MY BELOVED WIFE,

Hard as it is for me to write, I must improve this opportunity to thank you for your kind letters which have given me much consolation under every difficulty. All that you have done is right and gives me much Pleasure. You will see by the enclosed, my Situation at this date, as my fever and pain in my head did not abate.

I came to this Town yesterday, scarcely had I arrived when the thunder of cannon proclaimed a battle near Wilmington. An express soon arrived which informed us of a general engagement which lasted till 5 o'clock in the Afternoon, from eight in the morning and much in our favour, but alas the fate of the Day then turned against us, and our Army was worsted and obliged to leave the Field, and retreat to Chester.

The enemy have suffered greatly some say between 2 and 3 thousand, our loss about 1000.

¹ Family letters.

Our troops have rallied at Chester and the enemy have not thought proper to move forwards.

As our Army are still in high spirits, we hope for the best, amidst the gloom.

God's will be done. As you may expect, all is confusion here.

I am so engaged in sending off the prisoners, that I forget my misfortune.

A Moment is now very precious, therefore even my dearest Wife and Daughter must put up with being denied more than is absolutely necessary, but must beg you will think of every thing that is loving tender and affectionate, and be assured that and more would naturally flow from the Pen of the most Affectionate husband to the dearest, the tenderest connections.

You may depend, on the first intelligence, if anything decisive happens to day, as I expect the fate of this City will be determined within 48 hours, but remember that no News will be good News.

Am as always,

My dearest wife and daughter,

Yours Most Sincerely

E. B.

Thank Susan for her letter.

It was said that Fitzgerald and Col. Pickering were among the slain, but they are both well.¹

Mrs. BOUDINOT.

¹ Family letters.

MR. BOUDINOT TO MRS. BOUDINOT.

GERMAN TOWN HEAD QUARTERS Sept 14th 1777.

By an Express just going off, can but only say we are this moment moving again, I hope, for the field of Battle, which I expect will come on tomorrow.

I am getting better. The news of the enemy's landing in Jersey, made me write you and determine to send W^m off with 2 horses and a waggon to your assistance but from the improbability of their coming through Baskinridge and Gen^l McDougal being on his way from Peekskill with 1500 men, I have yet detained him until further intelligence, as I shall be so badly off without him — my kind love to all — Mr. Rapelque promised me, if there should be any danger, to go for you with his waggon — if you should be uneasy send an express to me or hire waggons at any expense and push for Mr. Rapelque's.

I am Your Most Affectionate

E. B.¹

Poor Mrs. Burnet how I pity her.

MR. BOUDINOT TO MRS. BOUDINOT.

CAMP NEAR SCHUYLKILL, Sept 23^d 1777 9 Oc P. M.
35 Miles from Phila.

MY DEAREST WIFE,

I wrote you this morning which I enclose but as our affairs have much changed since, I embrace another opportunity to acquaint you with

¹ Family letters.

them — For Reasons best known to our Councils of War, which are many and long, the Enemy have been allowed to pass the Schuylkill unopposed and have marched directly down to the city, where they will arrive this Evening or tomorrow Morning. What the issue is to be is known only to Him who knows all things. Whether we are to attack them when all our Troops come up, which are many, as we hear reinforcements are coming in from all quarters, I know not — I confess things have a gloomy aspect but I am constrained to hope for the best God rules and will even yet do his Will, which is all my hope and all my desire.

I long, earnestly long to hear from you which I have not done for a long time — I have wrote several long Letters of business to night (tho' at a miserable Hovel being a high Dutch country House) and it has been almost too much for my arm and shoulder.

Kind love to my Susan and Family

Dearest love with great affection

Yours sincerely

BOUDINOT.¹

Mrs. BOUDINOT

Baskinridge.

MR. BOUDINOT TO MRS. BOUDINOT.

POTTS GROVE Sept 23^d 1777.

MY DEAREST WIFE

An opportunity offering, I embrace it (altho' I have no important news) if it is only to let you

¹ Family letters.

see I am anxious you should know of my health and safety on every occasion. I sent a Letter yesterday by the way of Trenton, since which, nothing new has happened, except changing our Post a few miles to the Northward of this place. The Enemy are on the move up Schuylkill from Philadelphia instead of going to it. On Saturday evening Genl Waynes Division on the West side of Schuylkill was attempted to be surprised by a superior number of the enemy, by getting information of it in time, he retired with his Division, except two Regiments with whom he received the Enemy with one fire and then rushed on with fixed Bayonets. The loss on each Side was nearly equal about 25 or 30 men being killed, we lost a few Prisoners but disconcerted their plans — The Indians I informed you had arrived in my last, are not yet come up — We expect a very large reinforcement from Virginia in 3 or 4 days —

Love to D^r Family and friends from whom I long to hear. I would write to Elisha and Susan, but it is almost impossible as I am almost continually on horse back and the most of our movements are in the night

I am with the greatest Affection

My dearest Wife

Yours Faithfully

BOUDINOT.¹

Mrs BOUNDINOT.

¹ Family letters.

MR. JEREMIAH WADSWORTH TO MR. BOUDINOT.

HARTFORD, Novr 5th 1777.

DEAR SIR

Your Favour of the 24th Sept^r came to Hand early in Oct^r, just as I was mounted to go to Peekskills in the late General Alarm, I did not then turn over from Mr Blain's Letter on the other side, and had no Knowledge of Yours till my return Home the first In^t — I have now to thank you for your kind offer, to make me Commissary of Prisoners for this State, but my unsettled Acc^t in the Commissary Generals Department and my Business in the Quarter Master Genl Department forbid my Undertaking to Act. Cap^t Jonathan Butt, who was with you for Mr. Williams, would Execute the Business well, and will Accept the Office, if appointed, I would not wish to prevent Mr Williams from Acting as Commissary of Prisoners, but I am of the opinion he has already more Business than he can well Execute, without undertaking this, And, I, at the same time well know, that the present Irregular Method of Conducting the matter of Prisoners, will be productive of great Evil —

The Salmon was forwarded to Morris Town immediately after my return from Middlebrook, and if not Arrived, I believe must have been lodged at Peekskills with Mr. Paulding —

I am Dear Sir

Your very Humb Serv^tJERE WADSWORTH.¹¹ Family papers.

CHAPTER IV.

Mr. Boudinot to Mrs. Boudinot. — Awaiting remonstrance sent to General Howe regarding treatment of prisoners. — Fate of Red Bank Fort. — Greene's reinforcements not arrived. — The enemy burning all before them. — Burned town of Woodbury. — Mr. Boudinot to his daughter, dated from Camp White Marsh, recommends Scripture reading, sends parody song. — Wishes her to have more instruction in music. — November 30, to Mrs. Boudinot. — Set off on journey, recalled by letter from General Howe. — Troops on Jersey side endeavored to draw Lord Cornwallis to battle; he retired. — After skirmish returned to Philadelphia. — Storm. — Reconnoitring along the line near Philadelphia old woman conveys information secretly. — Washington proves him wrong in his surmise as to the movement of enemy. — Speeches of committee from Congress relative to attacking the British. — Washington's intended move against his judgment. — A spy conveyed the information. — British retire. — Extract from Sparks' "Washington." — Another providential escape of our army. — Washington's ruse to mislead the spy. — Letter from Valley Forge regarding election to Congress. — Hymn. — Cartel for exchange of prisoners. — Commissioners to meet at Germantown. — American Colonels Hamilton, Harrison, Grayson, Boudinot; British Colonels O'Harah, Stevens, and Captain Fitz Patrick. — Meeting of general officers to discuss the business beforehand. — Committee from Congress. — Sentiments against exchange. — Insulting resolutions of Congress expunged from the minutes. — Meeting of commissioners. — British commissioners go to the city to attend a ball. — Return. — Breach of faith. — British commissioners endeavor to free themselves from blame. — Defective powers. — Concerning Colonels O'Harah and Hamilton. — Draft of part of a letter by commissioners from Moor Hall.

MR. BOUDINOT TO MRS. BOUDINOT.

FROM CAMP WHITE MARSH NOV. 21ST

I AM waiting the issue of a spirited Remonstrance sent in to Gen^l Howe concerning our unhappy Prisoners which ended shall set out immediately for York.

Before I close this shall be able to inform you of the fate of Red Bank Fort There has been a very heavy fire from about four o'clock this morning until about 11 o'clock — a very large force went down on Monday under Lord Cornwallis and Gen^l Clinton to attempt to storm it this morning & as several explosions have been heard & our reinforcements under Gen^l Greene not arrived, I fear the worst — I met with a very sensible loss this morning in the loss of my young horse — I shall miss him greatly in this journey which is like to be a wintry one —

Nov 21st in the Evening — Heavy fire this morning over in Jersey, Red Bank is evacuated but we have a formidable army of between 4 to 5000 men over there so that I expect something has been done — The Enemy are burning all before them, the latter end of last week they burned the pretty Town of Woodbury in Jersey — Houses & Property around the City to the amount of £200000 —

May a Holy God protect my dear Wife & Family —

I expect to set off on Wednesday to lock up all the Prisoners & lessen their allowance —

My quarters are here, at a little vile, dirty den, decent I hope, the People are kind & we have something to eat & drink but my baggage being in the front am obliged to take up with such implements for writing as I can get¹ —

To M^{rs} BOUDINOT
Baskinridge.

¹ Family letters.

MR. BOUDINOT TO HIS DAUGHTER.

CAMP WHITE MARSH

Nov 22^d 1777

MY DEAREST SUSAN

Having just finished a letter to your dear Mama, I am necessarily reminded of the Claim my beloved daughter has to my leisure Hours altho' it would have given me more Pleasure had the demand been made by her in form.

If I recollect right my last letter concluded with a recommendation of the Scriptures as worthy your constant reading & meditation, producing a source of solid, rational Pleasure & Enjoyment no where else to be found . . . In short what ever is really conducive to the Happiness of society or individuals in this World or the World to come, is peculiarly founded in, advanced & perfected by the Doctrines of the blessed Gospel of Peace — It promotes public virtue & renders amiable & praiseworthy, all the variety of jarring interests that arrive from the predominancy of the Passions over the natural Faculty

As you advance in life you will find the Christian world unhappily split into a multitude of Denominations Professions & Names — Each will tell you that his is the only right way, as those mentioned in Scripture who tell you lo! here is Christ or there is Christ but believe them not — The true Catholicism of the Scripture will teach you to take them all into the arms of your Love & Charity and to look upon all, as the Ser-

vants of the same Master, as far as they follow his Example, remembering that he that is not against us is for us. Grace does not alter the natural abilities of the man further than it has a tendency to enlighten & improve him; you must not therefore expect to find a man who you verily believe to be a good Christian, free from all imperfections — no, you will often find him the same in many respects as other men and will sometimes think yourself disappointed, till you recollect that the grand difference lies in the imperfection of the Christian being his Burden & his Cross —

My Letter being swelled beyond my intention I will not trouble you further at present. I hope you enjoy much comfort with your dear Mama who is so able to entertain & improve you — Her living example will be of more consequence to you, if you copy after it than volumes of Precepts.

I intend to enclose a parody on the song you sing & play on the Spinnet, of God save the King &c. as I think it will be agreeable to you — By Parody is meant &c. &c.

I hope ere long to be able to get you a master to give you some instructions in Music, which is an accomplishment not unbecoming a young Lady — I am sorry you are not more fond of letter writing as you would find great improvement from it & after a little while it would become easy & familiar

Give my kind love to your Aunt & Cousins, to Molly & the family — Remember me also to M^r & M^{rs} Livingston and the young ladies

I am my beloved daughter
your most affectionate Parent

BOUDINOT¹

Miss BOUDINOT

MR. BOUDINOT TO MRS. BOUDINOT.

GREEN PARK Nov 30th 1777

MY DEAREST WIFE

On Friday last I set off on my journey but travelled no further than Head quarters where an unexpected letter from Gen^l Howe caused me to put about & make for Phil^a

You see by this, that I can do nothing without making report to you, as my commanding officer

There has nothing turned up that throws any light upon our future movements; I mean, to determine whether we go into Winter quarters or not — I shall go to York as soon as I am permitted

Our troops on the Jersey side endeavored to draw Lord Cornwallis to a battle but he wisely retired — Our people had a pretty smart skirmish they killed two officers & twenty privates & took 9 or 10 prisoners & kept the ground — Lord Cornwallis with his Troops crossed the river & has returned to Philadelphia & our troops are crossing over The storm has prevented a general movement.²

¹ Family letters.

² *Ibid.*

He writes:—

“In the Autumn of 1777 the American Army lay sometime at White Marsh. I was then Commiss^{ry} Gen^l of Prisoners, and managed the intelligence of the army. I was reconoitreing along the line near the city of Philadelphia. I dined at a small Post at the Rising Sun ab’t three Miles from the City. After Dinner, a little, poor looking, insignificant old Woman, came in & solicited leave to go into the Country to bring some Flour. While we were asking some questions, she walked up to me, and put into my Hands a dirty old Needle-Book, with various small Pockets in it— Surprised at this, I told her to retire— She should have our Answer— On opening the Needle-Book, I could not find anything, till I got to the last Pocket, where I found a piece of Paper rolled up into the form of a Pipe-shank— On unrolling it, I found information that Genl Howe was coming out the next Morning with 5,000 Men— 13 Pieces of Cannon— Baggage Waggons, and 11 Boats on Waggon Wheels— on comparing this, with other Information I found it true, and immediately rode Post to Headquarters— According to my usual Custom & agreeable to Orders rec^d from General W. I first related to him the naked Fact without Comment or Opinion— He rec^d it with much Thoughtfulness— I then gave my opinion, that General Howe’s Design was to cross the Delaware under Pretense of going to New York— Then in the Night to recross the Delaware above

Bristol & come suddenly on our Rear, when we were totally unguarded, and cut off all our Baggage, if not the whole Army — He heard me without a single Observation being deep in thought — I repeated my observation — He still was silent — Supposing myself unattended to — I earnestly repeated my Opinion with urging him to order a few Redoubts thrown up in our Rear, as it was growing late — The General answered me, Mr. Boudinot the Enemy have no business in our Rear, the Boats are designed to deceive us — Tomorrow Morning by Daylight you will find them coming down such a Bye road on our left — Then calling an Aide de Camp ordered the Line thrown up along our whole Front at the Foot of the Hill — As I was quartered on that very Bye Road with 6 or 8 other Officers, a Mile in Front of our Army and no Picket advanced of us, this Opinion made a deep Impression upon me, though I tho't the General under a manifest Mistake — I returned to my quarters first obtaining a Picket to be put on that Road in advance — When I got Home the Officers were informed of the News, and my Opinion that we should loose our Baggage at least, the next Morning — That our General at best was out in his Judgment, but repeated his last Words — Proposed it as a Matter of Prudence to have our Horses saddled & the servt ordered to have them at the Door on the first alarm Gun being fired — About 3 o'clock in the Morning we were aroused by the

Alarm Guns — We immediately mounted and by sunrise the British was in possession of our Quarters down the Bye Road, mentioned by General Washington — I then said that I never would again set up my judgment agt his — The Enemy remained several Days encamped on Chestnut Hill & Genl Washington opposite to him — On the Evening of the 2nd or 3rd Day, Genl Washington was informed of some very harsh & severe Speeches made by a Committee from Congress, of whom Robert Morris was one, relative to Genl Washington, his not attacking the British & putting an end to the War at once, and declaring if he did not do it further Opposition to the British was vain, &c. &c. The Fact was that both Parties were so strongly covered, that the Assailant in all Probability would have been beaten, and the essential Interests of America required that the Americans should avoid a general Battle — However Genl Washington being exceedingly hurt with these Observations & hard Speeches, determined at all Events to hazard an Attack & let the Committee abide the Consequences — Accordingly he dispatched Genl Wayne with his brigade to advance in the Evening into the Valley between the two Armies & near the Foot of Chestnut Hill, to be ready in the Morning — Another Brigade was advanced part of the way towards him — A Spy who was in our Camp immediately on Wayne's moving carried the Intelligence to the British General —

A skirmish was had during the Day and one of our Militia Generals wounded & taken Prisoner — He was put into a Room adjoining one in which A British Aid de Camp lodged — He overheard an Officer come in & tell him, that the Rebels were advancing to make an Attack the next Morning, and that their Retreat was ordered by the British General — When the American Troops began their Movement the next Morning at the Dawn of Day, not a British Soldier was to be seen — The light Horse pursued & came up & harassed the Rear of the British a few Miles from Philadelphia — Thus the Defeat of the American Army was again providentially prevented, for we were by no Means equal to the Attack, as the British were so strongly posted, and our Army made up of undisciplined Men.”¹

Sparks, in his “Life of Washington,” says, “An intelligent observer (Elias Boudinot), commissary of prisoners, writes to President Wharton from camp: ‘As all their movements, added to their repeated declaration of driving General Washington over the Blue Mountains, were calculated to assure us of their having come out with a determination to fight, it was thought prudent to keep our post upon the hills near the church. I understand it was resolved if they did not begin the attack soon, to have fought them at all events, it not being supposed that they could, consistent with their own feelings, have secretly

¹ *Reminiscences of Elias Boudinot*, Library of Mr. John Carter Brown.

stolen into the city so suddenly, after so long gasconading on what they intended to do.'”

Mr. Boudinot relates the following:—

“Another providential Escape of our Army happened at Morristown in the Year 1777-8— Our Army was exceedingly reduced, so that 3000 effective Men was the full Amount of the Whole & those were poorly found— To prevent this being known Gen^l Washington distributed them by 2 & 3 in a House, all along the main Road around Morris Town for Miles— So that the general Impression among the country People was that we were 40,000 strong— Gen^l Howe desirous of knowing our real Strength, sent over a gentl of some Character, a Mercht in New York, as a Spy into our Camp— He told Sad Stories about the treatment he had rec^d from the British and that he had deserted from them— The Adjutant Gen^l finding from several Circumstances that he was really a Spy, applied to Gen^l Washington for an Order to take him up and confine him: The General examined into the Circumstances & finding the Suspicions well supported forbid the Adjutant Gen^l from touching him— but ordered him to go Home & immediately to draw Returns from every Brigadier in the Army of the Number of their Brigades, making the army to consist of about 12,000 effective Men &c. &c. to place these in the pigeon Holes on his Desk, and then to get introduced to the Spy, and invite him to lodge with him— To en-

deavor to get him to sup with him alone — About 9 o'clock in the Evening to have an orderly Sergeant to call on him with positive Orders that the Adjutant should call on the General in haste — That then he should make an Excuse to the gentl suspected as a Spy and leave him alone about half an Hour — This was done and in this Interval, as was suspected, the Spy, took a Copy of the Returns, and next morning went off with them to New York — This convinced Genl Howe that we were too strong to be attacked & saved us thro' the Winter — A Coll. Luce who was taken prisoner at Elizabeth Town was confined to a house in Morris Town, in a Family disaffected to our Cause, on his Parole — He found out our real Situation and obtained full accts of our weakness and indorsed Returns of the Army, Artillery, &c., with our Poverty, Sickness, &c. &c. according to the Truth — With these, expecting to make his Fortune, he broke his Parole ran off to New York — He was introduced to Genl Howe and with great zeal communicated the whole Secret — Genl Howe called for the Returns brought by the Spy and then in the Severest Tone charged Coll Luce with joining the Rebels in endeavoring to impose upon him and draw him out into the Country, and threatened to hang him up at the first Tree — Luce was terrified beyond Description, as Howe produced Copies of the Returns from the American Brigadiers obtained in such a Manner that there could be no

Doubt—Luce was glad to escape with his Life, mistified & chagrined with having broken his Parole & at last disappointed & treated with Contempt & great Severity, he took to drink & killed himself by it in the End.”¹

To his wife he writes from Valley Forge, January 4:—

“I write this merely to say something on the subject of my late election to the representation of our State in Congress. I have lately received it from the clerk of the House—I think it was on Christmas day—I know not what to say to it, am exceedingly puzzled to determine what is my duty but at all events shall not attempt it till I see and consult you on this head—The only motive that can induce me to accept is yet to be communicated to you—You know my heart, that I have never aimed at any public employment, nor ever had a desire to enter into political consequence, my whole plan has been to glide thro’ this troublesome scene of things in domestic ease and enjoyment free from the Bustles of the World; the accomplishing of which I began to think was never at hand. I was called to my present employment not from any desire of increasing either my wealth or importance but from an abhorrence of being an Idle Spectator of my country’s Distress and a proportionate fondness for obliging our worthy General—I acknowledge that my devoutest and most constant Prayers at the Throne

¹ *Reminiscences of Elias Boudinot*, Library of Mr. John Carter Brown.

of Grace have been, that God would direct, lead and appoint me to such usefulness in Life as could most glorify His Holy Name for if his will is done with and by me I care not what department or what difficulties of Life I am called to — I have indeed kept a watchful eye on all his Providence towards me and can safely say, that they have been altogether kind and gracious

“Great God, I would not ask to see
 What in futurity shall be.
 If light and bliss attend my days,
 Then let my future hour be praise.
 Is darkness & distress my share,
 Then let me trust thy Guardian care.
 Enough for me, if Love Divine
 At length through every cloud shall shine.
 Yet this my soul desires to know;
 Be this my only wish below,
 “That Christ is mine.” This great request
 Grant, bounteous God, and I am blest.”¹

From Mr. Boudinot's manuscript is the following: —

“In the Winter of 1778 while laying at the Valley Forge both Armies called loudly for the Exchange of Prisoners — Propositions were accordingly made by the British to which Congress agreed by giving full Powers to appoint Commissioners to meet a like Number on the Part of the British for the Purpose — The General accordingly appointed Coll. Hamilton Coll. Harrison, Coll. Grayson and myself — General Howe appointed Coll. O'Hara, Coll. Stevens & Capt. Fitz Patrick

¹ Family papers.



and we were to meet at German Town — Previous to the Meeting, as it was a matter quite new to us, we proposed a Meeting of General Officers with Genl Washington that we might discuss the Business before them and know their opinions — About this Time Congress sent a Committee of their Body, into the Army to reform it — General Washington called this Committee to the Meeting — General Washington sat as Chairman — We discussed the Matter over — The Committee of Congress soon discovered their Sentiments agt an Exchange and urged it as the Opinion of Congress that the settling this Cartel should be merely ostensible for the Purpose of satisfying the Army & throwing the Blame on the British, but true Policy required us to avoid an Exchange of Prisoners just at the Opening of the Campaign — We absolutely refused to undertake the Business on these Principles — If we went we were determined to make the best Cartel we could for the Liberation of our Prisoners — That we would not be made Instruments in so dishonorable a measure — General Washington also re-sented it and said his troops looked up to him as their Protector and that he would not suffer an opportunity to be lost of liberating every Soldier who was then in captivity let the Consequence be what it might — The Committee were much disgusted, and soon left the Army (where they gave much dissatisfaction) and returned to Congress — Before the Meeting of the Commissioners Gen-

eral Washington recd a Resolution of Congress couched in the most insulting Terms, setting forth that he had appointed Commissioners to settle the Cartel whom he knew had Principles adversary to the true Interests of America &c &c. On this I applied to the General & desired to be excused from the Service— He refused — Ordered us to the Duty, and told us to make the best Treaty in our Power, and he would ratify it, and he would take the risque upon himself— In the Month of June after this, I went as a Delegate to Congress, and the first Thing I did was to search the secret Minutes for this Resolution of Congress, determined to have them expunged from the Minutes — not being able to find it I applied to President Laurens to know where I might find it — He laughed & said that Congress was so ashamed of the Measure that was run upon them by the Committee from the Army, that in two or three Days after they had expunged the Whole from their Minutes — On the day of — 1778 the Commissioners set out with a Captain's Guard of Horse for German Town — Where we met the British Comm's with great Ceremony — It had been previously agreed that the Town should be neutral Ground while our Business lasted and no Troops but our different Guards should enter — We exchanged our Powers and agreed to dine together — We were very Sociable — We had previously obtained the Characters of our Opponents and were convinced that

they depended much on out-drinking us — We knew Coll. Grayson was a Match for any of them and therefore left all that Part of the Business with him — They soon found themselves foiled — The next Day we met and objected to their Powers not being sufficiently full, and proposed that as they were military Men they should take the Lead, we being wholly unacquainted with the Business and that they should propose a Plan of a Cartel which we might be considering till they renewed their Powers — They accepted it, and as we had foreseen drew out from among their Papers, a Cartel ready drawn up in Form — To this we had nothing to do but object & propose Amendments, which they were not prepared to confute and easily fell into our Measures — It soon appeared that neither of them had ever considered the Subject, but depended on the Draft prepared for them.

“The third Day we were going on very well and should soon have finished much to our Satisfaction had we not been guilty of a Blunder which ruined us — The British Commissioners after Dinner told us, that they had engaged to attend a grand Ball that was given that Evening in the City and earnestly solicited that we should gratify them by consenting to their going into the City when they would mention our Objections to their Powers and they would be out early in the Morning — As it was but 7 miles we could not well refuse — They accordingly went and I suppose re-

ported to Genl Howe — The next Morning, they came out in good Time when we proceeded to Business — When we had finished for the Morning, Coll. O'Harah addressing himself to us, said, that however disagreeable the Task was to them, and however contrary to their first Ideas, it was their positive orders from Gen^l Howe to inform us, that he did not consider German Town neutral Ground after we adjourned for the Night and a reasonable Time allowed for us to return to our Army — That it was only in Obedience to positive Orders that they could have been prevailed upon to communicate this to us — We immediately started at the Proposition, gathered up the Papers on the Table, and told them we understood Genl Howe's Meaning, that we considered ourselves ill used by such a Breach of public Faith, and therefore should after Dinner return to Headquarters and not to meet again — They pretended to be much hurt with our Idea of its being a Breach of the public Faith, and made many Excuses — We persisted in our Resolution — They finding they could make no Impression on us, invited themselves to dine with us — We immediately perceived their Drift, was to keep us engaged until it was too late to go or by drinking freely prevent us — We were on our Guard & set Coll. Grayson to manage them — They accordingly sat after dinner with Grayson while we were preparing to go off, till they could scarcely sit upright — Just before Sundown, they were put on

their horses & went for the City — It now became indeed too late for us to go — We therefore determined to set off by Daylight in the Morning — We breakfasted before it was fairly light, and just as we were going off, a Trumpet was heard, and a Flag appeared — They brought a letter from the Gen^l begging we would delay an hour or two and they would be out with us again — But we refused and set off for Headquarters — Gen^l Washington approved of our Proceedings, and wrote a very tart Letter to Gen^l Howe charging him with a Breach of his pledged Faith — He in Answer made many Poor excuses, saying that he was misunderstood, and hoped that Matters would be set to Rights by another Meeting at New Town — After some Hesitation on our Part, and warm Solicitation on the Part of the british another Meeting was agreed to at New Town about Twenty Miles from Philadelphia — Gen^l Howe expressly and unequivocally pledging his Faith for a positive Neutrality —

“ Here we continued disputing their Powers & proceeding in the Business for ten Days; When the Cartel was just finished — Coll. O’Harah in walking out with us, addressed us thus, Gen^l you have behaved, since we have been together, with so much Propriety and as Gentlemen, that we feel hurt at any kind of Hypocrisy or unfair dishonorable Conduct on our Part, which our Obedience to Orders, may oblige us to use — We can therefore no longer keep a Secret from you which

you ought to know, tho' we trust for our Sakes you will keep entirely to yourselves — We have spent a great deal of time in disputing abt the sufficiency of our Powers and in making a Cartel with you, at the same time knowing that Gen^l Howe had no authority to agree to it, when it is done which is the true Cause of our Powers appearing as they do — We have it therefore in positive Orders from him, that when we can prolong the Business no longer to make some Excuse & to break off the Treaty — This we considered as dishonorable Conduct and merely done to satisfy the british Army and try to throw the blame on you but this is our Situation and we candidly reveal it to you in Confidence, to free ourselves from Blame — It is therefore in vain for us to spend longer Time in settling the Treaty, let us continue together until our Stores are exhausted and then separate — We acknowledged ourselves greatly surprised at this un-officerlike conduct in the British General at the Head of such an Army, but we knew the Effect of Orders & that they must be obeyed — That perhaps we might make such a report to our General as might give them offence or they might do the same & displease us — We therefore proposed that we should in Writing make our objections to the Powers as insufficient for the Purpose, being essentially defective for settling a Cartel — That they should answer it & we would reply — That these written Papers should be our mutual Report

— To this with great Difficulty they agreed & not without the aid of Cap^t Fitz Patrick who approved of it at once — The Papers were drawn up accordingly and these formed the basis of our Report and we separated — At the taking Leave Coll. O’Harah said now if I am taken Prisoner I shall call on Coll. Hamilton, Coll. Harrison, Coll. Boudinot &c. and I expect you ’ll immediately come to my Aid & take Care of me and if any of you are taken Prisoners call upon us and we will return the Compliment — At the Capitulation of Yorktown Lord Cornwallis being sick, Coll. O’Harah, the second in command delivered up his Sword on the Parade to Genl Lincoln, and immediately called out to Coll. Hamilton — He came up — Now sir said he perform your Promise tho’ when you made it, I little thought that I should ever have an Opportunity of requiring your Performance of it — Coll. Hamilton accordingly took Care of him.”¹

The following extract is taken from the manuscript report of committees in the Department of State, Washington, and indorsed “Draft of part of a letter to Gen^l Washington on the subject of Exchange superseded by a conference,” and dated “from Moor Hall March 1778” —

This is from the committee of Congress to which Mr. Boudinot refers, and reads as follows : —

“ Having mentioned these resolutions it is not amiss to attempt to clear them from the imputa-

¹ *Reminiscences of Elias Boudinot*, Library of Mr. John Carter Brown.

tion of iniquity. And first it must be observed that in every compact between beligerent Powers to ascertain many Matters Recourse must be had to a *tertium intervenu* or middle rate, neither party being willing to trust the honesty of the other &c &c But to return, it is evident that the interest of the enemy now calls upon them loudly for an Exchange of men and therefore it is by no means a matter of surprise that Genl Howe after having delayed it so long is from these circumstances brought to urge an Exchange with such rapidity.

“On the other hand the capture of Burgoyne & Leisure allowed the United States to breath from the late exertions will enable them to bring no despicable Force into the Field earlier than the Enemy can be well supported by additional Numbers, besides this, the maintaining so large a number of their Prisoners will bring in considerable supplies of solid Coin, while the liberty which a Principle of Retaliation now fully adopted, compels them to allow our Prisoners, will enable us to maintain them with comfort among the enemy whereas, if exchanged they would scatter abroad thro’ the country and make little or no addition of strength to our Army.”¹

¹ Committee of Congress to Camp, Department of State, Washington, MSS. Archives, Report of Committees, No. 33, p. 245.

CHAPTER V.

Account of treatment of prisoners in Philadelphia, winter of 1777-78. — British officer remonstrates. — Washington threatens retaliation. — All blankets ordered into king's stores. — American agent buys up all the flannel and has blankets made. — Orders to prevent supplies to British within our lines. — Commissary Loring to Mr. Boudinot. — Permission to come to New York. — Mr. Boudinot goes on February 3, 1778. — Difficulty in landing. — Threatens to return. — Officer sent to him. — Conveyed to Commissary Loring's quarters. — Courteously received. — Lodgings. — Examines prisoners with British officer. — Proves cruelty. — Colonel Ethan Allen. — Political conversation with General Robertson. — Offer of reward for bringing about a peace. — Crime of Frenchman.

MR. BOUDINOT gives the following account of the treatment of prisoners in Philadelphia, January and February, 1778: —

“ Various Reports having reached us with regard to the Extreme sufferings of our Prisoners in Philadelphia I was directed by the Commander in Chief to make particular Enquiry as to the Truth — After some time I obtained full Information of their Sufferings — It was proved by some Militia of good Character, that on being taken they were put under the Care of the General's Guard & kept 4 & 5 days without the least Food — That on the 5th Day they were taken into the Provost, where a small Quantity of raw Pork was given to them — One of their Number seized and devoured it with so much Eagerness, that he immediately dropped down dead, — that

the Provost Marshal used to sell their Provisions & leave them to starve, as he did their allowance of Wood — I recd Information from a British Officer, who confided in my Integrity — That he happened in the Provost just at the Time the Provost Marshal (Cunningham) was locking up the Prisoners — He had ordered them from the Yard into the House, some of them being ill with the dysentery and could scarcely walk, and for not coming faster he would beat them with his Rattan — One being in the Necessary delayed longer than the Rest, on his coming up cursing him gave him a Blow with one of the large Keys of the gaol, which killed him on the Spot — The Officer exceedingly affected with the Sight, went next Day & lodged a formal Complaint of the Murder with Genl Howe's Aid — After waiting some Days, and not discovering any Measures taken for the trial of Cunningham, he again went to Headquarters & requested to see the General but was refused — He repeated his complaint to his Aid, and told him if this passed unpunished, it would become disreputable to wear a British Uniform — No Notice being taken, the Officer determined to furnish me privately with the Means of Proof of the Facts so that Genl Washington might remonstrate to Genl Howe on the Subject — I reported them with the other Testimony I had collected to Gen^l W — He accordingly wrote in pretty strong Terms to Genl Howe, and fixed a Day, when if he did not receive a satisfactory

Answer, he would retaliate on the Prisoners in his Custody — On the Day he recd an Answer from Gen^l Howe acknowledging that on Examination, he had found that Cunningham had sold the Prisoner's Rations publicly in the Market, that he had therefore removed him from the Charge of the Prisoners & appointed Mr. Henry H. Ferguson in his Place — This gave us great Pleasure, as we knew Mr. Ferguson to be a gent^l of Character and great Humanity and this Issue justified our Expectations — But to our great Surprise Mr. Cunningham was only removed from the Provost in Philadelphia & sent to that of New York —

“ Soon after this great Complaints being made of our Prisoners being likely to perish for want of Cloathing & Blanketts having been mostly stripped of their Cloathes when taken, Application was made for permission to purchase (with Provision the British wanted) Blanketts & Cloathing which should be used only by the Prisoners while in Confinement — This was agreed to, as we were informed by our own Agent as well as by the British Commissary — Provisions were accordingly attempted to be sent in, when Genl Howe pretending to Ignorance in the Business, forbid the Provisions to be admitted, or the Blanketts to be purchased — On this I gave notice to the British Commissary that after a certain day, they must provide food for their Prisoners south and west of New Jersey & to be sent in from their

Lines, as they should no longer be allowed to purchase Provisions with us — The line drawn, arose from our being at Liberty to purchase in New York — This made a great Noise when Gen^l Howe agreed — On receiving Gen^l Robertson's Letter from New York before mentioned urging the Propriety of the Measure and Order that every Person in Philadelphia who had a Blankett to sell or to spare should bring them into the King's Stores — When this was done he then gave my Agent Permission to purchase Blanketts & Cloathing in the City of Philadelphia — On my Agent's attempting it he found every Blankett in the City purchased by the Agents for the Army so that not a Blankett could be had — My Agent knowing the necessities of our Prisoners, immediately employed Persons in every Part of the City, and before Gen^l Howe could discover his mission purchased up every Piece of Flannel he could meet with & made it up into a kind of Blankett which answered our Purpose." ¹

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. BOUDINOT TO MR.
HUGH FERGUSON, DATED JANUARY 10, 1778.

“ It gives me pain, Sir, that I am obliged to inform you that it is expected that after the first day of February next you will supply all your prisoners with us West of New Jersey with every kind of provisions sent out from your Lines; and that I have it positively in charge not to suffer

¹ *Reminiscences of Elias Boudinot*, Library of Mr. John Carter Brown.

your Agent to purchase any provisions in the country after that day. The proper passports for your conveying any quantity you may think proper to the different places of your prisoners confinement, shall be ready whenever you require them; and your Agents shall be allowed to distribute provisions and other necessaries as you may please to direct.

“ I shall also take care that our prisoners with you are fully supplied with provisions from hence after that day. As to Firewood I will either send a sufficiency to them or supply your prisoners in their different Cantonments with as much for every Ten men, as you shall assure me you allow to every Ten of ours. The officers in like manner. This measure has become absolutely necessary as it is rather unequal to suffer your Agents to purchase every kind of provision at their pleasure among us, whilst our Agent is refused the privilege of purchasing necessary Cloathing with you. If any inconvenience should arise to the unfortunate prisoners on this account it cannot be chargeable to us.”

(Endorsed)

Mr. BOUDINOT to Mr. FERGUSON 10th Jany 1778.¹

COMMISSARY LORING TO MR. BOUDINOT.

NEW YORK Jan^y 20th 1778

SIR

I am directed by his Excellency General Sir Henry Clinton to acquaint you in answer to your

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., *Letters to Washington*, chap. 2, No. 78, vol. ii. B, p. 211.

letter requesting leave to come into New York to inspect into the situation of your Prisoners, that not having a wish to keep anything a secret from the world respecting their treatment he very readily consents to your Request, and it is his Excellency's desire that you bring your Papers with you, that all matters may be settled respecting the Prisoners. You will of course come over to Staten Island by a Flag and call on General Campbell with this letter which will serve as a pass and he will forward you to New York where on your arrival you will immediately wait on General Robertson the Commandant, till when you will excuse my answering your last letter, as I shall have an opportunity of settling all these matters more fully —

I am Sir your most ob^t

Humble Servant

JOS^A LORING

Commis^r Pris^r ¹

ELIAS BOUDINOT

at

Elizabeth Town

Mr. Boudinot writes : —

“ The Complaints of the very cruel Treatment our Prisoners met with, in the Enemy's Lines rose to such a Height that in the Fall of this Year 1777 the General wrote to Gen^l Howe (or Clinton) repeating their Complaints and proposing to send an Officer into New York to examine into the Truth of them — This was agreed to and

¹ Family papers.

a regular Passport returned accordingly — The General ordered me on this Service — I accordingly went over on the third of February, 1778 in my own sloop — Supposing that my Treatment would be very harsh, I prepared to meet with it in a proper Manner — At Staten Island, the Commanding General, put on Board of us a Sergeant & File of Men — We arrived at the Wharf of New York a little before Sundown, when I sent the Sergeant to the Commandant of the City (who was General Robertson whom I had formerly known,) to inform him of my Arrival and request to land — In a very short time the Sergeant returned with the Answer that I must send my rank & business before I could be permitted to land — Knowing that the General knew both I was chagrined at this Answer and immediately turning to the Captain of my Sloop in the Presence of the Sergeant asked him if the Wind would suit to return over the Bay — To which he answered in the Affirmative — I then took out my watch and addressing the Sergeant told him to return to his General and inform him that I would neither send my Rank or Business — He well knew both and that if I was not suffered to land in ten Minutes, I should return from whence I came — The Sergeant surprised at such a Message to the Commanding General ran with great Haste to deliver this Answer and much sooner than I could have expected Major Courtland returned with the Sergeant & very politely desired me to land, as he

was ordered to conduct me to the Commissary of Prisoners — When I came to Mr. Commissary Loring, he behaved very civilly, and after taking tea with him, desired me to attend him to the General — I found no Ceremony of blinding me or any other Restraint which I had expected — I wore a Uniform & Sword by my Side — The General Rec^d me with great Politeness & appeared as friendly & sociable as he had used to do before the War — He conversed very freely with me for near two Hours without mentioning anything relative to the Manner of conducting myself while in the Garrison — At length he informed me that Lodgings were prepared for me and the Commissary would wait upon me to them — I answered that my being in a garrisoned Town was an entire new Thing to me, and therefore if I asked anything improper, I hoped it would be imputed to my Want of Knowledge of military Customs — That I had a Brother in law in the City who was my Agent, and therefore should be glad, if consistent with Order, to lodge with him — The General with great Politeness assured me that tho' Lodgings were prepared, yet I might go where I pleased, on consideration of my breakfasting with him in the Morning — This I promised to do & retired — Taking it for granted that I was to be put under the expected Restrictions in the Morning, I waited on the General at Breakfast ; He behaved as before with the greatest Civility & good Humor — After

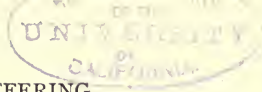
Breakfast he asked a great many Questions about the News in our Lines, and conversed on common Topics, but said nothing about my Conduct while in the City; on which I recapitulated the Business on which I had come — That I was a Stranger to military Rule — I knew that I was in a garrisoned Town and therefore wished to know what Line of Conduct it was expected I was to pursue — The General answered me, that he knew We had heard strange Stories within our Lines of their Conduct to our Prisoners — That he had rejoiced that Gen^l Washington had taken the Measure of sending me in to examine for ourselves, for that he was sure that we should find them a parcel of damned Lies — That he had ordered every Place that I should choose to visit to be freely opened to me, and that as I was a Gentleman, all that he expected was, that I should behave as such; and that I might use my own Pleasure & go where I pleased — I confess I was surprised at this generous Conduct; and immediately replied, that I could not accept this gentlemanly Offer — That I had come on a fair and open Business — That I had no Secrets to communicate & would not receive any from any Person whatever — That I could not put myself so far in their Power, as after my Departure, to render it possible for them to charge me with improper Behaviour unworthy my Character, by communicating or receiving secret Intelligence to or from our Officers — That my Intentions

were not only to be convinced myself of the Truth of the Treatment the Prisoners had received, but if it had been cruel, that the General also should be convinced of the fact as necessary towards their Relief — That therefore I should not see a Prisoner or have any Communication with one, but in the Presence of a British Officer, who I hoped he would oblige me by appointing to attend me — The General expressed himself well pleased with the Proposal, and appointed one accordingly, observing again, that he was sure I should find the Reports we had heard totally false — Accordingly I went to the Provost with the Officer where we found near 30 officers from Colonels downwards in close confinement in the Gaol in New York — After some Conversation with Coll Ethan Allen I told him my Errand on which he was very free in his abuse of the British on account of the cruel treatment he had rec^d during months close confinement — We then proceeded upstairs to the room of their confinement — I had the Officers drawn up in a Ring, and informed them of my Mission — That I was determined to hear nothing in Secret — That I therefore hoped they would each of them in their turn report to me faithfully & candidly the Treatment they severally had received — That my Design was to obtain them the proper Redress, but if they kept back anything from an improper Fear of their Keepers they would have themselves only to blame for their want of immediate Redress —

That for the Purpose of their Deliverance, the British officer attended that the British General should be also well informed of the Facts — On this after some little Hesitation from a Dread of their Keeper the Provost Marshal, one of them began & informed us — that they had been confined on the most frivolous Pretences, some for having been the Oppressors of the Friends of Government, for taking Refugees & Property while Officers under Command and in Obedience to Orders, for being out of their bounds of Parole, tho' weeks after their Return — Some confined in the Dungeon for a Night to await the Leisure of General to examine them & forgot for Months — for being Committee Men, &c. &c. — That they had received the most cruel Treatment from the Provost Marshal, being locked up in the Dungeon on the most trifling Pretence, such as asking for more Water for Drink on a hotter Day than usual — For sitting up a little longer in the Evening than the Orders allowed — For writing a Letter to the General making their Complaints of ill-usage & throwing out of the Windows — That some of them were kept 10, 12 & 14 weeks in the Dungeon on these trifling Pretences — A Capt. Vandyke had been confined 18 Months for being concerned in setting Fire to the City, when on my calling for the Provost Books it appeared that he had been made Prisoner & closely confined by the Provost 4 Days before the Fire happened — A Major Paine had been con-

fined 11 months for killing a Capt. Campbell in the Engagement when he was taken Prisoner, when on Examination it appeared that the Captain had been killed in another part of the Action — The Charge was that Major Paine when taken had no Commission, tho' acknowledged by us as a Major — Capt Flabwen was confined for breaking a soldier's thigh with the butt of his gun after he was shot down when the British surgeon on Examination acknowledged that the Thigh was broken by a Ball &c. &c. — Most of the Cases examined into turned out either wholly false or too trifling to be regarded — It also appeared by the Declaration of some of the Gent^l that their Water would be sometimes, as the Caprice of the Provost Marshall led him, brought up to them in the Tubs they used in their Rooms, when the Weather was so hot that they must drink or perish — On hearing a number of these Instances of Cruelty — I asked who was the Author of them — They answered the Provost Keeper — I desired the Officer to call him up that we might have him Face to Face — He accordingly came in and on being informed of what had passed was asked if the Complaints were true — He with great Insolence answered that every Word was true — on which the British Officer abusing him very much asked him how he dared treat Gent^l in that cruel Manner — He insolently putting his Hands to his side swore that he was as absolute there as Gen^l Howe was at the Head of his

Army — I observed to the Officer that now there could be no Dispute about Facts as the Fellow had acknowledged every Word to be true — I stated all the Facts and Substance & waited again on Genl Robertson, who hoped I was quite satisfied of the falsity of the Reports I had heard — I then stated to him the Facts, and assured him that they turned out worse than anything we had heard — On his hesitating as to the truth of this assertion, I observed to him the Propriety of having an Officer with me to whom I now appealed for the Truth of the Facts — He being present confirmed them — On which the Genl expressed great Dissatisfaction & promised that the Author of them should be punished — I insisted that Officers should be discharged from his Power on Parole on Long Island as other Officers were — To this after receiving from me a Copy of the Facts I had taken down, he assented and all were discharged except seven, who were detained sometime before I could obtain their Release — I forgot to mention that one officer Lieut. Luker was taken Prisoner and brought in with a Wound thro' his Leg — He was sent to the Provost to be examined the next Morning — He was put into the Dungeon and remained there 10 Weeks totally forgotten by the Genl and never had his Wound dressed except as he washed it with a little Rum and Water given him by the Sentinels thro' the Grief Hole out of their own Rations — Cap^t Travene and a Cap^t Chatham



were confined with them and their Allowance was 4 pounds hard spoiled Biscuit & 2 lbs Pork pr Week which they were obliged to eat raw— While they were thus confined for the slightest Complaints, the Provost Marshal would come down and beat them most unmercifully with a Rattan & even knock them down with his Fist— after this I visited two Hospitals of our sick Prisoners and the Sugar House; in the two first were 211 Prisoners & in the last about 190— They acknowledged that for about two Months past they fared pretty well, being allowed 2 lbs of good Beef and a Proportion of Flour or Bread pr Week by Mr. Lewis Pintard my Agent, over and above the Allowance recd from the British, which was professed to be $\frac{2}{3}$ Allowance— but before they had suffered much from the small Allowance they had rec^d & that their Bread was very bad, being musty Biscuit, but that the British Soldiers made the same Complaint as to the Bread— From every Account I rec^d I found that their Treatment had been greatly changed for the better, within a few Months past, except at the Provost— They all agreed that previous to the Capture of Genl Burgoyne, and for sometime after, their Treatment had been cruel beyond Measure— That the Prisoners in the French Church amounting on an Average to 3 & 400 could not all lay down at once— That from the 15th of Oct^r to the 1st of Jan^y they never rec^d a single stick of Wood, and that for the most Part

they eat their Pork raw — When the Pews & Door & Window facings failed them for fuel — But as to my own personal Knowledge, I found Gen^l Robertson very ready to agree to every Measure for alleviating the Miseries of War and very candidly acknowledging many Faults committed by the inferior Officers, and even the Mistakes of the General himself, by hearkening to the Representations of those around him — He showed me a letter from Gen^l Howe who was in Philadelphia, giving Orders that he should not be at liberty to purchase Blanketts within their Lines — and containing a copy of an Order I had issued, that they should not purchase Provisions within ours, by way of Retaliation — But he represented it as if my Order was first — I stated the facts to Gen^l Robertson who assured me that Gen^l Howe had been imposed upon & requested me to state the Facts by way of Letter which he immediately wrote to Gen^l Howe urging the Propriety of reversing his Orders, which afterward he did in a very hypocritical Manner as will be seen hereafter.

“ One Day calling on Gen^l Robertson he asked me if I had any Objection agt a free private political Conversation — I answered that I could not have any — He asked me up into his Bedroom, and began by asking me, why so much Blood was shed, among those who were once Brethren, when it was apparent that no valuable End could be answered by it — Why no one had yet stepped

forth to stop so unnatural a Breach & prevent the cutting each other's throats—I replied, that no good reason could be assigned—That the fault lay with them—They had invaded our Land—We had not troubled them—That all we had asked was to be heard—That this was refused and War & Desolation was brought by them into our Country—It was therefore with them to make Propositions, that we might know what it was they would be at—That we were not only strangers to & ignorant in the Art of War and almost wholly unprepared for it, but were Lovers of Peace & only wished to enjoy our Habitations in Quietness, without quarreling with any one—He expressed himself very strongly agt the War as an unnatural Destruction of each other by which nothing valuable was to be obtained—That he was authorized to assure me, that if any one would step forward & heal the unhappy difference, that he should be rewarded in any Manner he should ask, even to a Pension of Ten thousand Pounds sterling—I observed to him that there could be no necessity for this—That the Americans were desirous of Peace, and would eagerly seize every opportunity of embracing it—But that Propositions from the nature of the Thing must come from them—He observed that Lord Howe and Genl Howe had been authorized to make Peace with us on almost any Terms—I assured him that I had been conversant with the Proceedings of Congress & the knowledge of

Gen^l Washington and I did not believe that any such Thing was known — After a little Reflection, he answered that the Fact was so, and that Lord Howe had actually written an Account of it to Gen^l Washington before his Landing, while off the Hook at Sea — On my repeating my Disbelief of it, he told me that this was one of the Evils of the present Dispute — That a Parcel of Damagoues had possessed themselves of the Govt and kept the People in entire Ignorance of the true Principles of the Difference between us — That he was sure if the People of America were left to themselves, they had too much good sense to continue the Breach, after such Offers of Peace on our own Terms — At last starting as from a reverie, he said we must know it as he had seen Lord Howe's Letter in our Newspapers — I asked him if he did not know that Lord Howe's Authority went no farther than merely to grant Pardons &c. — He seemed confused and said, that any Agreement he made would be ratified by the Parliament of Great Britain — I then reminded him that the War had been brought on by the British Ministry having refused to suffer Parliament only to hear us, that being the Sum of our last Petition; and whether (as he had said he knew many sensible & worthy Men in America) He thought those sensible Men would ever submit to make a Treaty with any British Commissioners (and thereby lose the Friendship of France) and trust to a British Ministry (whose treatment had hith-

erto been so unworthy men of Probity or political Understanding) to have it ratified by Parliament — He now seemed a little chagrined, and said with seeming Petulance, that he did not know what the American Gen^l had done with their Oaths of Allegiance — Indeed Sir, I know not how, you have got over your Oath of Allegiance, for I know you have taken one — I answered, that it had been a Matter of some Difficulty to me till I was legally discharged by an Act of the British Parliament — He said he had never heard of any such Act — I told him (much in the language he had used in the Beginning to me) that I had long known the Misfortune of the British Officers — That they were kept hoodwinked and in total ignorance of the causes and Reasons of the War in which they were engaged — That they were obliged to obey & fight in every Cause whether right or wrong — That I supposed that this Act was kept from getting to their Knowledge — But I knew the Fact, and had seen it in St. Jame's Chronicle published by Authority — He assured me that it must be a Congressional Falsehood, and that no such Act had ever been passed — I then asked him if he was acquainted with the British Constitution — He answered in the Affirmative — I asked him what he thought of Allegiance & Protection — He said they always went together, and that without Protection no Allegiance was due — I replied, have you never seen Sir, an Act of Parliament putting all the

Colonies (Friends and Foes) out of the King's Protection — The old Gent^l seemed alarmed at his Confession and with Warmth said — 'A Damned Act' — 'a Damned act' — 'I told the Ministry so at the Time — They were distracted — a Damned Act — Let us go down Stairs' — And our Conversation ended."

Mr. Boudinot also writes:—

"When the British Army took possession of New York they found a Frenchman in Gaol under condemnation for Burglary and Robberies — He was liberated — He was a very low, ignorant man — Had been a servant — This fellow was set over our Prisoners in the Hospital as a Surgeon — tho' he knew not the least principle of the Art — Dr. McHenry, a Physician of note in the American Army, and then a Prisoner, finding the extreme ignorance of this Man and that he was really murdering our People remonstrated to the British Director of the Hospital and refused visiting our sick prisoners if this Man was not dismissed — A British officer convinced that he had killed several of our People, lodged a complaint agt him, when he was ordered to be tryed by a Court Martial, but the morning before the court were to sit this officer was ordered off to St. Johns and the criminal was discharged for want of evidence. During the time this man had the charge of our Prisoners in the Hospital, two of our Men deserted from the Hospital and came into our Army where they were ordered to me for

Examination — They joined in this story — That they were sick in the Hospital under the care of the above Frenchman — that he came and examined them and gave to each of them a Dose of Physic to be taken immediately — A young woman their nurse made them some private signs not to take the Physic immediately — after the Doctor was gone she told them she suspected the Physic was poison — that she had several times heard this Frenchman say that he would have ten rebels dead in such a Room, and five dead in such a Room, the next morning, and that it always so happened — They asked her what they should do — She told them their only chance was, to get off, sick as they were — That she would help them out, and that they must shift for themselves — They accordingly got off safe & brought the Physic with them — This was given to a Surgeon's mate who afterwards reported that he gave it to a Dog and that he died in a short time — I afterwards saw an Acct in the London Paper of this same Frenchman being taken up in England for some Crime and condemned to die — At his execution he acknowledged the fact of his having murdered a great number of rebels in the hospital at New York by poison — That on his reporting to General Howe the number of Prisoners dead, he raised his pay — He further confessed that he poisoned the Wells used by the American Flying Camp, which caused such an uncommon Mortality among them in the year 1776.”¹

¹ *Reminiscences of Elias Boudinot*, Library of Mr. John Carter Brown.

CHAPTER VI.

Letter to Mrs. Boudinot from Valley Forge, March 4, 1778. — Dangerous journey back. — Mrs. Washington. — Weather bitter. — Misses his bed; lays upon blankets. — Asks for rusk, etc. — March 11, to his wife. — Appointed one of the commissioners for settling exchange of prisoners, to meet at Germantown. — March 15, writes again, deploras absence from home and the unnatural war. — General Washington and officers remonstrate against his leaving the army, while seeing the necessity for his going to Congress. — March 27, just returned from consulting with commissioners. — Deplores Susan's negligence in writing. — Intelligence of French merchantmen under convoy at the Carolinas. — Our vessels at Martinique. — Commissary Loring to Mr. Boudinot. — Mr. Boudinot to Mrs. Boudinot. — Preparing for home. — News from England. — Temple Luttrell's speech. — April 17, hopes to finish his business next week. — Anxiety to join his wife. — Mrs. Washington wishes for her. — His daughter's expostulation with British officer. — Arrived at home. — Writes to General Washington, May 13, from Baskingridge. — Had been to Morris Town, and with Colonel Campbell to New York. — Major-General Daniel Jones and General Valentine Jones will relieve prisoners. — Colonel Campbell's interest in business. — Exchanged prisoners anxious for employment. — Mr. Boudinot engaged on accounts. — Letters from General Washington, requesting his immediate presence at camp on account of general exchange of prisoners. — Colonel Francis Johnson to succeed Mr. Boudinot. — Refuses appointment. — Major Beaty nominated in his place. — Commissary Loring to Colonel Hamilton.

MR. BOUDINOT, being in the neighborhood of his family, has, subsequent to his first interesting visit to New York, paid them a visit, as on reaching Valley Forge a month after leaving there, he writes to Mrs. Boudinot: —

CAMP VALLEY FORGE
March 4th 1778

MY VERY DEAR WIFE

Want of opportunity & a continual hurry has

prevented the enjoyment of my peculiar Pleasure, writing to my dearest wife till this evening & now I am obliged to encroach on midnight for the Purpose — I did not arrive here till the Sunday afternoon after I left you — you can form no idea of the horrid Journey — I was playing bow-peep with the Enemy in all those dreadful roads for upwards of Sixty Miles between Delaware & Skuykill — I lodged three nights in great danger of being taken and had I set off on Saturday instead of Monday, in all probability I should have had a short cut to Philadelphia — However by the goodness of Gracious God, I am safe here tho' almost worried out — We are badly off here for every kind of store & I miss my waggon greatly, yet am rejoiced that I did not bring it as my horses must have starved — I cannot possibly get away till some business of Importance is finished here, when I shall fly to the Arms of my beloved — I send the bearer express for the purpose of bringing all the letters received that are in bundles in my little leather trunk, which I cannot do without — also several other bundles in which the Papers appear to be endorsed in my hand writing —

M^{rs} Washington presents her best compliments — Pray send me a pound of chocolate & if you have any rusk or gingerbread — everything here is scarce & dear — I miss my bed as the weather is bitter to lay on Blanketts but all is well for us

poor soldiers. Dont keep the express as he must be here again by Sunday night at farthest.

With ever increasing affection
Your faithful Husband

ELIAS BOUDINOT.¹

Mrs. BOUDINOT.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. FERGUSON DATED
MARCH 6, 1778.²

SIR

In answer to yours of the 2d inst. I am desired to acquaint you that Sir Wm Howe only waits the arrival of our officers in Philadelphia to order yours to be sent out—His Exc^{ly} also has no objection to giving a Lieutenant Colonel in Exchange for Lt. Colonel Connolly, and the Commander in Chief is willing that Coll Swope be returned for Gov. Franklin—

Am &c.

ELIAS BOUDINOT Esq.

From Camp on March the 11th he writes to his wife:—

I have been prevailed on against my Inclination but at the particular request of the General which I could not withstand, to accept of the appointment of one of the Commissioners for settling a Treaty of Exchange of Prisoners on the part of the United States of America with Gen-

¹ Family letters.

² Washington Letters, No. 78, vol. ii. B, p. 397, MSS., Department of State, Washington, D. C.

eral Howe under the crown of Great Britain. We are to meet at Germantown the 31st Inst — This is a disagreeable circumstance, as it will prevent my seeing you till April — I have been so engaged since I have been here, that I have had scarce time to write you a word — I am almost tired out (I can assure you my dearest and beloved wife that not all the honors Preferments and Pleasures that I ever do enjoy and they would have been thought important by many who are seeking for them, can any ways recompense or satisfy me for the loss of those sweet delights and heart felt joys of domestic felicity, which have so largely been dealt out to me by the indulgent hand of Heaven — Never can I consent to be deprived of them so long again without a still more complete and full conviction of a call from that God who I hope will ever have my whole heart and all the powers of my soul and body at every risque —) My dearest wife may depend on every step I take however it may appear to her, at first sight being calculated in my opinion to hasten the happy Time when I shall again become the retired, unnoticed domestic man, content with a bare sufficiency for Life but so as to enjoy my beloved family in peace — I am engaged in public Life, I must retreat with Honor — This I am doing as fast as I can and I hope it will not be long before I shall accomplish this desirable end — My dearest daughter shares largely in her father's affections and often is the subject of his thoughtful moments

— May a holy God protect and comfort you both and be your salvation to the ends of the earth —

There are a number of gentlemen sitting along side of me playing checquers who make such a noise that dins my ears — I would rather spend an hour with my little family than to enjoy the best company the Country affords and the chit chat conversation of my little humble peaceful cott has more alluring pleasure to my homely mind than all the brilliancy of wit & humour — I acknowledge you may upbraid me and say all this is owing to my Indolence — My dearest love knows I am not Indolent, though I love Indolence — I am called off — I cannot add more than my love to the family, Sister & all Friends & to assure you how much I am with an increasing affection & Esteem

Your ever sincere & loving husband

ELIAS BOUDINOT.

MR. BOUDINOT TO MRS. BOUDINOT.

CAMP March¹ 15th 1778

MY DEAREST WIFE

I know you cannot object to another line from your fond, too fond Husband altho' he troubled you with a scrawl but last night — My beloved family lay near my heart and therefore must often employ my Pen tho' I have so little to say — Writing to distant friends seems to draw them to you or carries you to them — I often repeat my wishes to fly to my former requiem in the posses-

sion of my long lost domestic Peace and tranquillity, which this cruel, unnatural War has so deeply wounded in an essential Part. I still live in hope and please myself with the Idea of a more thorough & substantial enjoyment arising from a knowledge of its inestimable value than ever we have yet experienced — This must be under the superintending Influence of our kind & gracious God whose will in all things I humbly hope & pray may ever be our will — I am tired with the labours of the day — Tho' the Sabbath, I have been writing almost all day — Alas! a state of War is not calculated for either world — I really feel why & how a state of Happiness should be a state of Peace — The angels at the Incarnation of our Saviour seem to have been grieved with the Wars among mankind when they sang Glory to God in the highest: Peace Good Will to Man on Earth — I am more & more surprised how any man living can delight in War & especially think of making a trade of it —

Genl Washington and the general officers remonstrate ag't my giving up my office, yet all want me to go to Congress while they confess I cannot do both — I wish to see my dearest Friend on the subject — My kindest love to Susan, my niece, Sister & family not forgetting my neighbors Ever my dear Wife with ardent & increasing love

Your Aff^c Husband

BOUDINOT

I am obliged to send my horses 17 miles out of

Camp with W^m in order to keep them from starving & I am four miles from headquarters without a servant.

MR. BOUDINOT TO MRS. BOUDINOT.

CAMP March 27th 1778.

MY BELOVED WIFE

I have this moment returned from a consultation with my fellow commissioners & am made extremely happy by the receipt of your very kind tender & affectionate Letters by the Express & altho' it is late & I am wearied with writing yet I cannot help indulging myself with a scrawl to my beloved & amiable Wife, thanking her in the sincerity of my heart for those soft expressions of Love & tenderness which could only be dictated by affection & esteem — That the dear object of my most passionate and fond desires should entertain & cherish sentiments so flattering to my vanity, is full as much as I have a right to expect & must yield a degree of Pleasure & gratification to be exceeded only by a personal enjoyment of what you know I prize as the chief of my earthly Happiness — May all the blessings & comforts of the World & the world to come which you wish for me be showered down in a double portion on my sweetest Wife & beloved daughter — I expect to set off for Germantown on Tuesday Morning on the Business of our Commission — It is not very pleasing as it is one of those Employments that tho' we act upright as angels yet we are sure

of not pleasing any one. The expectations & desires of mankind which regulate those expectations so far exceed the true mark, that we know that if we act justly we shall meet the disapprobation of those who judge from so unreasonable a rule — In this business we shall endeavor to please ourselves by acting faithfully & uprightly & to please our general by convincing him of the Principles on which we act & leave all others to find fault, as they please, laying it to our account, that if we come off without losing our reputation altogether we do better & shall be more favoured than many who have gone before us.

My dear Susan's excuses are rather those of negligence & want of inclination than those of necessity. Did she set apart one day in the week to favour her Papa with a letter, however short, I do not think it would be a great sacrifice, seeing she is interested in the event, but you know the old proverb "Out of sight out of mind" — Kiss her for me and give my kind love to the family — Sister & friends & neighbours — We have intelligence in Camp that there are a great number of French vessels (Merchantmen) under convoy of a 50 gun ship arrived at the Carolinas That our Vessels are admitted to formal entries at the Custom house in Martinique and pay the usual Duty — That this has been the occasion of a remonstrance from the Gov of Antigua but to no effect — And now my dearest & most beloved of Women I must with all the tenderness & affection of

the most loving Husband, wish you a good night with the addition of every Happiness your nature is capable of in this Vale of Tears & disappointments and after they are vanished away like the baseless Fabrick of a nocturnal vision leaving not a mark behind may you find yourself in the full fruition of all the Joys & Raptures of the most adoring Seraph of the heavenly World — I do no more than copy the real lineaments of my fond Heart when I again & again assure you with fresh & repeated assurances of esteem how much I am, thou dear Partner of all my Hopes Joys & Expectations

The most tender & affectionate
of Husbands

BOUDINOT

P S I hope to see you before I take any conclusive measure whatever as to my future conduct I recd the papers & they contained what I wanted — Lady Sterling Lady Kitty & Miss Brown are well Mrs Washington often asks after you, she has given me the cotton seed.¹

ELIAS BOUDINOT TO MAJOR GENERAL GATES.

CAMP April 4th 1778.

DEAR SIR

Having sent orders to Mr Peters for the immediate sending forward all the Officers detained at Hanover, as well as those at York Town, I think it necessary to inform you that General Lee is permitted to come to Camp and I have entered

¹ Family letters.

into the Exchange of Colonel Allen for Colonel Campbell.

I hope you have received my last Letter of the March

Am in haste

Dr Sir

Your very obedt Serv^t

ELIAS BOUDINOT

Com. Genl of Prisⁿ.

To HON^l MAJOR GENL GATES,
President of the Board of War
(Endorsed)

Letter from Mr. Boudinot
C. G. of Prisoners,
dated 4th April 1778.¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO MRS. BOUDINOT.

CAMP April 17th 1778

MY BELOVED WIFE

Till lately I have always valued the privilege of writing to the dear Partner of all my Joys & Sorrows, as one of the highest earthly Felicities, but alas! I begin to find that even this blessing comes far short of my unsatisfied desires — My anxious Heart is looking & longing for the happy interview which I hope through the divine goodness draws nearer & nearer — I have my business in such a state that I have some glimmering prospect of finishing next week. I should have hastened my departure but I am obliged to wait the return of a Messenger from York Town who sets off tomorrow morning —

¹ Washington Letters, No. 78, vol. ii. B, p. 455, MSS., Department of State, Washington, D. C.

I hope that my invaluable Wife & beloved Family enjoy all that Health that my fond Heart wishes for them; This indeed will be an addition to my happiness, for which I never shall be too thankful — I long to see you, I have a thousand things to say to you that consist of all compositions — the loving, tender, sweet, soft & endearing as well as of News Politicks, Business, Curiosity &c &c — I know you will laugh at me, as an old fashioned fellow with a bald Pate & gray head but I can't help it — Apropos — I have been so long with the gay, accomplished, proud Englishman, that I ought to be a foot higher than I used to be, therefore prepare yourself accordingly — If you knew how late it was and how much writing I have done today you would reprove me for spending your & my time in reading and writing so much nonsense, especially to one whose Judgment & Taste I have not the meanest opinion of — I know not how it comes to pass but so it is, that I have lately increased my old habit of palming off my old fashioned Wife every where I go, as a pattern worthy of general Imitation & an Example to direct my Friends to conjugal Happiness — You know as men grow old they often fall into strange whims — My daughter too, is not always forgotten but it is best not to raise her vanity too much, therefore the least said is soonest mended — I should write to Susan late as it is but I am afraid that it might be disgusting, so soon after the receipt of her letter, as I find it possible she

meant the long delay in writing to her Papa as a gentle hint, and you know I am good at a hint sometimes, especially if it is a broad one — My kind love to all as if named — Kiss my dear Susan — Mrs. Washington often speaks of you, always asks after you and wishes you with her — She is almost a mope for want of a female companion; I wish you could have spent a week or two with her this Winter — I enclose you a grand piece of news just arrived at Head Quarters. Providence always interferes in the gloomy Hour — Let Mr. L see it

Am with unalterable Affection

Your sincere & tender husband

BOUDINOT.

This only daughter, whom he calls his “one ewe Lamb,” was cast herself, in somewhat heroic mould, though inheriting her father’s benevolence and sweet nature. When a little girl, on a visit to her aunt in Jersey, the house was levied upon by a party of British. She expostulated with the officer, reminding him that her aunt had asked protection. “Not by your advice, Miss, I presume,” he said. “That it never was,” she replied.

On April 20 he writes a hasty line to his wife as an opportunity offers.

“I am getting my affairs in order to set off on Friday or Saturday altho’ I am afraid the Genl will object, as I plainly see it will greatly embarrass him and worthy Man he has both Hands &

Heart full — The Enemy are trying what they can do by throwing out proposals of Peace — God grant that we may be firm as it will be a Time of Tryal & they mean to effect delay —”¹

MR. JOSHUA LORING TO MR. BOUDINOT.

PHIL^A 22^d April 1778

SIR

His Excellency Sir W^m Howe has been pleased to approve of the proposal that two officers be appointed on each side to determine the dispute respecting the 1821 Privates sent home last Winter and that they should meet at German Town for that purpose as soon as you please, and if agreeable to you, I will meet you there at some time, this being settled I hope all our business will go on more smoothly in future & that the captives on each side may soon be released from their confinement — As I find it much more agreeable to Sir W^m Howe that Col^l Campbell should come into Phil^a beg he may be sent in as soon as possible, upon which I will immediately send you another order for the Exchange at York & to be final in that case

Excuse haste as Flag waits

I am Sir your most Obed^t Humble

JOS^A LORING
Com Gen^l Pris^{rs}²

To ELIAS BOUDINOT Esq^r
Commiss^r Gen^l American Prisrs
At Gen^l Washington's Headquarters.

¹ Family letters.

² Family papers.

MR. BOUDINOT TO MRS. BOUDINOT.

CAMP April 22^d 1778

MY DEAREST LOVE

Permit me once more to trouble you with a scrawl before I see you — Am just returned from the Lines & am now preparing the way for home — I write this by opportunity to have the Pleasure of enclosing a News Paper containing great News, as well as to enjoy a Pleasure of a more refined kind, that of mentioning the Name of a beloved & highly valued Wife

The News from England is, that every thing there, is in the utmost confusion — Gen^l Washington our worthy Commander in Chief has been carried in Procession through the streets of London — I mean his Effigy, and who ever did not illuminate their windows were punished by having them broken by the mob — Lord Chatham is in the Ministry, Commissioners are coming over to treat with Congress Temple Lutterel in his speech says, “It is said the Americans have neither shoes nor stockings, this may be true but we find that they have Souls” — Gen^l Howe is recalled & Clinton takes the command — the news as to the particulars may be read to Mr Livingston & a special Friend, but is not at present to be made too publick for particular reasons —

May the blessing of the God of Peace rest on you & my dear Family who I long to see

Am with the sincerest Affection & esteem to

the best & most beloved of Women a tender & faithful Husband

BOUDINOT ¹

Love & a kiss to Susan.

The Tories & New Levies in Philadelphia damn King Parliament & Howe & say they are left in the lurch —

Mrs. BOUDINOT —

Having arrived at home, Baskingridge, May 13, 1778, he writes to General Washington: —

D^R SIR

On My arrival at Morris Town, I found Lt Coll. Campbell, who proposed my going with him to New York, as he thought he could aid me greatly in farthering some immediate relief to our suffering Prisoners. By Coll. Allen I rec^d Gen^l Clinton's permission to attend Coll. Campbell and then proceeded to New York — I found Major Gen^l Daniel Jones in the Command & Gen^l Valentine Jones Commandant of the City — Both these Gentlemen appear determined to give every relief to Prisoners that is in their Power — They treated me with uncommon Civility & granted me every thing I Asked — The Exchange I took with Me was compleatly carried with Execution, with the addition of twenty-five Officers & about Twenty Privates being for the Servants of Gen^l Burgoyne, Coll. Campbell & others —

Gen^l Jones has given me the strongest assurances that our officers & Privates shall not have

¹ Family letters.

reason again to Complain of unnecessary Severity ; indeed their whole System appears to be changed or at least in Confusion — I cannot but mention the Service I rec^d from Coll. Campbell, who seems determined to interest himself in Mitigating the rigors of Captivity, which he Appears well acquainted with — Many of our officers who are now Exchanged, are at a loss to know what to do, there being no Provision made for them, and having left both Property & friends, they are anxious for any employment, in which they may hope for some satisfaction for the Multitude & severity of their Sufferings —

As I am much engaged to get my accounts in proper order, I shall remain here, till that is done, unless I receive other orders from your Excellency, which I beg to be favoured with, if you think my immediate Presence necessary at Camp — If a Successor to my department has been Nominated, I should be much obliged by the Information —

I have the honor to be with the greatest regard and esteem

Your Excellency's
Most Obed^t & Most Hble Serv^t

ELIAS BOUDINOT
Com. Gen^l of Pris^s¹

HIS EXCELLENCY GEN^l WASHINGTON.

(Endorsed)

From ELIAS BOUDINOT Esq.

May 13th 78

Answered 23d &c.

¹ Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., *Letters to Washington*, vol. xxiii. p. 135.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO MR. BOUDINOT.

HEAD QU^{RS} May 23^d 1778.

DEAR SIR

I was duly favoured with yours of the 13th. I am happy to learn, that the appearances with respect to the future treatment of our prisoners are now so favourable. It is much to be wished, the disposition which at present appears may be persevered in; though unluckily for the credit of their humanity, it is too evident the change which has taken place, is to be ascribed more to the series of successful events which have lately happened in our Affairs, than to any desire to relieve the sufferings of Captivity.

By a Resolve of Congress of the 21st, in consequence of a late proposal from General Howe, a general Exchange of prisoners is to be carried into execution; This renders your *immediate* presence at Camp necessary which I therefore request.

Col. Francis Johnson has been nominated to succeed you in your Department, but he has not yet accepted the appointment. In any case, your presence and assistance are indispensable as your successor could not be at once sufficiently acquainted with the State of the Department to execute with propriety a Matter of such extent and importance, as that which now calls for your attention; and indeed you ought to be some time with him to communicate the necessary information concerning it, and put him in a train. You

will bring all your papers with you, for this purpose.

I am with great regard, Dear Sir,
Your Most obed^t Serv^t

ELIAS BOUDINOT Esqr
C. G. Prisoners

G. WASHINGTON.¹

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO MR. BOUDINOT.

HEAD QU^{rs} VALLEY FORGE, 2^d June 1778.

DEAR SIR

I inclose you a copy of a letter of the 23^d ult^o forwarded by express, to which I have received no Answer.

Cd^r Johnston refusing the appointment, Congress have since nominated as Commissary of prisoners Major Beatty. I have forwarded him their resolve, and desired his immediate attendance at Head Quarters.

I must again urge the great necessity of your hastening here with all possible dispatch. The prospect of the enemy's moving (and) the present circumstances and situation of the prisoners in Philadelphia make your presence at this time absolutely necessary. If their liberty is to be affected by exchange or parole, it will be easier, in all probability, to accomplish it where they now are than where they may be removed to.

I am &^c

ELIAS BOUDINOT Esqr
C. G. Prisoners

G. WASHINGTON.²

¹ The Washington papers, Department of State, Washington, D. C., transcript B, vol. v. p. 338.

² The Washington papers, Department of State, Washington, D. C., transcript B, vol. v. p. 366.



COMMISSARY LORING TO COLONEL HAMILTON.

PHIL^A June 5th 1778

SIR

Upon my Report to His Excellency Sir Henry Clinton of our meeting yesterday at the Sorrel Horse for the Purpose of settling an exchange of Prisoners —

I am directed to acquaint you that all our Prisoners in Philadelphia agreeable to the enclosed Return, shall be sent out on the 12th Inst^t under a proper Escort to the two miles stone on the Lancaster Road over Schuylkill, provided you agree to meet us There on that day with the like number of British Prisoners of equal Rank to be then & there exchanged for the same and you will be so good as to fix the hour

I am Sir your most obedient

Humble Servant

JOS^A LORING

Commiss^y Gen^l Prisoners¹

Col. HAMILTON

Endorsed by E B —

JOSHUA LORING Esq^r

June 5th 1778

Enclosing gen^l Release.

Having returned from the visit to his family at Baskinridge, and transacted the business alluded to in his letter from there to Washington, dated May 13, in compliance with Washington's letter of May 23d from Valley Forge, he is again in camp, at or near headquarters, from whence he

¹ Family papers.

sends a hasty line to his wife, to say that he has arrived there safely at noon on Friday. "In half an hour was ordered to repair to Germantown, from whence I am just returned & am again ordered there tomorrow morning so that I have little rest for the sole of my foot— The Commissioners are arrived at Philadelphia with Lord Cornwallis which will protract their departure— Everything is on Board at Philadelphia —"

CHAPTER VII.

June, 1778, appointed to meet General Robertson, British commissioner for exchange of Hessian prisoners. — Conversation with General Robertson regarding peace. — Offer of dukedom to ten thousand sterling. — Emoluments held out to Joseph Reed. — Letter to Mrs. Boudinot, June 10. — Arrival of French fleet with French ambassador and Silas Deane. — English frigate taken. — War declared in England against France. — June 11, return from second jaunt to Germantown. — Enemy to evacuate Philadelphia. — Surmise as to their further movements. — English commissioner to Congress. — Condition of inhabitants, of city hospital stores. — Should go into the city, then set off for Yorktown. — Ribbon for his hair. — Snuff box with Washington's head in relief. — Mr. Boudinot to General Freidrell regarding exchange of prisoners. — To Mrs. Boudinot. — Expecting enemy to leave the city every moment. — Marquis La Fayette and Baron Steuben have letters from France. — France receives American ambassadors. — English take American vessel on French coast. — Demanded by France. — Action of king on refusal. — European combats. — Commissary Loring to Mr. Boudinot. — Note on his letter. — Mr. Boudinot to General Washington. — Reports marching of British army. — Violation of agreement as to exchange of prisoners. — To Mrs. Boudinot from Philadelphia. — Enemy gone off. — General Robinson's promise to protect Mr. Stockton's and Mrs. Noel's homes. — To General Washington, June 20, 11 o'clock. — To Mrs. Boudinot. — Anxiety for her, being in the route of the army.

MR. BOUDINOT writes: —

“About the month of May or beginning of June,¹ in the spring of 1778, I was appointed by General Washington to meet a commissioner, on the part of the British at Germantown to exchange the Hessian prisoners in our custody. On my arrival I found the British Commissioner was

¹ As shown by his letters it was June.

the same General Robertson who had brought out a gent. with him, who had been an acquaintance of mine, a very sensible, prudent, genteel man. After doing our business and dining together — This gent^m asked me if I would walk in the garden with him. I readily agreed, When there, he asked me if I had any objection to a confidential political conversation. I said, I could have none. He told me that the British exceedingly regretted our unhappy dispute. That they were convinced, it could end in no substantial good to either party — that they were now convinced of the propriety of healing the breach —. That if any person would undertake to settle the unhappy dispute, he was authorized to promise them anything he would ask from a Dukedom to ten thousand sterling per annum. To this I replied as before to General Robertson, that offers of that kind could have no effect on men who were acting from Principle. That America wanted peace & quietness. That the British had invaded us, and it was on her part to say what she wanted. He said he came authorized in the fullest manner, to offer a carte blanche, it should be signed by a proper authority, and I might fill it up myself. I told him that I was too well acquainted with the British Gov^t. & the nature of the dispute, not to know that such an offer was merely delusive, & that it could only tend to deceive, for they never designed nor could do any such thing. — He in the most positive terms assured me that it was all real and

nothing could give more pleasure to the Govt than to have it agreed to. I answered that I did not doubt his honesty in the business, but well knew that he was imposed upon. He however insisted so strenuously on the rectitude of their intentions that he would venture his life upon their agreeing to any terms that I would dictate. In reply I said I would try him & thereby bring the matter to the test. That I would fill up his carte blanche with only one term 'that we should be allowed one single free bottom to every part of the world.' His countenance fell and with much apparent distress said, Sir, you are right it is impossible. Well, Sir, said I, it is not all the power of Great Britain and all that she is worth, will ever bring America to submit without having a free Trade to every part of the world, with as many ships as she can command, and therefore the project is vain. He acknowledged his error, begged my pardon for the trouble he had given me and the freedom he had used, and we returned into the house.

"After some little time, General Robertson came to me and cursorily asked me who I thought would be governor of Pennsylvania — I told him it lay between Mr. Robert Morris & Mr. Joseph Reed. That one of them would be chosen, but which I knew not. We then soon parted."¹

Irving in his "Life of Washington" tells of a

¹ MSS. *Reminiscences of Elias Boudinot*, Library of Mr. John Carter Brown.

similar attempt on the part of the English commissioners in June, 1778, to bribe Mr. Joseph Reed, then a member of Congress, and of his "brief and memorable reply" — "I am not worth such purchasing, but such as I am the King of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it." Mr. Boudinot, it will be observed, had led the way in such sturdy rejoinders, regarding as lightly the dukedom and ten thousand sterling per annum, as did his friend Joseph Reed the "honors and emoluments" held out to him.¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO MRS. BOUDINOT.

PHILADELPHIA, June the 10th

MY DEAREST LOVE

Ever willing to please & gratify you I take this opportunity to give you the earliest Intelligence that the French Fleet has arrived off the Capes of Delaware having on board the French Ambassador & M^r Silas Deane. The Admiral is on board a 90 gun ship & the Fleet consists of 80 & 54 guns with several Frigates — Pilots are sent on board & expect they will push along the coast towards New York — They have taken an English 36 Gun Frigate. War was declared ag^t France in England on the 19th May so that at last the dye is cast — The Indians continue to waste the Frontiers & I am afraid it will be some time before their progress will be stopped —

My kind love to Sister & the Family — Kiss

¹ See MSS. *Life of Washington*, vol. iii. p. 413.

my dear Susan — Not a word from home since I left — I find that I shall be obliged to purchase you some letters & send them from hence — The weather is so hot that I can do little else but waste the time away.

If you have an opportunity let Elisha know the news as I dare say it will set him a Tip Toe. If the English Fleet should arrive soon also there would be warm work — I hope you got my letter of Days past.

Am my dearest Love with all the warmth of affection you can wish or desire

your loving & faithful

BOUDINOT

The fleet consists of 12000 seamen

Mrs BOUDINOT¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO MRS. BOUDINOT.

CAMP June 11th 1778

MY DEAREST LOVE

Am just returned from my second Jaunt to Germantown, where I have been happy enough to settle a general exchange of Prisoners, altho' it was thought to be again at an end — The enemy are all ready to evacuate Philadelphia and would have done it several days ago had it not been for the arrival of the commissioners — I am more settled in my opinion that they never had a design of going thro' the Jerseys, altho' the general opinion here is, that it is still their design — If I can judge of their Intentions (which indeed are

¹ Family letters.

kept entirely within the Breast of Sir Henry Clinton) they mean either to land suddenly at Chester or Marcus Hook and make a violent attack on our Camp, after they have prevailed on Gen^l Washington to detach as many as possible to secure Philadelphia &c or they are bound for the West Indies, which is rather unlikely—A Flag has announced the arrival of the Commissioners who sent for permission for the Secretary to wait on Congress. They rec^d for answer that an Express should be sent to Congress to know their Pleasure—

The Inhabitants of the City are in the utmost distress & confusion—Those who go off are all embarked & on board of ships at Reddy Island, men, women & children eating up their sea Stores & know not when they are to sail. Those that remain behind are in Terror & apprehension of every Insult & Abuse—The General has forbidden any of the army from entering the City but one Regiment appointed for that Purpose.

The want of an act of Indemnity has forced away several hundred of valuable Tradesmen & manufacturers who are cast upon the mercy of the British Army & scarcely know where to get a meal of victuals—They execrate our barbarous severity in the bitterest & most poignant terms of agony & woe—I have heard many little anecdotes while at German Town that I could wish to tell you but have not time—The commissioners had like to have been mobbed by the british

Light Infantry two nights ago — They hung Lord North in Effigy with the two acts of Parliament in his Hands. They cannot bear the thought of Peace.

The Enemy have delivered up to me lists of the Hospital Stores which they are to leave with our sick at a reasonable valuation & I have appointed a Surgeon to take charge of them.

I should sett off for York Town in a few days but want to go into the city first —

I shall leave the office just as I wished, quite clear of American Prisoners — This is almost beyond what I had a reason to expect & for which I am very thankful

I quite forgot to bring some black Ribbon for my Hair and am badly off for it — Pray send me some at the first opportunity —

I enclose a letter for your brother —

I see an elegant snuff box brought over by one of the commissioners with Gen^l Washington's Head elegantly painted or rather raised on the Lid. I have it here & wish you could see it —

I am in haste

with the utmost love & sincerity

Your most affectionate

BOUDINOT

My kind love to Susan & the Family at Morven¹

¹ Family letters. Morven was the country seat of Richard Stockton, where Mrs. Boudinot was visiting her relatives.

MR. BOUDINOT TO GENERAL FREIDRELL.

[Copy.]

CAMP VALLEY FORGE June 13th 1778

SIR.

Your favour of the 7th Ulmo. is now before me, in answer to which, can assure you, that as it has always been our desire to moderate the rigors of captivity in every Instance in our Power, so we are constantly willing to make exchanges either partially or generally, as we can prevail on your Commander in Chief to agree. I have repeatedly offered to exchange every Prisoner in our Hands, but have been hitherto refused till a few days past, when I have had some hopes that there will be a general Exchange of all but the Convention Prisoners. — Whenever you can get the consent of General Clinton or other proper officer I am ready to exchange your family or any other officers you may please to require.

I have the honor to be

with personal respect Sir,

your most Obed. Hble Ser^{vt}

ELIAS BOUDINOT

Com. Genl. of Pris¹

Honble GENERAL FREIDRELL.

MR. BOUDINOT TO MRS. BOUDINOT.

CAMP June 13th 1778

MY DEAREST LOVE

Just sending off an Express to Elizabeth Town ; I have ordered him to go by the way of Prince-

¹ From collection of Mr. Charles Roberts, Philadelphia.

ton that I may have the pleasure of writing you a line.

We are still in expectation of the Enemy leaving the City every moment — The answer to the commissioners request from Congress has just gone to Head quarters, which I believe will determine the Motions of the Enemy. I am still persuaded you will not be troubled with them in the Jerseys altho' there are different opinions — The Marquis La Fayette & Baron Steuben have both letters from France of the last of March — France has publicly received our Ambassadors — The English have taken one of our vessels on the French coast which has been demanded by France & refused — The French King immediately served on all the English ships in his ports. The King of Prussia has entered Bohemia with 60000 men & surprised one of the Emperors Garrison — The Turks & Russians are at it pell mell — My kind love to Susan for whom I send a kiss of love; remember me to your brother sister & family¹ — The Express waits & allows me but barely to repeat those warm assurances that you have received a Thousand & a Thousand Times that I am with the most sincere unfeigned

Affection & Esteem

My dearest Love

Your very faithful

BOUDINOT²

¹ Mrs. Boudinot was at Princeton, visiting the Stockton family, at Morven.

² Family letters.

P. S. I hope to leave this the latter end of next week.

Mrs. BOUDINOT

COMMISSARY LORING TO MR. BOUDINOT.

PHIL^A 6 oclock
Wednesday Morning
June 17th, 1778

SIR

On receipt of this be so good as to come down near our lines send in the Trumpeter when Gen^l Robinson will come out & meet you. I have reasons why I would wish you to be as expeditious as possible

I am Sir your most ob^t Humble Servant

JOS^A LORING
Com. Gen. Pris^{rs}

N. B. being ordered to embark all your Privates Pris^{rs} here it will not be in my power to see you again, please to forward our Prisoners on to Staten Island

Y^{rs}

LORING

I beg my respects to Gen^l Lee¹

ELIAS BOUDINOT Esq^r

On the back of this letter is a note embodying his reply to Loring, in which he tells him that he is greatly surprised at the post scriptum to his letter — “The embarking of the Privates, Prisoners of War, is a direct breach of the Faith pledged to me in our agreement” “I am therefore sorry to be under the necessity of informing you, that without further advice from me after I reach Head

¹ Family papers.

quarters you need not expect any more of your Prisoners to be sent forward (except the 38 I owe you which shall be duly paid) as I shall immediately countermand the order given to the different departments for their being sent on & shall return those on the way" —¹

ELIAS BOUDINOT TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL
WASHINGTON.

GERMAN TOWN June 18 1778.
8 o Clock P. M.

D^R SIR

I am this moment returned from the Point opposite to Gloucester — As soon as the City was a little reconnoitered, and prudent precautions taken, I went down with two or three chosen Persons to the Point from whence the Enemy had just gone over — We plainly discovered their rear & indeed the direction of the whole Party from the Dust — Two Deserters came over to us while we were there, one swam the River — the other came in a Canoe — From the whole, I think your Excellency may depend on the following facts — That the main Body passed over at Coopers ferry — The flying Army as it is called passed to Gloucester to serve as a Covering Party — This last Body halted about two or three Hours at Gloucester, burned their scows dressed two Days Provision and marched towards Haddonfield about three or four oClock, where it is said they are to join the Main Army

¹ Family letters.

this Evening — One thing only puzzled me, it was clearly discernible that the last of the Main Body, who were in sight when we entered the City, marched down from Cooper's ferry along the River, to Gloucester — The only way I can account for this, is to suppose them part of the flying Army — I asked the Deserter how it came that this flanking division marched to the right of the Main Body instead of the left — He answered me that it was reported that Gen^l Wayne with his Division had crossed from Wilmington —

We have sent off two or three proper persons in their rear —

A light Horseman came in with your Excellency's Letter of this date, but the Contents are as fully answered by the above, as I am now capable of; every possible measure shall be taken by me to endeavour to watch the Enemy's Movements —

Notwithstanding every endeavour used to the Contrary, they have embarked all our Prisoners except a very few — They persist in taking the officers with them, but say they will disembark the Privates in the River when the Prisoners arrive — I have given for answer, that under so notorious a violation of a solemn Agreement for the purpose, I could not say whether your Excellency would suffer another of their Prisoners to be sent in at any rate.

I am Your Excellency's Most obed^t, most Hble
Serv^t.

ELIAS BOUDINOT.¹

His Excellency
GEN^t WASHINGTON.
(Endorsed) M^r BOUDINOT
June 18, 1778
(Addressed) To the public Service
His Excellency GENERAL WASHINGTON
Head Quarters.

MR. BOUDINOT TO MRS. BOUDINOT.

1778

PHILADELPHIA June 20th

MY DEAREST WIFE

An opportunity offering I have time only to acquaint you that the Enemy are gone quite off — I suppose they quarter this night in Mount Holly — From the best intelligence, their left column or flying Army will pass through Princeton — I wish you to go home without delay — A great many Deserters are constantly coming in by Parties of 6 & 7 — Gen^l Robinson has promised me to direct his aid to quarter at M^r Stocktons & M^{rs} Noels to protect &c

Am in the utmost haste being obliged to write in the coffee house amidst the confused noise of multitudes of Joyous Fellows

My dearest love

Your sincere & affe^t

BOUDINOT²

P S Love to all

M^{rs} BOUDINOT

¹ *Letters to Washington*, vol. xxiv. p. 44, MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

² Family letters.

ELIAS BOUDINOT TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL
WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA June 20, 1778 11 °Clock

DEAR GENERAL.

I omitted writing yesterday, supposing that your Excellency would have had constant Intelligence from the Gentlemen of the Army, and not being able to send any thing very material, knew it would be but troublesome —

Finding this Morning that I was mistaken in the first, I push the Bearer forward with the enclosed acc^t of facts which you may depend upon, as they come from a Person of Credit, who left the Army this Morning and was in Company with Gen^l Grant.

Shall send off the rest of the Horsemen as fast as I can get any Intelligence, altho' I propose leaving this myself tomorrow or next day —

If your Excellency should have any Commands for me, shall esteem it an honor to comply with them as far as is in my Power — I expect to be in German Town tomorrow —

Am your Excellency's
Most obed^t Hble Serv^t

ELIAS BOUDINOT

P. S. I have sent a deputy down the River with a flag to know whether our Prisoners are released or not —

His Excellency GEN^l WASHINGTON
(Endorsed) From ELIAS BOUDINOT Esq^r

June 20th 1778.¹

¹ *Letters to Washington*, vol. xxiv. p. 81, MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

MR. BOUDINOT TO MRS. BOUDINOT.

MOZELLS FERRY

June 22^d 1778

MY DEAREST LOVE

Having come thus far to take my Leave of the General & Family, I am mortified greatly to be obliged to turn my back on my dear Family & push on for York Town, as I find my Baggage all sent forward on that Route and I am under the necessity of going to Congress as speedily as possible — I have wrote you many Letters & two particularly from Philadelphia but have never had a single Line since I left you — The Enemy are bound thro' Princeton & Brunswick I believe — I take it for granted that our Army will pass thro' Baskinridge — if so pray get some Gentⁿ of our acquaintance to lodge in the House — I wish Elisha could be with you —

May the blessing of Heaven be with you & my dear Susan Love to the family sister &c

Am with unfeigned affection

Your sincere & loving

BOUDINOT¹

I have been near 10 days in the Lines & at Philadelphia without a change of Linen & am anxious to go in search of my Baggage —

M^r BOUDINOT

¹ Family letters.

CHAPTER VIII.

Exchange of General Charles Lee. — Taken at Baskingridge. — Sent to New York. — Requests a committee of Congress sent to him. — Breakfast with him in New York. — Lee reads his manuscript to Mr. Boudinot. — Negotiates for Lee's exchange. — Sent to Philadelphia. — Is there exchanged. — Received with military honors. — Dines with Mrs. Washington at headquarters. — Passes the night at headquarters. — Given command of the right wing of the army. — Goes to Congress. — Abuses Washington. — Intrigues. — Disgraceful conduct at Freehold. — Hamilton's view of Washington, Greene, and Lord Stirling.

MR. BOUDINOT writes of the exchange of Major-General Charles Lee : —

“ In Dec^r 1776 Gen^l Lee being taken Prisoner at his quarters at Baskinridge in the County of Somerset (New Jersey) about four miles to the left of his Troops, towards the Enemy, by his own extreme negligence & folly, was removed (after the british Cantonments were beaten up at Trenton & Princeton) to New York & confined to a handsome House, under the Care of 4 or 5 officers, who lived with him & kept a genteel Table. In this situation he sent to congress, requesting a Committee of their Body, might be sent over to him, as he had something of consequence to communicate to them, and for the purpose, sent Gen^l Howe's safe Conduct, for their Security. This Congress very justly refused & treated the application with deserved Contempt. In January 1778, I was sent by Gen^l Washington

over to New York (with consent of Gen^l Howe) to examine into the actual Situation of our Prisoners, and had orders to pay particular attention to Gen^l Lee, and accomplish his exchange if possible.

“The Morning after my Arrival, I waited on Gen^l Lee who received me with great pleasure indeed, and asked me to breakfast with him the next day. This I did in Company with the officers who had the Care of him, and was treated with great politeness & affability. When Breakfast was over, Gen^l Lee asked me up into his Room. He soon began to complain very heavily of the treatment he had rec^d from Congress, in not complying with his request. I told him that I thought they had done perfectly right, not to trust any of their members within the British Lines, on such an Errand. He replied that he had obtained a safe passport for them from Gen^l Howe, and they might have come with the utmost safety. I then asked him what end would have been answered by their coming. Sir, said he, I had discovered the whole plan of the summer’s Campaign on the part of the British, and would have disclosed the whole to that Committee, by which Congress might have obviated all their Measures, for Mr. Boudinot it is in vain for Congress to expect to withstand british Troops in the Field. I answered that he must now be convinced, that without his Information, they had withstood and that the Campaign had passed

over, and the Enemy had gained no great advantage with all their force & strength. But (I continued) General will you answer me explicitly, did you inform General Howe, that this was your design, he answered by no means! Then Gen^l said I do tell me what reasons did you assign for so extraordinary a measure as sending for three members of Congress to be permitted, to enter a garrisoned Town & to confer with their own General a Prisoner of War. To this he would give me no answer. But immediately began to urge the Improbability of our Troops under such an ignorant Commander in Chief, ever withstanding British Grenadiers & Light Infantry, and immediately put his hand into his Pockett & pulled out a manuscript of 2 or 3 sheets, and said he charged it on me to hearken to what he would read to me, and as soon as I returned to Jersey, that I would repair to Congress & not leave them till I had prevailed upon them to adopt his Plan.

“He then read his manuscript, which was a laboured Argument to prove the impossibility of making head against the british army, and that therefore we should set it down as certain, that in the next Campaign, we must be compleatly defeated. He therefore urged, that Congress would immediately have a strong fortress built at Pittsburgh, and also several hundred Boats. That they would order all the Riches of the Country to be sent there, with the old Men, Women and

Children, and that when they found themselves driven there, that Congress &c &c might take Boat & go down the Ohio to the Spanish Territory for protection.

“The whole of this plan struck me in so absurd a light, added to the impropriety of reading such a thing to me who he knew was on my parole of Honor, within an Enemy’s Lines, (for altho it had not been formally required, yet I considered myself, more firmly bound, if possible, than if it had been expressly given) that I could not but entertain the greatest Jealousy of the Integrity of Gen^l Lee. I answered without hesitation that I could not take any such Message to Congress from him, or any other, without the knowledge of the british general. That I thought he had been very wrong to attempt any such Communication to me knowing my situation, and that I should consider myself as having not heard it. That I wondered at his imprudence, in keeping such a Writing in his pockett, as the discovery of it in his Pockett & in his handwriting might cost him his life. He then waived the business & I left him.

“I endeavoured to negotiate his Exchange, and it was agreed (hypothetically) that it should take place for Major General Prescott, subject to Gen^l Howe’s approbation. Gen^l Howe objected, and ordered Gen^l Lee round by sea to Philadelphia, that he might be exchanged under his own eye. Gen^l Lee (abhorring the sea) applied to me by

Letter and most earnestly requested that he might be permitted to go thro New Jersey under the care of a british officer, to which Gen^l Washington consented, and he accordingly went to Philadelphia, but no consent was obtained to the Exchange.

“ In the spring of 1778, a proposition was made by both parties for a partial Exchange of Prisoners, and I was ordered to German Town to meet the british Commissary to attempt the business. When I was setting off from Camp, Gen^l Washington called me into his Room and in the most earnest manner entreated of me, if I wished to gratify him, that I would obtain the exchange of Gen^l Lee, for he never was more wanted by him, than at the present moment, and desired that I would not suffer trifles to prevent it. I accordingly went, and made a pretty considerable Exchange of Prisoners, but quite new propositions were made for the Exchange of Gen^l Lee, which neither the General or myself had ever thought of. After reducing the Terms to as favourable a scale as I thought right, I agreed to it, on condition, that if General Washington was not pleased with the new plan, and notice was given of his refusal within 24 Hours, the Exchange was to be void without any charge of failure on my part.

“ I arrived at Head Quarters about 6 o'clock p. m. and going in to the General began to tell him of my success, when he interrupted me with

much Eagerness, and asked me if I had Exchanged Gen^l Lee. I informed him of what had been done ; he replied sit down at this Table, and write a letter informing of my Confirmation of the Exchange and send one of my Horse guards immediately to the Enemies Lines with it. I assured him that next day would be time enough, but he insisted on its being immediately done, and I sent him accordingly, fixing the next day but one for Gen^l Lee's coming out to us.

“ When the day arrived, the greatest preparations were made for his reception. All the principal Officers of the Army were drawn up in two lines, advanced of the Camp about 2 miles towards the Enemy. Then the Troops with the inferior officers formed a line quite to head Quarters — all the music of the Army attended. The General with a great number of principal officers and their Suites, rode about four miles on the road towards Philadelphia, and waited till Gen^l Lee appeared. General Washington dismounted & recd. Gen^l Lee as if he had been his Brother. He passed thro the Lines of officers & the Army, who all paid him the highest military Honors to Head Quarters, where M^{rs} Washington was, and here he was entertained with an elegant Dinner, and the Music playing the whole Time. A Room was assigned him back of M^{rs} Washington's sitting room, and all his baggage was stowed in it. . . .

“ Gen^l Washington gave him the Command of

the right wing of the Army, but before he took charge of it, he requested leave to go to Congress at York Town, which was readily granted.

“ Before he went I had an interview with him. He expressed himself under the greatest obligations to me, and assured me that he never should forget my kindness, but wished exceedingly to know if I had made his Communication to Congress & what was their opinion of it. I assured him that I had not, and if he was wise, he would say nothing upon the subject. He said he was going to Congress for that purpose and he never would rest until it was done, as he was now more than ever convinced that nothing else could save us — That he found the Army in a worse situation than he expected, and that General Washington was not fit to command a Sergeant's Guard. This mortified me greatly after all the kindness shown him by Gen^l Washington.

“ My Jealousy of him was greatly confirmed, and I began to interrogate him, about his reception at Philadelphia, and immediately brought about the question, whether he had seen Gen^l Howe. He told me that he had been closeted with him the Evening but one before he left the City. I urged him to tell me the substance of the Conversation that passed between them. He told me that Gen^l Howe began to talk upon the claim of Independence by the Americans, that he thought it one of the most absurd & hopeless Expectations that could enter into the mind of sensible men — and

as for you Lee, says he, what in the Devil could get into you to be so crazy who ought to know better. Lee answered that he thought it a very wise measure and that if it had not been done, the Americans would have been without Excuse. The General replied, why what end can it answer? Do you think there is the most distant probability of their succeeding? To which Gen^l Lee replied, they were perfectly right— In case of a treaty what have they to give up, for what they may insist on receiving, had they made no claim to Independence. O Sir said the General, if that is all they mean by it, it may be proper enough, but I supposed they aimed at insisting on a separation from the Mother Country, but in this view it may be well enough. And so he said they parted, but General Howe sent him a store of Wine, Spirits, Porter &c &c. to take out with him, — but the british soldiers finding out, that it was stored in the cellar of the House where he lodged, broke into it the night before he came away & stole the whole of it. All this increased my suspicions of Gen^l Lee exceedingly, and I watched him with a Jealous Eye.

“ He went to Congress, and as I was afterwards informed, he applied to Congress for a Committee to meet & confer with him. The President M^r Laurens was directed to this service, to whom Gen^l Lee communicated his Plan, which disgusted M^r Laurens so greatly that he would not even report it to Congress. This lessened the General so

greatly in the Eyes of Congress, that they never paid much respect to him afterwards.

“ He returned to the Army & took command of the right wing. He immediately began to cabal against Gen^l Washington & to quarrell with the Marquis La Fayette. He assured me himself, that Gen^l Washington was ruining the whole Cause, that he was looking forward to the British evacuating Philadelphia & going to New York, and of course strengthening his left, while the right was totally unguarded; but Lee said that the Enemy would pass over to Chester & come suddenly on their right wing, and we should be wholly overthrown. He said he had urged this in Council, but that he had been overruled & therefore was no longer accountable.

“ When the british Army actually passed thro’ Jersey & Gen^l Washington by his great precaution, had advanced two Brigades towards the Delaware, and therefore overtook the British at Freehold, Gen^l Lee was greatly mortified & at first refused to take the Command of the advanced party & it was given to the Marquis La Fayette, but on finding that the advanced army was reinforced & raised to a very respectable Command, he insisted on the Command; and to keep Peace it was given to him.

“ Gen^l Lee accordingly came up with Gen^l Clinton near freehold Court House, and a Skirmish took place. Gen^l Lee had considerable military knowledge & did very well on a small

scale — but I have no doubt that whenever anything on a very large scale struck him, that a partial Lunacy took place.

“ His Behaviour this Morning discovered this state of mind, which might have been increased from the peculiarity of his situation, and his exalted Ideas of the prowess of british Troops. In the midst of the Engagement, he rode up to a Lt Coll. of my acquaintance who had a single field piece firing and called to him, ‘ Coll. have you seen anything improper in my Conduct this morning?’ The Coll. (who had been convinced of something wrong in the Gen^l all the morning, yet not choosing to acknowledge it) answered, no by no means — well then said the General, do you remember that. Such an Extraordinary Question from a Commander in Chief of a division, under such Extraordinary Circumstances, is full of proof that he must have felt something unusual in himself.

“ The Issue was that he was beat, and had not Gen^l Washington have come up in a lucky moment & turned the fortune of the day, it might have been fatal to America.”¹

Mr. John Fiske, in his “ War of Independence,” says of Lee’s villainy, that it was not fully known till eighty years afterwards, when a paper of his was discovered that revealed it in all its blackness.²

¹ MSS. *Reminiscences of Elias Boudinot*, Library of Mr. John Carter Brown.

² Fiske’s *War of Independence*, p. 138.

As to Washington, Hamilton remarks, in a private letter to Mr. Boudinot:—

“ I never saw the General to so much advantage — His coolness and firmness were admirable. He instantly took measures for checking the enemy's advance and giving time to the army, which was very near, to form and make a proper disposition. He then rode back and had the troops formed on a very advantageous piece of ground; in which, and in other transactions of the day Gen^l Greene and Lord Stirling rendered very essential service and did themselves great honor. America owes a great deal to General Washington for this day's work. A general rout, dismay and disgrace would have attended the whole army in any other hands but his. By his own good sense and fortitude he turned the fate of the day. Other officers have great merit in performing their parts well, but he directed the whole with the skill of a Master Workman. He did not hug himself at a distance and leave Arnold to win laurels for him, but by his own presence he brought order out of confusion, animated his troops and led them to success.”

After a tribute to Wayne, Stewart, Ramsay, Olney, Livingston, Barber, Cilley, Parker, Craig, and Oswald, he observes:—

“ The behavior of the officers and men was such as could not easily be surpassed. Our troops, after the first impulse from mismanagement, behaved with more spirit and moved with greater order

than the British troops. You know my way of thinking of our army and that I am not apt to flatter it. I assure you I never was pleased with them before this day — What think you now of General Lee? Whatever a court-Martial may decide, I shall continue to believe and say — his conduct was monstrous and unpardonable.”¹

¹ *History of the Republic*, by J. C. Hamilton, vol. i. pp. 468-478.

CHAPTER IX.

Election to Congress. — Writes to Mrs. Boudinot. — Lodging at Mrs. Thomas Franklin's. — Of Monmouth. — Incloses letter from General Washington. — July 9, great heat. — News of French fleet on our coast. — English fleet following. — Indians cut off Wyoming settlement. — Illness. — Longs to retire. — Visit from French minister. — Colonel Hamilton to Mr. Boudinot concerning Baron Steuben. — Settlement of Mr. Boudinot's accounts. — Letter to Mrs. Boudinot, describing reception of French minister. — Lord Howe's fleet at Rhode Island. — Count d'Estaing. — General Sullivan.

HAVING been elected to the Continental Congress at a joint meeting of the Legislative Council and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey, held at Princeton on the 20th day of November, 1777, with his colleagues Messrs. Witherspoon, Clark, Elmore, and Scudder, Mr. Boudinot resigned his office of Commissary General of Prisoners; but he did not take his seat in Congress until July of 1778, awaiting the appointment of his successor in office, and owing also to the exigency of the case regarding the exchange of prisoners at the time.

Leaving his family at Baskingridge, he repaired to Philadelphia, from whence he writes to Mrs. Boudinot as follows: —

: PHILADELPHIA July 7th 1778

MY DEAREST LOVE

Thro' the goodness of God I arrived here, after a very disagreeable, tedious Ride, on Sunday

morning— Yesterday took my seat in Congress & am unexpectedly & happily lodged at M^{rs} Thomas Franklin's a very agreeable Family & one of the most pleasant Houses in the City —

I found your two letters here, which you wrote at Princeton, for which am much obliged, as I am by every thing that suggests my share in the affection of the dearest of women — My scene of labor is opening rather larger than I could wish but usefulness in Life & a blessed Prospect of Happiness in Death, ought to be our continual desire. How much are we indebted to our gracious Protector for his amazing interposition in our Favor on the Field of Monmouth; altho' I suppose you are filled with every circumstance of that important Day, by this Time, yet I enclose the Letter of our great & worthy General, whose modesty in the Diction is only excelled by his Bravery in the Execution of the plan of that great day's work —

My kind love to all the Family & Friends.
Kiss my dear Susan

Am my dear Wife with
utmost affection & esteem

Your loving

M^{rs} BOUDINOT

BOUDINOT¹

And again : —

PHILADELPHIA July 9th 1778

MY DEAREST LOVE

It is so hot that I cannot sleep, so I must spend a few minutes in letting you hear from me —

¹ Family letters.

This City is enough to kill a horse & if I had not been highly favored in obtaining most excellent Lodgings I should have been overcome with the heat — We have rec^d advice today from France of a Fleet being on our coast consisting of 12 French Ships of the Line, Six Frigates & two xebèques all under the command of the Admiral Count de Estang with an Ambassador &c. &c. An English Fleet has followed them, so that we daily expect to hear of some bloody work — The Indians have struck on the Frontier & entirely cut off the Wyoming Settlement — It is said 200 Inhabitants were scalped —

May a holy God deliver us from this barbarous Enemy —

Enclosed you have the publications of the Day.

My love to all as if mentioned — Kiss my Susan & excuse this scrawl & believe me with cool reflection and sincerity

Your most affectionate

BOUDINOT¹

On July 22 he writes: —

“The fever is entirely broke & nothing but the dull weather keeps me from going out.” He has not heard from his “Dearest Love” for twenty-three long days, and is evidently out of spirits and taking a dark view of things. He says: “I am not quite satisfied with my prospects here, they do not quite answer my expectations & I am afraid that I

¹ Family letters.

am only wasting time but perhaps my Ideas may hereafter alter — If honor or public applause was my object, it may be that I might be gratified” — But on the 26th his mood is brighter; he writes: “ Indeed I scarcely live a day, without some fresh call to praise our God for his goodness & to say that his mercy endureth for ever, — and I have lately experienced it in removing my disorder in so speedy a manner, could we but live answerable to such mercies it would increase our Happiness to the Summit of earthly felicity — I dare not think too much of my beloved Wife & dear Family as I know it is apt to have an effect on my determinations” —

On the 13th of August the fever takes possession again and he is forced to idleness and sad reflection — “ I have a little leisure to converse with the dear object of my warmest affection & esteem, altho’ I do not write without pain — I am applying the Bark in such quantities that I hope to be out tomorrow God willing — If my health should not be restored in a few days I shall not be easy without visiting my beloved cottage where all my earthly Treasure is almost buried — Perhaps if I could forget it more than I do, it would add to my present Pleasure — I know that the things of this Life are generally unsatisfactory & illusory & that Enjoyment disappoints us at the last but notwithstanding I verily believe that thro’ the indulgent mercy & kindness of a Holy God as little of that disappointment has fell to my

share as to any one Person in the World— My desire is to be useful & as my Gracious God has in his all wise Providence been pleased to favour me beyond the common Lott of the children of men & that not only in the best of women for my companion thro' Life but in a beloved Daughter Family & Friends & every other earthly blessing with the means & hopes of Eternal Life, so I would endeavour at the risque of every earthly comfort & enjoyment to do his Will under any circumstances of Life; This, my dearest & best beloved is my consolation & only satisfactory reason for the loss of your inestimable company which cannot be replaced by all the grandure, Parade & Noise that the World affords— My ambition is satisfied and when it pleases Him whose I am & ever wish to be, a return to my original obscurity will be acknowledged with gratitude & Praise— I am but of little consequence here & can add but a trifle in the great scale of publick movement— I wish to retire and shall take the first favourable opportunity—

I have had a visit from the French Minister & have dined and breakfasted with him— If well enough I go tomorrow with him to the Valley Forge.”¹

On the 26th of July Hamilton wrote to Mr. Boudinot:—

“ Baron Steuben will do me the honor to deliver you this: He waits upon Congress in a temper

¹ Family letters.

which I very much regret — discontented with his situation, and almost resolved to quit the service. You know we have all the best opinion of this gentleman's Military merit, and shall of course consider his leaving the army as a loss to it. Whether any expedient can be adopted to reconcile difficulties and retain him in the service, at the same time that no disgust is given to others who ought not to be disgusted, I cannot certainly determine. But I should conceive it would not be impossible to find such an expedient. You have no doubt heard while you were with the army of the obstacles thrown in his way by many of the general officers excited to it by Lee and Miflin, as I believe, in the execution of the inspectorship; and you have, it is equally probable heard of an arrangement the General was in a manner obliged to adopt to silence the clamors which existed among them, and place the inspectorate upon a footing more conformable to their ideas. The opposition the Baron met with in the case was one cause of dissatisfaction to him. In our march from Brunswick, as the Baron was unemployed and there was a great deficiency of general officers, notwithstanding the ideas of the army are against giving a command in the line to a person vested with an office similar to that held by him, the General ventured to give him the temporary command of a division during the march, in consequence of which the command of a wing devolved upon him. This was a source of

offence to many. When we came near the White Plains the General thanked him in general orders for his services, and requested he would resume the exercise of his former office. To this, on account of the opposition he had already met with, and from the original plan for the inspectorship being mutilated, he discovered very great disinclination and expressed desire to preserve command in the line, — and from some conversation we have had together I apprehend he meant to resign his present appointment, if he cannot have a command suited to his rank annexed to it.

“You will see by the General’s Letters what are his sentiments both with respect to the duties of the inspectorship and the Baron’s holding a command in the line — Far be it from me to wish to contravene his views ; you may be assured they cannot be essentially departed from without very serious inconvenience. But if anything could be done consistent with them to satisfy the Baron, it would be extremely desirable. Perhaps the principle on which the General’s arrangement is formed, may be preserved, and at the same time the object of the inspectorship enlarged, so as to render it a more important employment. Perhaps a resolution of Congress giving the Baron a right to be employed on detachments might, for the present, compensate for the want of a permanent command in the line, and might not be disagreeable to the officers. You can sound him on these heads. I need not caution you that this is

a matter of great delicacy and importance, and that every step taken in it ought to be well considered.”¹

Mr. Boudinot writes : —

“When I found every Application to obtain hard Money from Congress for the Cloathing of our Prisoners in Vain, I waited on Gen^l Washington and proposed my Resignation, as my Character was at Stake, having (on the Promise of the secret Committee to yield me every necessary Aid) pledged myself to the Officers in Confinement that they should be regularly supplied with every Necessary, but they now suffered more than ever — In much Distress & with tears in his Eyes he assured me that if he was deserted by the Gent^l of the Country, he should despair — He could not do everything — He was Gen^l — Quartermaster & Commissary, everything fell on him & he was unequal to the Task — He gave me the most positive Engagements that if I would contrive any Mode for their Support & Comfort he would confirm it as far as it was in his Power — On this I told him, that I knew of but one Way, & that was to borrow Money on my own private Security — He assured me, that in Case I did, and was not reimbursed by Congress, he would go an equal Share with me in the Loss — I then formed this Plan of obliging Gen^l Burgoyne to pay hard Money for the Support of the British Prisoners whom we supplied with daily Rations,

¹ J. C. Hamilton's *Life of Alexander Hamilton*.

and in the meantime proceeded to borrow Money or take Goods in New York on my own Credit— Thus I furnished 300 Officers with a handsome Suit of Cloathes each, and 1100 Men with a plain Suit, found them Blanketts, Shirts, &c. and added to their Provisions found by the British a full half ration of Bread & Beef per Day for upwards of 15 Months— Part of this I supplied by sending Wheat & Flour to New York & selling them for hard Money under leave from Gen^l Robertson— Some time in the Beginning of the Year 1778 Congress received from Gen^l Burgoyne near 40,000 Dollars in hard Money— In the Beginning of 1778 I was chosen a Member of Congress but continued in the Army till June, when Gen^l Washington knowing that I was near Thirty thousand Dollars in advance for the Prisoners, urged me to go & take my Seat in Congress, where I might get some of the hard Money rec^d from Gen^l Burgoyne before it was all expended, for if it was once gone, I should be totally ruined— I accordingly left the Army & joined Congress on their Return from Yorktown in Pennsylvania after the British had evacuated the City of Philadelphia— I applied to the Chamber of Au^{rs} and with great Difficulty got my Acc^{ts} settled— A very large Balance was found in my Favor and a Warrant ordered for 15,000 Dols Continental and a Report made that I had actually advanced the Cash and there was upwards of 10,000 Pounds hard Money that I yet owed— I urged the ap-

pointment of a Committee of Congress to an Examination of these Expenditures & to report upon them — Richard Henry Lee & William Duer were accordingly appointed, and after a full Examination reported the Sum of Twenty six thousand six hundred and sixty six dollars $\frac{2}{3}$ in specie, for which they recommended a Warrant to be immediately issued — On considering this Report Mr. Dana from Massachusetts & Mr. Merchant from Rhode Island opposed the Report of the Committee with great Violence, insisting that as Mr. Boudinot had taken up this Money at the Instance of Gen^l Washington without the Approbation of Congress he had no Right to be repaid but in continental Money as other Creditors of Congress — After much Altercation I got up and informed the House that I had borrowed the Money on my private Credit in the City of New York — That I should never ask the House for the Payment of it again — That I should on my Return Home, see what Property I had & pay as far as that would go, and then publish to the World why I was insolvent for the Balance — But I also informed the House that even to that Moment, our Prisoners in New York were fed & cloathed on my private Credit — That I would immediately send Orders, to stop further Issues to them on my acc^t in 10 Days, and desired Provision might be made for these unhappy People after the Expiration of that Time — on which they went to other Business, without doing anything on the Report —

“ I sent Orders to my Agent in New York, and all further Issues were stopped accordingly —

“ The latter End of July I rec^d a very affecting Letter from my Agent painting the Distresses of the Prisoners in so striking a Manner and the Death of Several more than had been usual, that I could not longer persist in my Determination of Silence on the Subject — Having rec^d their Letter in Congress, I arose with Tears in my Eyes, and reminding them of my former Promise begged Leave to break thro' it, so far as to read the Letter, which I did — On this Mr. Duer (a Man of much Feeling) arose and in a speech of more than half an Hour declaimed so severely agt the ungrateful Conduct of the House, that a unanimous Vote immediately passed for a Warrant in my Favor £10,000 in Specie, which was immediately sent to New York.”¹

Mr. Boudinot writes to his wife on August 8 of his disappointment at not meeting her at Princeton, whither he had gone for that purpose, having put off going to Valley Forge with the French Minister, *Sieur Gerard*. He thanks her for numerous letters, saying, “ How shall I repay you? it can only be by loving you with a still more ardent affection if possible.” Then adds on Thursday: —

“ We gave the *Sieur Gerard* his public audience The ceremony as follows: Our President

¹ *MSS. Reminiscences of Elias Boudinot*, Library of Mr. John Carter Brown.

was seated in a Mahogany armed chair on a platform raised about two feet, with a large table covered with green cloth & the secretary along side of him — The Members were all seated round within the Bar and a large armed chair in the middle opposite the President for the Plenipo — At Twelve Oc. our State Coach & Six waited on the Minister at his quarters — He was preceded by his own Chariot & two with his Secretaries. The Minister was attended by two Members who introduced him thro' the crowd & seated him in the chair; He then sent to the President (by his Secretary) the Letters from the King of France to Congress, which was opened & read aloud first in French & then in English — It was then announced to the house by the waiting Member, that the stranger introduced was the Minister Plenipotentiary from His most Christian Majesty, upon which the Minister arose & bowed to the President & then to the House & the House rising returned the Compliment — The Minister then addressed the Congress and was answered by the President, on which, the bowing again took place & the whole concluded — A public Dinner succeeded at which was a band of musick & the firing of Cannon — The whole was plain, grand & decent — The Minister was much pleased as well as the Audience" — ¹

On August the 17th he writes her: —

" I have been diverting myself with a revival of

¹ Family letters.

all your kind & affectionate Favours with which I have been honoured since my residence here — Great is the enjoyment & satisfaction my fond heart feels on the recapitulation of those tender & endearing sentiments & impressions that fall with so good a grace from the Pen of my lovely Wife — For the future pray Number all your letters as I shall do, by which means you will know if any miscarry” —

“ We have advice that Lord Howe’s Fleet went to Rhode Island arrived there, this day week that Count d’ Estaing immediately went out to attack them — They fled & he pursued — On Tuesday afternoon they were left at Sea just drawn up in line of Battle — They have burned five of their Frigates at Rhode Island & it is said a number of Transports — Gen^l Sullivan has landed on the North coast of the Island & is only waiting for the return of the French Squadron” —¹

¹ Family letters.

CHAPTER X.

Friendship with Hamilton.—Mr. Boudinot's defense of Hamilton.—Hamilton on Sullivan.—Greene and Laurens.—Distinguished French gentlemen.—Mr. Toussard.—Mr. William Peartree Smith to Mr. Boudinot.—Views of state of the country.—Son Belcher.—Reference to his daughter's engagement.—Mr. Boudinot's reply.—Anxiously expecting news from Rhode Island.—Expiration of term.—Joins his family at Baskingridge.—Community there.—General Washington to Mr. Boudinot.—Acknowledges a composition of his sister.—1779, hopes to see him with Mrs. Boudinot and Miss Boudinot at Middle Brook.—From Philadelphia writes to Mrs. Boudinot, March 5, 1779.—Hears his house has been burned by British; does not believe it.—“Powers of Europe all in our favour.”—Burgomasters acknowledge independence.—Spain on our side.—Empress of Russia refuses aid to England.—The town increasing in extravagance.—Depreciation of money.—To Mrs. Boudinot, April 6th.—Offer of remunerative office.—General Washington to Mr. Boudinot.—To arrange for information from the enemy.—Describes a liquid for conveying secretly intelligence.—Mr. Boudinot to General Washington regarding designs of the enemy.—Report of condition about New York.—General Washington to Mr. Boudinot.—Mr. Boudinot to General Washington, 1780.—Rev. James Caldwell, patriot chaplain and commissary, shot.—Mrs. Caldwell shot.—Children cared for.—Mr. Boudinot to Major-General Phillips.

THE lifelong friendship of the Boudinots with Alexander Hamilton began when the latter, as a lad of fifteen, came from his West Indian home to study at Mr. Francis Barber's school at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, which was under the patronage of Governor Livingston and Elias Boudinot, of whose families he was a frequent guest.

Mr. J. C. Hamilton relates the story of his having sat up to watch over the body of an infant

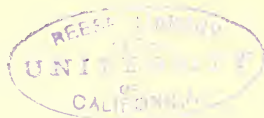
that Mr. Boudinot had lost, and his employing the hours of his sorrowful vigils in writing consolatory verses, afterwards presented to the mother; also of his ardent and religious mind inspiring the prayers at the family gathering for that purpose, a daily custom in the Boudinot family.¹

There appears to have been but few letters passing between Hamilton and Mr. Boudinot. This is accounted for by the fact that they lived near each other, that they were for a time together in the army and afterwards in Congress, so that their intercourse was constant and personal.

When Hamilton was Secretary of the Treasury Mr. Boudinot was still a Representative in Congress.

We can conceive how, in February, 1793, his almost fatherly pride in Hamilton was wounded, and his sense of justice outraged, while every noble and generous impulse was excited to do battle in the House of Representatives for the friend whose career from boyhood he had watched with a loving and jealous eye,—that fatherless boy in a strange land, whose genius had unfolded itself in his own neighborhood, almost beneath his own roof-tree, where Hamilton was wont to make himself at home and wind himself into the hearts of all there domiciled. The cool and dispassionate way in which Mr. Boudinot brings forward his proofs and figures, routing his adver-

¹ J. C. Hamilton's *Life of Alexander Hamilton*, vol. i. p. 8.



saries horse and foot, prepares us for the great majority which set aside those adverse resolutions, and makes one glad that the judicial mind was there to lead and hold in leash the more ardent promptings of affection.¹

Hamilton writes him, in a private letter, his view of Sullivan, regarding the order, stigmatizing an ally and the folly of it, and referring to the credit "universally accorded the happy and well-conducted retreat;"² to know how to strike the proper string in approbation of the one and disapprobation of the other would require more skill than he was master of, but he recommends a proper mixture of the sweet and bitter in the portion which may be administered:—

. . . "I am sure it will give you pleasure to have heard that our friend Grène did ample justice to himself on this expedition, and that Laurens was as conspicuous as usual. — But while we celebrate our friends and countrymen, we should not be forgetful of those meritorious strangers who are sharing the toils and dangers of America without derogating from the merit of the other French gentlemen who distinguished themselves Mr. Toussard may be justly allowed a pre-eminent place. In the enthusiasm of heroic valor, he attempted single and unseconded to possess himself of one of the enemys field-pieces, which he saw weakly defended — He did not effect it and the loss of his arm was the Price of his bravery, his

¹ See Speech, vol. ii.

² From Rhode Island.

horse was shot under him at the same time ; but we should not the less admire the boldness of the exploit from a failure in the success. This gentleman has now, in another and more signal instance justified the good opinion I have long entertained of him, and merited by a fresh testimony of his zeal as well as a new stroke of misfortune, the consideration of Congress. The splendid action he has now performed, and for which he has paid so dear should neither be concealed from the public eye nor the public patronage — You are at liberty to commit this part of my letter to the press — With the most affectionate attachment ” — ¹

HON. WILLIAM PEARTREE SMITH TO MR. BOUDINOT.

MY DEAR SIR

I am extremely affected to hear of your illness, by a Letter just received from my Son. Until I can hear of your recovery, I shall daily feel myself constrained to implore the great Author of life to restore Health, not to an invaluable friend of mine only, (for that might be the meer effusion of partiality and self Love) but to a Friend & Benefactor to his Country & Mankind. As your fever is of the intermitting kind, and not uncommon at this season of the year, with a little care & due use of the Bark, I hope in God, you may be quickly raised to your wonted usefulness.

From the whole current and complection of the

¹ J. C. Hamilton's *History of the Republic*, vol. i. p. 448.

late papers it appears clearly to me, that the British Parliament will soon give up the American Contest—Indeed they cannot stand it, with a War in Europe on their hands at the same time—Very soon I expect to hear of Propositions made you for declaring our Independence. But if War be *declared* on the part of France (which I have not yet heard) I think we cannot *now*, from the Articles of our Alliance, make a *separate* piece with them. Was the French fleet out of the way, I firmly believe we should soon hear of the Embarkation of their troops from N. York. But how can they get off now, without falling a prey? To use Ld Abington's words "like a parcel of Asses they are driven into a *pound*, out of which all their *Pounds*, shillings pence, cannot get them *unpounded*." All their hopes lie in the speedy appearance of a superior English Squadron. Count D'Estaing appears to be under very little apprehension, and seems to think (as I am told,) that the English Fleet has been detained. However it is my Conjecture that the Count will not long remain in his present Situation—Should he slip off at once to the Eastward, all the British Ships of War & vessels at R. Island would immediately fall into his hands, did they not suspect such a maneuver in time to make an Escape. A few Capital Ships left to cruise on our Coast would cut off supplies this way and the passage thro' the Sound be effectually stopped, which I suppose is now open to them, and can be kept so,

(should the whole french fleet continue where they are) by the British Men of War to the Eastward — A little time will show whether my Conjecture would be well founded. — Three deserters who are just escaped from Staten Island assert, that the Enemy are reduced to half allowances. — In short, without relief they will soon be at their wit's end, and the show will soon be over — The Tories “all look aghast, while unforeseen destruction pours in upon them thus from every side” —

Permit me now to trouble you with my thoughts on a private affair, and to request your influence in it. I am concerned to get my Son B. if not in a more lucrative, yet in a rather more *reputable* Station than he is at present. The Place of Dep. Secy of Congress, has, I am told, been long vacant. Perhaps it may be kept so, because it may be deemed unnecessary to fill it & perhaps to save some little expense. As my son is undoubtedly adequate to the Employment (for it requires no more of ability than the place he now has) he hath unquestionably the preferable claim whenever it is to be filled. If Congress should not think it *expedient at present* to distinguish the occupant by any additional pay; (tho' a trifling addition, to distinguish, would seem proper) Yet the appointment, tho' barely nominal, I should look upon to be more honourable and reputable to him, than the character of a mere Scribe in the Office. He has drudged on in this way, in severe sedentary labour near two years, I fear to the injury

of his health & with an allowance very inadequate to support. I think his irreproachable moral conduct and approved fidelity merit Notice, and if he cannot be rewarded in Substance, at least put this little Feather in his cap, & give him a more responsible Name. Tho' I own, I look upon this, as but an inconsiderable thing for him at present; yet I have in view — Futurity. I have hinted this matter to Dr W. I presume his friendship & good opinion of B. will lead him, (if you think it not inexpedient) to coöperate with you in accomplishing my wishes — I have opened my mind freely to you & leave the matter to your better Judgment & Conduct —

I will tell you a piece of secret intelligence, but you must not mention it, as it lies yet only in our suspicions & will reflect on the character of a near relation — Your Brother visits here very frequently of late; and generally under some pretence or another, stays all night about the House — We really begin to suspect he has a mind to rob us; I have a certain piece of very valuable property, which Mrs S. & I together purchased at a very *dear rate* many years ago, and which no pecuniary Consideration would induce us to dispose of — Since our apprehensions of an Invasion we keep this Baggage wrapped up very tight carefully in Sheets & almost always under Lock & Keys and ready to be removed at a moments warning. This Baggage, we have taken notice, he always eyes, and narrowly observes wherever

we deposit it; so that we have now all the reason in the world to suspect he is meditating some scheme how to plunder us of it before the Enemy comes. This account must astonish & shock you: For Heavens sake, keep it secret — tho' I fear it cannot be long so, for my neighbors who see him so often lurking abt the House so late at night, begin to express their suspicion of an intended Robbery. We shall all now be on the watch and as the Baggage is pretty weighty, he can't, unless assisted, carry it off, without discovery.

I am Dr B

Most unfeign'dly yours,

W. P. S.

E. T. 23 July 1778.

Will you allow me to put my future
Letters to Belcher, under cover to you? ¹

Mr. Smith conveys to Mr. Boudinot in this humorous manner his suspicion that the latter's young brother is paying his addresses to his daughter; a well-founded suspicion and evidently agreeable to both families, as the young couple were subsequently married.

MR. BOUDINOT TO WM. P. SMITH, ESQ.

PHILADELPHIA Aug — 15 — 1778

MY DEAR SIR

Your two several very Friendly & obliging Favours of the 23^d July & 9 Inst came safe to hand, the last I received at Princeton, since which

¹ Family letters.

have been again confined with a return of my fever but hope to get out as soon as the present rainy season passes over — I am so confined to Business here that a letter from a Friend is truly valuable as it is a very agreeable relaxation to the mind at the same time that it affords a satisfaction that is hard to express — We are on the tenter Hooks of Anxious Expectation for News from Rhode Island — our hopes are raised to a high Pitch as we have certain Intelligence that Lord Howe had not sailed from the Hook on Sunday last so that the Count de Estang cannot be interrupted in the least — From the last accounts we have from England & especially from a publication sent us by a Friend, who informs that it was made under the immediate patronage of Lord North, I conclude that England will acknowledge & settle this unhappy dispute ere many months — I have conferred with Belcher fully on the subject mentioned in your letter and if nothing better turns up in a very short time for him, will endeavour to accomplish what you propose as I think it highly reasonable —

The Office I wrote you about is filled up and altho' another equally advantageous might be had, yet as it would require your personal and constant attendance in this City, I think it will not answer for the reason you mention — and I am clear that there is a Berth in our own State awaiting you that you will fill with credit and reputation and be of eminent public service while you may at

the same time enjoy all your domestic comfort at Eliz-Town in which you know I am personally & greatly interested.

The Express that arrived from the commissioners brought nothing but a requisition for permission to send Transports for the convention Troops &c &c —

Being really and truly interested in your welfare I am distressed for the many losses you have met with in these unhappy Times, and the only consolation you can have is that it is a general evil & in a good cause but when these misfortunes happen from other means & in some measure arising from our own fault and do not answer so valuable purposes they are the more distressing — It is upon this account that I condole so much now with you, in the apprehension of your present danger, in the threatened Loss of your heavy Baggage especially as it is your all of this kind of property. I think you are in a good measure to blame — It becomes you without delay to swear the Peace ag^t suspected Person and even if necessary to get an additional Man or two of the Militia to keep a Town watch especially in the Evening and so near as to afford the necessary assistance particularly by way of a retrograde movement — Whenever you think it for the publick advantage I can move Congress to pass some spirited resolutions ag^t attempts of this nature if not to make it high Treason even to the commission of Blood any former resolutions notwithstanding — It will

give me great pleasure to forward your letters to Belcher and beg that you will always enclose them to me as by this means I shall hope to hear oftener from you. You must excuse my scrawl as I write in pain my Breast being greatly affected — My kindest love to D^r & M^{rs} Smith & Miss Kitty

and believe me to be with great affection,

Dear Sir,

Yours sincerely

ELIAS BOUDINOT¹

To W^m P^{res} SMITH Esq^r

FROM DR. SCUDDER.

[No Date.]

DEAR SIR,

I am now at Head Quarters, and am much disappointed, at not finding you here.

Mrs Boudinot & Daughter were well the Day before yesterday, as were all other Friends at Princeton. M^r Mariner presents his Compliments to you and wishes you to be informed, that he with a Party of Monmouth Militia last Saturday Night passed over the Long Island, and surprised the Town of Flat Bush — brought off Major Montorieff and Mr. Theophilus Bache — a continental Cap^t who was a Prisoner there, & four Negroes, without any Loss on his Side, having performed the whole Movement in about ten hours — The Major & Mr. Bache are at M^{rs}

¹ Family letters.

Livingston's in Princeton, & really look silly enough.

I am now on my way to Congress, and hope the Pleasure of seeing you there as soon as your present important Business is finished, in which I wish you success and Dispatch —

I hope to reach York To morrow Evening. I must not omit to inform you, that our Legislature have passed a Resolution That all Delegates representing the State be instructed to repair immediately to Congress, and to attend their Duty therein, untill they shall give further Direction —

I am Dear Sir in great Haste

But with all due Respect,

Yours Affectionately,

NATH SCUDDER.¹

Hon^{ble} ELIAS BOUDINOT Esq^r.

At the expiration of the term of 1778-79, Mr. Boudinot joined his family at Baskingridge. With other friends who had fled from the enemy, they formed a little community of refugees dependent upon each other for more than the ordinary amenities of life. One darning-needle, it is told by the descendants of General Morton's family, was passed from house to house; and great was the perturbation when young Master Morton, in carrying it from one matron to another, lost it, and was forced with shame and sorrow to announce the fact. Mr. Boudinot, though holding no official position at this particular juncture, is

¹ Family papers.

still active in the patriot cause. In the confidence of Washington, he is corresponding with him and earnestly promoting his plans.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO ELIAS BOUDINOT, ESQ.
BASKINRIDGE.

MIDDLE BROOK Feby 28th 1779.

DEAR SIR.

I had not the pleasure of receiving your polite and friendly Letter of the 4th January till within these few days, and of course had no opportunity of acknowledging it sooner.

I find myself extremely flattered by the strain of sentiment in your Sister's Composition. But request it as a favour of you to present my best respects to her, and assure her, that how ever I may feel inferior to the praise, she must suffer me to admire and preserve it as a Mark of her genius, though not of my merit.

I shall be glad when your health is so far established as to admit of a ride to Middle Brook. And if Mrs and Miss Boudinot can accompany you, it will add to our pleasure. Mrs Washington presents her compliments and wishes for the event.

I am, Dear Sir, &c.

GO. WASHINGTON.¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO MRS. BOUDINOT.

PHIL^a March 5th 1779

MY DEAREST WIFE

Not a syllable have I heard from home since you left me, and not an opportunity has offered

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Washington Papers, vol. i. P, p. 225.

since I have been here, to let you hear from me — I write this with an expectation to go to Elizabeth Town, as no shorter route can be had at present. I left Princeton two days ago, after your departure so illy mounted that with difficulty I reached Mr Wynkoops that night, from whence I returned the horses to Princeton and came to this Place in Mr Wynkoops chair. He behaved extremely genteel to me and I staid two nights & a day with him very agreeably — Have been here very closely confined at writing — attempted having a clerk but luckily after writing a few days he wanted money and I found that he charged me 70 dollars for about four days work on which I discharged him determined to go through with it myself — I have been distressed on your acc^t since we have heard of the Enemy landing at Elizabeth Town. We heard of their burning Mr Smith's Mr Woodruff's & my house but I really did not believe it — am now rejoiced to hear of their departure —

I have no news but of a foreign nature to tell you — The Powers of Europe are all in our favour. The Burgomasters of Amsterdam have acknowledged our Independency. The Court of Spain, is beyond a doubt on our side. The King of the Two Sicilys the Court of Sweden the Barbary Powers are also declaring for us — The Congress are assured that on the British Ambassador requiring aid of the Empress of Russia she nobly answered that she would never stain her

glory, by sending her Troops to conquer those whose only fault was fighting for Liberty — This conduct it is said is owing to the Interest that Court has in our separation from England, as it will increase her trade exceedingly — In short we seem to be aided from every quarter except from ourselves — but alas all publick virtue is flown — The depreciation of paper money here is beyond all belief — I dined the other day on a quarter of Mutton and on asking what it cost was answered 16 dollars — goods in general are 20 for one, many 30 for one — Tell Mrs Hetfield that I am asked 16 Dollars for a main spring to her watch — She must let me know what I must do — I hope to finish here in two weeks if I have luck — Love to Susan & the Family

am with great Affection

Yours sincerely

E BOUDINOT¹

Writing on March 29, 1779, from Philadelphia, he says: —

“This Town is increasing in Extravagance every Day, and I know not where it will end God only can prevent it in our Ruin. Beef is 15/ p lb Butter 30/ — 8 Dollars for an earthen quart Mug — a Lady a few days ago gave £200 for a sett of Tea china, and every thing in proportion — gauze 3 Doll pr. yard and yet I never saw so much gaiety in Dress in this City before. The common Dress caps of the Ladies take 1½ yds of Gauze —

¹ Family letters.

“ They have got mutton to 10/ p. lb and a pr of womens shoes at 25 & 30 Dollars a p, Boots to 75 Dollars — I was obliged to hire a clerk the other day & I gave him 8 Dollars p day and he wrote but about 7 hours in the day and yet he grumbled & wanted Ten ” —¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO MRS. BOUDINOT.

PHILADELPHIA April 6th 1779

MY DEAREST LOVE

An opportunity offering by Coll Meade, I have the Pleasure of writing you again tho I am denied that of hearing from you — It is now going on five weeks since I have had a single line from you — I begin to fear that you are not capable of writing or I should certainly have had a letter before this by some means or other —

I long to see Baskinridge and am anxiously engaged to finish here, I begin to have hopes of an end to my acc^ts and to have them finally settled — I am wearied out in waiting on the People of Office who are callous to the requests of those attending to hasten their dismissal — If once I get clear of them, it will be my fault if they catch me again — I have been offered 10,000 Dollars p ann & 12 rations p day with three Horses to accept of an office that would oblige me to stay in this City — What say you to it — As to my own part I prefer domestic Happiness with peaceful obscurity to even the affluence of wealth — My

¹ Family letters.

Family is small & our wants few, why should I
embarrass myself beyond my depth, for the sake
of what I cannot enjoy — My kind love to all
Friends — Susan — Polly — Julia & the Family
— I hope to see you next week at all events

I am with great Affection & Esteem

Your faithful

BOUDINOT ¹

Sugar has got to 110 p c'
Raisins 8 Dollars p lb Beef
has been sold for 2 dollars p lb.
but has fallen again.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO ELIAS BOUDINOT, ESQ.
BASKINRIDGE.

HEAD Q^{rs} MIDDLE BROOK

May 3rd, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

Many Matters, which pressed upon me while
you were in Camp, prevented my consulting you
on an affair I have a good deal at heart, and
which I wished to make the subject of a personal,
rather than an epistolary Conversation. To come
to the point: It is a matter of great Importance
to have early and good intelligence of the Ene-
my's strength and motions and, as far as possible,
designs, and to obtain them through different
channels. Do you think it practicable to come at
these by Means of Mr. P——d? I shall not press
it upon him; but you must be sensible, that to
obtain intelligence from a man of Observation

¹ Family letters.

near the Head Quarters of an Army, from whence all orders flow and everything originates, would be a most desirable thing. The person rendering such services will entitle himself not only to thanks, but reward at a proper time.

If Mr. P——d is inclined to engage in a business of this kind, I shall leave it to you and him to fix upon such a Mode of corresponding, as will convey intelligence, in the Most Speedy, safe and efficacious Manner to guard against possible evils, your correspondence might be under fictitious names, by numbers (representing Men and things) in character or other wise, as you shall agree. It is in my power, I believe, to procure a Liquid, which nothing but a counter Liquor (rubbed over the Paper afterwards) can make legible. Fire, which will bring lime juice, Milk, and other things of this kind to light, has no effect upon it. A letter upon trivial Matters of business, written in common Ink, may be filled with important Intelligence which cannot be discovered without the counter part, or Liquid here mentioned.

I shall add no more on this subject. I have said enough for you to found a negotiation on; at least to hint the Matter to the person mentioned, for Trial of his willingness to engage in a correspondence of this kind. No persons but you, he, and I, and such as he shall pitch upon to convey the intelligence to you, will be privy to this matter. Your Letters to me, inclosing his accounts, may be under an outer cover with the common

direction. The inner cover may be directed on private service, which will prevent any of My Suit from opening it; and even under the circumstances and caution the name of P——d may be avoided.

I am very sincerely and Respectfully

Dear Sir, &c.

GO. WASHINGTON.¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO HIS EXCELLENCY GEN^L WASHINGTON.

E. T. Sunday afternoon 4 °Clock

DEAR SIR/

I must beg your Excellency's excuse from particularly answering your late favour, till I return home. The design of this is merely to acquaint you, that I have very great reason to believe that the design of the Enemy in their late Embarkation is to go along the Coast of Virginia under the Idea of Plundering &c but really to make a sudden march into the Country & rescue Burgoyne's Troops — I cannot now give your Excellency My reason for this, further than it is the Idea of People of Observation in the city — They have taken with them a quantity of spare arms — and the two Goodrich's — This tallys with the Letter Communicated to me at Philadelphia, of some extraordinary Manoevre in agitation and of depending on the Security of the Americans &c. &c. I thought it best to communicate this Idea to you that on a Comparison of Intelligence the

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Washington Papers, vol. i. p. 268.

Truth may be guessed at — I am with great respect

Your Excellency's Most Obedt & Hble
Serv^t

ELIAS BOUDINOT.

P. S. If this Intelligence should be thought worth Communicating I have particular reasons for begging that the medium may be secreted as it would lead to a suspicion that might prove disagreeable. This is all the Paper I can get.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

(Endorsed in Genl W's hand)

From ELIAS BOUDINOT Esq. 16th May 1779¹

Private

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO ELIAS BOUDINOT, ESQ. BASKINRIDGE.

MIDDLE BROOK, May 17th, 1779.

DEAR SIR

Your favour of 4 oClock yesterday afternoon came to my hands this morning. The suggestions contained in it, I had before heard from New York, but thank you nevertheless for your attention, and communication of them.

I have no Idea of the Convention Troops being rescued by the detachment from New York, but, if it should take Post at the nearest navigation to their Cantonment, it would Countenance desertion, and be a means of obtaining many of them in that way. I shall endeavor, as much as possible, to prevent this.

¹ Letters to Washington, vol. xxxii. p. 325, MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

If the Gentleman, whose name I mentioned to you in my last, is inclined to undertake that business, and should be in want of a little Specie for the purposes there expressed, I will spare part of my small stock. To know the real strength and situation of the enemy, their detachments, reinforcements, designs expectations, &c. is essential. Equally important may it be, to know frequently, what Ships of War and other Armed Vessels are in the Harbour of New York.

The inclosed was brought to me by General Thompson. If Mr. Pintard will inquire into the truth of the representations and give or destroy the pass, as facts may appear, I shall be obliged to him.

I am, Dear Sir, Your Mo. obedient servant
GO. WASHINGTON.¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO HIS EXCELLENCY GEN^L WASHINGTON.

E. T. Tuesday Morning.

DEAR SIR/

Gen^l Maxwell just setting off for Camp, I improve the opportunity, to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's Letter of yesterday, and to assure you that I shall attempt every prudent measure in my power to accomplish your Wishes and will endeavour to see your Excellency on the subject, when any Plan is formed —

From a calculation of a Gentleman whose means of Knowledge are great, there are now at

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Washington Papers, vol. i. p. 284.

New York Long Island and Staten Island about 7000 men — Lord Rawden's regiment of new raised Irishmen it is said, sailed for Georgia since the Capture of the Jason &c under Convoy of a 20 Gun ship. The fleet bound to Chesapeake, have on Board about 2500 men Twelve hundred of which are of the Guards General Matthews Commands — There are at New York five frigates besides privateers, but Admiral Arbuthnot with 5 or 6 Capital Ships are said to be expected, with Troops — The general opinion in the City is, that their dependance is now on the depreciation of our Money and the disaffection of our People — Therefore that their Business now is to distress us by taking Possession of Georgia & Carolina in order to deprive us of foreign remittances in Indigo & rice, and to carry on a kind of plundering War along the Coast, to prevent a foreign Trade — That the most profound Secrecy is aimed at, by the Principals in the City, and an amazing increase of Jealousy with regard to every person who is not in the Cabinet — There also appears (intermixed with the most bitter enmity) an anxious desire in some principal People, to be assured, whether Congress mean to insist on the Independency of all America, or only the thirteen United States —

I hope your Excellency will observe, that from Time to Time, I give you the Accounts just as I receive them for your Excellency's consideration, without undertaking to Judge of the Propriety.—

Mrs Boudinot joins me in the most respectful
 Compliments to Mrs Washington
 And am with great regard
 Your Excellency's
 Most Obed^t Hble Serv^t

ELIAS BOUDINOT.

His Excellency General WASHINGTON

(Endorsed in Gen^l W's hand)

From ELIAS BOUDINOT Esq 18th May 1779.¹

Private

MR. BOUDINOT TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

BASKINRIDGE May 30th 1780

DEAR SIR /

It would have given me great Pleasure to have been favoured with your Company on Thursday, but am fully convinced of the necessity of Business being attended to; when ever your Excellency can spare a day I shall think myself very happy in being honored by a visit.

The Person referred to in your Postscript is a Major Ward of the New Levies, who has made very full offers of this kind, on condition of his future acceptance with our Government. I propose applying to the Gov^r & Council for this Purpose, without mentioning Names, if your Excellency thinks it proper — His situation and advantages for Communication exceed any Person's that I know of — It is some time since I had any communication with him, but then was

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington. Letters to Washington, vol. xxxii. p. 344.

anxiously desirous of being employed in any manner so as to make up with his country.

Mrs Boudinot & Miss Susan join me in the most respectful compliments

And have the Honor to be Dr Sir

Your most Obedt Hble Serv^t

ELIAS BOUDINOT.¹

(Addressed)

His Excellency Genl. WASHINGTON.

(Endorsed in Genl W's hand)

Head Quarters

From ELIAS BOUDINOT Esq^r

30th May 1780 *private*

Rev. James Caldwell, the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, was distinguished for his zeal as a patriot as well as his piety. He graduated from Princeton College, and was licensed to preach at an early age. Descending from Huguenot ancestors, he inherited a horror of tyranny, and threw himself heart and soul into the American cause. He was elected chaplain of those portions of the army that successively occupied New Jersey. His energy and skill caused him to be held in high esteem by Washington, and at the same time made him a conspicuous mark for the enemy. His eloquence and patriotic appeals served to stimulate the patriots; not only did he care for their spiritual welfare, but he also served as commissary. The church in which he preached was used as a military hospital; its steeple was a watch-tower,

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., *Letters to Washington*, vol. xxxvii. p. 333.

and its bell sounded the note of warning on the approach of the enemy in their raids from New York and Staten Island. On the 25th of July, 1780, the church was fired, and on the 25th of the following June, this brave man was called upon to mourn the loss of his wife, cruelly and wantonly shot while praying with her children in a retired room, whither she had taken them for safety. The building was burned, and the little village of Connecticut Farms laid in ashes. The family had sought refuge in this place, a distance of about four miles from Elizabethtown. On the 24th of November following, Mr. Caldwell himself was shot at Elizabethtown Point, where he had gone for a young lady arriving from New York under a flag of truce. Mrs. Caldwell was Hannah Ogden, of Newark, New Jersey, highly esteemed for her goodness and fortitude. They left a large family of children.

“ Mr. Caldwell was shot late on Saturday afternoon, and many of the people were ignorant of the tragical deed until they came to church on the Sabbath. And instead of sitting with delight under his instructions, there was a loud cry of wailing over his melancholy end. On the following Tuesday there was a vast concourse assembled to convey his remains to the tomb. After the services were ended, the corpse was placed where all might take a last view of their murdered pastor. Before the closing of the coffin, Dr.¹ Elias

¹ Doctor of Laws.

Boudinot came forward leading a group of nine orphan children, and placing them around the bier of their parent, made an address of touching eloquence to the multitude in their behalf. It was an hour of deep and powerful emotion. The procession slowly moved to the grave, weeping as they went, and as they lifted their streaming eyes to Heaven, they besought the blessing of God upon the fatherless & motherless children & His kind interference to crown with success their efforts against their oppressors. Their prayers were answered in both cases, for their cause triumphed, & the children found friends & succor, & all became worthy & distinguished men & women. One was taken by Lafayette to France & educated, was a distinguished philanthropist & editor of one of the first religious periodicals of the country. James B. a Judge of the Courts of Gloucester Co. Elias B. was for some years clerk of the Supreme Court of the United States and because of his distinguished efforts in the cause of Colonization one of the towns in Liberia in Africa is called Caldwell in honor of him.”¹

A story is told of Mr. Caldwell's defense of his church with our troops. When, attacked by the British, their cartridges gave out, the plucky parson seized the hymn-books, and carrying them to the soldiers, cried, “Give them Watts, boys, give them Watts!”

¹ New Jersey Historical Collections.

MR. BOUDINOT TO THE HON. MAJOR-GEN^L PHILLIPS.

ELIZTH TOWN Sept: 23^d 1780

SIR

Suffer me to apologize, for giving you the Trouble of this application, on acc^t of my being solely & personally interested in the Consequences. While I acted in the Depart^t of Com^y Gen^l of Pris^{rs} a flag Boat was taken from this Creek by a party of Refugees — Another was absolutely necessary, as I had undertaken to pay a Considerable Debt to you, in flour &c I sent to Genl Campbell on Staten Island, who agreed with me, that on giving my honor that she should not be used for any other purpose, my Boat should thereafter be safe under all Circumstances. In Consequence thereof I provided another Boat, my own Private Property, and for which I gave £400 in the Spring 1777 and depending on the Faith Pledged for her Security left her in the Service on my leaving the Department — When Gen^l Knyphausen Came lately over here this Boat was taken out of the Creek & carried to the Point — Major Adams immediately waited on Gen^l Knyphausen & acquainted him with the agreement. Cap Beckwith brought him a verbal Answer, that when the General went away the Boat should be delivered to Major Adams in safety — When the Gen^l went away, the Boat was dismasted, her rigging & sails carried off & her Hull skuttled & sunk so that I met with a total loss, contrary to the faith pledged by Genl Campbell and for which I

think on every Consideration, I ought to be reimbursed.

Your kind Influence in obtaining me an Answer on this subject from the proper Officer with you, shall always be gratefully acknowledged by

Your Hbl Servt

ELIAS BOUDINOT¹

The Honb Major Gen^l PHILLIPS.

¹ Elias Boudinot's letter book.

CHAPTER XI.

Capture of André. — Silas Deane. — To General Washington from Baskingridge. — Sends express. — Revolt of Pennsylvania line. — His daughter goes to Philadelphia. — Letters to her. — Mrs. Rush to Mrs. Boudinot. — Elected to Congress. — Letter to Hon. John Stevens. — To Doctor Scudder. — To General Washington. — Information regarding shipping at New York. — Mrs. Washington's illness.

IN September of this year occurred that mournful episode in the history of the war, the capture of Major André and the undying disgrace of the treason of Arnold. The following is Mr. Boudinot's account of the taking of Major André.

“Major André, who was Adjutant General of the British Army having entered into a correspondence with General Benedict Arnold, who then commanded the important Post of West Point on the North River which was estimated as the Key of the State of New York, and indeed all the upper country, in which great part of the New England States were also greatly interested; soon ripened it into an actual communication for delivering up that Post to the British on Terms of personal Emolument to Arnold. The fear of detection, led the American General to propose a personal meeting on the shore of the North River at some distance below West Point and without the out-posts, that matters might be finally settled, and the Treason be completed. André being greatly elated with his success, en-

tered warmly into the measure and General Clinton, the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, received the proposal with great Expectation, and immediately provided André (to whom he was much attached and had made one of his particular confidants) with a 20 gun ship to go up the River as if to command that part of the River. In the evening the ship came to anchor, and after night, André was landed privately on the main land, where he met Arnold, and spent some time in planning the whole business, and receiving from him Returns of the American Army, their different intended positions, Provisions, force, Military stores, &c. &c. with the particulars of the intended proceedings and as General Washington the American Commander-in-Chief had a few days before, gone into Connecticut and was to return in a day or two and to dine with Arnold, it was added to the rest of this iniquitous business, to fix upon that day for the nefarious act and to seize General Washington at the same time. The joy that André felt on so glorious a prospect of establishing his fame and aggrandizing his character and fortune, delayed so long that (from the report of the boats crew) he could not with safety attempt to return on board the ship. Arnold prevailed upon him to go to a Mr. Smith's a gentle farmer in the neighborhood whom he could trust with the secret, and after changing his uniform for a plain suit of cloathes go with him to head quarters and pass

for an American of his acquaintance and in the morning go by land to New York, for which, he would give him a sufficient passport. To this André was very averse but being so infatuated by his Success as to lose the exercise of his natural good sense and prudence, or rather a kind and gracious Providence overruled this wicked and infernal Treason, so as to spare the effusion of human blood and produce the political salvation of America. The next morning André and Arnold appeared together as old friends and such was their conduct in viewing the works &c. &c. as to create some jealousy in the Officers round the General. A horse being furnished by the Quarter Master General, André set off with the General's Passport to pass the out Lines. It happened luckily for America, that both the Americans and English had along the Lines, Parties denominated by the upper and the lower — André had passed the American out posts, and finding himself as he thought, out of Danger, when in a deep reverie in the contemplation of his future Glory, he came to the Cross Roads one leading to New York, the other to Tarry Town on the North River. It so providently happened that the Horse on which he rode had been bred at Tarry Town, André lost in Thought did not attend either to his horse or the road, and the Horse naturally took the road he had been used to, and André soon found himself challenged by a sentinel. He answered and demanded to

know which party they belonged to, it was replied the upper. Taking it for granted that it was the British, upper. Party, knowing that he had passed the American out posts, neglected offering his Passport, but immediately said that he was a british Officer and desired to be taken into their Post. Three Militia Soldiers immediately surrounded him, and ordered him to dismount, as they did not know that he was a british Officer. He assured them that he was and by taking him into their Officers they would know it to be true, and he would reward them for it. On their doubting, he pulled out a gold watch and said by that they might know he was not a common man. They then told him, if that was the case, he was their Prisoner for they were Americans and therefore insisted on searching him. André finding himself in this disagreeable predicament began to beg, and assuring them that he was only a citizen of New York who had important family business in the country, had gone to finish it, and was returning. That his capture would be of no service to them, but would be a great injury to him, and if they would release him he would engage to return them, safely delivered in any private place on the Lines they should name, any reasonable quantity of british Gold they should desire. They answered, you a british Officer and not a common man, surely you could do more than this for your Liberty, we are poor Militia Soldiers and you a great Officer. André then

took out his watch and offered that into the Bargain. They then repeated that his liberty was worth more than a gold Watch and if he were a british Officer he could give more still. He then pulled out a purse of gold and offered them both. They then told him he must be a fool, do you not see that you and your watch and your money are all in our power, as we are Americans, and all that you are worth would not tempt us to release you, therefore immediately submit to be searched, accordingly he turned out his Pockets — finding nothing material, they ordered him to pull off his boots. He pulled off one, but said he would go no further and refused to pull off the other; on which they tripped up his Heels and on pulling off his Boot, out came all his Papers. They immediately carried him into their Post and delivered him with all the papers to their Officer Lt. Col. Jameson. This Conduct in these three men, as the Militia being generally of low Characters and not very famous for their strict attention to the property of the Inhabitants on the Lines, certainly discovered an exception to the general rule. The Officer was thunderstruck, on finding the Papers in the hand writing of General Arnold, and that the plan was to deliver up the Fort with General Washington. While at dinner André said his name was Anderson. Jameson's positive orders as commanding this out Post, was to give instant notice to General Arnold of anything that should turn up of an extraordinary nature and

had light horse stationed with him for the purpose. What to do at first, he did not know, but calling a soldier he put much confidence in gave him a letter to General Arnold, acquainting him with the out lines of the capture of a Mr. Anderson going into New York, and sent it off according to the letter of his orders, but gave secret orders to the soldier to lame his Horse by the way, and be detained by it for 24 hours. He then sent another off to ride Post and meet General Washington on his return from Connecticut with the papers found on André. The horseman took the Road General Washington went, not knowing that he made it a Rule never to go and return by the same Road. By this means he missed the General but heard of his return at a cross road. And the horseman sent to Arnold arrived at General Arnold's quarters a short time before General Washington, as soon as Arnold received the letter, he sprang out of his Room just looked into the room where his Wife was, and told her that he must bid her farewell forever, and ran down to the Fort and got on board his Barge and ordered the Bargemen to row him down the River. General Washington arrived soon after and on enquiring at Arnold's quarters for the General, was told that he had just gone to the Fort. General Washington rode immediately down, and being put over to the Fort he found that the General was not there but the Officer of the Day, attended him round the Works. Arnold

not appearing General Washington expressed some resentment at his not attending him and suddenly returned to his Horse, he was scarcely mounted when the Horseman appeared with the Papers taken on André. As soon as he had read the letter and cast his Eye over the Papers, he put Spur to his horse and rode to Arnold's Door and called out his Aid de Camp, and drawing his Pistol from his Holster, solemnly declared he would blow his brains out, if he did not instantly tell him where Arnold was. The extreme fright of the Aid and his whole appearance convinced the General of his innocence, as he could tell him no more than that on receiving a horseman from an out Post, he had in great terror left the House and gone alone to the Fort. The General instantly ordered Col. Hamilton to ride post to the Fort at Verplanks Point opposite Stony Point and order the Fort to fire on the Barge, taking it for granted that he was gone down the River. Hamilton arrived just as the Fort was paying the usual compliment to the General's Barge, Hamilton instantly pointed the guns and fired on the Barge. Arnold rose and with a pistol in each hand, swore he would put the first man to death who should stop his oar and soon passed out of reach of the Fort. André was sent to head quarters and put under the care of a subaltern officer and a strong guard. In the night André acknowledged to the officer that he was Adjutant General of the British Army, that he found it in

vain to cover himself by a fictitious Name, and therefore should appear in his real character. The officer was so alarmed that he slept not a moment, but in the morning communicated the intelligence to Head Quarters. Col. Hamilton who had seen André was sent to him, and knew him to be the man. General Washington out of respect to his character instead of a more summary proceeding called a council of General Officers of whom Lafayette and Steuben were two, who were to inquire into the facts and the crime of the Prisoner. André finding himself unexpectedly treated with so much propriety and kindness, confessed every fact and appeared only solicitous to free himself from any suspicion of being a Spy or having voluntarily acted unbecoming his Character. The council found him guilty and that he was worthy of death, his Execution was determined on, and the day fixed. But on a letter from General Clinton, he was reprieved for a few days. The news of André's capture greatly alarmed and affected the Army and André's fate was sincerely deplored, and some compassionate minds were ready to wish for his pardon but as soon as the reprieve was known, and it was suggested by some disconcerted persons, that this reprieve was preparatory to a pardon and discharge, but a universal alarm took place. The officers generally declared that if they were not to be protected agt such traitorous Conduct, it was time to leave the Army, that if they were to

be exposed to external Spys and internal machinations and no punishment inflicted on those who were taken and proved guilty, there would be no safety in their camps and resignation was their only protection. Tho' these were their sentiments they were only murmured from Tent to Tent, a few days convinced them that they had a Commander in Chief, who knew how to make his compassion for the unfortunate and his duty to those who depended upon him for protection to harmonize and influence his Conduct. He treated Major André with the greatest tenderness, while he carried the sentence of the Council into strict Execution according to the Laws of War. At New York when the first account of André's capture and condemnation arrived, the Officers and Citizens laughed at the idea that the Rebels would dare to execute the Adjutant General of the British Army; but if it should take place, that Vengeance on every Rebel should be taken seven fold. But when it was known that André was no more General Clinton shut himself up for 3 days and every one at the Coffee House and the public places hung their heads, and scarcely an observation relative to it escaped their lips. Arnold was made a Brigadier General, and tho' great expectations were formed of his Invitation to the American Soldiers and Citizens to join him against the Rebellion of their Country, it is generally believed that scarcely a soldier ever deserted or a Citizen joined him. He lived despised

and disregarded and died unlamented and unnoticed. Thus having received the general reward of a Traitor to his Country."¹

As to Arnold's treason, Marshall, in his "Life of Washington," gives the important facts, but in a more general way, and with less detail than Irving; but his details differ from Irving's, who in a note refers to Sparks as his source of many particulars. Marshall states that Arnold and André remained together all of the day after their night's conference at Smith's house. Stedman, in his "American War," says the same thing. Here is Washington's own account of what happened after he came upon the scene, Mr. Boudinot's in no way differing from the main facts, but rendered interesting by the filling in of details.

FROM RICHARD RUSH'S "WASHINGTON IN DOMESTIC LIFE."

The copy from Mr. Lear's Diary, in which is recorded this interesting dinner-table narrative:—

MOUNT VERNON,
Monday, October 23rd, 1786.

"Mr. Drayton and Mr. Izard here all day. After dinner General Washington was, in the course of conversation, led to speak of Arnold's treachery when he gave the following account . . . on my return I met the Chevalier Luzerne towards evening within about 15 miles of West Point (on his way to join the Count at Rhode

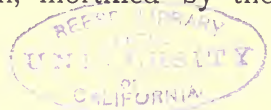
¹ *Reminiscences, Elias Boudinot*, Library of Mr. John Carter Brown.

Island) which I intended to reach that night, but he insisted upon turning back with me to the next public house; where, in politeness to him I could not but stay all night, determining, however, to get to West Point to breakfast very early. I sent off my baggage and desired Colonel Hamilton to go forward and inform General Arnold, that I would breakfast with him. Soon after he arrived at Arnold's quarters a letter was delivered to Arnold which threw him into the greatest confusion. He told Colonel Hamilton that something required his immediate attention at the garrison which was on the opposite side of the river to his quarters; and immediately ordered a horse, to take him to the river; and the barge, which he kept to cross, to be ready and desired Major Franks, his aid, to inform me when I arrived, that he was gone over the river and would return immediately. When I got to his quarters and did not find him there I desired Major Franks to order me some breakfast; and as I intended to visit the fortifications I would see General Arnold there. After I had breakfasted, I went over the river and inquiring for Arnold, the commanding officer told me that he had not been there. I likewise inquired at the several redoubts, but no one could give me any information where he was. . . . When I returned to Arnold's quarters about two hours after and told Colonel Hamilton that I had not seen him, he gave me a packet from Col. Jameson which imme-

diately brought the matter to light. I ordered Colonel Hamilton to mount his horse and proceed with the greatest dispatch to a post on the river about eight miles below in order to stop the barge if she had not passed—but it was too late.”

According to the time of André's breakfasting at Crompond, daybreak of the 23d, as given by Irving, and his capture before noon of that day, he must with his captors have arrived early in the afternoon at North Castle, allowing for the midday meal mentioned at the farmhouse; consequently, the time which elapsed between his arrival and Arnold's receiving the dispatches from Jameson on the morning of the 24th must be accounted for, and Mr. Boudinot's solution bears every evidence of being the correct one, the distance to be traversed by the messenger being something under twenty miles.

Mr. Boudinot alludes in his reminiscences to many interviews he had with Silas Deane. He gives in detail Deane's account to him of his reception by Mons. de Vergennes on his first arrival in Paris, which does not at all agree with Deane's reports and letters to Congress; these latter testify to his instant recognition and immediate reception by the Minister, while he gives to Mr. Boudinot a most distressing picture of the manner in which, without money or friends, he was subjected to delay and his repeated requests for recognition disregarded, until, mortified by the



apparent uselessness of his mission, he was about to return home. At this juncture Gerard came to him with an invitation from M. de Vergennes. He attributed this sudden change to the Declaration of Independence and the movements on the Lakes. The Declaration of Independence could only have been the action of Congress in response to a resolution by Richard Henry Lee on the 7th of June in accordance with his instructions from Virginia in May: "That these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States." Deane, in his letter to the committee of secret correspondence, says: "The resolution of Congress of 15th of May is not considered by the Ministry as a declaration of independence, but only as a previous step."¹

What object Deane had in these representations can only be surmised; his erratic course and unreliability must be taken into account. The story as given by Mr. Boudinot is so full of incident and detail that it is impossible to charge him with a lapse of memory; we would have rather to believe that he had invented the whole story, a view perfectly incompatible with his character.

Deane's situation on his arrival in France was certainly embarrassing, without funds or intelligence from America. Lord Stormont, through his spies, was keeping a vigilant watch upon him, notwithstanding the poor opinion he had formed

¹ See *Reminiscences of Elias Boudinot*, Library of Mr. John Carter Brown.

of his judgment and capacity, as reported to Lord Weymouth in his dispatches.¹

A specimen of Deane's inaccuracy is given in the Silas Deane's papers, published by the New York Historical Society and edited by Mr. Charles Isham, as the following letters show.

TO CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

PARIS HOTEL DE GRAND VILLARS

July 20, 1776.

SIR: —

In compliance with your request at our interview of yesterday, I send you inclosed Copies of my Commission and an Extract from my Instructions, which will satisfy you of my being authorized to make the purchases I have applied to you for. To understand this Extract it is necessary to inform you that I was ordered to make my first application to the Minister, and to Procure the Supplies wanted, of them, by way of purchase or Loan and in case the Credit or Influence of Congress should not be such, under the present Circumstances as to obtain them from that quarter, I was instructed then to apply else where.

My application to the Minister and his answer I have acquainted you with &c. &c.

S. DEANE.

Mons^r BEAUMARCHAIS.

FROM CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

PARIS le 22 Juillet, 1776.

Je vais vous répéter, Monsieur ce que J'ai eu l'honneur de vous dire Samdi passé, afin que les

¹ See corresp. of Lord Stormont, Sparks MSS., Harvard Coll. Library.

conditions que je demande soient plus fixées dans votre esprit, &c. &c.

CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

[Translation.]

I am about to repeat Sir what I had the honor of saying to you on Saturday last, that the terms I have stated may be more clearly impressed on your mind, &c. &c.

To M^r SILAS DEANE.

TO CONRAD A. GERARD.

PARIS, July 22, 1776.

SIR: —

Inclosed I send you a copy of the Article of my Instructions which was the subject of Our last Conference. I have not as yet had the pleasure of seeing Monsieur Beaumarchais but am so Confident from the character I received of him from you that he will be able to procure for me the Articles I want that I shall apply to him in preference to any other person: and I imagine thro' him the Stores mentioned in my Instructions may be procured with the utmost Secrecy and Certainty. &c. &c.

I have the honor to be most respectfully
Your most obliged and humble servt.

SILAS DEANE.

To Monsieur GERARD.

TO CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

PARIS 24th. July, 1776.

SIR: —

I have consulted the Letter you honored me with, the 22d. and am of opinion that your pro-

posals for regulating the Prices of the Goods and Stores are just and equitable. The generous Confidence you place in the Virtue and Justice of my constituents affords me the greatest pleasure, &c.

I have the honor to be
With highest respect
Sir, Yours, &c.

S. DEANE.

To M. BEAUMARCHAIS.

Mr. Boudinot appears to have had a friendly feeling for Mr. Deane, and to have recognized his services in the patriot cause, however he may have regarded his later deflection.

MR. BOUDINOT TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

BASKINRIDGE, Jan. 2nd. 1781.

SIR: —

At General Waynes request, I send the bearer express, to acquaint your Excellency with the unhappy proceedings of the past night. About nine O'clock last evening the main part of the Pennsylvania line turned out in the most sudden manner, after being remarkably still till that hour. They seized the ammunition and artillery, spiked up two field pieces, and with the other four marched off to the westward. The utmost pains was taken to reduce them, first by authority and then by entreaty, but all in vain. The whole neighborhood was alarmed by their noise and depredations. They abused many of the inhabitants as well as took what they pleased. They halted near Veal Town¹ from whence they have sent

¹ Now Bernardsville, N. J.

messages to such of the line as remained behind and have persuaded the whole to join in the measure. I just now followed in the rear of the whole passing the General's Quarters. They make an encampment at Veal Town. At the first opposition they killed Capt. Betting and mortally wounded another Captain.

On a report of the enemy being landed at Elizabethtown General Wayne had directed the militia of Morris to parade at Chatham. From what conversation I have had with one of the insurgents, their design is to go to Congress and insist on their pay, cloathing and discharge for above three years enlistment. They declare if the enemy come out they will face about and attack them with greater spirit than they ever did. This makes me believe the report of the enemy's coming out to be rather designed to serve some valuable purpose, though I had the report from the General. The rear of this line is this moment past.

I am in great haste with due respect your Excellency's most obedient humble servant

ELIAS BOUDINOT.¹

In the winter of 1781 he sent his young daughter, Susan, from her northern retreat to her cousin's, Dr. Rush's family, in Philadelphia, where she appears to have won all hearts; but, either from a distaste for letter-writing or the preoccupation of a charming visit, she failed to reach her father's ideas of a good correspondent.

¹ Sparks MSS. in Harvard College Library.

MR. BOUDINOT TO HIS DAUGHTER.

BASKINRIDGE, Jan^r 19th 1781.

MY DEAR SUSAN

Altho' I find all my endeavours to prevail on you to perfect yourself in letter writing are in vain & fruitless, Yet I cannot suffer Major Hamilton to go to the City without letting you know that we are all well — I might perhaps have excused myself by the shortness of notice of this opportunity, or my want of Time, or being much engaged in business but I am willing yet to try what effect good example will have when often repeated.

Your Mama received your letter by Mr. Martin and was glad to find that you were not more alarmed at the News of the Revolt of the Pennsylvania Line — For one or two nights we were very uneasy here. The first night I was obliged to keep guard all night about the House, but we came off very well & without the least insult, which was more than many of our neighbors could say. It has given us much Pleasure to hear that the dispute is settled — I wish we may have no more of it tho' I have my Fears. We could wish to have an account from you of what effect the City has had on you; with your observation on every new object that must have struck your attention, especially we wish to hear of your Improvement in knowledge and manners. Remarkable success in the last would always bring to

your Remembrance this jaunt to the City with great pleasure — If you could not find time to inform us of any nice speculation you surely might have given us the chit chat of the day — An account of your visits, new Faces, even your romps, might have been advantageous to your improvement in an epistolary correspondence while the recital would have brightened our blazing fire side in a Winter evening. I make no doubt but that the conversation & example of your worthy cousins will greatly increase the benefit of your present opportunities — Remember you must be accountable for them as all your Friends here are expecting to see great effects on your return from such promising causes. Thus you see though I have no time to spare, I can fill a sheet with small chat though I live in the Woods and see nothing but rocks & Mountains; you know flint will strike fire from steel, who knows what constant example will do —

I am much obliged to you for the sermons, I thank God, I love a good man, tho' he calls himself a Chinese, Indian or Houttentot — Wherever you find the traces and Footprints of the Spirit of God let him be your friend & Brother — I am more and more convinced & wish to inculcate it in all my Friends that God is no respecter of Persons but in whatever nation he that serveth him in Spirit & Truth is accepted of him . . .

. . . Our kind love to all Friends, your Mama

adds her blessing & desires to be joined in the assurance that we are with great Esteem & Love

My Dr Susan

Your Most Affec^t Parents

BOUDINOT.

Miss BOUDINOT
at Dr. Rush's, Philadelphia.

Again Mr. Boudinot writes to his daughter: "As tomorrow brings round the anniversary of a day that ought ever to be remembered by us (and in the most particular manner by you) as producing the highest Instance of the loving kindness & tenderest mercies of a holy God towards us, we hope you will not forget to join your grateful Parents in their most ardent Testimony of Love & gratitude to the great beneficent Author of all those mercies which have so largely & constantly been showered down on us all ever since we have had our existence." And on October 22, 1781: "Altho' the present Business prevents my enjoying the leisure I could wish to write to my beloved daughter yet I am too fond of your letters to suffer myself to remain in your debt—I am sorry that your sweet temper should be ruffled by the idle stories of the sensorious or Malevolent—I hope my dear girl will early learn not to despise what others say of her but to place her chief attention on acting in every department and under every circumstance of Life so as to deserve the good opinion of all and then never to trouble herself about the consequences—As for my own

part if any even the meanest Person of my acquaintance should think evil of me, I hope I do not deserve it from them. I pity them and am confident in the End they will see their error. It affects me but little, they are the sufferers — I wish them the greatest happiness and will endeavour to do them the greatest good I can notwithstanding their little ebullition of Nature — I hope they mean well tho mistaken — God governs the world and all things *must* be right at last — This however, I had much rather should happen that they speak evil of me unjustly twice than I should of them once — I wish that I could see my way clear and that it was the Will of Providence, I should not trouble them long — I hope to see you now soon & partake in your Joys and fears —

“We expect the official confirmation of the Glorious News of Cornwallis’ surrender on the 17th Inst tomorrow when we are to go in Procession attended by the Council, Assembly Minister of France &c &c to Church to return publick Thanks to Almighty God for his special Favour in the capture of his Lordship & the british Army — After which there will be great doings here.”¹

MRS. RUSH TO MRS. BOUDINOT.

PHILADELPHIA April 10

MY DEAR AUNT,

Before this reaches you you will have received your dear Susan not the worse I hope for her

¹ From family letters.

having lived near 5 months in a corrupt City, if I was to give my opinion I should say that I believe if she had been as many years in it she would have left it as faultless as she now is — the first wish of my heart would be gratified in seeing my daughter at her âge just like her, without any alteration.

I could fill a very long letter with an account of the virtues and amiable qualities I have discovered in her but as this is addressed to her Mother who knows them better than I do, it is needless.

I have collected a few little matters that she left behind and send them by Mr. Pintard. My kind love to her in which my dear Doctor Rush joins — We expect to hear from her by every opportunity —

Tell Aunt Hetfield that I shall not forget her sugar when I send Mama's, it is not rising — Please to give her my love — I promise myself the pleasure of paying my dear friends at Baskinridge a visit this Summer — As I have nothing new to communicate I will not take up your time as I know the company of your dear daughter will employ it much more agreeably. Dr. Rush desires to be most kindly remembered to you all with my dear Aunt,

Yours sincerely,

JULIA RUSH¹²

Mrs. BOUDINOT,
Baskinridge.

¹ Family letters.

² Mrs. Rush was the wife of the signer, Benjamin Rush, and sister of the signer, Richard Stockton.

Mr. Boudinot was elected to fill Mr. Burnett's place in the Continental Congress on the latter's retiring in 1781, and accepted the appointment, supposing that it would be only for the remainder of the session; but was again elected for the term of 1782 and 1783; became president of that body on November 4, 1782. He served on many important committees, often as chairman.¹

At the close of this most eventful year of 1783, during which Mr. Boudinot presided over Congress, he had the happiness of seeing the war draw to a close, the independence of his country acknowledged, and their people enrolled among the nations of the earth.

To his duties as presiding officer of Congress, it will be seen that he was for a time obliged to assume those of Secretary of Foreign Affairs, as through him, until that office was filled, passed the correspondence with our foreign commissioners.

In contrast with the disagreeable circumstances attendant upon the mutiny of the disaffected soldiery, was the reception of the minister plenipotentiary from the United Netherlands, and after vexatious delay came the announcement of the peace, and the treaty of peace with Great Britain, to which Mr. Boudinot had the satisfaction of affixing his signature.²

Proclamations of peace, thanksgiving, and disbandment followed, and those patriots, who had toiled in the burden and heat of the day, could

¹ See appendix to vol. ii.

² Elias Boudinot's letter book.

take at last a breathing spell, and turn their attention to their private affairs, loudly calling for consideration.

MR. BOUDINOT TO THE HON^{BLE} JOHN STEVENS.

BASKINRIDGE June 18 1781

SIR

By the unaccountable neglect of the Post your favour was not handed me till Saturday afternoon as I was on the Road to Morris Town. The Contents were altogether unexpected, and for which I was so totally unprepared that I found the greatest difficulty in giving a determinate answer on a subject of so much Importance. The essential Sacrifice I must unavoidably make with regard to my private Interest, added to the great Losses I have already sustained since the Revolution almost forbid my accepting the honor intended me by the Legislature, and nothing short of an invariable principle I fixed as the rule of my Conduct, at engaging in an Opposition to G. Britain to be always ready on the Call of my Country whenever she was in distress, could have prevailed on me to accept this nomination under my present circumstances, at a period so critical and truly important, and in which the most superior abilities is absolutely necessary. Tho I am fully convinced of my incapacity to answer the Expectations of the Legislature, I have at last Determined (as it is for so short a time) to accept the Appointment to show at least my willingness again to throw in my mite towards the publick

service; I can only promise that attention & Integrity shall Compensate for the want of those other abilities that should form their representation in the Great Council of the State. I must beg the favour to know when it is expected that I must give my Personal attendance in Congress. It will be impossible for me to arrange my affairs sooner than a fortnight, but if another week could be added it would be peculiarly advantageous to me — Permit me also to ask of the Legislature that their proper Officers may be ordered to furnish me with their Ideas of the Number of Inhabitants of the State. The true state of their finances — The state of the acc^t between the United States and this State and any other general matters that the delegates in Congress should be well acquainted with as I am confident Ignorance in these particulars have been and may hereafter be, peculiarly prejudicial to the publick interest and particular Instructions in the present important Era would be of great use to those who represent the State —

The Hon^{bl} JOHN STEVENS Esq^r ¹

M^R BOUDINOT TO D^R NATHANIEL SCUDDER.

MY D^R SIR.

I was truly surprised & mortified with the unexpected contents of your favour by the post which by his great neglect was not handed to me

¹ Elias Boudinot's letter book.

till Saturday afternoon as I was on the road to Morris Town, nothing could have been more prejudicial to my private affairs They were so totally deranged by the Revolutionary flights & after engagements in the publick service, that I have but just begun to see any Order amongst them and to retrieve the great losses I have met with — The Business of my Profession has but just begun to find me out and all my views were Consentred in private walks of Life — I have had great difficulty to know what to do — My determination always had been to sacrifice every thing for the Publick Service while my Country was in distress & wanted aid — But I had taken it for granted that that period was past and there were no want of Solicitors for offices of every kind I therefore had no idea of ever engaging again in political Life. However as I would not suffer an Idea to be entertained that she could not command the services of any of her Sons However mistaken she might be in her choice, I have determined to make the sacrifice tho' to the great distress & anxiety of my family — The season of the year & the City of Philadelphia is much against me in point of health but to God and my country I am willing to yield my every service & leave the event — The Shortness of the Period is the only Consolation — D^r Elmore must go with me — His Character & friendship will give me great pleasure — Could not a Committee be appointed for us to Correspond with on

special & important Occasions in the Recess of the Legislature. Some such thing would be of great use.

DR N. SCUDDER¹

(ELIAS BOUDINOT TO HIS EXCELLENCY GEN^L WASHINGTON.)

BASKINRIDGE June 28th 1781.

MY DEAR SIR:

Your not having heard from me lately, has not proceeded from a want of the most sincere respect or the warmest attachment to your Person & the Common Cause, but from a conviction that every unnecessary Letter, adds to your Excellency's Already intolerable Embarrassments —

The design of this is principally to inform your Excellency that from special Information, The Enemy have in the Ship Yards in New York, two very large Vessels cut down & constructing with manifest Intention to cut through some opposition formed in the Water— Their sides are described to me as strengthened with vast thickness of Timber — The Bows are armed with a large Iron Instrument of great Strength & Sharpness in the form of an Axe, but deep, and sundry constructions of Iron parallel with the keel, with some Machinery that acts by a Spring in the manner of Claws to seize fast upon whatever is in its way — The want of Knowledge in my Informant prevents his describing the Mechanism of these Vessels in a manner I could wish him to do — I cannot answer to

¹ Without date. Elias Boudinot's letter book.

Your Excellency for the Truth of these Facts, as my Informant is one of those People who may have an Interest in deceiving us, tho' from many Circumstances, I think he deserves as much credit, as most of his Character — And tho' it should prove erroneous, I was of opinion that it was worthy of Communication, as your Excellency may Contrast it with other Intelligence.

The News of Mrs Washington's illness has filled Mrs Boudinot & myself with the most alarming fears, we earnestly pray God for the restoration of her Health. We desire to be remembered to her in the most Affectionate manner — If it could be consistent with her Health & other affairs to spend some part of her Time this Summer with us, it would give us peculiar Pleasure, as well as do us great Honor —

Mrs Boudinot joins me in the best wishes & most respectful Compliments Am Dr Sir

Your Excellency's Most Obedt Hble Servt

ELIAS BOUDINOT

(Endorsed)

Baskinridge 28th June 1781

from

ELIAS BOUDINOT Esq.

private

(Addressed)

His Excellency

General WASHINGTON,¹

Head Quarters.

¹ *Letters to Washington*, vol. 50, p. 195, MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

CHAPTER XII.

To Hon. John Stevens from Philadelphia, regarding seat in Congress. — To Hon. Peter Wilson, regarding seat. — Flattering aspect of affairs. — Urges completion of levies for the army. — Asks for views on Vermont. — To Mrs. Boudinot. — Difficulty of getting lodgings. — Refugees from Georgia and Carolina. — Retreat of Cornwallis. — The marquis refreshing troops and covering country. — America requires great abilities. — To Mr. Elisha Boudinot. — General Greene's well-judged manœuvres. — Raises siege of Ninety-six. — Lord Rawdon abandons his posts. — Captain Eggleston captures enemy's cavalry. — Vessels at Cadiz. — Meeting of English troops at Carolina. — To Governor Livingston. — Alarm for the city. — Monsieur de Barras takes forty-four gun-ships, two frigates, and transports. — To Governor Livingston. — The enemy carry on secret correspondence by pedlars. — Regarding his réélection. — Siege of Yorktown accidental. — Stedman. — Irving. — De Grasse and siege of Yorktown. — Capitulation. — Hidden letter to Cornwallis. — Washington's letter to De Grasse. — Lafayette's narrative.

MR. BOUDINOT TO HON^{BLE} JOHN STEVENS.

PHILAD: July 24: 1781

SIR

I set off from home on the 12 Inst: I have just entered on my Mission — On D^r Wither-
spoon showing me the Vote of the Joint Meeting,
by which we were appointed I was surprised to
find that from the wording of it D^r Elmore &
myself can have no vote in Congress without one
of the former members are with us I informed
D. W. that I could not take my seat under this
appointment and do justice to my own Character
& feelings but he assuring me that it was verily a

Misprision of the Clerk I have been prevailed on to continue till your answer on this Head can be had and if Possible a proper Certificate from the Secretary by your Order —

A line from you on this Subject will be ver^y obliging &c

I have the honor to be with great respect

E. BOUDINOT

Hon^{bl} JOHN STEVENS Esq^r ¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO THE HON^{ble} PETER WILSON.

PHILADELPHIA July 28th 1781

SIR

I think it my Duty as well as an honor to have the pleasure of addressing you on my taking a seat in the Congress as one of your Delegates, and shall be very glad of a continued Correspondence while at this place, as I should be always glad to Conform myself to the general Ideas of my Constituents — I set off for this place on the 18th Inst but was much surprised on my arrival here to find that by the Resolution of the Joint meeting Appointing D. Elmore & myself, that we are restricted from representing the State of New Jersey unless one of the former Delegates are present — This we consider as making an Invidious Distinction between us, and could not have taken our seats under this partial appointment consistent with our Reputation & feelings had not D^r Witherspoon assured us that it was barely a misprision of the Clerk, this has prevailed on me

¹ Elias Boudinot's letter book.

to Continue here till we can hear from you, which I must beg to be, by return of the Next Stage — I would be glad of your Information what appeared to you to be the sense of the Legislature, for tho' Congress made no objection to our representing the State yet it will not be safe or prudent for us to vote alone under the express Declaration of the State to the Contrary unless we are properly assured that it is a mistake — As this goes by the Stage, which is an uncertain Conveyance I can say Nothing in point of News but what may be made Publick with safety — Our affairs both abroad and to the southward, bear the most flattering aspect, and we are encouraged to hope & expect the happiest Consequences from the continued struggles of this year — It is a matter of the highest Consequence that the Requisitions of our worthy General on the Different States be punctually and immediately Complied with — You could not do a more essential service to those States than to urge completion of the levies for the Army — Lord Cornwallis has retired to Portsmouth and the Marquis after gaining great Laurels in his late attack on his lordship is refreshing his little Army so as at the same time to cover the Country — Could you with propriety communicate what you consider as the Ideas of our Legislature relative to the dispute of Vermont & the expediency of their being declared a free & independent State I should be much obliged — ¹

To the Hon^{bl} PETER WILLSON July 28 1781.

¹ Pennsylvania Historical Society.

MR. BOUDINOT TO MRS. BOUDINOT.

PHILADELPHIA July 29th 1781

MY DEARLY BELOVED WIFE

Tho' late in the evening, I am glad to get rid of my fellow Lodgers and retire from their very disagreeable company (on this day) to hold converse with my better self — As it is uncertain whether I shall have time to write again before the Post goes, shall inform you of my situation — I tried in vain to get Lodgings near the State House, and altho' I was kindly invited to my old Quarters, yet the irregularity of Congress Hours & the circumstances of the Family were such as obliged me to refuse it — The City is so filled with the distressed Georgia & Carolina Refugees that I was afraid that I should be prevented getting any quarters outside of a Tavern, at last I have got a room at Mrs Clark's in the house Mr. Searl's family lived, at the corner of Chestnut & Front Streets opposite Woods the watch maker. I am in the third story & with very disagreeable company particularly on the sabbath — I give 7 dollars p week for my board & find my own drink, wood & candles — My situation is not very desirable & my services here, not such as will satisfy me for the loss of what I prize above all temporal pleasures, I mean domestic Ease & Happiness — I know that it may be answered that I am destitute of that laudable ambition & pursuit of Honor that should urge every man to activity —

I confess that I have other views & other Pursuits and as I find so many ready to supply my deficiencies in this respect, that I am contented to pass thro' Life in humble Obscurity, if it be the Will of my heavenly Father, who has a right to dispose of me & my services as he shall see best. Resignation to his Will is I hope the great pursuit of my Life. . . . I have no news to communicate except that in general our affairs both abroad and at home (I mean to the southward) wear the most flattering appearances —

Lord Cornwallis since his drubbing by General Wayne, has retreated quite to Portsmouth & the Marquis is refreshing his troops in such manner as to cover the Country. Julia goes on Tuesday for Princeton, so that I shall then be all alone — I hope my beloved Wife is much happier with her little family about her than I am here — If I was convinced that I was doing especial service to my Country, it would give me pleasure even to forego that large share of Happiness I have left behind but I feel myself inadequate to the errand on which I am sent, and ardently wish some Person of superior Talents was in my room. I am not so humble as to suppose that I am not as equal to the Task as many that have been here before me, but their deficiency does not give me capacity — I am convinced the affairs of America require now the abilities of a Pitt & a Necker to preside over her Councils — However, I did not choose myself, nor even did solicit the choice

from any other person, and therefore while I remain in the important station will make up by Integrity & Application my want of those other qualifications necessary for the important trust—

I must wish the beloved of my Soul a good night may the blessing of a holy God attend her and the Angel of his Presence keep & preserve her & all my dear family.

I am with the greatest Love &
Affection yours sincerely

BOUDINOT¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO HIS BROTHER MR. ELISHA BOUDINOT.

PHILADELPHIA Aug. 12 1781.

MY DEAR BROTHER

I write this barely to communicate the important news of the day — Gen^l Greene by a variety of well judged Manœuvres which do him honor, after Lord Rawdon had obliged him in Prudence to raise the seige of fort 96, in his turn obliged his Lordship to evacuate that important fortress, abandon his strong Post on the Congaree (a country abounding with Provisions) and fall down to Orangeburgh about 80 miles from Charles Town. Here Genl Greene detached Genl Marion with the Militia and Col. Lee's Legion to surprise the Post at Monk's corner 20 miles from Charles Town. On the way Col. Lee sent Cap. Eggleston with a few troops of Horses to annoy the Enemy's Cavalry then foraging in the country, the Capt. passed them unperceived

¹ Family letters.

and gained three miles in their front and when discovered was taken for militia Horse — The Enemy came out in an irregular loose body and was received by Capt Eggleston with Judgm^t & Bravery — Lee's words are "They were soon routed, dispersed and cut to pieces" — except a Capt Liu^t Cadet 45 men & horses with accoutrements compleat brought off Prisoners and one man of the whole escaped to be a living Evidence of the Fact — By a flag from Charles Town we are informed that we succeeded also at Monk's Cornor —

A vessel just this moment from Cadiz announces the capture and arrival of the whole station Fleet with their convoy — also the capture and arrival at Cadiz of 5 English India men. I forgot to tell you that there had been a Mutiny among the English Troops at Carolina in quelling of which 100 men were killed & wounded.

I am in great haste but with Love to Sister & all with you,

My Dr Brother

Yours affect'y

BOUDINOT.¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOV. WM. LIVINGSTON.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 29, 1781.

DEAR SIR: —

We are much alarmed here on the apprehended invasion of this State by General Clinton from New York. Indeed this city could not have been

¹ Family letters.

attempted in a more defenseless state, or at a time which would so essentially have affected the common cause.

Congress have ordered down to this town 500 Continental troops under General St. Clair from Lancaster. 3000 men of the Militia of this State are ordered to be in the field without delay and half of the militia of the Delaware State. Congress have great and indeed I may say the greatest dependence on the militia of our State and hope they will be found actually in the field should the enemy appear ever so suddenly. As some days are always taken to arrange any body of Militia, the sooner they are called out the better. I confess for my own part, I consider this city as our most vulnerable post.

Another letter received this evening from Maryland confirms the junction of Mons. de Barras and his taking 44 Gun ships and two Frigates with as many Transports. No other news.

I am your Excellency's

Most obedient and humble servant¹

ELIAS BOUDINOT.

MR. BOUDINOT TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOV. WM. LIVINGSTON.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 20, 1781.

DEAR SIR:—

I am authorized to give your Excellency official intelligence that the enemy, in order to carry on their correspondence through our State make use of a number of pedlars, who are supplied with

¹ Sparks MSS. in Harvard College Library.

proper certificates or licences according to law, which I suppose they forge for the purpose.

We have had no official information from head quarters since the 8th. The private intelligence is all contained in the Newspapers of this day.

I have the honor to be with great respect

Your Excellency's

Most obedient humble servant

ELIAS BOUDINOT.¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO HON. JOHN STEVENS.

PHILADELPHIA November 5, 1781.

SIR

I have the honor of acknowledging the Receipt of the Certified Minute of the Joint Meeting, testifying the appointment of Delegates for our State in Congress the ensuing year. I am much embarrassed on this Occasion, I was preparing to Return home, having had no Idea of remaining here longer than this day, being the Time when I first accepted the Appointment. Indeed had this not been the Case, the exhausted state of my finances and the Derangement of my family Affairs would Oblige me to return — The Monstrous expense attending a residence in this city, must soon take away the ready Cash of any fortune among us — However as there were only Mr. Clark & myself here and our Presence absolutely necessary to form a Congress in this important Conjunction, We took our seats this Day and have proceeded to the Choice of a President, Mr. Han-

¹ Sparks MSS. in Harvard College Library.

son of Maryland I shall continue here this week, in hopes that your honorable Houses will urge the Attendance of one of the other Gentⁿ by that Time — I shall do myself the honor of calling on you next week, as I have some matters of great Importance I would willingly communicate to the Legislature before my return Home. Never was there Time which required a full Representation of the States more than the present as Matters of the Utmost future consequence to this Empire, are and must be the subjects of constant discussion — Not being able to Command the Acts of Assembly, we cannot determine if a usual renewal of the Oaths are essentially necessary to our representation we therefore must beg advice on this Subject. We shall continue our seats until the return of the Post, as our return to Jersey for that Purpose at present would prevent the whole Business of the United States at a season too critical to admit of such a delay, as the Estimates of the ensuing campaign are hard & must be immediately Completed —

Mr. Clark intended joining me in this Letter but the Opportunity cannot wait my dining hour —

To Vice Presidt JOHN STEVENS Esqr.¹

Mr. Boudinot writes :—

“ The seige of Yorktown was nearly accidental — General Washington the Fall & Winter before, had planned with a Committee of Congress, the

¹ Pennsylvania Historical Society.

storming of the Works at New York and the repossession of that City — He communicated his Design to the French General and the Arrival of Count De Grasse with a French Fleet was part of the Plan — Requisitions on the different States for a Supply of Men to the necessary Amount was duly made by Congress, they to be in the Field by a given Day — The necessary Preparation especially a number of very large battering Cannon were provided — A little before the expected Reinforcement the Marquis La Fayette was very hard pressed by the British in Virginia — He had not Men enough to make head ag^t them, and was driven to a Dependence on maneuvering altogether — He wrote to Gen^l Washington for Aid alleging the Impossibility of maintaining his Ground without a Reinforcement — General Washington answered him by letting him into his Designs on New York — That he must do as well as he could with the Force he had, as he could not spare him a Man, but when the Enemy should discover his Intention it would work a Diversion in the Marquis' Favor — This Letter was sent by the Mail — This was captured in passing thro' Jersey and the Letter fell into the Enemy's hands — Then his whole Design was betrayed with the Weakness of the Marquis — However Preparations went on but the Day for the Assembling the Troops arrived, and the Supplies did not more than fill up the Places of the Sick & Dead thro' the Winter — The General remon-

strated to Congress & the States in vain — His Numbers were not half sufficient to justify an Attack on New York. — He feared, he should become the Derision of the French Army & the Enemy — His Mind ever full of Resources immediately suggested the Plan of taking advantage of the Enemy's Knowledge of his Plans — He wrote to Congress, had a Confidential & secret Committee appointed (of which I was one) immediately assembled the Army (such as it was) in the County of Essex & Morris near New York — Had the large battering Cannon sent on at a heavy Expense from Philadelphia — Erected very large Ovens at Chatham about eleven Miles above Elizabeth Town — Every one was on Tiptoe with the Expectation of soon entering into New York — On the Morning of his intended Departure, about Daylight, he sent for an old Inhabitant of New York, who lived in the Neighborhood and who was suspected of giving Intelligence to the enemy — And put a Number of important Questions to him about the Situation of the Country in & about Middle Town & Sandy Hook in the County of Monmouth where the Man was born & bred — Also as to the state of the Land on the opposite Shore on Long Island — With regard to landing of Troops, Water, &c. alleging that he was fond of knowing the Situation of different Parts of the Country as in the Course of the War he might unexpectedly be called into the Part of the Country — He urged upon him the most pro-

found Secrecy and by no Means to lisp a Word of what had passed between them — In one Hour the Army marched apparently for Princeton, which might be a good Road to Monmouth if a Deception was intended — I happened to be in the Neighborhood of the Army and about ten o'clock called on the Man on whom the General had enjoined so much Secrecy, and to convince me that the Seige of New York was determined & that by the Way of Monmouth & Long Island he told me everything that had passed between him and the General, and I doubt not but that the British Gen^l had it also the same Night. The British never suspected any other Design till they were informed that the American Army had passed the Delaware — Then it was too late — When they arrived at Philadelphia the Army discovered great Discontent at not receiving certain Arrears of Pay long withheld from them — It was thought neither prudent nor safe to proceed without making Pay at least, in Part — Money was also wanted to hire Vessels and other Means to proceed down the Chesapeake Bay — The Treasury was empty — Congress had no Means to raise the Money — Requisitions had been resorted to in vain — In this exigency the vigorous exertions of the Hon^{ble} Robert Morris, the Superintendent of Finances, relieved their Distress — He went out among his merchantile & other Friends and borrowed on his own Responsibility

upwards of 30,000 Dollars which answered every Purpose, and the Army soon appeared before Yorktown.”¹

Stedman, in his “American War,” says:—

“The express carrying the letter written by Washington to Congress after this interview with the French General (Rochambeau in Connecticut) was intercepted in the Jerseys and the letters were carried to Sir Henry Clinton. They disclosed the nature of the enterprise in agitation and seemed to have alarmed them for the safety of New York.² The following is a note in Irving’s ‘Washington,’ from Sparks, 9404: ‘That much trouble was taken and finesse used to misguide and bewilder Sir Henry Clinton in regard to the real object by fictitious communications as well as by making a deceptive provision of ovens, forage, and boats in his neighborhood is certain.’ ”³

Mr. Boudinot further writes:—

“At the siege of Yorktown the French Troops brought out by Count de Grasse were absolutely necessary to complete the line of Circumvallation and perfect the Siege—About 2 days before the capture the Count sent word to Gen^l Washington that he should within 48 hours withdraw those Troops & that he must provide accordingly—

¹ *Reminiscences of Elias Boudinot*, Library of Mr. John Carter Brown.

² Stedman’s *American War*, vol. ii. p. 437.

³ Irving’s *Life of Washington*, vol. iv. p. 338.

This was in effect raising the Seige — General Washington remonstrated against it in vain — He sent the Marquis La Fayette on board the fleet to dissuade Count de Grasse from so ruinous a Measure — He obstinately persisted, and said his orders were positive & not discretionary —

“ General Washington finding nothing but storming the Enemy’s lines would prevent the raising the Seige and that would necessarily occasion the loss of great numbers on both sides to avoid which he fell upon the following Expedient — He sent out Coll. Hamilton with some other Officers with a Flag of Truce, on some business — They were met half way by a number of British Officers — They carried with them something to eat & drink — In Conversation they mentioned to the British Officers their concern for them as gentlemen & soldiers — That the American army had determined to storm their Lines — That the American Soldiery and Country People were so exasperated at the Conduct of the British to the southward, that they could not answer for the Consequences, as they did not think they could be restrained by Authority and Discipline — That they knew General Washington’s humane Temper and his wish to avoid the unnecessary shedding of blood — That in case of a Capitulation the same terms the British troops gave to our troops at Charles Town, with the addition of the officers wearing side Arms & being immediately sent on their parole into New York, they believed might

be obtained — That they did not wish their names to be mentioned, &c. &c. Within a few hours after their return proposals for surrendering or Terms were sent out, and the Capitulation took place — Count de Grasse remained several days (notwithstanding the positive nature of his orders) to enjoy the pleasure of the Surrender, the rejoicings, &c. &c., General Washington then earnestly requested his landing a body of American troops near Eden Town in North Carolina, that the British in that Neighborhood might be surprised — but he absolutely refused, tho' he spent twice the time necessary for the purpose doing nothing before he left the Coast.

“When the messenger brought the News of this Capitulation to Congress, it was necessary to furnish him with hard money for his Expenses — There was not a sufficiency in the Treasury to do it and the Members of Congress of which I was one, each paid a Dollar to accomplish it.

“Before the capture & at the first preparation for the seige before Count de Grasse arrived — General Clinton sent a row Boat well manned with a Confidential Officer along the coast, to get into Yorktown with a Letter to Lord Cornwallis, setting forth his situation and the impossibility of his relieving him with a fleet till a certain day and encouraging him to hold out till that period — The boat was driven on shore somewhere near Egg Harbor & the Crew taken & brought to Philadelphia — One of the men discovered in private, where

they were bound & that the Confidential Letter had been hidden under a certain large Stone on the Shore by the Officers — A person was sent to the Place & brought it to Congress — It was in Cipher and after some trouble it was discovered to be in three different Cyphers — However it was deciphered by a Mr. Lovell, a Member of Congress from Boston, after about two days' labor — The original letter was carefully returned to the Stone or some means used so that it finally got to Lord Cornwallis, but not before Count de Grasse' arrival and having the copy fairly translated — By this means W. was enabled to counteract all their intended measures"¹ —

Mr. Boudinot, as president of Congress, in his official letter to De Grasse compliments and eulogizes him on the efficient aid rendered by him and the French fleet at Yorktown. Doubtless with sincerity, but in his strictures as to all that took place during the siege he but reflects the feeling prevalent at the time, as the facts became known.

He was one of the committee in Congress that reported on the letters received from Washington, dated respectively, Headquarters, October 16 and 19; consequently he was perfectly well informed on the subject. His intimacy with Hamilton and Washington would have rendered him conversant with details not made public, and which at the time and under the circumstances, from Wash-

¹ *Reminiscences of Elias Boudinot*, Library of Mr. John Carter Brown.

ington's patriotic point of view, would have been worse than useless; however, they add now to the lustre of the great luminary whose noble nature was undaunted amid the thousand anxieties that beset him, one of the greatest of these being his desire to promote and maintain good feeling between the allied forces.

The instance related above of De Grasse is in character with his actions, as shown by his intentions of sailing away to the northward and frustrating Washington's whole design,¹ and his further vacillating purposes when urged by Washington to aid in the capture of Charleston; or failing to coöperate in that, to at least convey troops to Greene; refusing to do the first, but promising to accomplish the latter, then withdrawing that promise: the importance of such co-operation at that juncture may be judged by Washington's letter to him.

TO COUNT DE GRASSE.

HEAD-QUARTERS Oct. 20th 1781.

SIR: —

The surrender of York, from which so great glory and advantage are derived to the allies, and the honor of which belongs to your Excellency has greatly anticipated our most sanguine expectations. Certain of this event, under your auspices, though unable to determine the time, I solicited your attention, in the first conference with which you honored me, to ulterior objects

¹ See Marshall's *Washington*, vol. iv. p. 479.

of decisive importance to the common cause. Although your answer on that occasion was unfavorable to my wishes, the unexpected promptness, with which our operations here have been conducted to their final success, having gained us time, the defect of which was one of your principal objections, a conviction of the most extensive and happy consequences, engages me to renew my representation. Charleston, the principal maritime port of the British in the Southern parts of the continent, the grand deposit and point of support for the present theatre of the war, is open to a combined attack, and might be carried with as much certainty, as the place which has just surrendered. This capture would destroy the last hope which induces the enemy to continue the war; for, having experienced the impracticability of recovering the populous northern States, they have determined to confine themselves to the defensive in that quarter, and prosecute a most vigorous offensive at the southward, with a view of reconquering States whose sparse population and natural disadvantages render them infinitely less susceptible of defence, although their productions make them the most valuable in a commercial view. Their general naval superiority, previous to your arrival, gave them decisive advantages in the rapid transport of their troops and supplies, while the immense land marches of our succours, too tardy and expensive in every point of view, subjected us to be beaten in detail.

It will depend upon your Excellency, therefore, to terminate the war, and enable the allies to dictate the law in a treaty. A campaign so glorious and so fertile in consequences could be reserved only for the Count De Grasse. It rarely happens, that such a combination of means, as are in our hands at present, can be seasonably obtained by the most strenuous human exertions; a decisively superior fleet, the fortune and talents of whose commander overawe all the naval force, that the most strenuous efforts of the enemy have been able to collect; an army flushed with success, demanding only to be conducted to new attacks; and the very season which is proper for operating against the points in question.

If, upon entering into the detail of this expedition, your Excellency should determine it impracticable, there is an object, which, though subordinate to that above mentioned, is of capital importance to our southern operations, and may be effected at infinitely less expense; I mean the enemy's post at Wilmington in North Carolina. Circumstances require that I should at this period reinforce the southern army under General Greene. This reinforcement, transported by sea under your convoy, would enable us to carry the post in question with very little difficulty, and would wrest from the British a point of support in North Carolina, which is attended with the most dangerous consequences to us, and liberate another State. This object would require nothing

more than the convoy of your fleet to the point of operation, and the protection of the debarkation.

I entreat your Excellency's attention to the points, which I have the honor of laying before you, and that you will be pleased at the same time to inform me what are your dispositions for a maritime force to be left on the American station.

I have the honor to be, &c.¹

De Grasse said in his letter to Lafayette that he could not remain in our waters beyond the 8th of November, but he sailed with his fleet on November 4, fifteen days after the surrender, which took place on October 19.

Lafayette says in his narrative given to Jared Sparks at La Grange, November, 1828, that when he refused to storm Yorktown at the request of De Grasse, considering that it would result in an unnecessary loss of life, and knowing of the advance of the commander-in-chief, De Grasse insisted that it was to their interest and glory to make the assault. Lafayette "had a difficulty to induce him to remain." As soon as the capitulation was over, Lafayette went on board to De Grasse and proposed to him to sail immediately to Charleston, and take with him forces, and coöperate with Greene, and capture Charleston;

¹ Jared Sparks' *Washington's Writings*; see Lee's *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department*; Irving's *Life of Washington*; Stedman's *American War*; Marshall's *Life of Washington*; Ford's *Washington Letters*.

Lafayette would command the American forces. De Grasse declined, stating that it was necessary for him to proceed to the West Indies. When Cornwallis saw Lafayette going off the vessel, he said to some of his officers, "He is now for Charleston, and they will certainly succeed against that place."

"Lafayette is sure that nothing would have been more easy had not de Grasse obstinately defeated the project; Naval officers are always impatient to be on their own element and never contented to act in concert with land forces."¹

Lafayette was heart and soul an American patriot, De Grasse, serving the French king, our ally, but whose ministers were none too anxious to see us become powerfully independent, and especially at that juncture independent of them.

¹ See Sparks MSS. in Harvard College Library.

CHAPTER XIII.

Lord Cornwallis' cruelty. — Motion by Mr. Middleton in Congress. — Debates thereon. — Letters to Mr. Elisha Boudinot. — Count de Grasse takes St. Kitts. — Little prospect of peace. — Measure adopted by England. — Distress at the inactivity of states. — Intelligence from St. Croix. — Surrender of Brimstone Hill. — Compares French and English principles of war. — Captain Huddy hanged. — Retaliation. — Case of Captain Asgill, son of Sir Charles. — Congress orders his execution. — Earnest debate. — Letters from the commander-in-chief, king and queen of France and Lady Asgill. — Life of Captain Asgill given to king of France. — False accounts allowed by Asgill. — Sir Archibald Campbell, benevolent and honorable. — Letter from De Vergennes to General Washington. — Washington's reply. — Mr. Boudinot to his daughter. — Advice. — Commercial misfortunes of the capital. — French nobility lose their finery. — To Governor Livingston; writes for Legislature's instructions on New Hampshire grants. — To his daughter, on her "launching into life."

MR. BOUDINOT writes: —

"Lord Cornwallis while commanding in South Carolina had behaved with great Cruelty to the Citizens, in the Opinion of the Delegates from that State, and was specially charged with the murder of Coll Hamis under pretext of Marshal Law — This enraged the Gentlemen from the southward & particularly a Mr. Middleton and soon after Lord Cornwallis Capture, a Motion was made in Congress that Gen^l Washington should cause his Lordship to be executed in retaliation of Coll Hamis and other Cruelties committed by him — This Motion was strongly advocated by a very large Party in the House, and the

Prospect of its Success greatly alarmed many moderate Members of Congress — Mr. Duane & myself opposed it with all our Powers, as contrary to all good faith, having entered into a Capitulation with him, after the Facts committed & having Knowledge of them — That it would expose our Commander in Chief to the Necessity of resigning his Command or forfeiting his Honor & reputation &c. &c. &c. — The Debate continued several Days and with great Difficulty we succeeded in putting a Negative on it by a small Majority.”¹

The “Journal of Congress,” October 25, 1781, has the following motion by Mr. Middleton, seconded by Mr. Motte: “That general Washington be directed to detain Earl Cornwallis and the officers captured in the garrison of York and Gloucester until the further order of Congress.”

On 20th February of 1782, he writes to his brother from Philadelphia: —

“We have lately been advised that Count de Grasse has taken possession of St. Kitts. The Garrison have taken to the Fortress on Brimstone Hill. It is supposed the Enemy must have capitulated before this — We are also informed that a large Spanish Fleet consisting of 41 Ships of the Line 16 Frigates & 4000 men have sailed from Cadiz 19 Ships of the Line & 15000 men from Brest both to join in the latitude of Madaira I imagine the Truth is, that 19 Ships from France

¹ *Reminiscences of Elias Boudinot*, Library of Mr. John Carter Brown.

& 15000 men are actually sailed for the West Indies. That 4000 men & 4 men of War have sailed for the same purpose from Cadiz — That these last have been escorted to a certain Latitude by the Grand Fleet of Spain. There is not the least prospect of Peace or scarcely a probability of it — on the other hand every measure is adopting in England to send over a large body of Hanoverians & some English Regulars early in the Spring. The Comr in chief expects the next campaign is to be the most important of any that has been or will be in America this war — Alas! we are distressed with the languor & Inactivity of the States — All that can be done by Congress, has been, to rouse them from their Lethargy — but all is treated as matter of course. We have no official Information of any spirited measure taken by any State in the Union, equal to the necessity of the Times — The reductions of the Line of the army in point of numbers are distressing — My cash is all gone — I most earnestly wish you could get some for me from Copperthwait¹ — I can get none from the State The expense here is immoderate” —

And again on the 26th, he writes: “ We have not the most distant prospect of Peace. I am advised this moment that a vessel from St. Croix brings Intelligence of the Surrender of Brimstone Hill & that 3 English Ships of the Line are sunk

¹ (Copperthwait was a debtor.)

& one French” On March 19: “I can only deal in generals — Everything on the other side of the Water looks favourable — We shall not be deserted there — No hopes of Peace from any quarter — Britain talks of changing the War from an internal to a Naval War — The Minority have a vain hope that if they withdraw their Troops, that we will submit even yet to the dominion of the King of Britain — We have been amused with a vague report of the evacuation of Charles Town on the 24th Feby but I believe without foundation in Truth — The capitulation of Brimstone Hill is arrived — The French seem to be anxious to reduce the Rules of War to some consistency with the Principles of Benevolence. The English Islands will be almost tempted to submit to the Gallic Power to obtain a happier state than ever the British Government allows them — The Island of St. Kitts now enjoys a right of Trade to all the World both Friend & Foe”

Writing further to his brother on the subject of engaging some trustworthy person on the public business, he adds: “I could venture some expense out of my own pockett for so special a public service”¹ —

In spite of his convictions regarding the peace, he had the pleasure of signing the treaty to that effect in the following year.

¹ From family letters.

MR. BOUDINOT TO MR. ELISHA BOUDINOT.

PHILADELPHIA Feb. 26, 1782.

MY DEAR BROTHER

I have communicated the contents of your letter to the Virginia Delegates, who desire me to return you their acknowledgments for your services. M^r Griffin is in this Town & will be informed of it immediately — The rest is sent by Post to Virginia & will require two Months before you can get an answer —

We have not the most distant prospect of Peace, but the Vigorous campagne on the part of the Enemy is in view — I wish I could say as much of the United States — I am fully of opinion that England will draw out their resources to the utmost, and if there is any vigor in the british Lion yet left, we shall now see it.

The South Carolina, a State Frigate lately arrived from Spain at the Havana, carried in with her five valuable Jamaica Men — So that impoverished State will in a great measure be reimbursed for part of their enormous Expense attending that vessel.

Love to your self & little family in which your Sister & Susan join

Am with great affection

my D^r Brother

Yours Affe^{ly}

E B.

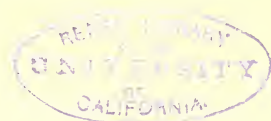
It may happen that I may want the most con-

fidential Person for a certain old Business — I wish you would turn your attention to this Business — I could wish two or three, one to be stationary over the Water — The best pay wont be wanting¹ —

Mr. Boudinot writes: —

“ In the year 1782 Governor Franklin at the Head of the Refugees sent out a party of Refugees into the County of Monmouth New Jersey & took a Capt. Huddy Prisoner — By their particular Orders he was hanged in a very insulting and cruel Manner, under pretence of Retaliation, for a Person who was shot in the Act of running away from his Guard — This made a great Noise in our Camp & throughout the States — Genl Washington saw the necessity of not suffering so great an Act of Barbarity contrary to all the Rules of civilized Warfare, to pass unnoticed — He therefore sent immediate Orders to Lancaster where a Number of British Officers (Prisoners) were kept, to draw Lots for one who should be made an Example of, by being hanged in retaliation for Huddy, unless he obtained full Satisfaction, by the Enemy's sending out the Author of the inhuman Act — Notice of this was given to Congress who readily approved the Measure — Notice was also given to the British Commander in New York — The Lot was drawn & it fell on Capt. Asgill, Son of Sir Charles Asgill — He was

¹ From family letters.



accordingly sent to Genl Washington at Morris Town — A number of Officers of his Corps attended him who were allowed to remonstrate to their General — The British immediately ordered the Officer commanding the Party to be arrested and tryed by a Court-martial, notice of this was formally given to Genl Washington with a Request that Asgill's Execution might be delayed till the Determination of the Court-martial was known — The Sitting of the Court was drawn out to a great length, when finally the Prisoner was found guilty of Murder with Malice pretense — And a Copy of the Proceedings was sent to Genl Washington & by him to Congress — It clearly appeared from the Testimony that the Prisoner acted under Orders from the Board of Refugees, of which Gov^r Franklin was President, and that tho' the Prisoner might be entitled to the Acquittal, that yet Govr Franklin was the Culprit & should have been punished.

“ Congress took the Matter under full Consideration, during which Genl Sir Guy Carlton arrived at New York with the title of Commander in Chief & the preliminary Articles of Peace were announced — Genl Washington then wrote to Congress that he had first proposed the Retaliation on Capt. Asgill as an Act of Mercy on the Whole, to put a Stop to the Enemy destroying the Lives of our Citizens in the Future as they had done in Times past — That he had determined to carry it into Execution, not being satis-

fied with the Result of the Court-martial — But that unexpectedly the preliminary Articles of Peace had wholly changed the Ground — The Execution of an innocent Person ought to have an Object in view to prevent the unnecessary shedding of Blood — That the Example now could not have any Effect as there would be nothing for it to operate upon &c. &c. That therefore he should stay the Execution of Capt. Asgill without an express Order from Congress to the Contrary —

“A very large Majority of Congress were determined on his Execution, and a Motion was made for a Resolution positively ordering the immediate Execution — Mr. Duane & myself considering the Reasons assigned by the Commander in Chief conclusive, made all the Opposition in our Power — We urged every Argument that the Peculiarity of the Case suggested, and spent three Days in warm Debate, during which more ill Blood appeared in the House, than I had seen — Near the close of the third Day, when every Argument was exhausted, without any appearance of Success, the Matter was brought to a Close, by the Question being ordered to be taken — I again rose and told the House, that in so important a Case, where the Life of an innocent Person was concerned, we had (tho' in a small Minority) exerted ourselves to the utmost of our Power — We had acquitted our Consciences and washed our Hands clean from the Blood of that young Man — That we saw his

Fate was sealed — That we had nothing to do but request that the Proceedings should appear without Doors, as being equal to the Occasion, and the World should know that we had conducted the Measure with a serious Solemnity — That great warmth had been occasioned — Some harsh Language had taken Place — The Minds of Gentⁿ had been irritated — I therefore moved that the Question should be put off till the next Morning, on the Minority giving their Words, that they would not say another Word on the Subject, but the Question should be taken in the first Place, after the Meeting as of course — This was unanimously agreed to —

“ The next Morning as soon as the Minutes were read, the President announced a Letter from the Commander in Chief — On its being read, he stated the rec't of a Letter from the King and Queen of France inclosing one from Mrs. Asgill the Mother of Capt. Asgill to the Queen, that on the Whole was enough to move the Heart of a Savage — The Substance was asking the Life of young Asgill — This operated like an electrical Shock — Each Member looking on his Neighbor, in Surprise, as if saying here is unfair Play — It was suspected to be some Scheme of the Minority — The President was interrogated The Cover of the Letters was called for — The General's Signature was examined — In Short, it looked so much like something supernatural that even the Minority, who were so much pleased with it, could

scarcely think it real — After being fully convinced of the integrity of the Transaction a Motion was made that the Life of Capt. Asgill should be given as a Compliment to the King of France — This was unanimously carried on which it was moved that the Commander in Chief should remand Capt. Asgill to his Quarters at Lancaster — To this I objected — That as we considered Capt. Asgill's Life as forfeited, & we had given him to the King of France, he was now a free Man, and therefore I moved that he should be immediately returned into New York, without Exchange — This also was unanimously adopted, and thus we got clear of shedding innocent Blood, by a wonderful Interposition of Providence.

“Capt. Asgill soon sailed for England, and on his Arrival, he behaved without any sense of Obligation for his Escape by suffering the most false and injurious acc's of his Liberation to be published in all their Newspapers without an attempt to contradict them — Indeed I found generally, that the British Officers did not think themselves bound to keep their Word or perform Acts of common Gratitude & Generosity with Rebels — In this Charge I refer to those who were Prisoners with us, but I must here except Coll afterwards Sir Archibald Campbell, who behaved in every instance as a man of strict Honor & unbounded Benevolence, tho' treated by us, thro' a mistake, the worst of any Prisoner during the War¹” —

¹ *Reminiscences of Elias Boudinot*, Library of Mr. John Carter Brown.

COUNT DE VERGENNES WRITES TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

VERSAILLES 29th July 1782

— I have the honor to enclose to your Excellency a copy of a letter which Lady Asgill has just written to me. . . . Your Excellency will not read this letter without being extremely effected; It had that effect upon the King and Queen, to whom I communicated it — The goodness of their Majesties' hearts induces them to desire, that the inquietudes of an unfortunate Mother may be calmed and her tenderness reassured.

. . . There is one consideration, Sir, which, though it is not decisive, may have an influence on your resolutions — Capt Asgill is doubtless your prisoner, but he is among those whom the Arms of the King contributed to put into your hands at Yorktown, although this circumstance does not act as a safeguard, it however justifies the interest I permit myself to take in this affair — If it is in your power, Sir, to consider and have regard to it, you will do what is agreeable to their Majesties

Genl Washington had taken this view & called attention to the fact that Capt Asgill was a capitulation Officer — He had also written a private letter to Duane complaining bitterly of the delay of Congress in this matter and their not sending him their decision & further instructions regarding his action.¹

¹ Jared Sparks's Washington writings, vol. viii. p. 550 (Appendix).

Washington in his reply to Count de Vergennes says:—

“After I had the honor of receiving your Excellency’s letter of the 29th July I lost not a moment in transmitting it to Congress—What would otherwise have been the determination of that honourable body I will not undertake to say but I think I may undertake to assure your Excellency, that your generous interposition had no small degree of weight in procuring that decision in favour of Capt Asgill.”

MR. BOUDINOT TO HIS DAUGHTER.

PHILADELPHIA Oct. 2^d 1782.

MY DEAR SUSAN

Altho’ I have not rec^d any answer to mine by Martin, yet yours of the 21st Ultimo gave me great Pleasure as it convinced me that you had it in contemplation to keep up a correspondence with your Fond Father—I hope the long Jaunt you have had to Rareton, will enable you to devote a proper Portion of your Time now, to useful Improvement; Nothing but the want of health should prevent your close application to cultivate your understanding Remember you have yet a great deal to do and but a short time to do it in—Make it a rule to gain some useful knowledge every Day and your stock will then properly increase—Do not neglect your writing, in which I include spelling—This art is only to be gained by Practice: The best Precepts in the World

would be in vain without it and in every sense of the words in this instance "Practice makes Perfect" —

I sent you by Dickey two Pounds of Powder — I now forward by M^r Martin a book M^r B. promised — .

There is nothing new in the gay World — The commercial misfortunes of the Capital moderates the Extravagance of the City greatly — There are a great number of the French Nobility here, but they also received a check by the Loss of all their finery in the Frigate that was taken at the Capes

M^{rs} & Miss Moore ask very kindly after you & your Mama, M^r Rush & family — M^{rs} Rush & Miss Beckey all send love &c.

Am my dearest child with sweetest Love & Esteem

your most Affec^t Father

BOUDINOT.¹

The Newspaper enclosed is for your particular attention.

Miss BOUDINOT
Baskinridge

MR. BOUDINOT TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR LIVINGSTON.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct^r 23^d 1782.

DEAR SIR

I have long been of opinion that in all great Questions, which are agitated in Congress, especially relating to domestic Concerns, the Delegates

¹ Family letters.

from each State should consult their respective Constituents, when it may easily be done, at least as to general Principles — The Legislature being now met, I must beg leave, through your Excellency, to state to them the leading facts of a very important and interesting Question now under the Consideration of Congress, and which is set down for determination on Wednesday next; on which I hope for the Legislatures Instructions, on such general Principles as will necessarily lead to the final determination — The dispute I refer to, is that of the People on the New Hampshire Grants, calling themselves the State of Vermont — When I took my seat in Congress, I found this Controversy on the Table of Congress, having been submitted to their Determination previous to the Confederation, by the States of New Hampshire & New York, and the People stiling themselves the State of Vermont, on the principles of the Confederation then in an incomplete, unfinished state — A hearing was thereupon had before Congress, when the States of New Hampshire & New York produced many documents in support of their different claims (Massachusetts one of the claiming States, not attending but agreeing to relinquish their Right, provided the district was made an independent State) the first founded on this Territory being within their Purchase under the Plymouth Company, & long possessed by them — the second adding to a continual Claim the determination of the King in

Council in the year 1764 in their favour founded on the Patent to the Duke of York — The People of Vermont urged their having been several years independent de facto and in the exercise of sovereign Power protested ag^t any Power in the World interfering with it and insisted that their Boundaries only were submitted to the determination of Congress. — Thus the Business stood undetermined, when we were informed that Vermont had extended her Claim & Jurisdiction Eastward into New Hampshire, where 51 Towns had voluntarily submitted to her Authority; and to the Westward, she extended quite to the North River — That the People were defending themselves ag^t the States of New Hampshire & New York by force of arms — Soon after, we rec^d authentic Intelligence that some leading People in Vermont had met Commissioners from General Haldiman, with whom Terms had been agreed on, for a Submission to Great Britain — That these Terms had been sent to the Commissioners for Peace &c at New York for their Ratification, and by them to England for Instructions — That General Clinton laid great Stress on this Measure and had expressed Hopes thereby to conquer the Northern States —

The peculiar Circumstances of this People and the danger of a civill war among ourselves, at a Time when we found difficulty enough, in carrying on the war ag^t the Common Enemy; led Congress to leave the Ground on which the dis-

pute, as submitted to them, then stood; and considering themselves the Guardians of the general Interests of the United States, and in duty bound to prevent every Injury to the union and particularly such as threatened their Existence as a Nation, took the matter up, in a general & extensive View & with the Consent of Nine States, passed the Resolutions of the 7th & 20th of August 1781 — The People of Vermont were then met in general Assembly, including representatives from the Eastern and Western Incroachments — These together imprudently rejected the Terms proposed by Congress in those resolutions But soon after, before any farther Steps taken by Congress, their Assembly again met, and by a public Act, relinquished & disclaimed those Incroachments, thereby complying with the Terms proposed and immediately forwarded delegates to Congress —

A Committee was accordingly appointed to Confer with these Delegates or Commissioners, who reported to Congress, as appears by the Journals; but no determination on this report could be obtained, it being alleged that Congress was not bound by the s^d resolutions of August, and New York solemnly protested ag^t the Power of Congress to determine otherwise than agreeable to & under the Submission, which also appears on the Journals — Your Excellency will see the reports and Acts of Congress on the printed Journals, I left with the House last Fall — The great Questions necessary for the Consideration of Congress, I consider will be

1st On the Submission of the s^d States, ought Congress to determine, any part of a former Colony (who have separated from the same, at the beginning of the revolution, and are in the actual Exercise of an independent Sovereignty *de facto*) to be independent *de Jure* and receive them into the Union as a fourteenth State —

2^d Can Congress as sovereign Guardians of the United States, when they conceive the general Safety of the common Cause shall require it, receive into the Union as a separate State, any Territory & People in the actual Possession of Sovereignty & Independence *de facto*, without examining into & determining the Right & Title of such People *de Jure* —

3^d In the present State & Circumstances of the People styling themselves the State of Vermont, ought Congress to receive them into the Union, as an independent State agreeable to the resolves of 7th & 20th August 1781 —

4th In case Congress shall refuse to receive them (as is most likely) ought the Delegates of New Jersey to agree to the sending the Continental Army or a sufficient part thereof, in the s^d Territory, to subdue the Inhabitants to the obedience & Subjection of the State or States that claim their allegiance —

In the past altercations on these subjects, your Delegates have generally considered the Congress as Sovereign Guardians of the whole Union, and that they ought to prefer the general Good to every private Interest of a particular State.

That the shedding the Blood of our Citizens, and all civill war among ourselves, at so critical a period, should be strenuously avoided — That a sovereignty & Independence *de facto* was a sufficient reason under the Circumstances for Congress to admit into the Union, without examining into the Right *de Jure*, agreeable to the strong reasoning of his most Christian Majesty, in his answer to the Justificative Memorial of the King of Great Brittain, sent herewith —

If your delegates have acted contrary to the Opinion of their Constituents, they wish to be set right, while it is in their Power to prevent any evill Consequences arising from it — We have reason to believe, that the Matter will certainly be brought on, on Wednesday next —

I have two reasons for pressing the Sentiments of the Legislature on this subject — 1st It has been asserted, that we have been acting contrary to the Opinion of our State — 2^{dly} I claim 1000 Acres of Land, in this Territory under the Titles of New Hampshire & New York both, and altho I consider them as of but very trifling Value, yet it may hereafter be objected, that I was influenced by considerations, which I hope ever to despise —

Your Excellency by laying this Letter before the Legislature, and communicating their Sentiments will much oblige me —

I have also another Matter relative to the Interest of the State, to lay before the Legislature, that I think worthy their Notice — The

united States are looking forward to the calling in the Quota's of the States, of the Continental money—An alarm has gone forth, that the State of Massachusetts has in their Treasury so large a Portion of this Paper, that some of the deficiency States will be obliged to purchase of her at a high rate — I have lately discovered that Connecticut has sent an Express Messenger to Virginia & purchased a Sum equal to her deficiency at a very low Rate indeed — If our State has not made up her Quota, it would certainly be a prudent step to appoint some Person to purchase the sum wanting without delay — It can be now had in Virginia, at 5 or 600 for one — It is my Duty to make this Communication, the Legislature will make such use of it, as they may think convenient — I have the honor to be with great respect & Esteem

Your Excellency's

Most Obed. Hble Servt

ELIAS BOUDINOT

His Excellency Governor LIVINGSTON.

This letter was to go by Mr Condit, but he left Town without acquainting me with it¹ —

MR. BOUDINOT TO HIS DAUGHTER.

PHILADELPHIA Oct^r 30th 1782.

MY DEAREST SUSAN

Your letter of the 19th lies unanswered altho' I am still a letter ahead of you, but as it is said in

¹ Original in collection of General Stryker, Trenton, N. J.; copy in Pennsylvania Historical Society.,

an invaluable Book of Antiquity, that, the Elder shall serve the Younger, perhaps you may think it right that I should go on laying you in debt—

I propose this letter as a serious one— I have for some time past been led by circumstances to reflect more seriously on the prospect of your launching into life and leaving your Father's Roof, as well as his immediate protection & Guardianship— I have reflected how far I have done my Duty in executing the Trust committed to me, by the great Governor of the Universe in your Education— in a proper Provision for you in Life— in preparing you for usefulness in whatever station it may please God to call you—and laying a rational foundation by the aid of Divine Grace for your enjoyment of a glorious & happy Immortality in the Life to come— Through the unmerited Blessing of a kind Providence, I cannot blame myself greatly for any deficiency in your education & Provision for Life— Nature wants but little and not that little long— I have confidence in you, that if you make good use of and continue improving those Abilities & that knowledge you now possess, your usefulness in this Life under God may be of some importance to your fellow Creatures. But my dear child all these are but secondary objects— How stands it as to your preparation for and hope in the prospects of a joyful Immortality . . . May the God of your Parents for many generations past seal Instruction to your soul & lead you to himself thro' the Blood

of his too generally dispised Son who notwithstanding is still reclaiming the World to God thro' that Blood, not imputing to them their sins, to him be Glory for ever —

I have wrote this in Congress amidst a warm debate to which I have been obliged to attend at the same time, therefore you must make the necessary corrections yourself —

My kind love to all who think it worth while to enquire after me

Am my dearest Susan

Your Very Aff^d Father

ELIAS BOUDINOT

Miss BOUDINOT

This is a very long and earnest letter, much of which has been omitted for lack of space, and his anxiety for his daughter and desire to entirely fulfil his duty causes him to pursue the subject in two letters which followed.

¹ Family letters.

CHAPTER XIV.

Mr. Boudinot to Mrs. Boudinot, on taking the President's chair. — Directions for settling their affairs, and what to bring. — Anxious for her arrival. — To Hon. John Hanson, Esq. — To his brother; congratulations. — To Mrs. Boudinot; when to start for Philadelphia. — Reports of Committee on Household Expenses of President. — To Mr. Robert Morris regarding coach. — To Gen. Washington; his pleasure in corresponding; honored by congratulations; Osgood's deposition. — To Hon. George Read; presents commission as Judge of Court of Appeals. — To Governor of Rhode Island; duty on imports; sends deputation to explain situation; propose to procure loans abroad. — To General Washington; letters from agent at Cadiz; evacuation of Charleston; incloses letter to Thomas Chittendon, Esq., with resolutions of Congress; embarkation from New York. — To Hon. John Lowell, Esq., inclosing commission as judge.

MR. BOUDINOT TO MRS. BOUDINOT.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov 4th
1782

MY DEAREST LOVE

What shall I say, or how shall I reconcile my beloved Wife to the changeable conduct of her most affectionate Husband — The things of this World are as uncertain as the Wind — not to be depended on for a moment — I have been pleasing myself with the approaching Enjoyment of my dear Wife & Family in domestic Retirement during the coming Winter — But Providence has otherwise determined for us — This moment I have accepted the President's chair of Congress, not without a trembling hand — The confusion of my affairs and the total derangement of all my

Plans and indeed the great loss & Expense that must ensue to me in my circumstances with the difficulties that will necessarily devolve on you, have not been unthought of by me — They have rushed into my mind in thick succession — But these reflections even are now in vain — The ways of Providence are in the great Deep — I write this in a hurry that I may improve an opportunity to Princeton to be forwarded by Express to you for the first Intelligence of it — Lose not a moment Begin immediately to arrange your affairs — You must be here without delay — The arrangement & disposition of my affairs all must fall on you — God only knows how you are to manage with them or get through them — M^r Pintard must help you

Ever my dearest Love

Yours as always

ELIAS BOUDINOT¹

M^{rs} BOUDINOT —

He writes to his wife on Oct. 22, 1782:—

“ I rejoice that the time is drawing nigh in which I hope to be permitted once more to revisit my humble but beloved cottage — My affection is not placed on it because it is really a cottage² & my own but because it contains the most precious earthly comforts with which a gracious God has blessed me.” But in two weeks time, he says: “ I have wrote you in the hurry & confusion of the Times, twice since Monday Morning ” (being

¹ Family letters.

² This was the cottage at Baskinridge.

the date of his election as president) "I therefore need not repeat the important Transactions of that Day — Suffice it to say, that every day will appear a week till you come here — The Office I now fill — your Friends — The Season of the year, and what I hope will have its weight, your affectionate Husband — all require you to make no delay — I am conscious this is a heavy task, and how you are to execute it I know not — God only knows who can & will help you." There follows advice as to arrangements for settling the household and family to be left behind, what servants, furniture, horses, etc., to bring. "Phillis and Prince are to come, Lane and the plate;" a wagon is to be loaded and sent with "Josey," — she and "Sukey" "to come to Princeton in the chair," "Escorted by one of your Gallants where I will send the coach or perhaps a Phaeton to transport you to the most welcome Place you will meet with in this world, I mean the arms & Heart of your affectionate Husband" ¹

THE HONORABLE JOHN HANSON, ESQ., LATE PRESIDENT
OF CONGRESS.

PHILADELPHIA November 5th 1782.

DEAR SIR

It gives me real pleasure, that among the first duties of my office, I am honoured with the agreeable commands of Congress, to communicate their unanimous vote of Thanks, for your valu-

¹ From family letters.

able and important services, while in the chair of Congress.

Be assured Sir, that you can only form an Idea of the satisfaction I enjoy on this occasion, by consulting your own feelings on receiving this grateful and honourable testimony of your Country's approbation.

I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of respect and esteem,

Sir, Your &c.

ELIAS BOUDINOT ¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO MR. ELISHA BOUDINOT.

PHILADELPHIA Nov. 14th 1782.

MY DEAR BROTHER

Your affectionate letter of yesterday has been just handed me — I accept your congratulations with Pleasure and earnestly pray to God that I may go through my year to the advantage of my country & be so happy as to retire to private life at the end of it & with the pleasing reflection that American Independence was finally established in the year 1783 by an unequivocal, honorable & lasting Peace . . . It is very late and I can only add that I should have been very glad to have seen you My kind love to M^r & M^{rs} Smith Sister & all the family

Am my dear Brother

Yours affect^{ly}

ELIAS BOUDINOT ²

ELISHA BOUDINOT Esq^r

¹ Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 16, p. 156, MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

² Family letters.

MR. BOUDINOT TO MRS. BOUDINOT.

PHILADELPHIA Nov. 13th 1782

MY DEAREST LOVE

It is matter of real grief & sorrow to me that I should ever be the cause of a distressing or uneasy Hour to one who I esteem above all the Honors or Riches of this Transitory Life. I feared greatly that the change of Station would not be pleasing, as I was sure the derangement of my affairs and the additional Labor cast on you, would be perplexing — but I remembered and doubt not but you will remember that God has ever been the director of our Path and the Guide of our Ways — It is not the first Time that he has led us in the way which we knew not and set our feet in a Strong Place — We have embarked in his service, and it is our part to see that we do his will and act with a single eye to his Glory and all will be well —

Your affectionate & tender letter was read as usual with a hearty and earnest welcome — M^r Remsen had arrived here the Evening before & returned this Morning — As to directions I cannot collect my Thoughts sufficiently to aid you — In general dispose of those things that you can sell to advantage — The Hay had best be kept & M^r Pintard to sell it towards the Spring — I give 12 £ . p. Ton here & 3 dollars for carting. Let the Stack in M^r Southard's field be first used — as to servants — I have one good negro man & can get

another — Phillis will do better under her Mother than a stranger, bring Jude as a chamber maid — I will enclose a list of the general furniture, which will direct you what to bring — The House is very indifferently furnished and the finances are too low to get any more — I suppose the necessary etceteras for first beginning of the winter such as Wood, Hay, Wine &c. will require at least 1500 dollars — You had best bring one suit of curtains, or perhaps Susan must go without . . . But now as to the grand Point I cannot think of your staying longer than this You must set off on Monday next at farthest I am like a Pelican in the Wilderness — I shall certainly expect you if the weather is good on Tuesday Night — Your brother Sammy is to Squire you from Princeton — I am very anxious for your arrival least the Weather should change yet I am loath to hurry you — I have 30 Gentⁿ to dine with me today — What a figure I cut all alone — My Time & Paper will only admit of assuring you
My dearest Love

E. — B. — ¹

(bring with you all your Plate)

Mrs BOUDINOT

The following gives some insight into the expenses of the president's household, given as written in reports of committees: —

“ The Committee appointed to report a proper allowance for the honourable gentlemen who have

¹ Family letters.

been or may be elected Presidents of Congress to defray the Expenses incidental to the office — having taken the same into consideration beg Leave to report the following Resolution

“ Resolved that a convenient furnished dwelling house be hired and a Stable Carriage & Servants provided at the public expense for the President of Congress for the Time being

“ That the Committee on the Treasury appoint and agree with a Steward who shall have the Superintendence of the household of the President & of the necessary Expenditures & be answerable for such monies as shall from time to time be advanced for the purposes aforesaid

“ That the representation of the late Hon Mr Randolph That the Hon M^r Middleton that the Honor^{bl} M^r Hancock & the Honourable Mr Lawrence formerly Presidents of Congress

“ Be requested to lay before the Board of Treasury accounts of their Expenditures in support of their households while they respectively exercised the Office of President: in order to their being adjusted & paid out of the public Treasury —¹

(Endorsed)

Report of the Committee
on allowance to Presidents
for the incidental Expenses of
that office

Brought in 12 Dec 1778.
passed Dec 16—

¹ Department of State, Washington, Reports of Committees, No. 23, p. 353.

“The Committee to whom was referred the Arrangement of the Presidents House, report the following Resolutions—

“Resolved that the Attendants of the Presidents House consists of one Steward & such others
 as may be found necessary *not exceeding*
 Pass Eight that they be appointed & removed at
 Pleasure by the President of Congress.

“That all sums of money, necessary for
 Pass^d the Expenses of the House, be drawn for
 by the President and paid for by the Steward

“That the Steward keep a regular Ac-
 Pass^d count of all Receipts & Disbursements and
 of Furniture & Utensils broken, lost, or purchased
 & deliver to the Secretary of the President, on
 the first Day of every Month a fair copy thereof¹

(Endorsed)

N^o 3. Report of Comm^{ee} on Arrangement of
 Pres^{ts} Household
 Passed Nov 21st 1781²

1783
 Feby.

By Household Expenses of the
 President of
 Congress, from 2^d Sep. to 31 Dec^r
 1782, including the purchase
 of a Coach, 1 p^r Horses, Har-
 ness, China, Queen's Ware,
 Servants Wages &c. 5,513.60

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Report of Committee, No. 23, p. 355.

² Department of State, Washington, Reports of Committees, No. 23, p. 353.

By R^v Phillips his new account
for the Balance 36.30

(Endorsed).

Expenses of Presd^{ts}
Household.¹

“ The Committee consisting of

“ To whom was referred an application from the President respecting the present deranged state of the Household — submit the following report

“ That as it is inexpedient for the President to keep more than one House at the public Expense such House should be near the Place where Congress sits
and that He write to the Superintendent of Finance to give up the House in which the President lately lived in Philadelphia ²

(Endorsed)

Report of M^r Williamson
M^r Izard
M^r Clarke

On Information of the Pres^t relative to his household

En^d

Read August 11th 1783

Aug^t 14th 1783 postponed sine die ³

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Reports of Committees, No. 23, p. 365.

² MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Reports of Committees, No. 23, p. 357.

³ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Reports of Committees, No. 23, p. 359.

“Resolved . . . that the President take a house proper for his accommodation.”¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO HON. ROBERT MORRIS.

PHILADELPHIA 21st Nov^m 1783

SIR.

I lately informed you that Mr. Hanson had spoke to Mr. Way for a Coach; on Conversing with him on the subject he informed me that if he made it with a Crane Neck and finished it properly he must have 500£ for it, he would do it without delay — a few days afterwards, Information was brought me, that the most elegant Coach in the Town was to be sold much Cheaper than a new one could be now had for; I sent for Mr. Way & prevailed on him to go & Examine it for me; on his return Acknowledged that it was one of his own make, had been used but a few times and exceeded any thing he could now make for want of such materials & it had actually cost him 500£. he consenting

Mr. Hanson when I made Application as a purchaser agreed for it at 300£. including a new sett of Harness & putting on the Publick Arms — I have also agreed for a pair of Horses & wine for the Family both Maderia and Claret — The Payments are to be made in 20 days; I thought it best to give you this early notice of it that you may not be called on unexpectedly for the Money; The whole will be about 600£. If

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Reports of Committees, No. 23, p. 359.

the old Coach was advertised for sale perhaps it would bring 150£. as it has a Crane Neck — I have got the silver from the Treasurer Consisting of knives forks & spoons to the amount near 100 oz but they by no means suit my purpose except the desert spoons (which are only large tea-spoons) & three (?) doz large spoons But as there is neither Tea Pott or Coffee Pott in the House I think they had best be exchanged or sold for those necessary pieces of Plate

I am yours &c.

E. BOUDINOT.¹

The Honorable Rob^t MORRIS Esq^r

MR. BOUDINOT TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL
WASHINGTON.

DEAR SIR

Your Excellencys several favors of the 30th October, 1st and 19th instant which have come to hand since I had the honor of filling the President's Chair, have been duly laid before Congress.

You will believe me, Sir, when I assure you, that the correspondence and communication, which my office necessarily opens with your Excellency, is one among the few special advantages and agreeable engagements, which I promise myself during my continuance in so arduous a station.

I feel myself greatly honoured by your congratulations, and rank them among the few that have given me real pleasure.

¹ Elias Boudinot's letter book.

Altho' the present state of our affairs do not raise my expectations of being able to give your Excellency any intelligence worthy your attention, yet be assured, Sir, as far as it shall be in my power, I shall most freely communicate from time to time, whatever may promise the least information or amusement, hoping for a like return, however it may prove more advantageous or entertaining to me.

Congress having come to a Resolution relative to the several matters in *Osgood's* deposition, your Excellency will receive a copy thereof by this Post. It was generally thought necessary to communicate the reasons of this proceeding to the persons exercising the Executive power in that District; but least a proper secrecy should not have been observed, previous to the arresting of the Delinquents, the time and manner of such communication, is altogether left to your discretion.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of the most sincere respect and esteem

Your Excellencys

Most ob^t Very Hum^{le} Ser^t

E. B.

PHILADELPHIA

Nov 27th 1782¹

¹ Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 16, p. 157, Department of State, Washington.

MR. BOUDINOT TO THE HON. GEORGE READ.

PHILADELPHIA Dec. 6, 1782

SIR.

It gives me very particular satisfaction to have the honor of presenting you the Commission of the United States in Congress assembled, whereby you are Constituted one of the Judges of the Court of Appeals in all Cases of Capture on the Water &c.

Your established Character as a Gentⁿ, Lawyer & Man of Integrity leaves me no room to doubt but this Appointment will do honor to Congress produce the happiest Consequences to the good Citizens of these States and I hope real Satisfaction to yourself from the consciousness of serving your Country with fidelity.

I have the honor to be with every Sentiment of Esteem & Respect

Sir

Your most Obed^t Humble Serv^t

ELIAS BOUDINOT¹

The Honble GEO READ Esq.

HIS EXCELLENCY, THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF
RHODE ISLAND.

PHILADELPHIA, December 11th 1782.

SIR

Congress are equally affected and alarmed, by the information they have received, that the Legislature of your State, at their last meeting, have refused their concurrence in the establishment of

¹ Pennsylvania Historical Society.

a duty upon Imports. They consider this measure as so indispensable to the prosecution of the War that a sense of duty, and regard to the common safety, compel them to renew their efforts to engage a compliance with it, and in this view, they have determined to send a Deputation of three of their members to your State, as expressed in the enclosed Resolution. The gentlemen they have appointed will be able to lay before you a full and just representation of the public affairs, from which they flatter themselves will result a conviction of the propriety of their solicitude upon the present occasion. Convinced by past experience of the zeal and patriotism of the State of Rhode Island, they cannot doubt that it will yield to those urgent considerations which flow from a knowledge of our true situation

They will only briefly observe, that the increasing discontents of the army, the loud clamours of the public creditors, and the extreme disproportion between the current supplies and the demands of the public service, are so many invincible arguments for the fund recommended by Congress. They feel themselves unable to devise any other that will be more efficacious, less exceptionable or more generally agreeable; and if this is rejected, they anticipate calamities of a most menacing nature, with the consolation however, that they have faithfully discharged their trust, and that the mischief which may follow, cannot be attributed to them.

A principal object of the proposed fund is to procure loans abroad. If no security can be held out to Lenders the success of these must necessarily be very limited. The last accounts upon the subject were not flattering, and when intelligence shall arise in Europe that the State of Rhode Island has disagreed to the only fund, which has yet been devised, there is every reason to apprehend it will have a fatal influence on their future progress. Deprived of this resource our affairs must, in all probability, rapidly hasten to a dangerous crisis, and those states be involved in greater embarrassments than they have yet experienced, and from which it may be much more difficult to emerge.

Congress will only add a request to your Excellency that if the Legislature should not be sitting, it may be called together as speedily as possible to enable the Gentlemen whom they have deputed to perform the purpose of their mission.

I have the honor to be, with sentiments of high respect and esteem

Your Excellency's &c.

E. B.¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL
WASHINGTON.

Dec. 11, 1782.

DEAR SIR;

I am to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's polite letter of the 4th instant, and am

¹ Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 16, p. 164, MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

much obliged by the intelligence it contained. We have since received letters from our Agent Mr. Harrison at Cadiz, a copy of which I enclose.

By a letter from Gen^l Greene of the 11th of November, we are informed "that the evacuation of Charles Town will not take place till the 20th or 21st. The enemy are in readiness to embark and have got Transports sufficient to carry them off; but it is said they are waiting for Admiral Pigot to convoy them to the West Indies."

I have the honor of enclosing a letter directed to Thomas Chittendon, Esquire, at Bennington. It contains Resolutions of Congress, which it is their wish your Excellency could forward as directed by some trusty Hand, who will take a receipt of the delivery, which may be returned to Congress. For your Excellency's information only, I also inclose a copy of the Resolutions referred to.

By some private advices from New York it is said that an embarkation of 5000 Men for the West Indies is taking place in that City.

I have the honor to be &c. &c.

E.(LIAS) B(ODINOT)¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO THE HON. JOHN LOWELL, ESQ.

PHILADELPHIA 11 Dec 1782

DEAR SIR

To perform the duty of a first servant of our country by presenting her confidential honors as

¹ Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 16, p. 161, MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

the reward of merit, is undoubtedly very pleasing to every generous mind; but when the feelings of private friendship are at the same time highly gratified in so important a service, the reward is great indeed. With these sentiments permit me, Sir, to present the enclosed commission, by which you are appointed one of the Judges of the Court of Appeals, and most cordially to congratulate you on this instance of the high esteem your country bears towards you.

It is more worthy, as it has been unsought for and unsolicited by you.

I doubt not but the appointment will do honor to Congress and be really beneficial to your Country.

I have the honor to be &c

E. B.

P. S. I had forgot to inform you that Mr George Read, a gentleman of great integrity and abilities of the Delaware State, was chosen at the same time with you in the room of Mr Paca, resigned, and in order to settle precedence between you, lots were drawn, when it turned in favor of Mr. Read, wherefore, your commission is dated the day after his¹

¹ Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 16, p. 162, MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

CHAPTER XV.

Mr. Boudinot to Mr. Elisha Boudinot. — Frigate from France. — Brings dispatches. — Great Britain sends Mr. Oswald to Paris to treat with commissioners. — Commissioners refused to treat as thirteen colonies. — Treat as an independent nation. — Asiatic accounts of Madras being taken by the French. — Treaty of commerce. — Wants particulars of state of things in New York. — General Washington to his Excellency Elias Boudinot. — Subscription for Rev. Mr. Caldwell's children. — Mr. Boudinot to General Washington. — Congratulations on independence acknowledged by Great Britain. — Sends copy of commission. — Treaty of commerce. — Foreign opinion that Charleston and New York will be evacuated in the fall. — Arrival of General du Portail. — Mr. Boudinot to Major-General du Portail. — Approval of Congress. — Mr. Boudinot to Count de Rochambeau. — Approbation of Congress. — Wishes for prosperous voyage. — Mr. Boudinot to Brigadier-General Dayton. — Congratulations on promotion. — Evacuation of Charleston. — Mr. Boudinot to General Washington. — Receipt from Mr. Chittendon. — Copy of official letter from General Greene announcing evacuation of Charleston. — Mr. Boudinot to Major-General Lincoln on time of returning. — Mr. Boudinot to General Washington on death of Lord Stirling. — Business relative to Vermont. — Mr. Boudinot to General Washington. — His letter laid before Congress.

MR. BOUDINOT TO MR. ELISHA BOUDINOT.

PHILADELPHIA 24th Dec. 1782.

MY DEAR BROTHER

A Frigate has lately arrived from France and went on shore in our Bay in the snow storm but has luckily got off again — Her dispatches are just come up and I heartily congratulate you on Great Britains having admitted our Independence by sending M^r Oswald to Paris first with a commission to treat of peace with' commissioners from the thirteen Colonies which our commissioners

absolutely refused to treat upon In consequence whereof Great Britain has given up the matter and issued a formal commission to treat with "*any commission or commissioners from the Thirteen United States of America,*" and to enter into all the necessary stipulations as with an independent Nation. The Rubicon is therefore passed and I am happy that my expectations are likely to be fulfilled. I am not at liberty to say more than is contained in the following extracts — "From several Asiatic accounts there is great probability that Madras has been taken by the French Troops, which have landed at Port Neuvo, and the Army of Hyder Ally with whom they have made a junction, but no official account has come to hand and this intelligence cannot be given as a certainty" — From Mr Adams — "We have at length the consent of all the Cities & Provinces upon every article, word, syllable, letter & point in the treaty of commerce and clerks are employed in making out fair copies for signature, which will be done this week — Amidst the innumerable crowds of Loans which are opened in this country, many of which have little success, I was much afraid that would have failed. I have however the pleasure to inform you that I am at last one Million and a half of Florins or three millions of Livres in cash, which will aid the operations of our Financier" . . . All I want about the men in Newark is to have by every stage a particular ac^t of the state of things in N Y — of the shipping

going in or out — I mean ships of War Transportation &c.

I am in great haste

My dear Brother

Yours affect^{ly}

B——¹

The Post going made me almost forget the compliments of the season to all your fireside in the most affectionate manner from your sister Susan &c. &c.

ELISHA BOUDINOT, Esq^r

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO HIS EXCELLENCY ELIAS BOUDINOT, ESQ.

NEWBURGH Dec^r 14th 1782.

DEAR SIR,

I recollect subscribing, when I was in Philadelphia last Winter, twenty or 25 Guinias towards the support of the Children of the late Reverend Mr. Caldwell.

No person has called upon me since for this money. I therefore take the liberty (as the paper was in your hands) of asking you to whom I am to pay it?

Mrs. Washington, who is now with me, offers her affectionate compliments to Mrs. and Miss Boudinot, to which permit me to add those of

Dear Sir,

Your Mo. obedt. & Most h^{ble} servt.

GO. WASHINGTON.²

¹ Family letters.

² MSS. Department of State, Washington, D. C., Washington letters, vol. ii. P, p. 388.

MR. BOUDINOT TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA 25th December 1782.

DEAR SIR

I was honored by your Excellency's letter of the 16th inst, which I laid before Congress.

It is with great pleasure that I congratulate your Excellency and the Army, on the admission of our Independency & national character by the Court of Great Britain, in the issuing a commission, under the Great Seal, to Mr Oswald now at the Court of Versailles, for treating with any commissioner or Commissioners of the Thirteen United States of North America, a copy of which I do myself the honor to enclose for your Excellency's information. There was a prior Commission to the same person, to treat with the Thirteen Colonies &c but our Commissioners refused to negotiate under it, which produced this more explicit power. Altho' there is great doubt yet, whether a peace will ensue, yet in case of a continuance of the war, this admission must have beneficial consequences.

The following Extracts contain the resedue of our public intelligence

“From several Asiatic Accounts there is great probability that Madras has been taken by the French Troops, which have landed at Porto Nuevo, and the army of Heyder Ally, with whom they had made a junction, but no official account has come to hand, and this intelligence cannot be given as a certainty”

From Mr. Adams

“ We have at length the consent of all the cities
 “ and Provinces, and have adjusted and agreed
 “ upon every article, word, syllable, letter and
 “ point in the Treaty of commerce, and clerks are
 “ employed in making out fair copies for the sig-
 “ nature, which will be done this week. Amidst
 “ the innumerable crowd of Loans which are
 “ opened in this country, many of which have
 “ little success, I was much afraid that ours would
 “ have failed I have however the pleasure to
 “ inform you, that I am at least, one million and
 “ an half in cash or about three millions of Livres
 “ which will aid the operations of our Financier ”

Some of the Foreign letters to Gentlemen of consequence here, mention a belief at the Court of France, that both Charles Town and New York will be evacuated this Fall.

Genl du Portail is arrived in the Frigate that brought our Dispatches referred to above.

I have the honor to be &c

E. B.¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO THE HONORABLE MAJOR-GENERAL DU
 PORTAIL.

PHILADELPHIA I January 1783

SIR

I have the honor to inform you that your letter of the 28 ult, was duly laid before Congress, and it gives me a particular pleasure (agreeably to

¹ Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 16, p. 167, MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

their orders) to testify their approbation of the reasons assigned for your detention in Europe, beyond the time fixed in your Furlough.

It was with great satisfaction that Congress received the information of your safe arrival in America, where, they hope, that your renewed exertions in the common cause, will be again crowned with success.

I have the honor to be, with
great respect

Sir

Yours &c

E. B.¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO HIS EXCELLENCY COUNT DE
ROCHAMBEAU.

PHILADELPHIA 1st Jan^y 1783

SIR,

Among the most agreeable duties of my office, the communicating the approbation of Congress to such worthy characters as are entitled, by their merit and services, to these tokens of public Respect, are not the least.

Be assured, Sir, that the honor I now have to enclose your Excellency the warm and affectionate testimony of the United States in Congress assembled to the Valor, Discipline and good conduct of His Excellency The Count de Rochambeau and the Army under his command, gives me sensations of the most delicate nature, and I shall

¹ Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 16, p. 169, Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

esteem it among the favorable circumstances of my administration, to have the honor of this communication.

Permit me, in the most cordial manner to wish your Excellency, and the worthy Officers who attend you the most prosperous voyage, with a happy sight of your Country and Friends, and particularly the deserved approbation of your Royal Master.

I have the honor to be with every sentiment of the profoundest respect & esteem

Your Excellency's
&c &c

E. B.¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO HON. BRIG.-GEN. ELIAS DAYTON.

PHILADELPHIA

Jan'y 7th 1783

D^R SIR.

I have the pleasure of congratulating you on your appointment to the rank of Brigadier General in the Army of the United States — This was happily accomplished today, by the perseverance of your friends and at last without much opposition — I doubt not the promotion will do honor to Congress and justify the Part your Acquaintance have taken in your Behalf. I also give you joy on the Evacuation of Charles Town which is now confirmed.

¹ Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 16, p. 170, MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

I have the Honor to be, tho' in great Haste,

Dear Sir

Your very Hble Servt

ELIAS BOUDINOT¹

Honble Brig. Genl. ELIAS DAYTON.

MR. BOUDINOT TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENL WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA 16th January 1783

DEAR SIR

Your Excellency's letter of the 8th instant, enclosing Mr. Chittendons receipt, came safe to hand and was duly laid before Congress.

Enclosed is a copy of the official letter of Gen^l Greene announcing the evacuation of Charles Town, on the important event, I most sincerely congratulate your Excellency and the Army, as it must be productive of the most happy consequences to the common cause

I have the honor to be &c

E. B.²

MR. BOUDINOT TO MAJOR GEN^l LINCOLN.

PHILADELPHIA Jan^y 28th 1783

MY DEAR GEN^l

I was Honored with the recp^t of your Letter of the 9th Inst pr Post — I having nothing new to Communicate and the design of this is to Comply with my promise, in Acquainting you, that, altho' there is no immediate Business that demands your presence yet I believe if you could return By

¹ Among Letters of Generals, Pennsylvania Historical Society.

² Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 16, p. 172.

the middle of Feb^y or thereabouts without any great Inconvenience to your private affairs, that it would give great satisfaction to Congress — I do not mean to hurry you, but only to hint my opinion on the appearance of things at present. Mrs Boudinot & Miss Susan return the most respectful & affectionate Compliments to Mrs Lincoln & yourself . . .

I am my Dr Sir with great Esteem

Your most Obedient & very Hble Servt

E. BOUDINOT.¹

Major Genl LINCOLN.

MR. BOUDINOT TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

PHIL^a 29th Jan^y 1783

MY DEAR GENERAL

The unexpected and melancholy news of the death of the late Major Genl Lord Stirling, contained in your Excellency's letter of the 20th Instant was laid before Congress immediately on the receipt.

The special services rendered to his country by that Nobleman, from the very earliest period of the present War, to the day of his death, has not only rendered his memory in the highest degree, respectable to Congress, but has entitled him to the warmest approbation of his country.

Congress exceedingly regret this loss not only as a valuable character in the army possessed of great bravery, perseverance and extraordinary military talent but as a very important citizen of the

¹ Elias Boudinot's letter book.

United States They sincerely condole with your Excellency and the Army on this sorrowful occasion

I am instructed to make this communication to your Excellency by the particular order of Congress whose sense of the great merit of this officer will be best understood by the copy of their resolution for this purpose which I do myself the honor to enclose.

Congress approve of the circumspection with which your Excellency has managed the business relative to Vermont and hope it will yet be carried into execution, although there is great reason to believe from the circumstances being now known to some of the Eastern States that it may be prevented.

The Honorable Gentleman alluded to in the report of Cap^t Mac. Comber has declared upon his honor that he has not wrote a single word directly or indirectly to any person or persons in Vermont or elsewhere on the subject alluded to and therefore begs that Capt Mac. Comber may be desired to give the utmost particulars of the time place & circumstances of his information as he is greatly concerned that he should be suspected of any unfair practice on the occasion —

I have the honor to enclose a letter for your Excellency from the honourable Mr Jefferson who left this on his way to Europe a few days since —

M^rs Boudinot and Miss Susan join me in the

most affectionate compliments to M^rs Washington

I have the honor to be Dear Sir with the most
sincere respect

Your Excellency's

Most Obed^t & very humble servant

ELIAS BOUDINOT¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA 26th Feb. 1783

DEAR SIR,

I had the honor of receiving your Excellency's letter of the 30th ult. which I immediately laid before Congress, who, without delay, gave it the full attention it deserved. The result of the deliberations I do myself the pleasure to enclose.

The Secretary of Foreign Affairs will make the confidential communication to your Excellency mentioned therein, I hope, by this opportunity. The critical state of our Finances obliges Congress to the Most disagreeable parsimony, Altho' the objects proposed, are certainly of the highest consequences, and which will engage their attention, at all events, in case of the least change of appearances.

By a Vessel arrived yesterday from Teneriffe, and one a few days ago at Baltimore from St Kitts, there are various Reports About all nego-

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Letters to Washington, vol. xcii. p. 132.

tiations for Peace being broke up at Paris, but sifting them well and duly considering dates and other circumstances, they amount to nothing worthy of attention.

I have the honor to be, Sir, with the highest Sentiments of respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's

Most obedient

& very Hum^b Serv^t

ELIAS BOUDINOT.

His Excellency

Gen^l WASHINGTON.

(Endorsed in Gen^l
W's own hand)

His Excellency the Presid of Congress
26th Feb 1783 — BOUDINOT.¹

¹ MSS. Archives, Letters to Washington, vol. lxi. p. 331, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

CHAPTER XVI.

Arrival of the Washington packet. — Brings budget of intelligence. — Short compendium of political situation, by Mr. Boudinot to Washington, March 17. — England's change of ministers. — Proposition of separate peace. — Attitude of France. — Independence. — Boundaries. — Fisheries. — The Tories. — Suspicions of the court of France. — Provisional articles of peace. — Count de Vergennes surprised. — Delay in negotiations on the part of other belligerent powers. — Interest of England to ratify treaty. — Harmony between commissioners. — Six millions instead of twenty obtained from France. — "The Washington," first vessel with English passport. — Embarrassed situation of Congress as to finances. — Mr. Morris resigned. — Etiquette in France. — Situation of army. — King of France offended with commissioners. — Note of Mr. John Fiske. — Mr. Boudinot to General Washington, congratulates him and the army on the definitive treaty of peace. — Dispatches from Count d'Estaing and the Marquis de Lafayette. — Hostilities ceased in Europe. — Commutation of the half pay to the army by nine States. — General Washington to Mr. Boudinot. — Thanks for his letter of the 17th. — Begg a continuance. — Congratulatory letter of Mr. Elisha Boudinot. — General Washington's reply. — An ode, by Mr. William Peartree Smith. — Mr. Boudinot to Honorable James Robinson. — Lord Drummond. — His estate. — Confiscations. — Announcement of peace between all belligerent powers. — Express to General Carleton.

MR. BOUDINOT TO HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA March 17th 1783

DEAR SIR

The arrival of Capt Barney on the Washington Packett, has afforded us, a large Budget of Intelligence & opened a new Scene in this Western World —

I have endeavoured to discover if any of the confidential Servants of Congress, have made it

a Business to communicate freely to your Excellency the political State of our Affairs both at home & abroad, from time to time as they have turned up —

The necessity of this knowledge to one in your Excellency's responsible Situation, struck me as essentially necessary but to my Mortification, I cannot convince myself of the certainty of this Measure, but am rather left in doubt —

Conscious of my own want of both Time & Talents for so important a business, nothing but the necessity & usefulness of the work could have tempted me to have troubled your Excellency with the essay at this critical Period, when perhaps unknown to me, some able Pen is engaged daily for the purpose

My present design therefore is, as an individual who has access to the Intelligence of Congress, and also the benefit of some private confidential communications, to give your Excellency a short compendium of the State of our Affairs in Europe, that you may be possessed of facts necessary for your Station — As I act in this Business, but as an individual in a private character, I shall combine the information obtained from the public dispatches, with that of private intelligence but of undoubted authority.

In the beginning of the last Spring the Court of London being reduced (sic) to very disagreeable Circumstances occasioned as well by the State of her Finances, as by the Change of, and

divisions in her Ministry, made some very distant movements to sound our Minister at Passy, relative to a separate Peace — Finding, no encouragement on this Head, small beginnings were soon ripened into a promising appearance, by England's authorizing Mr. Grenville in due form, to treat with France &c and giving instruction to Mr Oswald, a gentleman of great Candour Integrity & Abilities, (as is asserted by two of our Commissioners) to treat with Dr. Franklin —

Great pains were taken to bring on negotiations in form without farther express Powers with respect to America; our Com's resolutely determined to oppose every attempt to conduct the Business in a narrow scale, tho' Count de Vergennes thought they might safely proceed on these limited Powers; however they refused to hearken to any formal propositions, or rather (sic) refused to make any propositions of an explicit nature, untill the United States of America were expressly or implicitly acknowledged as Independent States by Great Britain and considered as one of the Nations of the (sic) Earth.

In the course of the Communications, our Com's convinced the Court of Great Britain (at least in appearance) of the great impolicy of their past conduct, and of the absolute necessity they were under of acting without delay on a more enlarged Scale, and by the generosity & Candor of their Behavior on this occasion, to wipe away, the almost indelible Stain, of British Cruelty &

Barbarism from the American Mind — This produced a Commission to Mr Fitzgerald, to negotiate with France &c &c and another to Mr Oswald, to treat with America, wherein the Sovereignty & Independence of these United States are expressly acknowledged — Negotiations now took place in real Earnest Between the Commissioners, whatever might have been the designs & dispositions of the Ministry of G. B. As it clearly appears from our Minister's letters that Mr Oswald acted merely on the principle of a love of Peace, being neither a creature or dependent of the Minister, and his honesty, candor & purity of Intention, soon produced such a Union of Sentiment, that an accommodation appeared to be fast ripening towards perfection — The principle points of discussion were, *the Boundaries* — *The Fisheries* and *the Tories* — At first England appeared tenacious of the two first, but were speedily convinced of their Error, and as to the last it rather appeared to be held up merely to save their national honor — Here *it is said by some*, that the Court of France took the alarm at our extensive Claims in every point and began to fear lest the Policy of England should grant to America too much — She sees G. Britain heartily repenting her folly, and all of a sudden putting about, and attempting to lay a foundation for reconciliation with the United States, by granting all her reasonable Demands with an appearance of Generosity — The ample share in the Fisheries



and our refusal to compensate or restore the Tories, gave her little Pleasure, and the extensive Territory pleased her less—but when she saw the possibility of Success on the part of our Commissioners, it is alleged, that she unhappily tarnished her glory & reputation, by secretly sending Emissaries to England in order to foment divisions and promote suggestions of the unreasonableness of our propositions, and persuading that Court of the possibility of obtaining concessions on the part of America, far more advantageous than what was insisted upon—The British Ministry taking the advantage of these blunders of the Court of Versailles, instead of endeavouring to reduce the pretensions of America, candidly (in appearance, communicated this conduct of France to our Commissioners and thereby created a Jealousy in their minds agt that Court, as insidious & inimical—This perhaps might have too great an Effect in alarming & souring the minds of our Com^rs and it would not be unnatural to suppose, that it was greater than necessity dictated, when we consider the interest the Court of London had in exaggerating on the occasion—The whole issued in our Commissioners signing the provisional Articles of Peace (a copy of which I shall endeavour to send herewith) without the Knowledge of France, on the 30th Nov^r—and not till the next day and after they were sent to the Court of London, were they announced to Count de Vergennes, when he discovered Great

Surprise, and covered his Chagrin by expressing his astonishment at our having obtained such advantageous Terms — Our public Dispatches give us no Acc^t of the Issue of the negotiations on the part of other belligerent Powers, except that some disputes had Arose that delayed so desirable an object, and suggesting doubts of the real desire of Great Britain to do more than what was concluded with us; hoping to draw off the United States from the war, by putting them in a Situation, which would leave them nothing to contend for — But by a very confidential letter from good, tho' private Hands of a late date it appears that the negotiations with France & Spain had gone on, and on this Authority I may almost venture to say, that I believe the Terms are fully digested, if not Signed, between them — Spain insisted on the cession of Gibraltar and offered to France, the Spanish half of Hispaniola, if she would obtain Gibraltar for her at the Expence of France — Count De Vergennes thereupon offered to England the Island of Gwadalope in Exchange for that Rock, which was refused — She then added Dominica & the neutrality of St. Vincents — As this was the Ultimatum of France, it is supposed that it would be complied with.

Holland demands three things — a restoration of her captured Possessions — Compensation for Damages unjustly sustained contrary to the Laws of Nations, and free Navigation — a Com^e is gone to Holland to settle these points, which are too

unimportant to cause much difficulty, so that I hope a general Peace is not far off — But I do not mean by this, that there is so much certainty, as that any thing should be discontinued that is necessary for our defence — To be well prepared for War, is the surest way to make peace. A great deal has been suggested about the insidious Character of the English Minister, and that there is great reason to fear, as some think, by granting America all that they have asked, the People here will never consent to a War being continued, in which they have no Interest, and that therefore her scheme is still to embarrass the definitive Treaty, especially as France will wish to prevent America from enjoying the Terms of the provisional Treaty — This Jealousy might be plausible, was not England in a situation too critical to sport with such Important Matters — Her finances loudly call for an immediate Peace, being reduced (as her Commissioners acknowledged) to the necessity of stopping the Interest on the national Debt, to carry on the War another Campaign in case a Peace should not take place — It is therefore on her real Interest that I depend for the ratification of our Treaty & the Completion of that with the other belligerent Powers in case France is not so weak as to embarrass the Proceedings from an idle fear of America — Her Magnanimity, Generosity & Knowledge of her true Interests, have been so great and conspicuous, that I should feel severely hurt, should she tarnish her Glory at the

last Hour — This I cannot believe, but will still hope for the best

There has been great Harmony between our Commissioners thro'out the business— Mr Adams & Mr Laurens have resigned their employments, intending to return immediately to America —

In the Washington came over, 600,000 Livres in Cash, part of 6 Millions obtained of the Court of France, instead of 20 Millions demanded — Thus I have in a hurry given your Excellency a general State of the Foreign Negotiations — I have done it in the most confidential manner, knowing to whom I write, and that the utmost Care will be taken to preserve the facts entirely to yourself — I have stated facts, but dare not to hazard opinions — As I write in my private character, your Excellency will not mention the subject to me in your public dispatches.

I cannot help taking notice, that the *ship Washington* is the first American Vessel which ever had an English Passport, signed by the King's own Hand, and in which he certifies that she belongs to the United States of America.

I need not to mention to your Excellency the present embarrassed situation of Congress — Perhaps there has not been a more critical, delicate & interesting Period during the War — Our Finances are in the most deplorable State, and it will take a considerable Time, before they can be replenished.

Mr. Morris (on whom every disinterested, intel-

ligent Member of Congress greatly relied) has resigned his office, unless Conditions are complied with which tho' reasonable in themselves, yet depend on very doubtful Events.

Some difficulties of importance, attending the Etiquette of the Treaty with France (on which I may hereafter enlarge) give us great uneasiness and add much to our perplexity.

The situation of our Army, as stated in your Excellency's Letter of last Wednesday, by no means lessens our anxiety & Mortification, especially as we have been for five or six weeks past, most faithfully & honestly engaged in laying a foundation for their future Security, as well as making provision for a present Supply — More is not in our power, and I fondly hope that in this last hour, they will not dishonor themselves, and forfeit that Glory which they have supported with so much dignity to themselves & advantage to their Country — Violent Measures will certainly tend to prevent the Success of those Endeavours, Congress have been so laboriously exerting, for their emolument & Security — and however they may think that they are the only sufferers, yet they may be assured that our shoulders are not free from the Burden — There is not a man among them who would envy us our station, was he to be one week in Congress —

Mrs Boudinot and Miss Susan take this opportunity of presenting their most affectionate respects and kindest Love & good wishes to Mrs.

Washington, whom they remember with the highest Sentiments of Esteem, in which may I be permitted most cordially to Join those of mine —

I have the honor to be with the most profound respect,

Your Excellency's

Most Obed^t & aff^t Hble Serv^t

ELIAS BOUDINOT.

P. S. By some conversation I have since had with the Minister of France I find that the King his Master is greatly offended with our Commissioners, for signing the provisional Treaty without a confidential communication with his Ministers —

His Ex^{ty} General WASHINGTON.

(Endorsed in Gen^l WASHINGTON's hand)

From his Excellency E. BOUDINOT, 17th March

1783 on the negotiation in Europe — Important — ¹

Mr. John Fiske, in his "Bibliographical Note" to "The Critical Period of American History," observes: "The view of the treaty set forth in 1830 by Sparks, according to which Jay and Adams were quite mistaken in their suspicions of the French Court, we may now regard as disposed of by the evidence presented by Circourt and Fitzmaurice. It has led many writers astray." See, also, in the same volume, "Results of Yorktown."

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Letters to Washington, vol. xcii. p. 148; also, letter book of Elias Boudinot.

MR. BOUDINOT TO GEN^L WASHINGTON.PHILADELPHIA March 23th 1783
9 oclock in the Evening

SIR

Your Excellency will give me the utmost credit when I assure you that it is with the most unfeigned Joy, that I congratulate your Excellency and the whole Army on the Confirmation of the signing of the Definitive Treaty of Peace by all the Belligerent Powers, on the 25th Jan^y — This Happy Event has just been announced by an Express, from on board a Sloop of War in the River dispatched by the Compte d'Estaing & the Marquis Lafayette from Cadiz of the 14th Feb^y in hopes that she might arrive, before those sent from France & Britain — All Hostilities had ceased in Europe, and the same Happy Event was to take place here on the 20th Inst. These are not Official Dispatches, but as there can be no doubt of the Event, I thought it of the highest consequences to give your Excellency & my fellow Citizens of the Army the earliest notice of this glorious End of all their Toils & Labours —

I duly recd your Excellency's Letter by the Express containing the Proceedings of the Army with the highest satisfaction — The Commutation of the Half Pay was passed yesterday by Nine States in Congress which adds greatly to our gen-

eral joy — I wrote your Ex^y By the Baron Steuben which I hope has got to hand.

I have the honor to be &c.

E. BOUDINOT.¹

His Excellency
Genl WASHINGTON.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO HIS EXCELLENCY ELIAS BOU-
DINOT, ESQ., PRES^t OF CONGRESS.

NEWBURGH March 30th 1783

DEAR SIR

I was upon the point of closing the Packet which affords a cover to this Letter, when the Baron de Steuben arrived and put your obliging favour of the 17th Instant into my hands. I read it with great pleasure, and gratitude and beg you to accept my sincere thanks for the trouble you have taken to communicate the several matters therein contained, many parts of which, 'till then were altogether new to me.

Your Excellency will very highly honour and oblige me by a continuance of the friendly and confidential intercourse you have begun, and you may rest assured that every part thereof which you mark *private* shall remain inviolably Secret.

As the Bearer (in the Cloathing Department) is waiting I have not time to enlarge. I could not suffer him, however to depart without this acknowledgment of your Letter, and testimony, of my respect. With Mrs Washington's compliments united with mine to Mrs, Miss Boudinot and yourself,

¹ Elias Boudinot's letter book.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest Esteem
and Regard, Dear Sir,
Your mo. obt. & affect H^{ble} Sev^t
Go. WASHINGTON.¹

The two letters which follow, the first to General Washington on the peace, by Mr. Elisha Boudinot, the second the reply, are placed here, where they naturally belong in point of time and because they have a wider bearing than that of individual sentiment or local policy.

MR. ELISHA BOUDINOT TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

NEWARK April 1783

Amidst that general joy which is diffused thro' the States on the establishment of our Independence, and a restoration of the blessings of peace; will your Excellency permit an individual, deeply interested in your happiness, to give vent, if possible to his feelings on this occasion; and most sincerely to congratulate you on the final accomplishment of our most sanguine hopes —

The thought, that your Excellency has survived the contest, adds a pleasure to the enjoyment that no other event could possibly give — It has been my earnest prayer that Heaven would preserve your life to compleat the liberation of your country from tyranny, and see her safely secured in peace independence and happiness, and to receive the gratefull acknowledgments of a whole people —

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., "P," vol. iii. p. 83.

Nothing can afford a great Mind, more real pleasure than the Idea, of being the happy Instrument of giving birth to an empire, the future nursery of every principle that can ennoble man, an asylum for the persecuted of all nations, and in fact rendering happiness to one quarter of the globe — It is a satisfaction that an Angel might aspire after, and which you Sir, are justly entitled to enjoy — I am confident that the idea of this has supported your Excellency in the Many distressing Scenes you have passed thro' to the final completion of our wishes —

You have finished your part, it only remains that your Country should equal in gratitude the toils, the dangers and solicitude you have endured for them that they will do this collectively there is no doubt; but something still remains to perfect the reward; to convince you that every individual feels that real affection & gratitude for you, that they ought, to the *Father and Deliverer* of their country — this only can be done by the representation of private persons, which will I hope apologize for the intrusion — My publick business calls me into every county of this State, and a very general acquaintance with the inhabitants, and I am certain, I should do them the greatest injustice, did I not assure your Excellency, that there is scarcely a Man or Woman among them but what entertain these sentiments, and but what have a Monument erected to you in their breasts, that can only be effaced with their lives — Was it

possible for your Excellency to have a view of the whole country at once, and see the honest farmers around their fires, blessing your name, and teaching their children to lisp your praises; you would forget your toils & labours, and thank Heaven that you was born to bless a gratefull land.

When your Excellency is retiring from the field, will you indulge the Inhabitants of this State to spend a short time, as you are passing thro' free from care, where you have spent so much in distress and anxiety of mind; that they may have an opportunity of personally convincing you of their attachments?

I take the liberty to inclose, and beg your acceptance of an Ode written by my father-in-law Mr Smith on the present occasion —

Mrs Boudinot joins me in entreating that you will be kind enough to make our sincere congratulations acceptable to Mrs Washington, and to assure her that we participate in the joy that she above all others must feel at this time.

That you may both long, long enjoy that cup of happiness which Providence has so completely filled, is the fervent desire of him

Who is with the greatest respect

Your Excellency's

Most hble & Ob^t Serv^t

ELISHA BOUDINOT.

His Ex. Genl WASHINGTON.

(Endorsed in Gen^l WASHINGTON's hand)

From ELISHA BOUDINOT, Esq.

Apl. 1783.¹

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Letters to Washington, vol. lxiii. p. 23.

AN ODE ON THE PEACE.

Set to music.

AT length war's sanguine scenes are o'er,
 Her dire alarms are heard no more
 Thro' all Columbia's plain :
 Sweet peace descends with balmy wings,
 And heaven-born independence brings
 With freedom in her train.

Chorus.

Hail ! heaven descended guests, all hail !
 Peace, independence, freedom, hail !

Ruler of Kings ! thy mandate shook
 The fated Monarch's throne, and struck
 The Jewels from his crown :
 Thy wisdom the rude statesmen taught
 With aid divine the soldier fought —
 The weak an empire won.

Chorus.

Hail ! Sovereign wisdom, goodness, hail !
 Peace, independence, freedom, hail !

Oh ! shed thy heavenly influence down !
 Form the new States to high renown,
 Far as the Orient's shore.
 Let *Justice* lift aloft her hand !
 Virtues, pure rob'd, patrol the land,
 Till Suns revolve no more.

Chorus.

Hail ! train of heaven, bright-mantled, hail !
 Peace, independence, freedom, hail !

Publick devotion — glorious flame !
 That gave to Rome immortal fame,

Thy sacred ardors bring :
 Religion chief, angelic Maid !
 In ev'ry breast thy empire spread,
 To purge corruption's spring.

Chorus.

Hail ! pure ethereal graces, hail !
 Peace, independence, freedom, hail !

Her darling son, Columbia's boast !
 Envy and dread of Albion's host !
 His patriot Falchion sheaths,
 Celestial meeds in ample flow
 Crown the Deliverer ! bind his brow
 With honors endless wreaths !

Chorus.

Hail ! Washington ! Deliverer hail !
 Peace, independence, freedom, hail !

Prince of illustrious christian name !
 Historic pens shall mark thy fame,
 Till times long annals close.
 Rous'd at oppressions general grief,
 Thy god like arms extend relief
 Then — give a world repose.

Chorus.

Hail ! christian king ! deliverer hail !
 Peace, independence, freedom, hail !

Now let the loud shrill clarions play,
 Triumphant peals proclaim the day,
 Th' united States are free !
 While round all cheering music floats
 And echoing hills rebound the notes,
 God's firm and just decree !

Chorus.

Hallelujah! Hallelujah!
Hallelujah! Hallelujah!¹

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO ELISHA BOUDINOT.

NEWBURGH, May 10th, 1783.

SIR: —

Your letter of congratulation contains expressions of too friendly a nature not to affect me with the deepest sensibility. I beg therefore you will accept my acknowledgment for them, and that you will be persuaded I can never be insensible of the interest you are pleased to take in my personal happiness, as well as in the general felicity of the country. While I candidly confess I cannot be indifferent to the favourable sentiment, which you mention my fellow citizens entertain of my exertions in their service, I wish to express through you the particular obligations I feel myself under to Mr. Smith for the pleasure I have received from the perusal of his elegant ode on the peace. The accomplishment of the great object we had in view, in so short a time, and under such propitious circumstances, must I am confident, fill every bosom with the purest joy; and for my own part I will not strive to conceal the pleasure I already anticipate from my approaching retirement to the placid walks of domestic life. Having no rewards to ask for myself, if I have been so happy as to obtain the

¹ Letters to Washington, vol. lxiii. p. 23, MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

approbation of my countrymen I shall be satisfied. But it still rests with them to complete my wishes by adopting such a system of policy, as will ensure the future reputation, tranquility, happiness and glory of this extensive empire; to which I am much assured nothing can contribute so much as an *inviolable adherence to the principles of the union*, and a fixed resolution of building *the national faith on the basis of public justice* — without which all that has been done and suffered is in vain — to effect which therefore, the abilities of every true patriot, ought to be exerted with the greatest zeal and assiduity.

I am as yet uncertain, at what time I shall be at liberty to return to Virginia, and consequently cannot inform you when I may be able to gratify my inclination of spending a little time with my friends in Jersey, as I pass through that state. I can only say that the friendship I have for a people, from whom I have often derived such essential aid, will strongly dispose me to it.

Mrs. Washington begs Mrs. Boudinot and yourself to accept her best compts., and thanks for your good wishes, and I must request the same favor, being with sentiments of esteem and regard,

Sir, Your most Obed. & most Hble. Servant,
GO. WASHINGTON.¹

To ELISHA BOUDINOT, Esq.

¹ Family papers.

MR. BOUDINOT TO HON. JAMES ROBINSON.

PHILADELPHIA,

March 24—1783.

SIR

I am happy in having an opportunity by an express dispatched on the most benevolent & joyous occasion, of acknowledging the receipt of your Letter of the 19th Inst—

My Friendship for Lord Drummond and an attachment to his Interest & that of his Family neither ceased with a difference in our political sentiments or his untimely departure from this troublesome World. I have tho' with some difficulty prevented his Estate from confiscation; an Inquisition having been found against him— It has also been attempted to draw me off from his support by the Friends of the Milfort Family— but I hope that I have ever extinguished their Hopes from this claim as I verily believe it is not founded in justice—

It will be prudent before you go to England to leave for me all Papers you have, as also some Ac't of the present state of the Family, that I may not be imposed on by intruders—

I have the honor to congratulate you, Sir, on a general Peace between all the belligerent Powers in Europe, and that we are once more friends. This happy event was announced yesterday, by Letters I rec'd from the Marquis La Fayette, as also by the Compte d'Estaing by an Express Boat sent for the purpose— a copy of the

Comte's Passport is the business on which this Express is sent, which will also announce the happy event to his Exc^y Gen^l Carleton.

I have the honor to be

with great respect Sir

Your very humble Servant

ELIAS BOUDINOT.¹

Sir

The Hon^{ble} JAMES ROBINSON Esquire &c &c.

¹ Pennsylvania Historical Society.

CHAPTER XVII.

Mr. Boudinot to Hon. John Hanson; congratulations on cessation of all hostilities; false reports of Mr. Hanson's death; Sir Guy Carleton sent king's proclamation; shall proclaim cessation on our part tomorrow.—Mr. Boudinot to Major-General the Marquis de Lafayette; joy in America at happy issue of negotiations; his early intelligence saved mercantile interests; hopes for consolidation of the Union and perfecting of government; Congress sensible of obliging conduct of Comte d'Estaing; Admiral Digby considered it a design to mislead; incloses copy of vote of Congress in favor of Comte de Rochambeau; wishes to know why the Comte left America without the least notice of it; adds proceedings in the army; terms of peace satisfactory except time for American merchants to pay their English debts; no time mentioned; must have three or four years.—Mr. Boudinot to General Washington, inclosing act of Congress on cessation of hostilities.—Mr. Boudinot to Mr. Elisha Boudinot, on birth of a daughter.—Mr. Boudinot to Comte de Grasse, on transmission of two field pieces.—Mr. Boudinot to Doctor Franklin; introduces Colonel Ogden; terms of peace; payments of English debts.—Circular to governors of states on establishing literary property.—Mr. Boudinot to Mr. Oliver Pollock, regarding portrait of Doctor Bernando de Galvez.—Mr. Boudinot to General Washington; incloses copy from two letters of Mr. Laurens.—Mr. Boudinot to the Ministers Plenipotentiary; Mr. Livingston resigned as Secretary of Foreign Affairs; surprise at delay of letters.—To Hon. Benjamin Franklin; business of Secretary of Foreign Affairs cast upon Mr. Boudinot; writes in cipher.—Letter inclosing two medals received; British retention of New York.—General Washington to Mr. Boudinot; anxious for retirement; army arrangements.—Mrs. Washington on jaunt to Esopus with Governor and Mrs. Clinton.

MR. BOUDINOT TO THE HON. JOHN HANSON.

PHILADELPHIA April 10th 1783

MY DEAR SIR

Your favour of the 2^d Inst was the most agreeable surprize that I have rec^d for some time past, not sir, altogether on acc^t of your kind congratu-

lations on the Glorious Event of a Peace so honorable to our own common Country, in which I most heartily reciprocate every affectionate Wish, but to find, after mourning and regretting your loss to your friends & your country & sympathizing with Mrs. Hanson who I supposed in a most distressed state, that you was still in the land of the living & more restored to health & to usefulness in Life— We having had your death announced in the publick news Papers, concluded with the children, that what was printed must be true and really considered the Fact beyond a Doubt—Permit me Sir to rejoice with your other Friends on the agreeable mistake, and to wish you long to enjoy the blessings of that Peace you have so long struggled for: To this misinformation has been owing many silences since your leaving this city— Yesterday Sr Guy Carleton sent by express the King of England's Proclamation for the cessation of all Hostilities, and this morning we received from France, by an arrival here, the official Information of the same circumstances, on our part, by a separate Instrument on the same Terms as those of France & Spain, and shall proclaim a Cessation of all Hostilities on the part of America tomorrow— I know you will rejoice greatly with me on this important news, and join in sending thanks to the great Governor of the universe who has thus continued interposing Providence & at last crowned all our Labours with a success far beyond our sanguine Expectations—

we want now nothing but wisdom & union to perfect the glorious work — Mrs Boudinot joins me in the most respectful Comp^{ts} to Mrs. Hanson —

Believe me to be with the most unfeigned esteem & respect

(My dear sir)

Your most affct & very

Hble. serv^t

ELIAS BOUDINOT.¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

PHILA. April 12th 1783.

MY DEAR MARQUIS

The many Obligations this Country has been laid under by your repeated kindnesses have been not only revived but greatly increased by your prudent & zealous attention to afford her the earliest information of the glad Tidings of an event the most glorious to her fame as well as essential to her Interest — Capt Duquesin, whose conduct & dispatch does him great honor, announced to us in the first Instance the happy Issue of our Negotiations — The joy afforded to America on this Occasion was too great for utterance and you had the universal Thanks of the friends of this Country — The early Intelligence saved our Mercantile Interest greatly as the long cessation of News from our Ministers had shaken the faith of many as to the Issue —

The glorious struggle, blessed be God, is now over and I am happy that you have so great a

¹ Elias Boudinot's letter book.

share in her Laurels — our worthy General is not the least sharer in the General Joy — We have now leisure I hope to turn our attention to consolidating the general union & perfecting her government — Congress are perfectly satisfied with your remaining in Europe & I have the honor & satisfaction of enclosing you a copy of their vote on this Occasion — Congress are very sensible of the very obliging conduct of his Excellency the Comte d' Estaing in so readily & generously devoting the Triumph to the benevolent purpose of being the Bearer of the Important intelligence as soon as Capt Duquesin arrived certified copies of the Intelligence were transmitted to Genl Carleton & Admiral Digby — the last of whom most ungenerously affected to consider it as a design of Comte d' Estaing to mislead him, while he was accomplishing some stroke in the West Indies — However he was in a few Days convinced of his Error by the arrival of an English packett we are anticipating the Pleasure of your arrival here with anxiety I have the honor to be with every sent^m of respect & Esteem my Dear Marquis &c. I take the liberty of enclosing copies of the Vote of Congress in favour of Comte de Rochambeau & of my letter addressed to him on that occasion my reason for this is, to beg the favour of your endeavouring to know the reason for the Comte leaving America without taking the least Notice of it, not even answering my Letter. I do this

merely in my private Character, for altho' it has been noticed by the members of Congress, yet Congress has made no Observation on it, and I mention it to you as a private Friend, who I know will be prudent on the occasion, at the same time will satisfy my individual Curiosity — I add to the enclosed for your satisfaction some proceedings in the Army occasioned by the last efforts of the Enemies of this country, to raise a Commotion: the resolutions as well as the General's address, give a finishing stroke to the Character of our officers, they do them the utmost honor, and the Genl appears like himself. The Terms of Peace give universal Satisfaction except that no Time is mentioned for the American Merch^{ts} paying their English Debts having the greatest parts of their Estates in the publick Funds, and having suffered greatly by the Depreciation of the money inevitable ruin must be their Portion if they have not three or four years to Accomplish the Business — This is a matter of very considerable Consequence to which I hope our Ministers will pay attention in the definitive Treaty — This should also be an object with France, as if not remedied, will throw our Merch^{ts} too absolutely into the hands of the English Creditor — Shall I ask your attention to this subject if not too late as it will be adding greatly to the obligations, already laid on the Citizens of these States.

To Major Gen^l
The Marquis de LA FAYETTE.¹

¹ Elias Boudinot's letter book.

MR. BOUDINOT TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, April 12th, 1783.

MY DEAR SIR /

You can only judge from your own feelings on this occasion, with what peculiar joy, I congratulate your Excellency & the Army on a Cessation of the Hostilities by the publick Act of Congress, I have the honor to enclose: Thus far we may truly say that we have passed thro' the Wilderness by a series of Miracles, which nothing short of the overruling Providence of God could ever have wrought — I most heartily reciprocate your Excy's good wishes on this occasion, and am much obliged by your very polite Letter of the—¹ Inst. By a Vessel that arrived yesterday from France, we rec'd official copies of our accession to the Cessation of Hostilities, but altho' the Vessel sailed on the 4th March, our latest advices were of the 23rd Jany — we are just informed that there is a packett in the River with publick Dispatches in 36 Days from France, if any thing should turn up worthy of notice, will add it to the Letter — Mrs Boudinot & Miss Susan unite with me in the most affectionate Complits to Mrs Washington & your Exc^y, and are contemplating with great pleasure the prospect of a joyous interview in your return to your long wished for retreat ² —

E. BOUDINOT.

¹ Omitted in letter book.² Elias Boudinot's letter book.

MR. BOUDINOT TO MR. ELISHA BOUDINOT.

PHILADELPHIA April 16th 1783

MY DEAR BROTHER

By a letter per Post from M^r Pintard we had the agreeable News of the addition to your family by the arrival of another Daughter — God grant you much comfort with all these little Tyes to the World — May they all be trained up for the Regions of Immortality & Blessedness — Our kind love to Sister & present our cordial congratulations on this joyful occasion, it is much heightened by the Olive Branch of Peace that is at the same Time waving o'er our Land How comes it that you are so tenacious of Girls — It seems to be the rage of our family — I think it is now Time to put about and let us have one Male to three Females at least —

I sent you our Proclamation for the cessation of Hostilities by an Express —

Sister Stockton has been very ill —

Am in great Haste

Yours Affect^{ly}

E B¹ —

ELISHA BOUDINOT Esq^r

MR. BOUDINOT TO COMTE DE GRASSE.

PHIL: April 23d 1783

SIR

I had the honor of receiving your Excellency's Favour of the 28. Jan'y three Days ago — The

¹ Family letters.

terms of it were too flattering as well as the essential service offered this grateful Country by your Excellency, have been too important not to command the utmost attention to your very reasonable request—

I did not hesitate immediately to consult the Minister of War and to give express directions for the forwarding to your Excellency by the ship *St L*— (a Continental Ship lent to the Minister of France for transporting the French Legions to France) the two field pieces that are to remain as lasting memorials of your Excellency's valuable services to the United States of America, and their great sense of the exalted merit & bravery of the Comte de Grasse.

May God Almighty take you under his kind protection and long preserve you an illustrious blessing to your Royal Master & the Nation over which he reigns with so much glory.

I have the honor to be &c.

E BOUDINOT Esq.¹

His Excellency the Comte de GRASSE &c &c.

MR. BOUDINOT TO HIS EXCELLENCY BENJAMIN
FRANKLIN.

PHILADELPHIA April 28 1783.

Sir

The Bearer Col Ogden of New Jersey a Gentleman who has been greatly distinguished for his

¹ Elias Boudinot's letter book.

bravery & good conduct from the first Commenc^t of the present War, having received the permission of Congress to make a Voyage to France, on his private concerns, I must take the liberty to recommend him to your Excell^{ys} Notice — He is of a good family in New Jersey, and having taken a very active Part during the Contest in this Country, deserves the favour & Protection of every friend to America — He is one of those brave few who persevered in the Journey thro' the Wilderness to Quebec, in the year 1776 where he was wounded in the attack on that City — He also bore a share in the laurels of York Town — I have the honor of enclosing a Letter from the commander in chief which he has committed to my Care — We are in daily anxious expectation of the definitive Treaty, having now been a long time without advices from any of our Ministers abroad — our last Letter having dated — Feb^y —

The Terms of peace give universal satisfaction here, except the article relative to the English Debts remaining silent as to the Time allowed our citizens to make the Payments — The Situation of our Country The property in the publick funds, not a farthing of which can be had — The great losses from the depreciated money & the stagnation of trade for years past, make it absolutely necessary that 3 or 4 years should be allowed for this purpose, on giving security for the

Debt — If an immediate Payment should be requested it will cast our Merch^t so entirely in the power of the English Creditor, as to be very injurious to the interest of France —

I have the honor to be with the greatest Esteem
& Respect,

Your Excellency's

Most Obd^t and

Most Hble Serv^t

E. B.¹

His Excely Dr. FRANKLIN.

CIRCULAR TO THE GOVERNORS OF THE STATES.

PHILADELPHIA May 6th 1783

SIR

I have the honor of enclosing to your Excellency a certified copy of an Act of Congress of the 2nd instant²

The universal importance of the object & the true interests of the United States in general & your State in particular being so obviously engaged in support of this recommendation, make it unnecessary to add any arguments to enforce the attention of your State to so reasonable a subject.

I have the honor to be &c.

ELIAS BOUDINOT.³

¹ Elias Boudinot's letter book.

² Relating to the establishing literary property.

³ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 16, p. 183.

MR. BOUDINOT TO MR. OLIVER POLLOCK.

OLIVER POLLOCK Esq^r

PHILADELPHIA May 9th 1783

SIR,

I have the honor to inform you in answer to your favour of the 7th instant that Congress have cheerfully accepted the portrait of Dr. Bernardo De. Galvez late Governor of Louisiana in consideration of the early and zealous friendship of that gentleman frequently manifested in behalf of these States, and have directed me to cause it to be hung up in the Hall of the Presidents House.

It is with pleasure I make this communication and am &c

E. B.¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(Private)

PHILADELPHIA 9th June 1783

DEAR SIR,

Since my last private letter to your Excellency nothing has turned up worthy of your notice but what you have received official advice of, from the proper Departments. Indeed unaccountable as it may seem, our Ministers at Paris have not suffered us to hear from them since the 24th of Jan^y last, till the day before yesterday, when I received two letters from Mr. Laurens, one of the 15^h of March the other of the 5^h of April last.

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 16, p. 186.

Altho' these contain but little information, yet I think proper to enclose the substance of them, in confidence, as it is unknown but that the knowledge of the Most trifling circumstances in important negotiations may, by accident, prove highly advantageous to one in your Excellency's situation.

I had the honor of receiving your Excellency's private letter enclosing one to Mr. Pintard, to which the greatest attention was paid.

Mrs. Boudinot and Miss Susan join me in reciprocating the most affectionate wishes and respectful compliments to Mrs Washington, in which your Excellency is most warmly included.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and most sincere esteem

Your Excellency's Most obedient

Very humble Serv^t

ELIAS BOUDINOT.¹

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

P. S. Your Excellency's Letter by the Secretary of War, was duly recd this morning & laid before Congress

June 11 — 1783

(Endorsed in Gen^l WASHINGTON's hand)

From His Excellency

ELIAS BOUDINOT

9th June 1783.

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Letters to Washington, vol. lxiii. p. 200.

MR. BOUDINOT TO THE MINISTERS PLENIPOTENTIARY.

THE HONORABLE

THE MINISTERS PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE
UNITED STATES, AT PARIS

PHILADELPHIA, 16 June 1783.

GENTLEMEN

I am sorry to inform you that by the resignation of Mr Livingston as Secretary for Foreign Affairs it has become necessary that you should receive the Resolutions of Congress relative to your mission, through my hands. The disadvantage arising from this necessity, until a Successor to that worthy gentleman is appointed, will be yours, as it will be impossible for me to do more than barely transmit the Acts of Congress necessary for your information.

Enclosed you have one of the 1st of May last, and another of the 12th instant, which I hope will get to hand time enough for your government.

The commissions and instructions referred to in the first not being ready, it was thought best to forward the resolution without delay, that you might know what was intended in the present important period of your negotiation.

We have been much surprised that we have not received any communication from you since the account of the cessation of hostilities except a letter of the 5th of April from Mr. Laurens.

I have the honor to be &c &c

E. B.¹

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 10, p. 192.

MR. BOUDINOT TO HON. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

THE HONORABLE
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, ESQ.
MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY &C.
PARIS.

PHILADELPHIA 18th June 1783.

SIR

Enclosed you have an official letter, directed to our Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris.

The resignation of the late Secretary for Foreign Affairs (occasioned by his preference of the Chancellorship of New York, which he could not hold longer, and retain his Secretaryship) has cast this business on me till a Successor is elected, which I hope will speedily take place.

As part of the Resolution of the 12th instant, enclosed in the above letter, is of a secret nature, I have wrote it in Cyphers, and not having Mr. Livingston's, I thought it best to use Mr. Morris's to you which he has obligingly supplied me with, so that the Commissioners must be indebted to you for the decyphering of it.

Your letter to Mr Livingston of the 5th of April, enclosing the two medals, came to hand this morning. I am sorry to find that you make similar complaints to those we have been making for two months past, on the subject of want of intelligence. We have not heard from any of our Commissioners since February, tho' our anxiety and expectations have been wound up to the highest pitch.

I feel myself much indebted for your polite compliment of the medal — it is very elegant indeed, and the device and workmanship much admired. You will please to accept of my acknowledgments on this occasion. I doubt not but the copper one was designed for Mr. Livingston personally, I shall transmit it to him. He is a very worthy deserving character and the United States will suffer greatly by his resignation, tho' I really think him justified in attending to the calls of his private affairs.

I enclose you a number of late newspapers, in which you will see a number of Resolves, Associations &c, from all parts of the country, which I wish had been kept out of sight, but the truth is, that the cruelties, ravages and barbarities of many of the Refugees and Loyalists have left the people so sore, that it is not the time for them yet to exercise their cooler judgment; and it cannot take place while the citizens of New York are kept out of their habitations and despoiled of their property by sending off negroes &c. It has been an ill judged scheme in the British to retain New York so long, and send off the negroes, as it has roused the spirit of the citizens of the several States greatly.

I have the honor to be &c¹

E. B.

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 16, p. 194.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO HIS EXCELLENT ELIAS BOUDINOT, ESQ^R, PRESID^T OF CONGRESS.

NEWBURGH, June 18th 1783.

DEAR SIR,

I have received the honour of your Excellency's favour of the 9th and am very much obliged to you for the Extracts from M^r Laurens's Letters of the 15th of March and 5th of April. By these it does not appear that the British Ministry are in any haste, either to evacuate New York or finish the Treaty; both of which are devoutly to be wished. The latter, as it will put a period to my public life, I look forward to it with great solicitude, and shall receive the account with Heart felt satisfaction, that in the Walks of private life, My Mind May enjoy that relaxation and repose of which it stands much in need.

The arrangements Consequent of the Resolve of the 26th of May, have been all Made: Very few besides the three years men and the officers who are arranged to them, remain; and the business got more happily over than could be expected.

Mrs Washington is on a jaunt to Esopus with the Governor and Mrs Clinton or she would, I am sure, join me most cordially in compliments to Mrs, Miss Boudinot and yourself.

I have the honour to be, With the greatest Respect and Regard,

Dear Sir, &c.

GO. WASHINGTON.¹

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., P, vol. iii. p. 144.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Mutiny of Pennsylvania troops. — Resolution of Congress. — Hamilton, chairman of committee. — Mr. Boudinot to General Washington; tells details of mutiny; wish of members for protection; proclamation. — Letter of Mr. Boudinot to Mr. Elisha Boudinot, on mutiny. — General Washington to Mr. Boudinot; sends forward troops. — Mr. Boudinot to General Washington; reasons for leaving Philadelphia. — Mr. Boudinot to General Washington; introducing Count Del Vermé. — Mr. Boudinot to Doctor William Burnet; thanks of Congress to citizens of Newark. — To Colonel Joseph Phillips on address of officers of militia of Hunterdon, Middlesex, and Somerset Counties. — To Thomas Willing, Esq., on address of citizens of Philadelphia. — To General Washington; a summons to appear before Congress to aid in peace arrangements. — To Sir Guy Carleton on counterfeiters. — To General Washington, regarding his presence in Congress; delay of treaty; house to be taken for Washington. — To General Washington on proposed address to him by Congress. — General Washington's reply. — To Hon. Benjamin Franklin. — Received letter inclosing treaty with Sweden. — Ratification retarded for want of more states present. — Accomplished and sent for exchange. — Impropriety of title United States of North America and three lower counties on Delaware. — Resolve empowering change. — Silence of commissioners. — Reason for removal of Congress given in letter of July 15. — To inhabitants of New Brunswick; reply to their address. — To General Washington; illness of Mrs. Washington. — Received letters from Mr. Laurens; had seen Mr. Fox; doubts as to powers; Mr. Hartley without full powers; Mr. Laurens in London; begs cannon for Comte de Grasse. — Sir Guy Carleton to evacuate New York.

At this time, June 21, 1783, occurred the mutiny of certain troops stationed at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. They marched to Philadelphia, and with some soldiers there formed an armed body some five hundred strong. Their purpose was to force their pay from Congress. They

could not at the moment have been treated as a mere handful of drunken soldiers. Washington, Hamilton, and Congress regarded their action as a serious menace, the more so in view of the advancing troops of the same line from the South. Promptness and energy were characteristic of those who defeated what might have become a much more grave affair.

From what Mr. Boudinot had witnessed during the revolt of the soldiers of the Pennsylvania line at Baskingridge, in January of 1781, where they murdered a captain and mortally wounded another, he was justified in his fears that they might resort to extremities.¹

The resolution of Congress was as follows: —

“On June 21 — 1783 Resolved that the Pres^t & Supreme executive Council of Penn^a be informed that the authority of the United States having been this day grossly insulted by the disorderly & menacing appearance of a body of armed soldiers about the place within which Congress were assembled & the peace of this city being endangered by the mutinous disposition of the said troops now in the barracks, it is in the opinion of Congress necessary that effectual measures be immediately taken for supporting the public authority — That the Committee be directed to confer with the Supreme executive of

¹ See also Irving's *Washington*, vol. iv. p. 213.

Penn^a on the practicability of carrying the preceding resolutions into effect.”¹

Hamilton was chairman of the committee to wait upon the executive of Pennsylvania, and urged immediate measures for repressing such ominous proceedings, at a time so important for us to appear well in the eyes of the whole world, and as a necessary check upon further demonstrations of the same kind at such a critical period, when the armies were being disbanded, the creditors of the nation.

The commissioners in Europe confirmed this view, as shown in their letter of September 10, 1783. Hamilton said with regard to this event: “It was the duty of government to provide effectually against the repetition of such outrages, and to put itself in the situation to give instead of receiving the law and to manifest that its compliance was not the effect of necessity, but of choice; this was not to be considered as a disorderly riot, of an armed mob, but as the deliberate mutiny of an incensed soldiery carried to the utmost point of outrage short of assassination and further a considerable part of the same line was expected from the Southward.”²

As president, Mr. Boudinot notifies General Washington of these disagreeable circumstances in the following:—

¹ *Journal of Congress.*

² J. C. Hamilton's *Life of Alexander Hamilton*, vol. ii. p. 220.

HIS EXCELLENCY
GENL WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA 21st June 1783
4 o'clock P. M.

DEAR SIR

I am greatly mortified that our circumstances here oblige me to trouble your Excellency with a detail highly disagreeable and perplexing. I presume your Excellency has received copies of letters from Colo Butler and Mr Henry forwarded a few days ago. All endeavours to oblige the men to return to Lancaster proved ineffectual. They entered this city yesterday morning in a very orderly manner and took possession of the Barracks, and with the Troops there quartered these make up about five hundred men. Genl St. Clair was sent for, and matters seemed tolerably easy till this morning, when they positively refused all obedience to their Officers and seemed forming a design to be troublesome by evening. Congress being adjourned till Monday, I thought proper to call them together at One o'clock. Six States had got together when the mutineers, joined by those of the Barracks before their arrival in Town, very unexpectedly appeared before and surrounded the State House, with fixed Bayonets, The Supreme Executive Council sitting also in the same House. The mutineers sent in a paper, demanding of the President and Council to authorize them to choose their own officers, (being deserted by their former officers

as they alleged) in order to represent their grievances — that they should wait twenty minutes and if nothing was then done, they would turn in an enraged Soldiery on the Council who would do themselves justice, and the Council must abide the consequences, or words to that effect. This was handed to the members of Congress by the President of the State, Genl St. Clair was present at the request of Congress and but very few Other Officers attended. Neither Congress nor the Council would take any measures while they were so menaced, and matters continued thus till half past three o'clock this afternoon, when the mutineers were prevailed on for the present to march back to the Barracks. They have seized the public Magazine and I am of opinion that the worst is not yet come. Tho' no Congress was regularly formed for want of one Member, yet the Members present unanimously directed me to inform your Excellency of this unjustifiable Movement. The Militia of the City, I suppose will be called out, but there are some suspicions that the Mutineers value themselves on their interest with the Inhabitants. It is therefore the wish of the Members who were assembled, that your Excellency would direct a movement of some of your best troops, on whom you can depend under these circumstances, towards this City, as it will be of the most dangerous consequences if a Measure of this kind is to be put up with, and no one can tell where it will

end. Your Excellency will hear from me again, on this subject without delay. I forgot to inform your Excellency, that the Month's pay for January has been ordered to these Men, and three month's pay in Notes &c. They complain heavily of their Accounts yet remaining unsettled. It is to be wished the Pay Master could arrange Matters so as to close the accounts of the Soldiers with more expedition.

I have the honor to be &c.

E. B.¹

A proclamation is then issued.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY
ELIAS BOUDINOT, ESQUIRE,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS
ASSEMBLED.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS a body of armed Soldiers in the service of the United States, and quartered in the Barracks of this City, having mutinously renounced their obedience to their Officers, did, on Saturday the Twenty-first Day of this instant, proceed, under the direction of their Serjeants, in a hostile and threatening manner, to the place in which Congress were assembled, and did surround the same with Guards: And Whereas Congress in consequence thereof, did, on the same Day, resolve, "That the President and

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Letters to Washington, vol. xcii. p. 224.

“Supreme Executive Council of this State should
“be informed, that the authority of the United
“States having been that day grossly insulted by
“the disorderly and menacing appearance of a
“body of armed Soldiers, about the Place within
“which Congress were assembled, and that the
“Peace of this City being endangered by the
“mutinous Disposition of the said Troops then
“in the Barracks; it was, in the Opinion of Con-
“gress, necessary, that effectual Measures should
“be immediately taken for supporting the public
“Authority:” And also whereas Congress did, at
the same Time appoint a Committee to confer
with the said President and Supreme Executive
Council on the practicability of carrying the said
Resolution into due effect: And also whereas
the said Committee have reported to me, that
they have not received satisfactory Assurances
for expecting adequate and prompt exertions of
this State for supporting the Dignity of the Fœderal
Government: And also whereas the said
Soldiers still continue in a state of open Mutiny
and Revolt, so that the Dignity and Authority of
the United States, would be constantly exposed
to a repetition of insult, while Congress shall con-
tinue to sit in this City, I DO THEREFORE,
by and with the Advice of the said Committee,
and according to the Powers and Authorities in
me vested for this Purpose, hereby summon the
honorable the Delegates composing The Con-
gress of the United States, and every of them, to

meet in Congress, on Thursday the Twenty Sixth Day of June instant, at Princeton, in the state of New Jersey, in order that further and more effectual Measures may be taken for suppressing the present revolt, and maintaining the Dignity and Authority of the United States; of which all Officers of the United States, civil and Military, and all others whom it may concern, are desired to take Notice and govern themselves accordingly.

GIVEN under my Hand and Seal at Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, this Twenty-Fourth Day of June, in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty Three, and of the Sovereignty and Independence of the United States the seventh.

ELIAS BOUDINOT.¹

Attest.

SAMUEL STERETT, Private Secretary.

MR. BOUDINOT TO MR. ELISHA BOUDINOT.

PHILAD^a 23 June 1783

MY DEAR BROTHER

I have only a moment to inform you that there has been a most dangerous Insurrection and meeting among a few Soldiers in the Barracks here about 3 or 400 surrounded Congress and the Supreme Executive Council, and kept us Prisoners in a manner near 3 hours, tho' they offered no insult personally — To my great mortification, not a citizen came to our assistance — The President and Council have not firmness

¹ Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 16, p. 202.

enough to call out the Militia and allege as a reason that they would not obey them — In short the political manœuvres here, previous to the important Events of next October entirely unhinge Government — This handful of Mutineers continue still with Arms in their hands and are privately supported, and it is well if we are not all Prisoners in a short time — Congress will not meet here, but have authorized me to change their place of Residence — I mean to adjourn to Princeton if the Inhabitants of Jersey will protect us — I have wrote to the Governor particularly — I wish you could get your Troop of Horse to offer their aid and be ready if necessary to meet us at Princeton on Saturday or Sunday next if required —

I would not wish anything to be made more public than is necessary for the above purpose —

I wish Jersey to show her readiness on this occasion as it may fix Congress as to their permanent residence —

The Express will call for an answer

Am in great haste with love to all

Yours aff^{cty}

ELIAS BOUDINOT ¹

ELISHA BOUDINOT Esq^r

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO HIS EXCELLENCY ELIAS
BOUDINOT, ESQ.

HEADQUARTERS NEWBURGH evening June 24 1783.

SIR

It was not until 3 O'clock this afternoon, that I had the first intimation of the infamous and

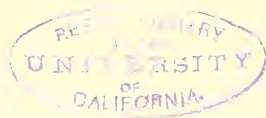
¹ Family letters.

outrageous Mutiny of a part of the Pennsylvania Troops; it was then I received your Excellency's Letter of the 21st by express, and agreeable to the request contained in it, I instantly ordered Three compleat Regiments of Infantry and a Detachment of Artillery to be put in motion as soon as possible;— This Corps (which you will observe by the Returns, is a large proportion of our whole Force) will consist of upwards of 1500 effectives. — As all the Troops who composed this gallant little Army, as well those who were furloughed as those who remain in Service, are Men of tried fidelity, I could not have occasion to make any choice of Corps; and I have only to regret, that that there existed a necessity, they should be employed on so disagreeable a Service, — I dare say however, they will on this and all other occasions perform their duty as brave and faithful Soldiers.

While I suffer the most poignant distress in observing that a handful of men, contemptible in numbers, and equally so in point of Service (if the Veteran Troops from the southward have not been seduced by their example) and who are not worthy to be called Soldiers, should disgrace themselves as the Pennsylvania Mutineers have done, by insulting the Sovereign Authority of the United States and that of their own; — I feel an inexpressible satisfaction, that even this behaviour cannot stain the name of the American Soldiery. — It cannot be imputable to, or reflect dishonour

on the Army at large; but on the contrary, it will, by the striking contrast it exhibits, hold up to public view the other Troops in the most advantageous point of light; — Upon taking all the circumstances into consideration, I cannot sufficiently express my surprise and indignation, at the arrogance, the folly, and the wickedness of the Mutineers; nor can I sufficiently admire the fidelity, the bravery, and the patriotism, which must for ever signalize the unsullied Character of the other Corps of our Army; — for when we consider that these Pennsylvania Levies who have now mutined, are Recruits and Soldiers of a day, who have not born the heat and burden of the War, and who can have in reality very few hardships to complain of, — and when we at the same time recollect that these Soldiers who have lately been furloughed from this Army are the veterans who have patiently endured hunger, nakedness and cold, who have suffered and bled without a murmur, and who with perfect good order have retired to their homes, without the settlement of their Accounts, or a farthing of money in their pockets, — we shall be as much astonished at the virtues of the latter, as we are struck with horror and detestation at the proceedings of the former; — and every candid mind without indulging ill-grounded prejudices, will undoubtedly make the proper discrimination.

I intended only to wait until the Troops were collected and had occupied their new Camp, in



order to make a full Report to Congress of the measures which have been taken in consequence of the Resolution of the 26th of May. — Notwithstanding the option which was given, in my answer to the address of the Generals and Officers Commanding Regiments and Corps, which has been already sent to your Excellency, — No Soldiers, except a very few whose homes are within the Enemy's Lines, and a very small number of Officers, have thought proper to avail themselves of it by remaining with the Army — A List of those who remain, is herewith transmitted. — The Men engaged to serve three Years were then formed into Reg^{ts} and Corps in the following manner, viz — The Troops of Massachusetts composed 4 Regiments, Connecticut 1 Reg^t New Hampshire 5 Companies, Rhode Island 2 Companies, Massachusetts Artillery 3 Companies and New York Artillery 2 Companies — The total strength will be seen by the Weekly state, which is also forwarded.

The Army being thus reduced to merely a competent garrison for West Point, that being the only object of importance in this quarter, and it being necessary to employ a considerable part of the men in building an Arsenal and Magazines at that Post, agreeably to the directions given by the Secretary at War, — the Troops accordingly broke up the Cantonement yesterday, and removed to that Garrison, where Major Gen^l Knox still retains the Command. The Detachment

which marches for Philadelphia will be under the orders of Maj Gen^l Howe — Gen^l Heath having, at his own particular request, retired from the field; — The Brigadiers now remaining with the Army, are Patterson, Huntington and Greaton, besides the Adjutant-General. — Thus have I given the present State of our military affairs, and hope the Arrangements will be satisfactory to Congress.

I have the honor to be

Your Excellency's

Most obedient Servant

G: WASHINGTON

P. S. Should anything turn up, which may prevent the necessity of the Troops proceeding to Philadelphia, I am to request your Excellency will send the earliest intimation to the Commanding Officer — that the Detachment may return immediately. — The Route will be by Ringwood, Pompton, Morristown, Princeton and Trenton, on which your Express may meet the Corps.¹

[Indorsement]

Letter 24 June 1783

Gen^l WASHINGTON.

Recd 30 June.

MR. BOUDINOT TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

HIS EXCELLENCY

GENL WASHINGTON,

PRINCETON 5th July 1783.

DEAR SIR

I have neglected writing your Excellency a circumstantial account of the reasons of Congress

¹ Papers of the Continental Congress,, vol. xi. pp. 381, 284, 285.

leaving Philadelphia, in hopes of being able to furnish the official account as entered on our Journals, which must be more satisfactory, than anything I could have wrote.

I now have the honor to enclose the proceedings of Congress on this business, which will give your Excellency a tolerably just narrative of this unhappy affair in general; altho' there are many trifling circumstances and anecdotes attending it, that tend to shew and enforce the propriety of adjourning Congress to some other place for free deliberation, which could not be entered on their Journals.

The Proclamation I had the honor of enclosing to your Excellency some days ago, added to the enclosed, are all our public acts on this subject.

I believe the citizens of Philadelphia begin to reflect on their conduct towards the Federal Government, in a very different point of view from that in which they first considered it. Indeed, the truth being brought to light, obliges an acknowledgment of the absurdity of Congress sitting in the City under such circumstances.

I have the honor to be &c.

E. B.¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

PRINCETON July 8th 1783

DEAR SIR

This will be handed to your Excellency by the Count Del Vermé, a Nobleman of Milan in Italy

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 16, p. 209.

— By means of his Cousin Prince Caramivice an Ambassador at the Court of London, he was recommended by the Duke of Portland to Dr Franklin Mr. Laurens & Mr. Adams who have warmly addressed this illustrious Traveller to the Notice of Congress —

Permit me Sir to request your kind attention (to) the Count on his Visit at Head Quarters — His design is to make a Tour through the United States, and to see the principal Men in each State —

I received your Excellency's favour by the return of my Express, who went off in such Haste, as made me guilty of an omission in not acknowledging the receipt of your Excellency's favours of the 24" & 25" Ultimo, which had come safe to Hand, and the Sentiments of which gave great Pleasure & Satisfaction to Congress —

I have the Honor to be with the most perfect Esteem & regard Your Excellency's Most Obed & very Hble Serv^t

ELIAS BOUDINOT.

His Excellency, General WASHINGTON.

(Endorsed in Gen^l WASHINGTON's hand)

From His Excellency ELIAS

BOUDINOT Esq.

8th July 1783.¹

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Letters to Washington, vol. lxiii. p. 306.

MR. BOUDINOT TO DR. WILLIAM BURNET.

DR WILLIAM BURNET, CHAIRMAN &C
NEWARK — NEW JERSEY

PRINCETON, July 24th 1783.

SIR

I am honored with the commands of Congress to inform you, in answer to the polite and respectful address of the Magistrates, Militia Officers and citizens of the Town of Newark, that Congress entertain a high sense of their Spirit and patriotism, and applaud their zeal for good order and the security and honor of the Federal Government

Permit me also the Pleasure of assuring the respectable Magistrates, Officers & Citizens of the Town of Newark, that Congress feel themselves much obliged by their kind disposition to render the residence of Congress in this State as agreeable as possible.

I have the honor to be &c

ELIAS BOUDINOT.¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO COLONEL JOSEPH PHILLIPS OF THE
MILITIA OF NEW JERSEY, &C.

PRINCETON 30th July 1783

SIR

I had the honor of laying before Congress the address of the Officers of the three Battalions of Militia of Hunterdon, Middlesex and Somerset

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 16, p. 226.

most contiguous to Princeton, and in answer thereto have it in charge to inform those respectable officers, "that Congress have received with much satisfaction their respectful and affectionate address and highly approve the patriotic sentiments contained in the resolution with which it is accompanied."

It gives me personally great pleasure to bear this testimony to the affectionate attachment of my Fellow Citizens of New Jersey to the Federal Government, and doubt not but they will ever support the very respectable Character they have hitherto maintained throughout the Union. I must beg the favor of your communicating this to your Brother Officers and be assured, Sir, that I am, with very great respect

Yours &c.¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO MR. THOMAS WILLING, ESQ.

PRINCETON 30th July 1783

THOMAS WILLING, Esq

SIR

I lately had the honor of laying before Congress a very respectful and affectionate address from the Citizens of Philadelphia and the Liberties thereof, in answer to which I am instructed by Congress, to inform those worthy gentlemen, "That the United States in Congress assembled have great satisfaction in receiving the spirited and patriotic exertions, which have been made by the Govern-

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 16, p. 231.

ment and Citizens of Pennsylvania in the course of the late glorious war: and that Congress is highly pleased with the resolution expressed by the Citizens of Philadelphia to aid in all measures which may have a tendency to support the national honor and dignity”

As the honorable Delegates of Pennsylvania, resident in the City, are expected here before this can reach you, and I observe that your name is the first subscribed to the address, permit me; Sir, to beg the favour of you to make this answer known to the respectable Citizens who are among your Fellow Subscribers; and at the same time to assure them that I feel myself very happy and highly honored in thus communicating the testimony of the United States to the patriotic and successful exertions of the Government and Citizens of Pennsylvania in the common cause.

I have the honor to be &c.

E. B.¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

P. TOWN July 31 1783.

DR SIR

A moments Time is only allowed to inform your Excellency that I have it on Command from Congress to acquaint you, that it is their Pleasure that you should, as soon as convenient after your return from the Northward, attend Congress at this Place, as they think your Presence will be of spe-

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 16, p. 230.

cial Service at this important Period; and the change of situation may be more agreeable to your Excellency under present Circumstances — I would enclose a copy of this resolution, under which I act, but by the negligence of the Clerk, I cannot obtain it without missing the loss of this opportunity.

It gives me a very peculiar Pleasure, to make this communication, as I have hopes of seeing Mrs. Washington & your Excellency enjoying the fruits of that Peace, which under God is in a great measure owing to your glorious Exertions.

Mrs. Boudinot & Miss Susan join me in the most affectionate wishes for your & Mrs Washington's Health & Happiness.

I have the Honor &c.¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO SIR GUY CARLTON.

P. TOWN Aug 1. 1783.

SIR,

I had the pleasure of acknowledging the rec't of your Excellency's Letter of the 24 ulto by return of the messenger who brought it, I am now honored with the Commands of Congress on the subject of that Letter & the Papers therein enclosed. Congress have considered those Communications relative to certain Persons suspected of forging & passing Notes issued from the Office of Finance of the number States and on the maturest deliberation they presume your Exclly

¹ Pennsylvania Historical Society.

will give orders that such of the Persons, subjects of any of these United States as are or may be in Custody on a Charge of having made or passed within any of the United States, counterfeits either of the Notes or Paper Bills of Credit of the United States or any of them, shall be delivered up, together with the Proofs which shall be collected of them, to be tryed under the Jurisdiction to whom Cognisance of their crimes belongs — If this measure should meet your Excellys approbation, a Guard shall attend at the Time & Place to be appointed by your Exclly. for the purpose of receiving and securing such of the Criminals as fall under the above description — With regard to further [torn] and to Criminals who are not amenable to any of these States, Congress have entire Confidence, that Justice will be done and such atrocious Offenders brought to Condign Punishment.

Enclosed is an original Paper I found within one of the Copies sent by your Exclly. and as it may be material in the Enquiry, I take the Liberty of returning it.

My private Secretary Mr. Sterett going on Business to Newark I have directed him if a convenient opportunity offer on Monday, to proceed as far as New York & deliver this himself.

I have the honor to be with great respect,

Your Exclly. &c.¹

ELIAS BOUDINOT

His Excellcy. Sir GUY CARLTON.

¹ Pennsylvania Historical Society.

MR. BOUDINOT TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

PRINCETON 12th August 1783

DEAR SIR,

Your Excellency's favour of the 6th inst. gave me great pleasure, as they announced your safe arrival after so expeditious & fatiguing a Journey.

The Resolution of Congress requested by your Excellency was forwarded several days since, but it cannot answer your expectations — Congress wished to have Your Excellency's personal aid at forming the peace arrangement whenever that Report was called up, but your disagreeable situation arising from the unexpected and unaccountable delay of the definitive treaty, hastened the measure of requesting your Excellency's Attendance, that you Might, by a change of place be, in some Measure, relieved from the inconveniences Attending your present local situation. However Congress have instructed me to inform your Excellency, that it is their wish that you would make your attendance entirely agreeable to your own conveniency unless you hear further from them. They have directed a House and standing Furniture to be taken for your Excellency within three or four miles of this place,¹ in case it should be agreeable for you to remain here a few weeks, but they by no means wish to hurry you in your Journey unless the Definitive Treaty should suddenly arrive of which I shall do myself the honor of giving you the earliest intelligence.

¹ General Berrian's house was chosen for this purpose.

I have no doubt, from very good information, that the substance of the Treaty, if not an authenticated copy, is in New York, tho' previous to the ratification, which, I suppose, is delayed to give Sir Guy all the time that can be conveniently done.

I have the honor to be, Sir, with great respect,

Your Excellency's

Most obedient

& Very humb. Servant

ELIAS BOUDINOT.¹

(Endorsed)

Princeton 12th Aug^t 1783

from BOUDINOT

President of Congress

intentions of Congress in desir^g
attendance.

MR. BOUDINOT TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(Private.)

PRINCETON Augt 12th 1783.

DEAR SIR/

With this your Excellency will receive my public Letter of this date. That your Excellency may be informed of every Act of Congress, relating to yourself personally, I do myself the honor of enclosing for your private Information a Copy of an Address proposed to be delivered, to your Excellency on your attendance here, in Case it should precede the definitive Treaty — I also enclose an Act of Congress, calculated to hand

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Letters to Washington, vol. lxiv., p. 21.

down to Posterity the attention of your grateful Country, for services that never can be repaid — Every public Testimony to your Excellency's just Merit, gives me a most sensible & lasting Pleasure, as it is a living Evidence that public gratitude, for essential public Services, is not yet quite driven from our political World.

I have the honor to be with very great Esteem & respect

Your Excellency's

Most obedient and very Hble. Serv^t

ELIAS BOUDINOT.

- P. S. Mrs. Boudinot & Miss Susan join me in the most affectionate compliments to Mrs. Washington.¹

(Endorsed)

Princeton 12th Aug^t 1783, from Boudinot
President of Congress inclos^s proposed
address & Resolution for erect^s Statue.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO HIS EXCELLENCY ELIAS
BOUDINOT, ESQ.

HEAD QUARTERS, 14th Augst 1783

SIR,

By the last post, I was honored with your Excellency's favor of the 1st ins^t, enclosing the resolve of Congress, directing my attendance at Princeton. Notwithstanding my Horses had arrived but a Day or two before, & were much fatigued, I should have set out immediately, had it not been for the indisposition of Mrs Washington, who, during my absence, had been seized

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Letters to Washington, vol. lxiv. p. 25.

with a fever. — had a return of it since, & is now in a very weak and low state. This Circumstance, together with a desire of packing my papers, and making arrangements for a final remove (being uncertain of the objects Congress have in view by my attendance, or how long I may be detained at Princeton) will, I hope, avail as an Excuse for my delay.

I propose to set out on Monday next, provided Mrs Washington's Health will admit, or I should not have any thing from Congress in the mean Time, to prevent my Intentions.

With great respect &c.

GO. WASHINGTON.¹

Received in Congress August 22d.

MR. BOUDINOT TO HON. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

PRINCETON 15 Aug. 1783.

SIR

I had the honor of your favor of the 7th of March last enclosing the treaty between the United States and the King of Sweden, the ratification whereof has been retarded for want of nine States present in Congress. This act has now taken place and I am honored with the commands of Congress to transmit it to you for exchange, which I now have the pleasure of doing and hope it will meet with a safe and speedy conveyance.

On receiving the treaty a manifest impropriety struck Congress in the title of the United States being called of *North* America when it should have

¹ Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 152, vol. xi. p. 431.

been only America and also in the enumeration of the different states, wherein the Delaware State is called "The three lower counties on Delaware." As there is no such State in the Union Congress were at a loss how they could ratify the treaty with propriety, unless they should alter the transcript, which might be liable to many exceptions; they have therefore to avoid all difficulties passed a separate Resolve empowering you to make the necessary amendments. A certified copy of this Resolution I do myself the pleasure to enclose.

Congress are entirely at a loss to account for the silence of their Commissioners at Paris, since February last, being without any official information relative to the Treaty with Great Britain since that time.

I had the honor of writing you very fully on the 15th of July last, giving you the reasons for our removal to this place at length, which I hope got safe to hand.

Congress having determined not to fix the place of their permanent residence till the first Monday in October next, is the reason of deferring the appointment of a Minister for Foreign Affairs till that is done.

I have the honor to be with high
respect and esteem

Your most obedient
very humble servant

ELIAS BOUDINOT.¹

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Franklin papers, vol. v. p. 1153.

P. S. I have sent by
this opportunity the News Papers
to this Date.

MR. BOUDINOT TO INHABITANTS OF NEW BRUNSWICK.

AZARIAH DUNHAM & OTHERS

A COMMITTEE OF THE INHABITANTS OF
NEW BRUNSWICK,

PRINCETON, August 16th 1783

GENTLEMEN

In answer to the very respectful address (which you did me the honor of enclosing to my care) of the Inhabitants of New Brunswick and its vicinity, I am directed by Congress to inform those respectable citizens "that Congress with pleasure received their congratulations on the glorious and happy success of the War; are obliged by the affection and respect for the Federal Government expressed in their address, and highly approve their patriotic disposition to promote order, harmony and peace throughout the United States"

The honor of this communication gives me great pleasure, as it is an additional testimony to the persevering and worthy conduct of my Fellow Citizens of New Jersey.

I have the honor to be &c.¹

ELIAS BOUDINOT

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 16, p. 241.

MR. BOUDINOT TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

(Private.)

PRINCETON August 21" 1783.

DEAR SIR /

It is but this moment that your Excellency's Letter of the 14th Inst. has got to Hand.

The alarming illness of Mrs. Washington gives Mrs. Boudinot, myself & Daughter, real distress; our Prayers shall not cease for her recovery— Ere this I hope your Excellency has rec'd mine by the Secretary of War, which will inform you of the Intentions of Congress, that you should make your Journey here, entirely agreeable to your own convenience & Leisure.

Since that Letter we have rec^d Letters from Mr. Laurens of the 14th & 18" June— By these we are convinced that there is no definitive Treaty yet arrived in New York— The Substance of his Letters is, "That he had seen Mr. Fox who made a Question whether the American Ministers were authorized & disposed to open an Intercourse of Commerce on Terms of reciprocity"— To answer this, our Ministers immediately to wit, on the 29th April Made a proposition of several plain Simple Articles full to that Purpose, and tendered them for Execution to Mr. Hartley— who at first approved of them, but after some hesitation acknowledged he had come to Paris without his Powers— he sent a Messenger to London with the proposition— and

after a waste of three weeks, he returned with an answer that they could not be agreed to —

21st May — Mr. Hartley proposed Terms Altogether inadmissible, but could not produce either Commission or Instructions to compleat any Thing.

Mr. Laurens went to London from whence he writes and makes the following Observations “ My former assurances have undergone a wonderful refinement — Reciprocity seems now to mean, Enjoyment on one side, and restriction on the other. This change may have been wrought by the unexpected & sudden arrival of divers Ships & Cargoes from different Ports in the United States — The British Minister at Paris candidly assured me that he was of this opinion ” — Mr. Laurens mentioned to Mr. Fox his wish to stay a few days at Bath, but he feared that his Presence would be necessary at the signing of the Treaty — Mr. Fox answered by assuring Mr. L. that he might safely remain at Bath for some days without danger, from which Mr. L. concluded that there was not anything likely to be done speedily — Mr. Laurens says that the present Ministry is likely to be of a very short duration —

I have the honor to enclose three Letters to your Excellency committed to my Care from different Quarters —

Shall I presume so much on your Excellency's time, as once more to beg your attention, to the

Cannon that was designed for the Comte De Grasse I feel myself much hurt by the assurance I was led to give him that they should be sent to him by the Duc de Luzern, and which I was not able to effect.

Mrs. Boudinot & Miss Susan join me in the Most affectionate regards for Mrs. Washington, most devoutly praying for her immediate recovery

I have the honor to be with the highest respect

Your Excellency's Most Obd^t &

Hble Serv^t

ELIAS BOUDINOT.¹

P. S. Congress have rec^d official Information from Sir Guy Carleton, that he has positive orders to evacuate New York without delay — Mr. Laurens mentions the same thing, as told him by Mr. Fox —

His Excellency General WASHINGTON.

(Endorsed in Gen^l WASHINGTON'S hand)

From his Excellency ELIAS BOUDINOT,

21st Aug^t — 83.

MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Letters to Washington, vol. lxiv. p. 53.

CHAPTER XIX.

Congress holds an audience for congratulating General Washington on the termination of the war, and to consult on peace arrangements. — Speech of Mr. Boudinot to General Washington. — General Washington's reply. — Hon. John Adams to Mr. Boudinot; time appointed for signing treaties of peace; provisional articles with preamble making definitive treaty; expecting his recall; recommends Mr. Thaxter. — Hon. John Adams to Mr. Boudinot; American ministers met British minister, signed definitive treaty; repetitions of provisional treaty, September 5, 1783; on mediation of the two Imperial Courts; on minister to Vienna and England; commercial connections. — Hon. John Adams to Mr. Boudinot, on receipt of commission for treaty of commerce; affairs in Holland; Mr. Dumas' expenses; politics; foreign papers. — Mr. Boudinot to Hon. Benjamin Franklin; inclosing duplicate of ratification of treaty with Sweden, also resolutions of Congress; mutiny happily ended. — From the commissioners to Mr. Boudinot; relative to treaty; conduct of the whole affair. — Reception of Mr. Boudinot's letter of 7th June, with directions for treaty of commerce; ministers to and from England; other nations ready to make treaties.

THERE could scarcely have fallen upon Mr. Boudinot a duty more in consonance with his feelings, than that which devolved upon him as president of Congress, to officially congratulate Washington on the success of the war.

Monday August 26th 1783.

Congress being informed of the arrival of the Commander in Chief in the neighborhood of Princeton ordered — “That we have an audience in Congress tomorrow at Twelve O. Gen^l Washington attended being introduced by two members” The Pres^t said:



“Sir, Congress feel particular pleasure in seeing your excellency, and in congratulating you on the success of a War, in which you have acted so conspicuous a part.

It has been the singular happiness of the United States, that during a war, so long, so dangerous and so important Providence has been graciously pleased to preserve the life of a general, who has merited and possessed the uninterrupted confidence and affection of his fellow citizens. In other nations many have performed services, for which they have deserved and received the thanks of the public. But to you Sir peculiar praise is due, your services have been essential in acquiring and establishing the freedom and independence of your country. They deserve the grateful acknowledgments of a free and independent nation. These acknowledgments Congress have the satisfaction of expressing to your Excellency. Hostilities have now ceased, but your country still needs your services. She wishes to avail herself of your talents in forming the arrangements which will be necessary for her in the time of peace. For this reason your attendance at Congress has been requested. A committee is appointed to confer with your excellency and to receive your assistance in preparing and digesting plans relative to these important objects”¹—

To which His Excellency made the following reply:—

¹ *Journal of Congress.*

“Mr President — I am too sensible of the honorable reception I have now experienced not to be penetrated with the deepest feelings of gratitude.

Notwithstanding Congress appear to estimate the value of my life beyond any services I have been able to render the United States, yet I must be permitted to consider the wisdom and unanimity of our national councils, the firmness of our citizens and the patience and bravery of our troops which have produced so happy a termination of the war as the most conspicuous effect of the divine interposition, and the surest presage of our national happiness.

Highly gratified by the favorable sentiments which Congress are pleased to express of my past conduct and amply rewarded by the confidence and affection of my fellow-citizens I cannot hesitate to contribute my best endeavours towards the establishment of the national security, in whatever manner the sovereign power may think proper to direct, until the ratification of the definitive treaty of peace, or the final evacuation of our country by the British forces, after either of which events, I shall ask permission to retire to the peaceful shade of private life.

Perhaps Sir no occasion may offer more suitable than the present, to express my humble thanks to God and my grateful acknowledgments to my country, for the great and uniform support I have received in every vicissitude of fortune

and for the many distinguished honors which Congress have been pleased to confer upon me in the course of the War”¹

HON. JOHN ADAMS TO HIS EXCELLENCY ELIAS BOUDINOT, ESQ.

PARIS September 1, 1783.

SIR

Wednesday the third of this Month is appointed for the Signature of the Definitive Treaties of Peace. Unable to obtain any addition or Explanation, we have been obliged to agree to sign the Provisional articles, over again with only a Preamble, making them a Definitive Treaty. No Regulation of Commerce is agreed upon, and indeed we have no Commission or Authority to make any. We have thus lost Seven or Eight months of our time.

When the definitive Treaty shall be signed, I suppose our Commission for Peace will be executed. I expected long before this to have received My Letter of Recall to their High Mightinesses and to the Prince of Orange, in which case I shall now have been at liberty to reimbarck for America, but as it is not arrived, I can not with entire Decency to Congress, or to the States General, or to the Prince, force myself away, and a letter of Recall will not probably now arrive untill it will be too late for a Fall Passage, so that I shall be necessitated to undertake another Winter Voyage, or wait untill Spring.

¹ *Journal of Congress.*

I beg leave to recommend Mr. Thaxter, the bearer of this, and of the Definitive Treaty to Congress. He is descended from several of the most ancient and honourable families in the Massachusetts. He has had the best education which our Country affords. He has been now more than five years in the public Service and without the least reward, all that has been allowed him not having been enough for his necessary Expenses. He is exceeded by no one in Industry, or Fidelity, is not deficient in Address, and is well acquainted with the French Language, nor ignorant of the Dutch, and has a just View of our Foreign Affairs, if Congress has occasion for a Secretary of Legation & Chargé des Affairs in any part of Europe I am persuaded they will not be able to find a Man better qualified for the Place, or who has a better Title, to it, in Point of Merit

With the greatest Respect, I have the
Honour to be, Sir, your most obe-
dient and most humble Servant

JOHN ADAMS.

His Excellency E. BOUDINOT Esq^r
President of Congress¹

HON. JOHN ADAMS TO MR. BOUDINOT.

PARIS Sept. 5th 1783.

SIR

On Wednesday the third of this Month the American Ministers met the British Minister at

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 84, vol. v. p. 177.

his Lodgings at the Hotel de York, and signed sealed and delivered the Definitive Treaty of Peace between the United States of America and the King of Great Britain. Altho' it is but a Confirmation or Repetition of the Provisional Articles, I have the honor to congratulate Congress upon it, as it is a Completion of the work of Peace, and the best we could obtain. Nothing remains now to be done but a Treaty of Commerce — But this in my opinion cannot be negotiated without a new Commission from Congress to some one or more Persons. Time, it is easy to foresee, will not be likely to render the British Nation more disposed to a Regulation of Commerce favourable to Us & therefore my advice is to issue a Commission as soon as may be.

There is another subject, on which I beg leave to represent to Congress My Sentiments, because they seem to me of Importance, and because they differ from many Sanguine opinions, which will be communicated to the members of that assembly from Partisans both of England and France. In the late deliberations concerning an acceptance of the Mediation of the two Imperial Courts, the British Minister refused it; and in the Conferences we had with the Comte de Vergennes upon this subject, it was manifest enough to me, that he was not fond of our accepting it — For altho' he maintained a perfect Impartiality of Language, neither advising Us for nor against the measure, yet at last, when it was observed

that Mr. Hartley was averse to it, he turned to Dr. Franklin and said, that we Must agree with Mr. Hartley about it, with such a Countenance, Air and Tone of Voice, (for from these you must often collect the Sentiments of Ministers) as convinced me, he did not wish the Mediation should take place. It was not a Subject, which would bear insisting on either way. I therefore made no difficulty — But I am upon recollection fully of opinion, that we should have done wisely to have sent our Letter to the Imperial Ministers, accepting the Mediation on our Part. The Signature of these Ministers would have given Us Reputation in Europe, and among our own Citizens. I mention these, because I humbly conceive, that Congress ought in all their Proceedings to consider, the opinion that the United States or the People of America will entertain of themselves. We may call this National Vanity or National Pride, but it is the main Principle of the National Sense of its own Dignity, and a Passion in human Nature; without which nations cannot preserve the Character of Men. Let the People lose this Sentiment, as in Poland, and a Partition of their Country will soon take place. Our Country has but lately been a dependent one, and our People altho' enlightened and virtuous, have had their Minds and Hearts habitually filled with all the Passions of a dependent, subordinate People, that is to say, with Fear, with Diffidence and Distrust of themselves, with Ad-

miration of Foreigners &c. Now I say, that it is one of the most necessary & one of the most difficult Branches of the Policy of Congress to eradicate from the American Mind every remaining Fibre of this Fear and Self Diffidence on the one hand, and of this excessive Admiration of Foreigners on the other. It cannot be doubted one moment, that a solemn acknowledgment of Us, by the Signature of the two Imperial Courts, would have had such a Tendency in the Minds of our Country men — But we should also consider, upon every occasion, how our Reputation will be Affected in Europe. We shall not find it easy to keep up the Respect for us, that has been excited by the continual publication of the exploits of the War. In the Calm of Peace little will be said about us in Europe, unless we prepare for it, but by those who have designs upon us. We may depend upon it everything will be said in Europe, and in the Gazette, which any Body in Europe wants to have repeated in America, to make such Impressions upon the Minds of our Citizens as he desires. It will become us therefore to do everything in our Power, to make reasonable & just Impressions upon the public opinion in Europe. The Signature of the two Imperial Courts would have been a deep & important Impression in our favor, upon full one half of Europe, as Friends to those Courts, and upon all the other half, as Enemies. I need not explain myself further. I may however add, that

Americans can scarcely conceive the decisive Influence of the Governments of Europe upon their People. Every Nation is a Piece of Clock-Work — Every Wheel is under the absolute direction of the Sovereign as its Weight or Spring. In Consequence of this, all that Moiety of Mankind, that are subject to the two Imperial Courts and their Allies, would in consequence of their Mediation, have been openly and decidedly our Friends at this Hour, and the other half of Europe would certainly have respected Us the more for this — But at present, the two Imperial Courts, not having signed the Treaty, all their Friends are left in a State of Doubt and Timidity concerning Us.

From all the Conversations I have had with the Comte de Mercy and Mr. Marhoff, it is certain, that the two Courts wished, as these Ministers certainly were Ambitious, to sign our Treaty. They and their Sovereigns wished that their names might be read in America, and there respected as our Friends. But this is now past. England and France will be most perfectly united in all Artifices and Endeavors to keep down our Reputation at Home and abroad — to Mortify our self Conceit, and to lessen Us in the opinion of the World. If we will not see, we must be the Dupes. We need not for we have in our own Power, with the common blessing the Means of every thing we want. There is but one course now left to retrieve the Error, and that is to send a Minister to Vienna, with Power to make a Treaty with both the Imperial Courts. Congress

must send a Minister first, or it never will be done. The Emperor never sends first, nor will England ever send a Minister to America until Congress shall send one to London.

To form immediate Commercial connections with that half of Europe, which ever has been, and, with little variations, ever will be opposite to the House of Bourbon, is a fundamental Maxim of that System of American Politicks, which I have pursued invariably from the beginning of this War. It is the only means of preserving the Respect of the House of Bourbon itself—It is the only Means in conjunction with our connections with the House of Bourbon already formed, to secure Us the Respect of England for any long time, and to keep Us out of another War with that Kingdom. It is in short the only possible means of securing to our Country that Peace, Neutrality, Impartiality and Indifference in European Wars, which in my opinion we shall be unwise in the last degree if we do not maintain. It is besides the only way, in which we can improve and extend our Commercial Connections to the best advantage.

With great respect, I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your most obedient & most humble servant

JOHN ADAMS

His Excellency

ELIAS BOUDINOT Esq^r

President of Congress¹

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 104, vol. v. p. 70.

HON. JOHN ADAMS TO HIS EXCELLENCY ELIAS BOUDINOT, ESQ.

PARIS Sep^r 8th 1783.

SIR

Yesterday morning Mr. Jay informed me that Dr. Franklin had received, & soon afterwards the Dr. put into my hands the Resolution of Congress of the first of May, ordering a Commission and Instructions to be prepared to those gentlemen and myself for making a Treaty of Commerce with Great Britain. This Resolution, with your Excellency's Letter, arrived very seasonably, as Mr. Hartley was setting off for London, with Information from Us that our Powers were executed.

I am very sensible of the Honor that is done me by this Resolution of Congress, & of the great Importance of the Business committed to our Care, and shall not therefore hesitate to take a part in it. I can attend to this Business and at the same time have some Care of your affairs in Holland, and in Case the present Loan should be full, in the Course of the next Winter I can open a new one, either by going to Amsterdam, or by having the obligations sent to me in Paris to be signed. In this way there will be no additional Expence to the Publick, as I have informed Mr. Dumas that there must be no Expence made at the Hague on my account, or on account of Congress, but that all his Expences must be borne by himself, or he must at least settle them

with Congress. I have so much regard for this gentleman, and such an opinion of his Worth & Merit, that I cannot but recommend him upon this occasion to Congress for the Commission of Secretary of that Legation. But as economy is and ought to be carefully attended to, I presume not to point out the Salary which will be proper. There are so many ways of pillaging when in Europe, that it will be difficult for Congress to conceive the Expences which are unavoidable in these Countries—If the principle of economy should restrain Congress from sending Ministers to Vienna, Petersburg, Copenhagen & Lisbon, they will probably send a Commission to Paris to negotiate Treaties there—because I think it will appear to be of great Importance, both in a political & Commercial light, to have Treaties with those Powers. If this should be the Case, as three of Us shall be now obliged to attend at Paris the tedious Negotiations with England, we can all at the same time & with the same expence attend to the negotiations with the other Powers, which will afford to all an opportunity of throwing in any hints which may occur for the public good, and will have a much better appearance in the Eyes of Europe & America. I do not hesitate therefore to request, that if such a Commission or Commissions should be sent, that all your Ministers in Europe may be inserted in it. If the arrangement should make any difficulty in America it will make none with me. For altho'

I think there was good reason for the order in which the Names stand in the new Commission for Peace, & in the Resolution for a new Commission for a Treaty of Commerce, that Reason will not exist in any future Commission.

Mr. Hartley's Powers are sufficient to go through the negotiations with Us, and I suppose it will be chiefly conducted at Paris—Yet we may all think it proper to make a Tour to London for a few weeks, especially in Case any Material obstacle should arise. We are told that such a Visit would have a good Effect at Court and with the Nation—At least, it seems clear it would do no Harm.

With the greatest respect & Esteem I have the
Honor to be, Sir, Your

most obedient and most humble servant

JOHN ADAMS

His Excellency

ELIAS BOUDINOT,

President of Congress.¹

HONORABLE JOHN ADAMS TO HIS EXCELLENCY ELIAS
BOUDINOT, ESQ.

PARIS September 8, 1783.

SIR

As the Resolution of Congress of the first of May, has determined it to be My Duty to remain in Europe at least another Winter I shall be obliged to say Many Things to your Excellency by Letter, which I hoped to have had the honour

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 84, vol. v. p. 189.

of saying upon the Floor of your house. Some of these things may be thought at first of little Consequence but Time and Inquiry and Consideration will Show them to have Weight, of this sort is the subject of this Letter.

The Views and Designs, the Intrigues and Projects of Courts, are let out by insensible degrees and with infinite Art and Delicacy in the Gazettes. These Channels of Communications are very Numerous, and they are Artificially complicated in such a manner, that very few Persons are able to trace the Sources from whence Insinuations and Projects flow. The English Papers are an Engine, by which everything is scattered all over the world. They are open and free, the eyes of Mankind are fixed upon them. They are taken by all Courts and all Politicians and by almost all Gazetteers. Of these Papers the French *Èmissaries* in London even in Time of War, but especially in Time of Peace make a very great use. They insert in them things which they wish to have circulated Far and Wide — Some of the Paragraphs inserted in them, will do to circulate through all Europe, and some will not, in the *Courier de L'Europe* — This is the most Artfull Paper in the World it is continually accommodating between the French and English Ministry if it should offend the English essentially, the Ministry would prevent its publication, if it should Sin against the French unpardonably, the Ministry would instantly stop its Circulation

It is therefore continually under the Influence of the French Ministers, whose under workers have many Things translated from the English Papers, and many others inserted in it originally, but to the End that they may be circulated over the World, and particularly, that they may be seen by the King of France, who reads this Paper constantly, from the English Papers and the Courier de l'Europe many things are transferred into various other Gazettes, the Courier du Bas Rhin, the Gazette des Deux Ponts, the Courier d'Avignon and the Gazette des Pays Bas. The Gazettes of Leyden and Amsterdam are sometimes used for the more Grave and Solid Objects, those of Deux Ponts and Avignon for popular Topicks the small Talk of Coffee Houses, and still smaller and lower Circles. All these Papers and many others discover a perpetual complaisance for the French Ministry because they are always in their Power so entirely that if an offensive Paragraph appears, the Entrance and Distribution of the Gazette may be stopped by an order from Court, by which the Gazetteer loses the sale of his Paper in France which is a great pecuniary object.

Whoever shall hereafter come to Europe, in any publick Employment and take in the Papers above enumerated, will acknowledge his obligations to me for Mentioning them. He will find them a constant source of amusement, & sometimes of usefull Discoveries. I may hereafter

Possibly, entertain Congress with some curious Speculations from these Gazettes, which have all their attention fixed upon us, & very often honour us with their animadversions, Sometimes with their Grave Councils, but oftener still with very sly and subtle Insinuations.

With great respect and esteem

I have the honor to be, Sir, your
most obedient and most humble
Servant

JOHN ADAMS.

His Excellency,
ELIAS BOUDINOT Esq^r
President of Congress.¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO THE HONORABLE BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

PHIL^a 9 Sept. 1783.

SIR

Being by accident at this City and an opportunity offering, I do myself the honor of enclosing a duplicate of the Ratification of the Treaty with Sweden, the original of which I transmitted some time since, but not having the copy of the letter attending it by me, I am prevented from sending duplicate of it, unless this opportunity is risqued —

I am happy to enclose you some resolutions of the Assembly of P. by which you will see all the difficulties that arose on account of the Mutiny now happily subsided without producing the least ill consequences

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 104, vol. v. p. 82.

The Soldiers were very penitent & two of the Sergeants are now under sentence of Death but I believe will be pardoned by Congress, on ac^t of the means used by Capt Carberry & Lieut Sullivan to induce those poor wretches to behave as they did, under expectations of great personal advantage — I hope these two Officers will meet with proper detestation by all good men —

The Hon^{ble} BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
Minister &c
Paris ¹

FROM THE COMMISSIONERS TO HIS EXCELLENCY ELIAS
BOUDINOT, ESQ., PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

(PASSY, 10th
Sept. 1783)

SIR

On the third instant, Definitive Treaties, were concluded between all the late belligerent Powers, except the Dutch, who the day before settled and signed Preliminary Articles of Peace with Britain.

We most sincerely and cordially congratulate Congress and our Country in general on this happy event, and we hope that the same kind Providence which has led us thro' a vigorous War, to an honourable Peace, will enable us to make a wise and moderate use of that inestimable blessing.

We have committed a Duplicate Original of the Treaty to the care of Mr. Thaxter, who will

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 16, p. 244.

go immediately to L'Orient, whence he will sail in the French Packet to New York. That Gentleman left America with Mr. Adams as his private Secretary, and his conduct having been perfectly satisfactory to that Minister, rejoice in recommending him to the attention of Congress. We have ordered Mr. Grand to pay him one hundred and thirty Louis d'ors, on account of the reasonable expenses to be incurred by his Mission to Congress, and his Journey from thence to his Family at Hingham in the Massachusetts Bay. For the Disposition of the Money he is to account.

The Definitive Treaty being in the Terms of the Provisional Articles, and not Comprehending any of the Objects of our subsequent Negotiations, it is proper that we give a Summary account of them.

When Mr. Hartley arrived here, he brought with him only a set of instructions signed by the King. We objected to proceeding with him until he should have a Commission in Form. This occasioned some Delay—a proper Commission was however transmitted to him, a Copy of which was shortly after sent to Mr. Livingston.

We having been instructed to obtain, if possible, an Article for a Direct Trade to the West Indies, made to Mr. Hartley the Proposition No. 1.

He approved of it greatly and recommended it to his Court, but they declined assenting to it.

Mr. Hartley then made us the proposition No. 2

but on being asked whether he was authorized to sign it, in case we agreed to it, he answered in the Negative. We therefore thought it improper to proceed to the Consideration of it until after he should have obtained the Consent of his Court to it. We also desired to be informed whether his Court would or would not comprehend Ireland in their Stipulations with us.

The British Cabinet would not adopt Mr. Hartley's Propositions, but their letters to him were calculated to inspire us with Expectations, that as nothing but particular local circumstances, which would probably not be of long duration, restrained them from preferring the most liberal system of Commerce with us, the Ministry would take the earliest opportunity of gratifying their own wishes as well as ours, on that Subject. —

Mr. Hartley then made us the Proposition No. 3. At this time we were informed that Letters for us had arrived in France from Philad^a. We expected to receive Instructions in them, and told Mr. Hartley that this Expectation induced us to postpone giving him an answer for a few days.

The vessel by which we had expected these letters, it seems had not brought any for us. But at the Time Information arrived from America, that our Ports were all opened to British vessels. Mr. Hartley thereupon did not think himself at liberty to proceed, until after he should communicate that Intelligence to his Court, and receive their further Instructions.

Those further Instructions never came, and thus our Endeavours as to commercial Regulations proved fruitless. We had many Conferences & recd long Memorials from Mr. Hartley on the Subject; but his Zeal for Systems friendly to us, constantly exceeded his Authority to concert and agree to them.

During the long Interval of his expecting Instructions, for his Expectations were permitted to exist almost to the last, we proceeded to make and receive Propositions for perfecting the Definitive Treaty. Details of all the Amendments, Alterations, Objections, Exceptions &c. which occurred in the Course of these Discussions, would be voluminous.

We finally agreed that he should send to his Court, the Project or Draft of a Treaty No. 4. He did so, but after much Time, and when pressed by France, who insisted that we should all conclude together, He was instructed to sign a Definitive Treaty in the Terms of the Provisional Articles.

Whether the British Court meant to avoid a Definitive Treaty with us, thro' a vain hope from the exaggerated accounts of Divisions among our People, and want of Authority in Congress, that some Revolution might soon happen in their favour, or whether their dilatory conduct was caused by the Strife of the two opposite and nearly equal Parties in the Cabinet, is hard to decide. —

Your Excellency will observe, that the Treaty was signed at Paris & not at Versailles. Mr. Hartley's letter No. 5 & our answer No. 6 will explain this. His objections, and indeed our Proceedings in general, were communicated to the French Minister, who was content that we should acquiesce, but desired that we should appoint the signing early in the morning, and give him an account of it at Versailles, by Express, for that he would not proceed to sign on the part of France, 'till he was sure that our Business was done.

The Day after the signature of the Treaty, Mr. Hartley wrote us a congratulatory letter No. 7, to which we returned the answer No. 8.

He is gone to England, and expects soon to return — which for our Part, we think uncertain. We have taken care to speak to him in strong Terms, on the subject of the Evacuation of New York, and the other important Subjects proper to be mentioned to him — We think we may rely on his doing everything in his Power to influence his Court to do what they ought to do, but it does not appear that they have as yet formed any settled System for their Conduct relative to the United States.

We cannot but think that the late and present aspect of Affairs in America has had, and continues to have, an unfavorable Influence, not only in Britain but throughout Europe.

In whatever Light the article respecting the

Tories may be view'd in America, it is considered in Europe as very humiliating to Britain, and therefore as being one which we ought in Honor to perform and fulfil with the most scrupulous Regard to good Faith and in a manner least offensive to the Feelings of the King and Court of G. Britain, who upon that point are extremely tender.

The unseasonable and unnecessary resolves of various Towns on this Subject, the actual expulsion of Tories from some places, and the avow'd Implacability of almost all who have published their sentiments about the Matter, are Circumstances which are construed, not only to the Prejudice of our National Magnanimity and good Faith, but also to the Prejudice of our Government.

Popular Committees are considered here, as with us, in the Light of Substitutes to Constitutional Government, and as being only necessary in the Interval between the Removal of the former and the Establishment of the present.

The Constitutions of the different States have been translated and published & pains have been taken to lead Europe to believe that the American States not only made their own Laws, but obey'd them. But the continuance of popular Assemblies conven'd expressly to deliberate on Matters proper only for the Cognizance of the different Legislatures & Officers of Government and their proceeding not only to ordain, but to enforce their

Resolutions, has exceedingly lessen'd the Dignity of the States in the Eyes of these Nations.

To this we may also add that the situation of the Army the Reluctance of the people to pay Taxes and the Circumstances under which Congress removed from Philadelphia, have diminished the Admiration in which the People of America were held among the Nations of Europe, & somewhat abated their Ardor for forming Connections with us, before our Affairs acquire a greater degree of Order and Consistence.

Permit us to observe that in our opinion the Recommendation of Congress promised in the 5 Article, should immediately be made in the Terms of it and published; and that the States should be requested to take it into consideration as soon as the Evacuation by the Enemy shall be completed. "It is also much to be wished that the Legislatures may not involve all the Tories in Banishment and Ruin, but that such Discriminations may be made, as to entitle the Decisions to the Approbation of disinterested men, and dispassionate Posterity."

On the 7th Inst. we received your Excellency's letter of the 16 June last, covering a Resolution of Congress of the 1st May directing a commission to us for making a Treaty of Commerce &c with G. Britain. This Intelligence arrived very Opportunely to prevent the anti-American Party from ascribing any Delays on our part to Motives of Resentment in England to that Country. Great

Britain will send a Minister to Congress as soon as Congress shall send a Minister to Britain & we think much good might result from that Measure.

The Information of Mr. Dumas, that we encouraged the Idea of entering into Engagements with the Dutch to defend the Freedom of Trade was not well founded. Our Sentiments on that Subject exactly correspond with those of Congress nor did we even think or pretend that we had authority to adopt any such Measures.

We have reason to think that the Emperor and Russia & other Commercial Nations, are ready to make Treaties of Commerce with the United States. Perhaps it might not be improper for Congress to direct that their Disposition on the Subject, be communicated to those Courts & thereby prepare the way for such Treaties.

The Emperor of Morrocco has manifested a very friendly Disposition towards us. He expects and is ready to receive a Minister from us, and as he may either change his Mind, or may be succeeded by a Prince differently disposed, a Treaty with him may be of Importance. Our Trade to the Mediterranean will not be inconsiderable, and the Friendships of Morrocco, Algiers, Tunis & Tripoli, may become very interesting, in case the Russians should succeed in their Endeavours to Navigate freely into it by Constantinople.

Much, we think will depend on the Success of our Negotiations with England. If she should be prevailed upon to agree to a liberal System of

Commerce, France & perhaps some other Nations, will follow her Example, but if she should prefer an exclusive monopolizing Plan, it is probable that her Neighbors will continue to adhere to their favourite Restrictions.

Were it certain that the United States, could be brought to act as a Nation, and would jointly and fairly conduct their Commerce on Principles of exact Reciprocity, with all Nations, we think it probable that Britain would make extensive Concessions — but on the Contrary, while the prospect of Disunion in our Councils, or want of Power & Energy in our Executive Departments exist, they will not be apprehensive of Retaliation, and consequently lose their principal Motive to Liberality. Unless with respect to all foreign Nations and Transactions, we uniformly act as an entire United Nation, faithfully executing and obeying the Constitutional Acts of Congress on those Subjects, we shall soon find ourselves in the Situation in which all Europe wishes to see us, viz. — as unimportant Consumers of her Manufactures & Productions, and as useful Labourers to furnish her with raw Materials.

We beg leave to assure Congress that we shall apply our best endeavours to execute this new commission to their Satisfaction & shall punctually obey such Instructions as they may be pleased to give us relative to it.

Unless Congress should have nominated a Secretary to that Commission, we shall consider our-

selves at Liberty to appoint one; and as we are satisfied with the conduct of Mr. Franklin, the Secretary to our late Commission, we purpose to appoint him, leaving it to Congress to make him such Compensation for his services as they may Judge proper.

Count de Vergennes communicated to us a Proposition (viz No. 9 herewith enclosed) for explaining the 2^d & 3^d Articles of our Treaty with France, in a manner different from the Sense in which we understand them. This being a Matter in which we had no right to interfere, we have not expressed any Opinion about it to the Court.

With great respect,

We have the honor to be

Sir

Your Excellency's

Most obedient &

Most humble serv^ts

JOHN ADAMS,

B. FRANKLIN

JOHN JAY.¹

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Franklin papers, 8 R. 262.

CHAPTER XX.

Hon. John Adams to Mr. Boudinot; view of further measures to be taken in Europe; Hon. Benjamin Franklin to Mr. Boudinot; Mr. Boudinot's additional cares owing to the resignation of secretary for foreign affairs; medals approved; first and last clauses in treaty; treaty with Morocco; with Denmark; no answer yet from Portugal; false reports of situation in America; present of medal to Grand Master of Malta; court of France still favorable; English endeavor to sow dissensions; sends sundry memorials. — Hon. John Adams to Mr. Boudinot; sends copy of Dutch treaty. — Mr. Boudinot to Hon. Robert R. Livingston; forwards letters, papers, and medal; Mr. Jay to resign in the spring; Mr. Dana at St. Petersburg; affairs at home. — To General Washington; inclosing act of Congress for admission to secret papers. — Proclamation on treaty with Sweden. — Mr. Boudinot to Hon. Robert R. Livingston; anxiety as to action in New York; judges know preliminary articles identical with definitive treaty; English press for a minister. — Hon. Benjamin Franklin to Mr. Boudinot; Mr. Thaxter with dispatches; incloses printed copy of definitive treaty. — Mr. Boudinot to Philosophical Society; extract from letter of Hon. William Carmichael, secretary of legation in Spain; nomination of honorary members. — To General Carleton, asking for papers seized by the British belonging to the Hon. Richard Stockton.

HON. JOHN ADAMS TO MR. BOUDINOT.

PARIS September 10, 1783.

SIR

As I am to remain in Europe for some time longer, I beg Leave to take a cursory view of what appears, necessary or expedient to be further done in Europe, for I conceive it to be not only the Right but the Duty of a foreign Minister to advise his Sovereign according to his Lights and Judgment, although the More extensive Information, and Superior Wisdom of the Sovereign May frequently see Cause to pursue a different Conduct.

With Spain no doubt Congress will negotiate by a particular Minister either the present one or another, and perhaps it would be proper that the same should treat with Naples. With the two Empires, Prussia, Denmark, Portugal and Sardinia and Tuscany, I humbly conceive it Might be proper to negotiate, and perhaps with Ham-borough, but there are other Powers with whom it is more necessary to have Treaties than it ought to be, I mean, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis & Tripoli.

I presume that Congress will not think it expedient to be at the expense of sending Ministers to all those Powers, if to any, perhaps in the present state of our Finances it may not be worth while to send any. Yet the present Time is the best to negotiate with all. I submit it to consideration then whether it is not desirable to send a Commission to such Ministers as you Judge proper, with full Powers to treat with all, to the Ministers now in Paris, or to any others. But I humbly conceive that if Powers to treat with all or any of these States are sent to any of your Ministers now here, it would be for the publick good that they should be sent to all. If Congress can find Funds to treat with the Barbary Powers the Ministers here are the best situated, for they should apply to the Court of Versailles and their High Mightinesses, in the first place that orders should be sent to their Consuls according to Treaties to assist US. Ministers here may carry on this negotiation by Letters or may be empowered to send an Agent if necessary.

I have no private Interest in this Business. My Salary will be the same. My expences more and Labour much increased by such a measure. But as it is of publick Importance I think that no unnecessary Delicacies should restrain me from suggesting these hints to Congress. Whatever their determination may be will be satisfactory to me.

I have the Honour to be
with the greatest Respect
your Excellency's most obedient
& most humble servant

JOHN ADAMS.

His Excellency ELIAS BOUDINOT Esq
President of Congress.¹

HON. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO HIS EXCELLENCY ELIAS
BOUDINOT, ESQ.

PASSY, 13 Sept. 1783.

SIR: —

I received, a few days since, the private letter Your Excellency did me the honor of writing to me of the 13th. of June. I regret with you, the resignation of the late Secretary. Your present cares are increased by it, and it will be difficult to find a successor of equal abilities. We found no difficulty in deciphering the resolution of Congress. The Commissioners have taken no notice of it in our public letter.

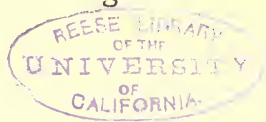
I am happy to hear that both the device and the workmanship of the medal are approved with

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 84, vol. v., p. 197.

you, as they have the good fortune to be by the best judges on this side of the water. It has been esteemed a well-timed, as well as a well-merited, compliment here, and has its good effects. Since the two first which you mention as received, I have sent by different opportunities, so many, as that every member of Congress might have one. I hope they are come safe to hand by this time, I wrote a long letter to Mr. Livingston by Mr. Barney, to which I beg leave to refer, enclosing a copy.

We had, before signing the definitive treaty received the ratification of the preliminary articles by his Britannic Majesty, exchanged with us by Mr. Hartley for that of Congress. I send herewith a copy of the first and last clauses.

In a former letter I mentioned the volunteer proceedings of a merchant at Alicant, towards obtaining a treaty between us and the Emperor of Morocco. We have since received a letter from a person who says, as you will see by the copy, enclosed, that he is sent by the Emperor, to be the bearer of his answer to the United States, and that he is arrived in Spain on his way to Paris. He has not yet appeared here, and we hardly know what answer to give him. I hope the sending a Minister to that Court, as recommended in my last, has been taken into consideration, or at least that some instructions respecting that nation have been sent to your Minister in Spain, who is better situated than we are for such a negotiation.



The Minister from Denmark often speaks to me about the proposed treaty, of which a copy went by Mr. Barney. No Commission to sign it, nor any instructions from Congress relating to it, are yet arrived; and, though pressed, I have not ventured to do anything further in the affair:

I forward herewith a letter to the Congress from the city of Hamburg.¹

I understand that a good disposition towards us prevails there which it may be well to encourage.

No answer has yet been given me from the Court of Portugal, respecting the plan of a treaty concerted between its ambassador here and me. He has been unwell and much in the country, so that I have not seen him lately. I suspect that the false or exaggerated reports of the distracted situation of our government, industriously propagated throughout Europe by our enemies, have made an impression in that kingdom to our disadvantage, and inclined them to hesitate in forming a connection with us. Questions asked me, and observations made by several of the foreign ministers here, convince me, that the idle stories of our disunion, contempt of authority, refusal to pay taxes, &c; have been too much credited and been very injurious to our reputation.

I sent before a copy of the letter I wrote to the Grand Master of Malta. with a present of our medal, with this you will have a copy of his answer. I send also a copy of a note I received

¹ See *Diplomatic Correspondence*, vol. iv. p. 88.

from the Pope's Nuncio.¹ He is very civil on all occasions, and has mentioned the possibility of an advantageous trade America might have with the Ecclesiastical States, which he says has two good ports, Civita Vecchia, and —.

This Court continues favorable to us. Count de Vergennes was resolute in refusing to sign the definitive treaty with England before ours was signed. The English Ministers were offended, but complied. I am convinced that Court will never cease endeavoring to disunite us. We shall, I hope be constantly on our guard against these machinations; for our safety consists in a steady adherence to our friends, and our reputation in a faithful regard to treaties, and in a grateful conduct towards our benefactors.

I send sundry memorials recommended to my care by Count de Vergennes, viz. one respecting a claim of Messieurs Foster of Bordeaux, one of Mr. Pequet and one of Mr. Bayard. The Congress will take such notice of them as they shall think proper. With great esteem and respect I have the honor to be &c

B. FRANKLIN.²

HON. JOHN ADAMS TO HIS EXCELLENCY ELIAS BOUDINOT, ESQ.

PARIS Sept^r 13th 1783.

SIR,

The Dutch Ambassador has just now sent me a copy of his Treaty, which I have only time to

¹ Sparks' *Works of Franklin*, vol. ix. p. 548.

² Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Franklin papers. vol. v. p. 1160.

have copied and inclosed to your Excellency, with my dutiful Respects to Congress.

With great Respect, I have the honor to be
Sir,

Your Excellency's Most
Obedient & Most humble
Servant

JOHN ADAMS.

His Excellency,
ELIAS BOUDINOT, Esq^r
President of Congress.¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO THE HONORABLE ROBERT R. LIVING-
STON.

PRINCETON Sept 16/ 1783.

DEAR SIR

I wrote you about a fortnight past which I hope has got safe to hand — Since that Time I have rec^d a large Pacquet of Letters from our Commissioners in Europe all of a public Nature, except one from young Mr. Franklin which he clearly intended as Confidential, and altho' the Contents might be properly Communicated to Congress, yet I did not think myself at Liberty even to impart the Substance to any person whatever without your approbation. I enclose the Letter with the Papers contained therein that you may act as you please — as to the Communication of it — I take the opportunity of sending the medal — I have twice mentioned to you — I rec^d with the Public Letters 19 or 20 of them which I distributed among the States; we have

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 84, vol. v. p. 201.

no News in these Dispatches worth Communicating tho' a great deal of matter which will engage Congress a Considerable Time — The Definitive Treaty was not signed the 2d Day of August, nor likely to be sooner than the 1st of Sep^r in my opinion, if then — The proceeding of our people & the opening of the Trade with England are the only Causes of delay — our Ministers are clear of Opinion & say it was so understood by the Negotiations that Hostilities could cease on the 3 March — Mr. Jay means to resign in the spring Mr. Dana is yet at Petersburg and notwithstanding all that has passed, means to finish the Treaty before he returns — Our affairs go on badly here — No Minister of Foreign Affairs — at a distance from our officers Members Grumbling & Dissatisfied at our remaining in this Place — No great appetite for Business — so that we are not in so comfortable a state as I could wish — I take the Liberty to enclose a Letter for Mr Morris rec^d by Cap^t Barney, which I must beg you will be kind enough to forward as I know not where to direct to him —

I have the honor to be &c.

ELIAS BOUDINOT.¹

The Honble. ROB^t LIVINGSTON, Esq.

MR. BOUDINOT TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

PRINCETON Sept^r 17th 1783.

SIR /

Every publick acknowledgment of the essential Services rendered our common Country by your

¹ Elias Boudinot's letter book.

Excellency during a doubtful War, has given me the most sensible Pleasure, and it has been among the gratifications of my Office, that its duties have priviledged my transmitting, the constant sense Congress have maintained of your Excellency's great merit & good Conduct.

I have now the additional satisfaction of enclosing an Act of Congress, by which their high Confidence, placed in your Excellency's wisdom and Judgment since the War has ceased, very Manifestly Appears —

I have the honor to be with every Sentiment of respect & Esteem

Your Excellency's

Most Obedt & very Hble Serv^t

ELIAS BOUDINOT.

His Excellency Gen^l WASHINGTON.

(Endorsed)

Princeton 17th Sept^r 1783,

from BOUDINOT, the President of Congress
enclosing a Resolve for admission to the secret
papers of Congress.¹

BY THE UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas in pursuance of a plenipotentiary commission, given on the 28th day of September, 1782, to the Hon Benjamin Franklin, a treaty of amity and commerce between his majesty the King of Sweden and the United States of

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Letters to Washington, vol. lxiv. p. 177.

America, was on the 3d day of April, 1783, concluded by the said Benjamin Franklin, with a minister plenipotentiary, named for that purpose, by the said King; and Whereas the said treaty hath been duly approved and ratified by the United States in Congress assembled, and a translation thereof made in the words following, to wit (See Treaty, page 241.)

Now therefore, to the end, that the said treaty may with all good faith be performed and observed on the part of these states; all the citizens and inhabitants thereof, and more especially all officers and others in the service of the United States, are hereby enjoined and required to govern themselves strictly in all things according to the stipulations above recited.

Done in Congress, at Princeton, this 25th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1783, and of our Sovereignty and independence the eighth.

ELIAS BOUDINOT, President.¹

CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary.

MR. BOUDINOT TO HONORABLE ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

PRINCETON Sep^r 27th 1783

DR SIR

Your polite favour of the 12th inst. reached me a few days since — The Conduct of your People not only give me great Pain, but threaten greatly to involve us in another War; indeed my Dr Sir I am suspicious our Troubles are not yet at an end, the Prediction of our Enemies I am afraid

¹ *Journal of Congress*, edition of 1800, vol. viii. p. 279.

will be too suddenly verified, neither our Legislatures nor People at Large are acting with Prudence — The Storm is gathering — I dread the explosion — nothing but wisdom & firmness & temperate Councils will prevent the impending Blow.

It is true your Judges have not been officially informed of the preliminary art^{cls}, and tho' it has frequently been insisted on in Congress, yet the partial Circumstances of your State being practically yet in the hands of the British prevent the Measure and the whole union is suffering a partial Evil for the good of your State, and yet you are preventing every measure we can take for the general good because we will not sacrifice your state for the common benefit — your Judges know the preliminary articles as well as ever they will & altho' as Lawyers they cannot regard them, yet surely in every point of view they would be justified in not doing any thing in opposition to them, when Nothing is necessary to Accomplish this end but delay — However they must & will judge for themselves but they will most certainly repent it at all events — Our Last Letter from Mr L. was dated the 3 Aug^t and from the whole of his Intelligence, I believe that the Preliminary Articles in per Verba, form the Definitive Treaty, at last — The English Ministry press for a resident at S^t James from America — I wrote you lately pr Post & enclosed a medal Rec^d from Dr Franklin I add another herein — together with a Letter for

Mr Montgomery enclosed to me from Amsterdam — Nothing further done with regard to your late office — Your affair has been mentioned & I hope to get it determined next week — I am much obliged by your kind assurance relative to my unhappy sister — Mrs. B. joins me in the kindest wishes for Mrs. Livingston & your happiness

ELIAS BOUDINOT.¹

ROB^t R. LIVINGSTON.

HONORABLE BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO HIS EXCELLENCY
ELIAS BOUDINOT, ESQ.

PASSY 27 September 1783.

SIR: —

Mr. Thaxter, late Secretary of Mr. Adams, who is charged with all our dispatches, that were intended to go by the French packet boat, writes from L'Orient, that, though he arrived there two days before the time appointed for her sailing, he missed reaching her by four hours; but another light vessel was fitting, and would sail the 21st. instant, in which he hoped to arrive at New York nearly as soon as the packet.² We shall send duplicates by the next from hence.

In the mean time I enclose a printed copy of the definitive Treaty, which I hear is ratified. Indeed, we have the ratification of the preliminaries. Mr. Hartley, when he left us, expected to return in three weeks, in order to proceed with

¹ Elias Boudinot's letter book.

² Owing to the contrary winds the packet put back and Mr. Thaxter sailed in her on the 26th.

us in forming a treaty of commerce. The new commission, that was intended for us, is not yet come to hand. With great respect, I have the honor to be, Sir, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

PRINCETON Oct 1st 1783

SIR

Permit me to ask the attention of your Honorable Society to an Extract of a Letter I rec^d lately from the Honble. Wm. Carmichael Secretary to the Legation from these States at the Court of Spain

MADRID 13 March 1783

Since my residence in this Capitol, I have written several long Letter to the Phil-society in which among other things I recommended to its attention, the nomination of Persons in this country as honary members. I know not whether these letters ever came to hand, for which reason permit me to suggest to you whether the nomination of the most distinguished literary Characters in the different Countries of Europe might not be useful — The suffrage of the republic of Letters contributed to give us a Celebrity during the War, and this union formed with its Chiefs in various Countries will secure useful connections to our Minister, as well as to the American youths who may travel for Instruction — Should this

¹ See Franklin's letter to the president of Congress of November 1, in Sparks' *Works of Franklin*.

Idea meet your approbation I would take the liberty of recommending the Count de Campomanes, Fiscal of the council of Castile — Dr Gasper Jove Lanosabbe Guavia, Secretary of Academy of History &c &c.

As I have no doubt of the attachment of your Society to the Interests of America, and their real desire of aiding in every thing that will advance her Reputation & dignity I shall make no apology for the Liberty I have taken in thus laying before you an application that may possibly benefit our Common Country —

If you should think proper to take any resolutions in Consequence of this information, I shall forward the result to our Minister at the Court of Spain with great pleasure —

I have the honor to be with every sentiment of respect & the most earnest wishes for increase of experimental knowledge and the prosperity of your most useful & honorable society,

Your most obdt & very Hble Servt

E. BOUDINOT.¹

To the President or vice President
Philosophical society in Philadelphia.

MR. BOUDINOT TO GENERAL CARLETON.

P. TOWN, Oct 1st 1783 ¹

SIR

Will your Excellency excuse me for calling your attention one moment from more important

¹ Elias Boudinot's letter book.

Business to a request in favor of a widow & number of children

The principles of Humanity & Benevolence I am sure will fully apologize to your Excell^y for this Liberty. My Brother in Law the Late Honble. Rich^d Stockton Esq. who Lived in this Town in the years 1776-7 had the misfortune to have his whole personal estate seized here by the british Troops under the Command (I think) of the present Lord Harcourt — His Title Deeds — Bonds Acct Books, and other Papers therewith, personal Property to the Amount four or five Thousand Pounds were taken away — The Deeds Bonds Acc^t Books & papers would be a great acquisition to the Widow & Children if they could be possibly obtained, and they cannot be of the least use to any other person. Shall I beg the favour of your Excell^y to give orders & for an Inquiry to be made if any of these Articles could be found by any of the officers under your Direction to have them transmitted to me I hope your Excely will excuse the trouble I give & the Liberty I take on this occasion —

I have the honor &c.

ELIAS BOUDINOT.¹

For Gen^l CARLETON.

¹ Elias Boudinot's letter book.

CHAPTER XXI.

Mr. Boudinot to His Excellency P. J. Van Berckel, minister from the Netherlands; his arrival subject of congratulation; Mr. Boudinot's steward to furnish every accommodation; Congress immediately informed of his arrival; to appoint day for audience. — Mr. Boudinot to Hon. Robert Morris, regarding audience. — To Colonel Frelinghuysen for same purpose. — To General Dickerson for escort of troop. — In Congress. — Speech of minister. — Letter from their High Mightinesses. — The President, Mr. Boudinot, replies to Mr. Van Berckel. — Mr. Boudinot to commissioners. — Recapitulation from last letter; seat of government; Treaty; Baron Steuben sent to Canada; regarding fortifications; arrival of minister from Holland; effects of mutiny; having seen peace established and signed both preliminary articles and definitive treaty, happy to retire to private life; Mr. Mifflin elected to fill the chair. — Proclamations. — Cessations of hostilities. — Contract with His Christian Majesty. — Thanking the army. — Mr. Boudinot to Hon. Andrew Elliot, offering services and acknowledging his benevolence and liberality to captives.

AMID the various pressing and important matters which called for attention Mr. Boudinot was obliged to arrange the details for a ceremonious reception of the Minister from the Netherlands.

We learn from these letters that, owing to some mishap, His Excellency was none too well pleased on his disembarking, and Mr. Boudinot strives to make amends and to dispel the little cloud on the diplomatic horizon. Affairs were in some confusion, owing to the removal of Congress from Philadelphia to Princeton. He sends, however, in every direction for the proper persons to do honor to the occasion: to General Dickerson, for a

troop of horse as an escort; to Colonel Frelinghuysen, begging him to come prepared to read His Excellency's credentials in Low Dutch; and urges the presence of such other military officers and officers of state as may be available.

No doubt this important event was one also of great local interest, and must have been the means of calling together many of Jersey's noted ones. We can imagine our worthy ancestors relaxing from the strain of war, assembling in the college hall at Princeton indulging in hearty congratulations and in hospitable invitations. The picture must have been an imposing one: here were congregated many of the most distinguished men of the Revolution to receive the first foreign ambassador who came to us now an acknowledged nation.

MR. BOUDINOT TO HIS EXCELLENCY P. J. VAN BERCKEL.

HIS EXCELLENCY

P. J. VAN BERCKEL, ESQ.

MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY FROM THEIR HIGH
MIGHTINESSES THE STATES GENERAL OF THE
UNITED NETHERLANDS.

PRINCETON 24th October 1783.

SIR

It was not till this evening that I had the honor of your Excellency's letter of the 19th inst. by which I have the happiness of being informed of your safe arrival after a very tedious passage.

Permit me, most sincerely to congratulate your Excellency on this happy event, big with the best consequences to both our nations

As soon as your arrival was but rumored here, my Steward was ordered to do every thing in his power, to furnish you with my house and any thing he had in his power for your accommodation. I hope he has fulfilled my expectations.

This will be handed to you by Mr. Sterett, my Secretary, who is sent for this purpose that you may be informed of my being honored with your favour.

Congress will sit tomorrow, when I shall announce to them the news of your Excellency's arrival, which, I am assured, will give them very great pleasure. Their determination on the subject of your audience shall be transmitted without delay.

My Secretary will proffer you every service in his power, and at the same time personally assure your Excellency of my joy on your safe arrival and the pleasure I shall take in making your residence with us as agreeable as this Infant Country will admit.

I have the honor to be &c

E. B.¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO HON. ROBERT MORRIS.

THE HONORABLE ROBERT MORRIS, Esq.

PRINCETON, 25th October 1783.

SIR

A public audience being determined for the Honorable The Minister Plenipotentiary from

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 15, p. 252.

their High Mightinesses, The States General of the United Netherlands on Thursday next, I take the earliest opportunity of enclosing you the act of Congress for this purpose by which you will see that you have an important part in the ceremony assigned to you by Congress. Our peculiar circumstances made this necessary. The Secretary at War is absent but I shall send an express for him, and expect he will be here on Monday, so that you will be so kind as to execute whatever is to be done in the City, and Genl Lincoln, I doubt not will do his part here till your arrival.

E. B.

NOTE. A letter, containing the same information as the above, was dispatched to the honorable Major General Lincoln.¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO COLONEL FREDERICK FRELINGHUYSEN.
COLO. FREDERICK FRELINGHUYSEN,

PRINCETON 29th October 1783

The Minister Plenipotentiary from the United Netherlands is arrived, and is to have his public audience at this place on Friday next at noon. His credentials are in low Dutch, and it is necessary that we have a proper person to read them over in that language, in public at the Audience, before a translation is read.

Congress have directed me to ask that favour

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 16, p. 255.

of you as the most proper person we can think of. Shall I beg a compliance with this request? Be so good as to let me have a line by the bearer, who is sent Express for this purpose. If any accident should prevent your being here early on Friday morning, be so good as to recommend some proper person on this occasion, lest we should be disappointed on that important event.

I enclose a copy of the Credentials, that you may prepare a translation at leisure.

Yours &c.

E. B.¹

MR. BOUDINOT TO GENERAL PHILEMON DICKINSON.

(Private)

P. T Oct. 29—1783

DEAR SIR,

Congress have agreed to give the Minister plen^o from the United Netherlands, his public audience on Friday next at noon. He is to pass through Trenton tomorrow noon—As he has been rather disgusted with his reception at his first landing, I wish to pay him every proper mark of respect, at his entering into this State. Could you not get the Troop of Horse in your Neighborhood to turn out & escort him from the Ferry thro' the Town—It would give reputation to the character of our State abroad and it would be increasing . . . of the business if the Gentⁿ of Trenton were to wait on him, as he passed thro. the Town.

¹ MSS. Archives, Department of State, Washington, D. C., Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 16, p. 260.

I thought it my duty as a Citizen of Jersey to give you these few hints which you can improve as you think proper.

Suffer me to congratulate you on the public Honor paid you by your country—Mrs B. & Miss Susan join me in best compliments to Mrs Dickinson

I have the honor to be

E. B.¹

The Hon^{ble} Genl DICKINSON.

From "Journal of Congress," Friday, October 31, 1783, is the following:—

"According to order, the Hon. P. J. Van Berckel, Minister Plenipotentiary from their high Mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands, was admitted to an audience. And upon being introduced, he addressed Congress in a speech, of which the following is a translation:

"GENTLEMEN OF THE CONGRESS: Previous to My laying before you the Commission with which their high Mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands have honored me, permit me to express the joy I feel on finding Myself this day in this Assembly, and meeting those illustrious men whom the present Age admires, and whom posterity will always point to as Models of patriotism, and whose merits eternity itself can alone recompense.

"While all Europe kept its eyes fixed on your exploits, their high Mightinesses could not refrain

¹ Pennsylvania Historical Society.

from very seriously interesting themselves therein, recollecting as they always did the dangers and difficulties to which their fore-fathers were subjected, before they could free themselves from the yoke in which they were enthralled. They knew better than any other the worth of independence, and they knew how to set a just value on the greatness of your designs. They applauded your generous enterprise, which was inspired by a love of your country, conducted with prudence and supported with heroic courage, and they rejoiced at the happy success which crowned your labors.

“In order to convince you of their affection, and the part they take in whatever regards your republic, My Masters have charged me to congratulate you on the accomplishment of your desire, which had for its object the power of your own absolute will, and the enjoyment of that inestimable and natural treasure which places you in the rank of sovereign and independent powers.

“How flattering is it to me to find myself this day the organ and interpreter of the sentiments and dispositions of My Masters, and to have it in my power to assure you, on their behalf, that there is nothing which they more ardently wish than the happiness of your republic and the establishment of the union of your States. May this Union, founded on the principles of true patriotism and a love for the public good, be cemented in such a manner, that neither false Ambition,

jealousy, or private interest, may ever be able to do it the least injury. May the administration of a wise and prudent government, dispense happiness and plenty among the people and give them a glory extending from pole to pole, and as lasting as ages.

“Gentlemen, Their high Mightinesses are not content with sending Compliments of congratulation, which are in themselves unfruitful, but being convinced that an intercourse of Commerce and Mutual good will, are the surest means of binding closer those Sacred bonds of friendship, which already unite you together; they have commanded me to assure you, that they have nothing nearer at heart than to labour effectually to render this friendship fruitful and profitable and to contribute as far as possible to the aggrandizement of an ally, from whom they promise themselves the same efforts. This is a sketch, but a very feeble and imperfect sketch of the Sentiments of My Masters, whose Sincerity Surpasses expression, but which is however manifested in the letter which I shall have the honor to deliver you. This, gentlemen, is the purpose of the Mission with which they have honored me. May it be in my power worthily to answer their expectation, and at the same time to gain your affection and confidence, which are so necessary for the Success of my undertaking. As to Myself, without guile and without artifice, I shall always conduct myself with that rectitude, candor, and cordiality, which

form the distinguishing character of a true republican, and which is at the same time the best security for My attaining the point of My Ambition, which is that of gaining the Approbation of Congress, the friendship of its Members, and the esteem of the United States of America.

“ He then delivered the letter from their high Mightinesses the States General of which the following is a translation: —

“ TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

“ Our Friends and Allies, With very great satisfaction did we, by the reception of the honorable Mr. Adams, your Minister with our State, acknowledge the independence of your Republic, and with equal and much greater delight have we received the pleasing tidings of the conclusion of the preliminary articles of peace, by which the Court of Great Britain has declared you free and independent states. We have long ardently wished for this happy period, having for several years past, with sorrow seen the troubles and difficulties with which you were obliged to struggle. And we do most cordially congratulate you on this happy event, sincerely taking a share in your present agreeable situation.

“ To give a testimony of our sentiments in this respect, and to convince you of our unfeigned esteem, we have thought it proper to send to you an envoy extraordinary; we have for that purpose chosen a gentleman of distinction, whose

personal qualifications are in great repute among us; the honorable Mr. Peter John Van Berckel, burgo-Master of the City of Rotterdam, and a deputy in our Assembly. We hope and trust that you will graciously receive this gentleman in quality of our Minister plenipotentiary, and when he shall have the honor to deliver you these presents, and to enter into further negotiations with you, that you will give full faith unto him as unto ourselves, being assured that he will not be able to express in terms too strong the Sentiments of esteem and reverence which we have for a long time possessed for that wisdom, courage and perseverance by which you have rendered yourselves famous throughout the world.

“ May God grant that your rising republic may become more and more prosperous; that it may increase in lustre and glory, and subsist to the end of time.

“ We shall at all times rejoice in your increasing felicity; and we desire nothing more ardently than that we may maintain the strictest friendship and correspondence with you, for the good of the subjects and inhabitants of both countries.

“ This letter being read, the president M^r Boudinot returned the following answer to the Minister:

“ SIR: In a contest for the rights of human nature, the citizens of the United States of America, could not but be impressed with the glorious example of those illustrious patriots, who, triumph-



ing over every difficulty and danger, established the liberties of the United Netherlands on the most honorable and permanent basis. Congress, at an early period of the war sought the friendship of their high Mightinesses; convinced that the same inviolable regard for liberty, and the same wisdom, justice and magnanimity which led their forefathers to glory, was handed down unimpaired to their posterity; and our satisfaction was great in accomplishing with them a treaty of Amity and Commerce on terms, so acceptable to both nations.

“ With the sincerest pleasure, Sir, we receive the honorable testimonials of Confidence and esteem of their high Mightinesses, and their affectionate congratulations on the success of our efforts in the sacred cause of liberty.

“ We assure you, Sir, that it is our earnest desire, to unite with their high Mightinesses in every Measure which can promote the Most unreserved Confidence, and the most friendly intercourse between two nations, which have vindicated their freedom amidst the most trying scenes of danger and distress, and have been equally blessed by the gracious interposition of Divine Providence, with that Sovereignty and independence so essential to their safety and happiness.

“ Governed by the same ardent love of Freedom, and the same Maxims of policy, cemented by a liberal system of Commerce, and earnestly disposed to advance our mutual prosperity, by a

reciprocity of good offices; we persuade ourselves that the most friendly and beneficial connexion between the two republics will be preserved inviolate to the latest ages.

“It adds, Sir, greatly to our pleasure on this interesting occasion, that their high Mightinesses have employed as their Minister, a gentleman so highly celebrated for rectitude and patriotism and from whose illustrious family these United States have received the Most distinguished proofs of regard and friendship.”¹

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FROM MR. BOUDINOT TO THE COMMISSIONERS.

PRINCETOWN Oct. 27th 1783

TO THE HON^{BLE} COMMISSIONERS

GENTLEMEN

Previous to my leaving the Chair of Congress, I take the liberty again to address you, merely as an individual that you may not be left totally without Information until the Choice of a Minister for foreign Affairs shall take place. I have pressed Congress much on this subject, and am fully convinced of the difficult Situation you must be in for want of Information from this important Office — I have the honor of acknowledging the rec^t of your several favours of the — My last addressed to you, was on the 15th of July giving you a minute account of the Mütiny of the Soldiers

¹ From *Journals of Congress*, from April 1, 1782, to November 1, 1788, inclusive, vol. iv. pp. 309, 310, 311.

in Philadelphia and of our subsequent removal to this Place — since which we have remained here tho. in but indifferent Circumstances of accommodation — Congress lately have determined to fix their place of Residence at the Head of the Delaware over the Falls of Trenton — They take in contemplation to fix another place the Falls of Potomack near Georgetown and to sit alternately at each Place year about — They have also determined to adjourn on the 8th Nov^r to Annapolis for their temporary residence — They have also passed several important Acts lately, which you will see by the several Proclamations contained in the Newspapers which I do myself the honor of transmitting herewith from the month of Sep^r 2^d — Congress have not yet taken the Appointment of a minister for foreign Affairs under Consideration, as their Time is principally taken up with previous measures of a Peace arrangement both Civil & Military — It will now be put off till the removal to Annapolis — I shall add to this Letter (I believe) several Acts of Congress In consequence of a Report on your last Official Letter we have been most Anxiously (looking (?)) for the Definitive Treaty which is really a matter of much more importance in this Country than it is in Europe — The States at best cannot be convinced that Peace is made to any Purpose without this welcome Act, and the Conduct of the British in these States has confirmed them in the Opinion — We lately sent Baron Steuben to Canada to settle

with Gen^l Waldenson the Time and manner of delivering up & receiving the Posts and fortifications on the Frontiers whenever that Gen^l should be ready so to do — He was refused even a conference on the subject — Gen^l Waldenson declaring that he knew of no Peace between Britain and America, that his orders were to cease Hostilities which he had carefully done but could go no further — The Baron thinks they are planning their schemes in Canada for holding the Frontier Posts for a year or two longer which would prove ruinous to these States rendition of them must be urged without delay. The Minister from Holland is arrived and to receive his public Audience on Friday next.

The Effects of the Mutiny in Philadelphia are all done away — The Sergeants who were condemned to die, rec^d Pardon from Congress in the very last moment of despair this has had a good Effect and the Army have been disbanded without any bad consequences but unhappily without Money.

Nov. 1st — Yesterday we gave public audience to M^r Van Berckel — Just before the Ceremony began Col Ogden arrived with the News of the completion of the Definitive Treaty, this gave a large addition to the general Joy that was already great on the occasion of the Day — M^r Van Berckel appears to be a person very much suited to the Manners of our People and I am very much mistaken if he does not do great honor to

his Commission — I shall endeavour to enclose his address and our answer — Nov^r 3^d — This Morning Congress met & made choice of a new President for the ensuing Year General Mifflin was unanimously chosen, tho' absent I suppose he will take the Chair in a day or two — I feel myself very happy in having filled up my year and that after having devoted myself altogether to the Public Service for near eight years, I am like to retire to private Life under the blessings of so glorious a Peace — My Presidentship has also been honored by the Signature of both Preliminary Articles & Definitive Treaty which has greatly compensated for all my other Sacrifices.

E B.¹

Commissioners }
Private }

Amid his other cares he finds time to write

TO THE HON. ANDREW ELLIOT.

PRINCETON, Oct. 29, 1783.

SIR: —

Being lately informed with some degree of certainty, that you mean to leave the City of New York for Europe with the British Troops, and not knowing whether it was matter of choice or from any apprehension of your remaining being disagreeable to the State, permit me Sir, to offer you any services in my power, and to assure that as far as I can judge, your stay will be both agreeable and pleasing to any State where you may think

¹ Elias Boudinot's letter book.

proper to reside, and to promise that I will undertake to obtain the most ample acknowledgment of this Temper from the Government of either of the States you may think proper for this purpose, if you should require it: having been fully convinced of the rectitude of your conduct throughout the late disagreeable contest and having experienced the happy effects of your liberality and benevolence to multitudes of our unhappy citizens who have suffered captivity by the fortune of war, I could not withhold my testimony to your goodness and contribute my mite in giving you Election as to your residence in this country as far as was in my power.

I have the honor to be with every sentiment of esteem, & respect, Sir,

Yours, &c.

E. BOUDINOT.¹

The Honorable ANDREW ELLIOT Esq.
New York.

BY THE UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED :

To all who shall see these presents, send greeting: Whereas, Benjamin Franklin, our Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Versailles, in pursuance of the powers in him vested, did, on the 25th day of February, in the year 1783, with Charles Gravier de Vergennes, &c. Counsellor of the King in all his councils, commander of his orders, minister and secretary of State &c. vested with full power of his most Christian Majesty for

¹ Elias Boudinot's letter book.

the purpose, enter into, conclude and sign a contract between his most Christian Majesty and the United States of North America, in the words following, viz (Here insert the contract at large)

Now know ye, That we the said United States in Congress assembled, impressed with a lively sense of the assistance and affection manifested by his most Christian Majesty in the above contract, have ratified and confirmed, and by these presents do ratify and confirm the said contract, and every article thereof, and we do hereby empower our minister plenipotentiary at the Court of Versailles, to deliver this our ratification in exchange for the ratification of the said contract on the part of his most Christian Majesty. In testimony whereof, we have caused our seal to be hereunto affixed, witness his Excellency Elias Boudinot, president, this 31st day of October, 1783, and of our sovereignty and independence the eighth.¹

BY THE UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED :

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas it hath pleased the Supreme Ruler of all human events, to dispose the hearts of the late belligerent powers to put a period to the effusion of human blood by proclaiming a cessation of all hostilities by Sea and land, and these United States are not only happily rescued from the dan-

¹ *Journal of Congress*, edition of 1800, vol. viii. p. 331.

gers and calamities to which they have been so long exposed, but their freedom, sovereignty and independence ultimately acknowledged. And whereas in the progress of a contest on which the most essential rights of human nature depended, the interposition of Divine Providence in our favour hath been most abundantly and most graciously manifested, and the citizens of these United States have every reason for praise and gratitude to the God of their salvation. Impressed, therefore, with an exalted sense of the blessings by which we are surrounded, and of our entire dependence on that Almighty Being, from whose goodness and Bounty they are derived, the United States in Congress assembled, do recommend it to the several States, to set apart the second Thursday in December next, as a day of public thanksgiving, that all the people may then assemble to celebrate with grateful hearts and united voices, the praises of their Supreme and all bountiful Benefactor, for his numberless favours and mercies. That he hath been pleased to conduct us in safety through all the perils and vicissitudes of the war; that he hath given us unanimity and resolution to adhere to our just rights, that he hath raised up a powerful ally to assist us in supporting them, and hath so far crowned our united efforts with success, that in the course of the present year, hostilities have ceased, and we are left in the undisputed possession of our liberty

and independence, and of the fruits of our land, and in the free participation of the treasures of the sea; that he hath prospered the labour of our husbandmen with plentiful harvests; and above all, that he hath been pleased to continue to us the light of the blessed gospel, and secured to us in the fullest extent the rights of conscience in faith and worship. And while our hearts overflow with gratitude, and our lips set forth the praises of our great Creator, that we also offer up fervent supplications, that it may please him to pardon all our offences, to give wisdom and unanimity to our public councils, to cement all our citizens in the bonds of affection, and to inspire them with an earnest regard for the national honor and interest, to enable them to improve the days of prosperity by every good work, and to be lovers of peace and tranquillity, that he may be pleased to bless us in our husbandry, our commerce and navigation, to smile upon our seminaries and means of education, to cause pure religion and virtue to flourish, to give peace to all nations and to fill the world with his glory.

Done by the United States in Congress assembled, witness his Excellency Elias Boudinot, our president, this 18th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1783, and of the sovereignty and independence of the United States of America the eighth.¹

¹ *Journal of Congress*, edition of 1800, vol. viii. p. 312.

BY THE UNITED STATES IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas in the progress of an arduous and difficult war, the armies of the United States of America, have eminently displayed every military and patriotic virtue, and are not less to be applauded for their fortitude and magnanimity in the most trying scenes of distress, than for a series of heroic and illustrious achievements which exalt them to a high rank among the most zealous and successful defenders of the rights and liberties of mankind. And whereas by the blessing of Divine Providence on our cause and our arms, the glorious period is arrived when our national independence and sovereignty are established, and we enjoy the prospect of a permanent and honorable peace; we therefore, the United States in Congress assembled, thus impressed with a lively sense of the distinguished merit and good conduct of the said armies, do give them the thanks of their country, for their long, eminent, and faithful services. And it is our will and pleasure, that such part of the federal armies as stand engaged to serve during the war, and as by our acts of the 26th day of May, the 11th day of June, the 9th day of August, and the 26th day of September last, were furloughed, shall, from and after the 3d day of November next, be absolutely discharged by virtue of this our proclamation from the said ser-

vice: and we do also declare, that the further services in the field, of the officers who are de-ranked and on furlough in consequence of our aforesaid acts, can now be dispenced with, and they have our full permission to retire from service, without being longer liable from their present engagements, to be called into command. And of such discharge and permission to retire from service respectively, all our officers, civil and military, and all others whom it may concern, are required to take notice, and to govern themselves accordingly.

Given under the seal of the United States in Congress assembled, witness his excellency Elias Boudinot, our president in Congress, this 18th day of October in the year of our Lord 1783, and of the sovereignty and independence of the United States of America the eighth.¹

¹ *Journal of Congress*, edition of 1800, vol. viii. p. 213.



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