

support of the civil constitution, of that legal liberty, which every Englishman professes to defend at the hazard of his life.

Our security and success depend, in a great degree, upon the public credit, upon the faith that every man has in the ability of the state to reward him for his service. Money is the standard by which we measure the value of that service, and of all the necessaries of life. For want of gold and silver, the community is sometimes necessitated to establish a paper currency. This is meant to supply the place of those valuable metals; and so long as it is received and paid without depreciation it answers all the purposes for which it was designed. It constitutes the basis of public success, and is our only security. I consider the man who undermines this solid foundation as the worst of assassins, and the confirmed enemy of his country. His conduct ought to be held forth in its genuine colours, and branded with infamy. A lady's chastity a soldier's honour, and the public faith, should be free, not only from guilt, but suspicion.

Inconveniencies will undoubtedly attend a paper currency, unless we guard against them by establishing funds, or by adopting other measures that may be as effectual. And those selfish men who have no other God but riches, who make profit of honour, conscience and virtue, should be informed, that they may be secured in their property if they condescend to support the public credit. Private credit is wealth, public honour is security.

Such is the situation of this country, and so unfavourable is every prospect of an honourable compromise, that we shall deserve to suffer the dangers we have reason to apprehend, unless we instantly open all the ports upon the continent, establish a free trade, and fit out a navy sufficient, in some measure, to protect it. I would have all the members of the community employed, that the country, instead of sinking into poverty, may be enriched by the gains of industry. The public stock is increased by private profit. The poor are employed, and the farmer receives his proportion of the gain. The country gentlemen may think that they have little to do with commerce, but they are the first who feel the loss of it, and are (says Mr. Locke) as much concerned in it as the merchant himself. It may be objected, that we cannot open a trade. That we shall be obliged to encounter the maritime force of Great-Britain, and that we are unequal to the contest. There are some men beyond the reach of conviction, who answer all the proposed efforts of a free people with smiles and contempt. These I do not mean to persuade. But I inquire why we cannot establish a naval power sufficient to answer our present purposes at least? Have we not naval stores in abundance? Do we want men, or are they destitute of courage? Are we not supplied with every necessary for the design? But we shall have to cope with Great Britain, and we are unequal to the contest. Were not the Hollanders, when they revolted from Spain in the same situation? Did the seven united provinces, at that time, contain as many inhabitants as this single colony? We know they did not. Had they any fleet? Was not the naval power of Spain supported at that time to be invincible? But we know that, in spite of all these disadvantages and ten thousand others, they ingrossed the whole spice trade, and prosecuted their commerce with such industry and resolution, that Holland became the magazine of all the valuable commodities of the east in the midst of a bloody war. We know too by what means they arrived to this importance. They sent out multitudes of vessels with public or private commissions, and interdicted the seas. Are we in a worse situation than Holland then was? Never contest, says Mr. Hume, seemed at first more unequal; never contest was finished with more honour to the weaker party. On the side of Spain were numbers, riches, authority, discipline. On the side of the revolted provinces, were found, the attachment to liberty, and the enthusiasm of religion. By her naval enterprises, the republic maintained her armies, and joining peaceful industry to military valor, she was enabled, by her own force, to support herself, and gradually rely less on those neighbouring princes who, from jealousy to Spain, were at first prompted to encourage her revolt. Our situation is infinitely preferable. We have every advantage that the Hollanders were destitute of. Yet we patiently suffer our trade to be destroyed, and our merchant-men to be insulted and plundered with impunity. I deny that it is in the power of Great-Britain to destroy our trade, if we exert ourselves. She has not ships to spare to guard a sea coast of fifteen hundred miles in length. She cannot prevent smuggling upon her own coast, though surrounded by her navy, and armed with all the terrors of sanguinary laws. Besides, one half of her maritime force rests upon her American foundation. Take this away and you strip the royal bird of the plumage that supports his flight--you fix him on the earth. Let armed vessels be instantly fitted out to open a trade with the neighbouring colonies at least. Let us make the trial. Let them be well acquainted with the coasts. Let them be of sufficient force to attack the numerous tenders that swarm upon the seas. From what we have already experienced, I pledge myself for their success. We shall then be supplied with provision and fuel, at a moderate expence. We shall be enabled to endure the severities of winter, and the burdens of war.

Let our sea ports be fortified without delay, and the people constantly used to arms. In the choice of magistrates, let us consider the various abilities of the candidates for the public favour, as well as their integrity and attachment to the cause. There are posts where even integrity alone, though not an useless virtue, is certainly a recommendation that may be fatal to the public tranquillity. A general attachment to the common good, distinct from party prejudices and private animosities--which comprehends the whole body of the people, though individuals may differ in some speculative points of their political creed, is a virtue of the first magnitude, and an essential qualification. But public virtue and patriotism are commonly to be found in the shades and solitudes of life. Let us draw silent merit from obscurity, and distribute the virtues and abilities of individuals according to the offices they are calculated to fill with honour. When they quit the service, let us supply their places with better men than we have lost.

I have explained my sentiments at large. I have supposed that the colonies have resolved to persist, and

see the laws and liberties of America at their feet. I have answered the charge of representing the gracious monarch upon the throne in a contemptible light, by a full declaration of the country and its advantages. Upon this foundation I have ventured to point out a mode of defence, which I am persuaded is supported by all the principles of policy and prudence. I am equally convinced that, if it is not adopted at present, it must be finally, and we exhaust our strength to no purpose, by delay. War is just, when necessary. Pursue it with vigour--the event will be success.

Salem, 1st October, 1775.

DECIUS.

LONDON, September 4.

A correspondent observes that he is happy to find that some of the young nobility retain the courage of their ancestors, as he has it from unobscured authority, that many have offered their service to his majesty to serve as volunteers in America, and are absolutely preparing to join his majesty's army at Boston.

It is the avowed purpose of minority to pursue the most rigorous measures against the Americans. It is said that the several proposals offered for terminating the unhappy disputes with the colonies will be referred to the consideration of parliament.

LONDON ASSOCIATION.

Globe Tavern, Fleet-street, August 25.

Resolved, THAT this association, duly sensible of the many blessings we enjoy from the revolution and accession, to which, under God, we owe the free constitution of our country, will use our best and most unwearying endeavours to extend and transmit to posterity their excellent principles and consequence; and that we will embrace every opportunity to evince our zeal, affection, and fidelity to his present majesty, King George the Third, and his royal family, for whose honour and safety, whilst we manifest the highest regard, we hold the truest concern for the freedom, peace and welfare of the whole British empire; convinced that under a prince of the house of Brunswick we only can be free, and at the same time resolutely determined that, under a prince of the house of Brunswick, we will be free.

Resolved, It is the opinion of this association, that proclamations have never been considered as laws of the land, and though frequently issued under the arbitrary reigns of the Stuarts, to serve the abominable designs of despotism, unless directed by and enforcing the law, were opposed and resisted by our forefathers, as violent intrusions on the liberties of the people of England.

Resolved, That the present high price of the necessaries of life, the decay of trade, and consequent distresses of the industrious poor, those most useful members of the state, demand our best consideration, that peace may no longer be the parent of poverty and misery, instead of the source of riches and happiness.

Resolved, That as it is declared by the bill of rights (Art. V.) that it is the right of the subject to petition, we will use our best endeavours to bring to the justice of their country those men who have prevented the cries of the nation from being heard by his majesty, and consequently their miseries and complaints from being redressed.

Resolved, That if any descendants of those illustrious noblemen, who by their undaunted and zealous endeavours brought about the glorious revolution, and effected the accession, shall determine to join this association, for the great purposes of constitutional freedom and national happiness, we will pay due regard to their rank and birth, though we shall always keep their zeal for the public cause, and their uniform support of the principles and proceedings of their gallant and patriotic ancestors foremost in our view, our gratitude, and respect.

Signed and published by order, THOMAS JOEL, secretary.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 18.

By advices received yesterday from Cambridge, we learn that a vessel, said to be from Philadelphia for Boston, was wrecked near Plymouth, she had on board 120 pipes of wine, 118 of which, with the crew, are saved: Also a vessel bound from Bolton, with about 240 l. value in dry goods, was cast away at the same time near Beverly; the wine and goods are ordered to Cambridge for sale, the prisoners and papers were also expected in a few days. We also learn that the armed schooner Lynch, commanded by Capt. Adams, had taken a transport laden with wood bound for Bolton. That Capt. Coit, in the armed schooner Harrison, had taken two schooners, one of 90, the other of 85 tons, bound from Nova-Scotia to Bolton, laden with hay, live stock, poultry, &c. both which were safely moored in Plymouth harbour. That advices had been received from Col. Arnold, of the 13th of October, that he was proceeding with his men in good health and spirits, and it is not questioned but that he is now in possession of Quebec.

Extract of a letter from an officer in the New-York forces, dated at St. John's, 3d November, 1775.

I HAVE the pleasure to inform you that I had the honour of marching into, and taking possession of this fortress, at the head of my company, and about 800 men from the different corps, of which our army is composed, about 9 o'clock this morning, when the garrison consisting of about 600 men, marched out and grounded their arms on the plain, to westward of the fort, (agreeable to the terms of the enclosed capitulation) and were immediately embarked in batteaux, for Capt. Mead's encampment, and from thence to be sent under guard, as speedily as possible, for Ticonderoga, Connecticut, or any other place which the continental congress may direct. I most sincerely congratulate you on this most fortunate event, which in my opinion will be a most fatal stab to the hellish machinations of the foes to freedom, as it will facilitate the reduction of Canada, and secure the Canadians in our favour. We have taken in the fort a considerable quantity of military stores, among which are 17 pieces of excellent brass artillery, two of them 24 pounders, the rest of them field-pieces; two royal howitzers; several mortars, cohorns, and a considerable number of iron cannon. There were in the garrison, about 500 regular troops, the rest were composed of Canadian volunteers, among which were many of their noblesse, who I believe, are (from appearance) on the floor of repentance. And as you may be fond of knowing how we have proceeded, in carrying on the siege of this place

since my last, I will give you a detail of the particular operations since that period.

On the 28th ult. the main body of the army disembarked from the south, and marched to the north side of the fort, under the command of Gen. Wooster: We were joined in the evening by Gen. Montgomery, and the same night we began to throw up a breast-work, (on the eminence commanding the enemy's works) in order to erect a battery of cannon and mortars. They kept continually pelting at, with grape shot and shells, but without doing us the least injury, until Wednesday morning, when we opened our battery, consisting of three twelve and one nine pounder, three mortars, and as many cohorns, with which we kept an almost incessant blaze on them great part of the day, and likewise from our battery on the east side of the river, which the enemy returned with the greatest spirit. Late in the afternoon I received a message from Gen. Montgomery, ordering me to cease firing till further orders: These orders were extremely disagreeable to me, when I saw some of my men bleeding before my eyes, and dying with the wounds which they had received. On our ceasing to fire, the general ordered a parley to be beat, and sent in an officer to demand a surrender of the fort: two officers soon after returned with him and were led blindfold thro' the camp to the general's tent, where a pretty long conference was held, and they promised the general an answer from the commanding officer next morning, which promise was complied with: the answer imported, that if they should receive no relief within four days, he would then send in some proposals. The general replied that he must have an explicit answer next morning, and the garrison must remain prisoners of war at all events; that if they had any intentions to renew hostilities, they need only signify it by firing a gun as a signal; this, though very unpalatable, they were at length obliged to digest as you will see by the capitulation. You will readily excuse the incorrectness of this scrawl, when I inform you it is now past one o'clock in the morning, having had no time to write before, as I have been all day at the fort examining the stores (and we are to begin our march for Montreal this morning) and my fingers and senses so benumbed with cold, that I can scarcely write at all, owing to a north easterly wind, and plenty of snow which is now falling in abundance. Yet notwithstanding, I am not so senseless or ungrateful, as to forget my friends. I am your's &c.

P. S. My little company has been rather unfortunate, as I have had five killed, four by the enemy, and one by accident; six wounded, and one died by sickness, which is as great a loss as has been sustained by the whole army, except in the first skirmish with the Indians, &c. but this is what we must naturally expect, as the post of honour ever is the post of danger.

Extract of a letter from St. John's, November 3.

"The 28th ult. the remainder of our army, on the south-west side of the fort, of which our regiment composed a part, marched round St. John's to the north side of it, and encamped there with the main body.

"Oz. 29. I went in the evening with 200 men, and completed a battery within 20 yards of the fort. The fort kept continual fire upon us all night.

"Oz. 30. Four guns and six mortars were mounted in the battery.

"Oz. 31. The army busily employed in preparing for a cannonade, and an assault, if necessary. This day we received news that 700 of our men, near Longue-Geel, about 18 miles from hence, had repulsed Gov. Carleton, who intended to raise the siege of St. John's with 800 men. Our green mountain boys did this business. The governor had 25 men killed, and 50 wounded, besides several prisoners, among whom are two Indians. Carleton retreated to Montreal.

"Nov. 1. Our gun and mortar battery on this side, and the four gun batteries on the east side, kept an incessant fire all day on the garrison; the garrison kept up a very brisk fire. In the evening Gen. Montgomery sent a flag into the fort, with a letter to major Preston, by one of the prisoners taken at Longue-Geel, informing him of Carleton's defeat, and that he had now no longer any reason to flatter himself with relief from that quarter, and that therefore to prevent the further effusion of blood, which a fruitless and obstinate defence would cause, he recommended to him a surrender of the fort. Major Preston, in return to Gen. Montgomery's letter, sent Capt. Stewart of the 26th, with a drum into our camp, that the general should have a full answer to his letter in the morning. That in the mean time hostilities should cease on both sides.

"Nov. 2. Capt. Stewart and Capt. Williams of the train, came about 8 o'clock in the morning, with a flag into our camp, with an answer from Major Preston to Gen. Montgomery's letter of yesterday, requesting of the general to wait four days, to see whether no relief could come to the garrison in that time, if not, that they would make proposals for a surrender. The general returned in answer, that from the advanced season of the year, he could not give the garrison the time it requested, and that they must immediately surrender prisoners of war, otherwise that if any fatal consequences should ensue, from their needless defence in the weak state they were then in, they must charge themselves with it.

"The general also referred them for the truth of Carleton's defeat to another prisoner on board of our sloop, whom they might have access to examine; and that whenever they chuse to renew hostilities, they should give a signal, by firing a cannon ball. In the evening the above gentlemen returned into our camp from the fort, with articles of capitulation, some of which were agreed to by us, others rejected, which, as amended, were sent back to the fort, and agreed to, the sum of which were, That the garrison should march out of the fort to-morrow morning, with the honours of war, and then lay down their arms, be prisoners of war, and be sent to Connecticut. A great quantity of military stores are taken, the detail of which are not yet ascertained; about 600 men made prisoners. This day detachments from every regiment in our army took possession of the fort, and the prisoners are embarked for their destination."

Extract of a letter from general Montgomery, dated camp near St. John's, November 3, 1775.

"My dear GENERAL, I have the pleasure to acquaint, the garrison surrendered last night. This morning we take possession. To-morrow I hope the prisoners will set off. Enclosed you have the capitulation, which I hope will meet with