

sentiments of independency are, by some men of present consequence, openly avowed, and essays are already appearing in the public to ridicule the people's fears of that horrid measure, and remove their aversion to republican government, it is high time that every man should know what he has to expect. If, as I hope, you have an abhorrence of such design, you will do your country an essential service by declaring it in so full and explicit terms as may discourage the attempt. You may always rely on finding me ready to cooperate with you in every proper expedient for promoting peace, order, and good government; and I shall deem it a particular happiness to have an opportunity of being instrumental in saving this province from the present impending danger.

WILLIAM FRANKLIN.

Council-chamber, Nov. 16, 1775.

To the Members of the House of Assembly of Pennsylvania.

I ADDRESS you by the above title for the want of another; because the line of business you now move in differs as much from the business of an assembly, acting by virtue of what you call the present constitution, as if you professedly renounced the name.

But be your title what it may, I cannot help expressing my surprize at seeing in your votes of the 9th instant, an essay for instructing the delegates of this province respecting their conduct in the continental congress, and the said instructions couched in terms amounting to a command. When I voted at the last election for a representative in the house in which you now sit, I never meant to invest any of you with such a power, and I protest against your assuming it. The delegates in congress are not the delegates of the assembly, but of the people,—of the body at large. For convenience sake only, we at present consent to your nominating them; but we may as well without delegates if they mult act solely under your influence, and thus circumstanced they can only sit there as cyphers.

The constitution of England, decayed, and complicated as it is, never suffers one house to instruct the other, neither doth it permit a person to sit in both houses. —Instruction is as sacredly the right of the people as election. It was your duty to give them all possible information, but nothing farther; because, respecting that body of men, you are but as individuals.

As I hope never to see the day when the continent shall be without a congress, so I hope in proper season to see a congress chosen by the people,—which may as easily be done as the choosing an assembly; by which means not only every colony, but every part of it will be represented.

As an individual I have no right to instruct, wherefore I can only convey to them my wishes; which are, that the moment they enter the threshold of the congress, that they lay aside all private interest and connection, and consider themselves not acting provincially but continentally; that as men, they will disregard all undue influence—and as fathers, that they will think for posterity; and with these wishes, I leave them to God and their own consciences.

A LOVER OF ORDER.

To the PEOPLE of PENNSYLVANIA.

PERMIT me, my dear countrymen, to engage your attention, for a moment, upon a subject of the last importance. I mean only to trouble you with a very few observations upon a publication in the Pennsylvania Journal of this week, which, under the plausible signature of *A Lover of Order*, is endeavouring to introduce into your country a system of government that will involve you in all the evils your enemies can wish to come upon you. I shall not hesitate to say, that the author of this essay is much more offended with the substance of the instructions given by our assembly to the Pennsylvania delegates, than with the measure itself. Had they prescribed a conduct directly opposite to what is so properly pointed out in them, no man can doubt but this *Lover of Order* would have submitted quietly to the breach of it, which he censures, and would gladly have seen that assumption of power which he now so boldly protests against; because not used according to his destructive wishes—or, to speak in the plain language which the times demand, I think, it requires but little penetration to pronounce, that he has conceived the pernicious hope of seeing Great Britain and America in a state of separation. He cannot call this an unfair construction of his conduct, when he recollects that, of all the deviations from our constitution into which the house has been driven by the unhappiness of our situation, that only is marked with his disapprobation which interferes with the independent scheme. It will be needless to mention the many instances of this kind that have passed unnoticed by him, since the commencement of our unhappy contest. Ill informed as he appears to be, they cannot have escaped him.

He acknowledges that, for the sake of convenience, he would consent that the assembly should appoint the delegates; surely then the same convenience would induce him to consent that they should instruct them, as it would be much more difficult for the people at large, in this extensive province, to agree upon a set of rules for the government of their members in congress, than to fix upon men who are equal to the execution of those directions. If in the latter case the difficulty is found too great to contend with, in the former it must be considerably increased, not to say quite unmountable. But if the people think it proper to invest the house with the power of appointing members for the congress, they ought also to suffer the same body to instruct them, because the English constitution does, and reason always would permit, instructions to be given to persons intrusted with any commission by those who appointed them to execute it. If our assembly have not a right to instruct, they have not a right to appoint the delegates, and consequently Pennsylvania has never joined her sister colonies in any part of the present opposition, never having sent her representatives to the congress.

Put this doctrine your love of liberty and your understandings will forbid you to allow.

Another objection made to the instructions is that they are too positive, and couched in terms amounting to a command, which he would have you believe, renders the design of appointing delegates abortive, and makes them sit as mere cyphers among their brethren. In this place the intention of a congress seems to be en-

tirely forgot. If I remember rightly, it was instituted by all the provinces, professedly, to obtain a redress of grievances, and to agree upon some plan of opposition to the tyranny with which, Great-Britain unhappily thought of distressing us. The exercise of this duty is left open as wide as ever, nay it is enforced in the strongest terms. They are only forbid to accede to any proposition, which may cause, or lead to a separation from our mother country, or a change of the form of government. For the truth of this constitution, I appeal to your judgment upon the words of the draught.

The dangerous arts he makes to mislead your understandings, and to turn your just prepossessions in favour of our excellent form of government, into the means of overthrowing it. The constitution of England, says he, decayed, and complicated as it is, never suffers one house to instruct the others, neither doth it permit a person to sit in both houses. The observation is true in both parts, and we shall no longer be free men when it ceases to be so, but how or when can he mean to apply it. The cases are totally different, for two substantial reasons. In the first place, no other body can be found in the British dominions, which answer the description of the American congress; because no part of them is in a situation to require the existence of such a body, except the colonies. And, in the second place, neither the congress nor Pennsylvania house of assembly are formed upon the plan of the British house of lords, where the members either inherit their seats or are called into them by the king's writs. The lords and commons of Great-Britain are different bodies, with separate interests, in many respects, but so connected that one cannot act without the other, being designed as a check upon each other; but the interest of every American house of assembly is intirely involved in that of the congress, and though every reasonable man would wish them to agree in their resolutions, yet it is not absolutely necessary, we see in the fatal instance of New-York. This remark, when submitted to the judgments of men, who have not had an opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the nature of the bodies, which are compared in it, may seem to imply, what the author would infer from it, viz. that our constitution will not admit an assembly to instruct its members of the congress; but I hope the fallacy of the inference will be easily seen through when the cases are properly considered.

At the present juncture, when a petition from a few of the friends, has to the eye of the world, given the false appearance of a division in our province, we must esteem it a particular happiness, that we have a house of assembly, which, from our constitution, cannot be dissolved, and which coincides with the congress in the opposition to an arbitrary court. The resolves of a set of men, elected as they are, will ever be considered as conveying the true sentiments of the people they represent, notwithstanding the feigned language of non-resisting petitions, or the clamours of discontented republicans.

It may be thought by many, that the little publication which I have ventured to comment upon, could have no very dangerous tendency, but when I see that, inconsiderable as they really are, such pieces constantly attract the notice of government, and have been made use of by a neighbouring governor to support the false charge of independent designs in the people, I am induced to take more notice of them, than they really deserve.

Our representatives, my dear countrymen, have set us a noble example in this respect at least; let us therefore join with them in endeavouring to convince our sovereign and the world, that the accusation of our aiming at a separation from Great-Britain is as false, as our opposition to despotism has been true and spirited.

A PENNSYLVANIAN ASSOCIATOR.

*Experiments made since Friday last by Capt. Pryor and Mr. Thomas Pain, for the purpose of fixing some easy, cheap, and expeditious method of making salt-petre in private families, in order to shew the practicability of a plan, proposed by Mr. Pain of forming a salt-petre association, for voluntarily supplying the public magazines with gun-powder.*

First EXPERIMENT.

FRIDAY afternoon we sawed an old cask (of little or no value) into two tubs, and bored an hole in the bottom of each, near to the side, of about the size of a common cork, and stop it with a wooden peg; over each hole we put a full handful of straw, then filled the tubs with earth taken from the bottom of a cellar, and poured water thereon, filling it up as it sunk in, till the water stood about an inch above the earth. This is the same as setting a lye tub.

Second, Saturday morning we drew the liquor off, throwing it up till it run clear, the quantity was about 3 gallons, which we put into a kettle, and boiled to about three quarts.

Third, We took a little wooden keg, bored an hole as in the former ones, stop it with a cork, and covered the bottom of the tub with cut straw to about three or four inches, on which we put about the same depth of wood ashes, and gently poured thereon the hot liquor, so as not to make holes in the ashes; after letting it stand a few minutes to settle, we drew it off, (throwing it up again till it run clear) when it ceased running, we put on about a quart of cold water to drive out the lye which the ashes had sucked up.

Fourth, We boiled this second liquor to about a pint and an half, then poured it gently off into a basin, leaving the scum and sediment behind; after it had stood about a quarter of an hour to settle, we again poured it on two earthen soup plates, set them in a cool place till next morning, at which time the sides and bottoms of the plates were beautifully covered with crystals of salt-petre sprung up like large blades of grass, being in quantity about a quarter of a pound.

SECOND EXPERIMENT.

As we judged we had not got all the salt-petre from

*The earth of cellars, stables, barns, and out-houses, open to the air, but covered from rain and sun, and impregnated with nitre or salt-petre, more or less; likewise the soil under the floors of barns, which are raised from the ground where fowls, hogs, &c. shelter, will afford a large quantity. We took about an inch and a half from the surface.*

the earth in the tubs we poured thereon (i. e. on the same earth) some boiling water; on Monday we drew it off and proceeded with it as before; on Tuesday morning it produced a larger quantity of salt-petre than in the former experiment, and about two ounces of common salt.

N. B. The lye which remains is called mother of nitre, and is to be put by and boiled up with the second lye of the next process, when it comes from the ashes.

As these experiments were made to promote the public good, it is hoped the several printers will give them places as soon as they can.

Philadelphia, November 14, 1775.

IN CONGRESS, Oct. 18, 1775.

Resolved, that a just and well authenticated account of the hostilities committed by the ministerial troops and navy in America, since last March, be collected, with proper evidence of the truth of the fact related, the number and value of the buildings destroyed by them; also the number and value of the vessels inward and outward bound, which have been seized by them since that period, as near as the number and value can be ascertained; also the stock taken by them from different parts of the continent. That Mr. Deane, Mr. J. Adams, and Mr. Wythe be a committee for that purpose.

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.

N. B. The above committee request the printers of the several public papers in the united colonies to insert the above for three or four weeks successively, and all persons possessed of any facts relative to, or that may throw light on the above subject, to transmit the same to them as early as possible.

ANNA POLIS, November 30.

To the Printer of the GENERAL EVENING POST.

YOU will oblige many of your readers by inserting Lord North's motion for a reconciliation with the Americans, with his lordship's explanation of it.

February 20, 1775. In a committee of the whole house, Lord North made the following motion:

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that when the general council and assembly, or general court of any of his majesty's provinces or colonies in America, shall propose to make provision according to the condition, circumstance, or situation of such province or colony, for contributing their proportion to the common defence (such proposition to be raised under the authority of the general court, or general assembly of such province or colony, and disposable by parliament) and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government and the administration of justice in such province or colony, it will be proper, if such proposal shall be approved by his majesty and the two houses of parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such province or colony, to lay any duty, tax, or assessment, except only such duties as it may be expedient to continue to levy or impose for the regulation of commerce; the net produce of the duties last mentioned to be carried to the account of such province or colony respectively.

On a division, 274 for the motion.

28 against it."

We are assured the following is his lordship's explanation of the above resolve.

By this resolution of the house of commons, America is offered all she can ask for, the security of her liberties, consistent with the safety of the state.

The Americans grant that they are willing and ready to contribute a share to the necessary expences of government: Now, all the parliament ask by this resolution is, that the different assemblies would state what sums they are severally able to grant; that they are now only required to lay before the British legislature an estimate of the proportion of taxes they will levy, according to the relation they bear to Great-Britain and the rest of the colonies.

That when the rate or quota is once fixed, parliament will give all the security they can ask for the establishment of their liberties by a fixed constitution. That they will stand on a better predicament than Scotland, as they will be allowed to fix the mode, and raise the taxes (by such ways and means as they shall think most agreeable and expedient) by their own assemblies, being secured against any exorbitant demand of the British legislature; for by this barrier the English commons cannot tax them much, without taxing our constituents more.

The Americans have even said their sole objection was applied to the parliament's claim of taxing them unrepresented; that this is not given up, therefore all objections should cease of course.

The best friends to America have always allowed the power of compelling every branch of the state to assist in bearing the common burthens, and that this power can be lodged no where more fitly than in the parliament, which connects and presides over the component parts of the empire, and directs all their operations for the attainment of a common good.

That the power will never be exerted, except when a colony refuses to comply with and fulfil its own engagements; and it is therefore beneficial, as it is the interest of all America, that every province be obliged to contribute its fair and just proportion.

America's best friends in Europe agree, that the colonies ought to aid in defraying the expences of the state. Lord Chatham proposed that this should be done by a legal congress, Mr. Burke and Mr. Hartley by the old mode of requisition; but still they all agree in this, that taxes ought to be levied, and that if the colonies refuse they must be compelled to it. Lord North's proposition therefore, in this respect, stands on the same ground with the rest, but it is better on this account, that it invites the different assemblies to propose the annual sums that they are willing and able to bear, and leaving the mode of levying to the legislature of each province. Promising also, that the monies arising by the duties proposed for the regulation of trade, shall be applied to the sole use of the province in which it was raised, and accounted in part of the sum stipulated to be contributed by it.

The tea act also will be repealed, if asked for. These propositions to come from the different assemblies in a dutiful address.

That his majesty does not wish to distress America but must not lose the authority of government.