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PAPERS

IN

RELATION TO THE CASE

OF

SILAS DEANE.

Now First Published from the Original Manuscripts.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED FOR THE SEVENTY-SIX SOCIETY.
T. K. AND P. G. COLLINS, PRINTERS.
1855.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE following pages are published from the original manuscripts, obtained a few years ago, in South Carolina, by the late Edward D. Ingraham, Esq., of this city, from the family of Henry Laurens, President of Congress during a part of our Revolutionary War.

Shortly after the formation of our Society, of which Mr. Ingraham was an early and active member, he complied with our request that he would edit them with a view to their publication as our first work.

All that is now presented to the reader had either been printed or set up in type at the period of his sudden and lamented death, November 5, 1854. Other papers in the collection, referred to in foot-notes, were to have been added, together with some other documents collected by Mr. Ingraham to complete the work; but of all of these no trace has been discovered since his decease. We were therefore constrained either to present it in an imperfect state, or relinquish its publication altogether. The former alternative seemed to be the more advisable.

This brief statement has seemed due alike to the Society and to the memory of Mr. Ingraham, who was generally known to have the work in charge.

MR. DEANE'S NARRATIVE.

SIR: I beg leave to remind Congress of my having several times mentioned to them, in my letters desiring an audience, that my detention was very prejudicial to my private affairs, as well as that it might tend to embarrass or prevent the settlement of those of the public, which my sudden departure from France obliged me to leave without being adjusted and closed. The prejudice resulting from this delay I now hope will be fully compensated, from the ample time it has afforded for making the most minute and scrupulous examination into every part of my public conduct, both in Europe and America.

In August last, when I had the honor of being heard by Congress, I expressed my desire of knowing if objections had been made to any part of my conduct whilst in their service, and if any, what they were. Previous to the entering on a general narrative, I take the liberty to mention in a few words the reasons which induced me to make that request.

I set out for Europe, intrusted with the political and commercial agency of these States, and in the month of December following received a commission from Congress appointing me one of their commissioners at the Court of Versailles, by which my former commission was superseded, and a person appointed to the commercial agency in my room. From the time of my leaving my native country in March, 1776, to the 4th of March,

1778, I had reason to flatter myself that my conduct had been such as to meet with the approbation of my honorable constituents; and though the resolution of Congress of the 8th December, 1777, which I was then for the first time made acquainted with, and the letter which inclosed it expressed nothing to the contrary, yet, sensible of the extremely difficult situation in which I had been placed previous as well as subsequent to the arrival of my colleagues; of the variety of transactions, political and commercial, in which on account of these States I had been engaged, and knowing that I had been so unfortunate as to have enemies at Paris and at Nantes who frequently wrote to America, I thought myself warranted to suspect that misrepresentations had been made, either with design to injure me, or through ignorance and misapprehension. My venerable friend and colleague, Dr. Franklin, had the same suspicions, as his letters before Congress show.

Although the dispatches just before sent out by Mr. Simeon Deane and Captain Courter were sufficient to inform Congress, generally, of "*the state of affairs in Europe,*" yet my disposition to pay the most ready and implicit obedience to the orders of Congress on every occasion, with a desire to know in what light my conduct had been represented, prevailed over every other consideration, and I left Paris the last of March in the manner, and under the circumstances which I shall hereafter relate.

Shortly after my arrival I had, from many incidents needless to repeat, reasons to conclude that my former suspicions were not altogether groundless, and therefore that the request I made was proper, and such as my situation required. I therefore made it, and was happy to find that no objections were made to my conduct, or exceptions taken to any part of the narrative I then had the honor of delivering to Congress.

As several months have since elapsed, in which time those in Europe as well as America (if there are any) who have really entertained unfavorable suspicions, have had ample time

to make the strictest scrutiny into every part of my public transactions, I confidently rely on the justice of Congress that if any charges or representations have been made to them against my character or conduct as the agent and commissioner of these States, they will order the same to be communicated to me, and give me an opportunity of making my answer. In the mean time, in obedience to the orders of Congress, I proceed to lay before them a brief narrative of all my transactions from my leaving America in March, 1776, to this time.

In the month of December, 1775, soon after Congress appointed the honorable Messrs. Franklin, Harrison, and others their Committee for Secret Correspondence, application was made to me by Dr. Franklin and others to receive a commission and to transact certain affairs, political as well as commercial, in Europe, but more particularly in France. I accepted their proposals without hesitation and prepared for the voyage, and, having wrote in general terms to my brother and family in Connecticut, that I had undertaken a long journey on affairs too urgent to permit me to pay them a visit before my setting out, and having given general directions as to my private affairs, I received from the Committee, on the 2d day of March, a commission and instructions, which I beg leave here to read (No. 1).

On the 5th I left Philadelphia in a vessel bound to Bordeaux, which met with an accident at sea and was obliged to return into port.

I embarked again on board a sloop bound for Bermuda, and sailed the beginning of April. I arrived the 24th of the month, and having, pursuant to my instructions, chartered a sloop for France, left that island the 4th of May, having written to the Secret Committee an account of my proceedings, and the observations I had made.

I arrived at Bordeaux on the 6th of June following, in full expectation of finding several vessels there which the Committee had encouraged me should be sent out with cargoes to enable

me to execute the commission I was intrusted with. Unfortunately none had arrived.

As the sum I carried out with me was little more than sufficient for my private expenses for any considerable time, and the intelligence of our misfortunes in Canada arrived at the same time in France, with an account of the formidable armaments gone and going from England to America, I found it impossible to execute anything in the mercantile way, and having placed the bills I carried over in the hands of Messrs. Delaps, and written to Dr. Bancroft to meet me in Paris, and to the Secret Committee an account of my situation, and my proceedings to that time, I left Bordeaux the latter part of June. Whilst I remained in that city I took the character of a merchant from Bermuda, and applied myself to obtain an acquaintance with their commerce, their manufactures, and at the same time with their sentiments respecting America. I found the goods I wanted could not be procured in that city, nor the information necessary to direct me how to proceed in the other part of my commission.

I arrived at Paris early in the month of July, a stranger to the language as well as to the customs and manners of the nation.

The greatest part of the bills forwarded by Mr. Delap to London were soon after returned protested, by which I was in a degree without money. Unknown and unconnected in Europe, I was without personal credit, and the accounts of our misfortunes in America, with the confident assurances of the British Ministry by their ambassadors and partisans at Paris, that everything would be finished, as they expressed themselves, that campaign, left me as little credit on the public account as my own.

I had no friend at Court, and the gentlemen to whom I had letters at Paris, though worthy and eminent in their stations, had little more interest there than myself. Monsieur le Roy, the worthy and learned Director of the Academy, was well

known in the literary, but unheard of in the political world. I shall ever be sensible of the hospitable and polite reception he gave me, and of the friendship he honored me with during my residence in France, and which, I flatter myself, still mutually subsists between us. Monsieur Dubourg had been eminent as a physician, but had never either held any employment at Court, or been connected with administration; he was well esteemed in Paris; and if goodness of heart and the most ardent zeal for the rights and happiness of mankind in general, and of these States in particular, merit esteem, no man in the world has a better title. Having been recommended to these gentlemen, I think myself obliged, on that account, to mention them in my narrative, and gratitude urges me to say thus much of the many things I might with justice say of them. In a word, considering the magnitude and importance of the objects I aimed at, I was moneyless, without credit, without friends; nor will this sketch give a just idea of my situation, without adding that the wealth and influence of Great Britain were employed against me.

Dr. Bancroft got into town the day before me. From him I learned that the state of affairs in Great Britain was, in many respects, very different from what they had been represented in America, and from what I expected. The American war was by no means so unpopular as had been supposed. The ministers were more secure than ever of their places; the credit of the nation was high; three per cents selling for about ninety, and their other stocks in proportion. From the punctuality with which they paid the interest of the public debt, they found no difficulty in borrowing any sums they had occasion for, and the commerce of the nation appeared in a flourishing state.

On the continent of Europe there was a general peace, and no symptoms of a rupture in any part, except between Spain and Portugal about their American dominions, which was of no importance in the general scale.

In France, the state of affairs was such that no immediate

public assistance could be expected for America; though the court and nation were by no means indifferent spectators of the contest, and though the American cause was far from being unpopular, yet many circumstances prevented France at that time from taking an open and decided part.

The present reign was but just begun, and as it succeeded a very long and expensive one, the ministers found many of the most important departments greatly deranged; particularly those of the Finances and the Marine, the latter of which had, in a particular manner, been neglected during the latter part of the late reign. These circumstances, together with the disposition of the king and his ministers to preserve the peace, rendered it difficult to do anything of consequence, more especially as England on her part had carefully avoided infringing any of the articles of the treaty subsisting between the two courts, and, jealous that supplies might by some means or other be got out from thence, had her emissaries and spies in all the principal seaports of the kingdom as well as at Paris, and was besides armed as well in Europe as America.

I think it necessary to give this general account, not only of my particular situation, but of the state of public affairs in Europe on my arrival, as it will help to explain several of the subsequent transactions and events.

Immediately after my arrival, I wrote, agreeable to the instructions I had received, to Monsieur Dumas at the Hague, and afterwards continued a correspondence with him until I left France. I wrote also to Monsieur Garnier, Chargé des Affaires for France, at the Court of London, but received no answer. I wrote also to Mr. Arthur Lee, then at London.

Doctor Dubourg, having written a letter to his Excellency the Count de Vergennes, informing him of my being at Paris, we went to Versailles, when I showed him my commission and informed him generally of the state of affairs in America; of the errand I came upon; the line of conduct I had pursued, and prayed his protection, counsel, and assistance. He gene-

rously assured me of his protection; advised me to continue under the character I had assumed, which, agreeable to my instructions, was that of a merchant, and to act with great circumspection, for that I must depend on being narrowly watched by the British emissaries; but as to assistance, he assured me the Court could afford none, consistent with the treaties subsisting with England, which his Majesty could on no occasion violate; that commerce was free to all his Majesty's subjects, from whom I might obtain any articles I wanted, except such as were expressly prohibited by his Majesty; and that he would afford me his countenance and protection; but that he could do nothing as to the articles which I was instructed to solicit for. And respecting other subjects, especially an acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, he observed it was an event in the womb of time, and dependent on so many others, that it would be premature to take it into present consideration. Monsieur Gerard being the first Secretary in his department for Foreign Affairs, and understanding English, I was referred to him when on any common occasion I should apply, his Excellency assuring me that I might rely on what he might at any time tell me, as fully as if I had it immediately from him.

I now set myself to fulfil, if possible, the mercantile part of my commission; but, little or no remittances arriving, though more than six months had passed since the engagement had been taken in America to supply me, and hearing nothing from either the Congress or the Secret Committee, I found it impossible. Many of the capital merchants supposing me to have come over with large funds, offered their service, and to supply me. They offered me a credit of six, eight, or twelve months; but with this they connected a proposition that some capital banking-house in France should indorse my bills, and this ever defeated all their other proposals, however fair and promising they before appeared.

In the month of July (1776), I became acquainted with Mon-

sieur Beaumarchais, a gentleman to whom I owe much, my country more; and if I attempted to give his character in this narrative, I should doubtless be thought partial. Happily there is no necessity of my doing it, as an honorable member of this House, now present, has been long and intimately acquainted with him, and an eye-witness of the services which he rendered the United States; which services will speak for him more fully than any language I can make use of. It is sufficient to say here that this gentleman was well recommended to me; that I ever found him equal, and even superior to the recommendations given of him. I found him the only person willing to venture a considerable credit to these States at that time, and, from the favorable light he stood in with the Prime Minister, his connections, I may say intimacy with the great, which he owed solely to his superior genius and ability as a writer and negotiator, and from his general knowledge and correspondence, and the boldness of his spirit for adventures, the only person on whom I could rely with confidence to procure the supplies then indispensably necessary.

Before the return of Dr. Bancroft to London, I had several interviews with this gentleman, the Doctor assisting as interpreter between us, at which the outlines of our plan for supplies were laid.

After fixing on a mode of correspondence with Dr. Bancroft and obtaining what intelligence he could give me, this gentleman returned to London, having spent about three weeks with me, during which he gave me much assistance, and laid the foundation for much more; and it will not be improper to say here, that the correspondence carried on between us was never intercepted, and the intelligence I received from him whilst he ventured to stay there, and afterwards from his friends, was clear, and ever proved to be authentic and of great service to the affairs we were intrusted with.

Soon after the return of Dr. Bancroft I received a letter from Arthur Lee, Esq., then at London, desiring me to inform Con-

gress that Joseph Reed, Esq. and John Langdon, Esq. were dangerous persons, and to put Congress on their guard against them. Stranger as I was to Mr. Lee's character, his letter greatly surprised me, the more so as he wrote in the most positive terms, without giving me the reasons on which he grounded his charge. I replied to his letter that I could by no means comply with his request; that I had been long personally acquainted with the gentlemen he mentioned, and that I had the fullest confidence in their integrity and zeal for the service of America, therefore could not think of transmitting such information without its being at the same time supported by the fullest proof; that I knew those gentlemen actually held important posts under Congress; therefore, if the charge against them could be supported, no time should be lost in transmitting the proper evidence, but I trembled at the thought of giving Congress suspicions of their most confidential servants, without certain proofs to support and authorize such suspicions; the consequence must have been pernicious to the public and fatal to the individuals; this was the purport of my letter.

Having settled the plan for sending out supplies to America, with Monsieur Beaumarchais, I made out an invoice or estimate of clothing for thirty thousand men, and for other necessaries in proportion, together with an invoice for two hundred pieces of brass cannon, four pounders, and of twenty-eight mortars; the cannon and mortars he told me he could purchase out of the king's arsenals, and could possibly obtain a credit of eight months, or perhaps longer. I added an invoice, or order, for thirty thousand fusees, for two thousand barrels of powder, for ball, lead, flints, four thousand tents, and other articles in proportion. He told me that he hoped to purchase also a part of the fusees from the arsenals.

Having agreed generally on the articles to be furnished, we turned our attention to the transporting them to America, and made a contract with Monsieur Monthieu for the ships necessary. Monsieur Beaumarchais was my security for the pay-

ment of the freight to Monsieur Monthieu. Monsieur Beaumarchais could not procure the fusees out of the arsenals as he expected, or at least but a small part of them, as he told me, and I saw him at the time purchase and pay for fifteen thousand of Monsieur Monthieu, and smaller quantities of others.

As the transporting so large a train of artillery to the sea-ports, and so many fusees and other warlike stores, must necessarily have occasioned great speculation and reports, which the British ministry could not long be ignorant of, and as the exportation of these articles was expressly prohibited, we found ourselves greatly embarrassed.

Having no one at Court who could openly support me in my operations, and, to avoid suspicions, venturing seldom to go there myself, except secretly, I complied with Monsieur Beaumarchais's proposal of sending out a number of officers with the stores, and by fixing on such as should be recommended by persons at Court, or of influence by their connections to procure what I found myself destitute of, friends and patrons. This was the origin of my contracts with officers; and for a full explanation of it, and the grounds I went on with Monsieur Beaumarchais, I refer to his letter to Congress of the 23d of March last, No. 2.

Having found that the want of remittances had put it out of my power to execute the contract for Indian goods, I put into the list given Monsieur Beaumarchais, as many of the articles as he could venture to engage for, and applied myself wholly to the execution of this greater and more important commission.

I now found myself engaged in an affair which called for assistance. I had taken no Secretary with me, and my resources would admit of nothing inconsistent with the most rigid economy. Major Rogers assisted me at times; he lodged in the same hotel with me; but as he was there for the benefit of his education, it was taking from that worthy young gentleman, without any equivalent reward, what no one can afford to lose. He mentioned Mr. Carmichael to me, whom I now have the pleasure

of seeing a member of this honorable Assembly, as a gentleman of his acquaintance, then at Paris on his way to America, but detained there for the recovery of his health; I was introduced to him. After conversing with him generally on the subject of American affairs, he told me that he was acquainted and corresponded with Mr. Arthur Lee, and showed me in the leaf of a Pocket Dictionary, intelligence for Congress, or the Secret Committee, written by Mr. Lee; this satisfied me as to his character, to which before I was a stranger; but to my surprise I found the same intelligence respecting Mr. Reed and Mr. Langdon as had before been conveyed to me from Mr. Lee. I expressed my astonishment to Mr. Carmichael, and my extreme uneasiness on that account, when he made me for the first time acquainted with a part of Mr. Lee's character, which was that of being excessively jealous and suspicious, and, as is usual with such dispositions, inclined to receive and credit reports on the most light and uncertain grounds.

Satisfied with my interview with Mr. Carmichael, I informed him generally of my situation, and invited him to take his lodgings with me, and favor me with his company and assistance, which, as he had then made some progress in the language, might be of advantage to my affairs. He complied, and soon after I received from Mr. Arthur Lee a letter, informing me that he should pay me a visit in a few days incog.: but as several other persons received the like intelligence, neither his arrival nor his stay in Paris was a secret.

I was now in the midst of my affairs with Monsieur Beaumarchais, and was with him every day. My first interview with Mr. Arthur Lee was at this gentleman's house. I afterwards frequently met them together. Mr. A. Lee was every day at my lodgings, and I spent all the vacant time I had with him. I acquainted him with my prospects of procuring supplies, and from whom; and he gave me the highest possible character of Mr. Beaumarchais for his abilities and address. In the course of our conversation on other subjects I entreated him to inform

me on what grounds he had gone in his information respecting Mr. Reed and Mr. Langdon. He told me that as to Mr. Reed, he really knew nothing more than that he formerly corresponded with Lord Dartmouth, and that his brother-in-law, M. de Berdt, was actually intimate with his lordship. But for Mr. Langdon he said there could be no doubt, as he was the last winter in London, and frequently with the ministry. I replied, that as to the latter, I had spent the last winter with him in Philadelphia; and as to the former, I could not think that such vague and inconclusive circumstances were sufficient to authorize sending general charges to Congress; for that charges of such a complexion, and coming from such a person as himself, must forever damn the reputation of those accused thereby, and alarm and embarrass the public. To this Mr. Lee said, he knew that a person of the name of Langdon had been in London the last winter, and therefore he wrote, supposing him to be Mr. John Langdon of Portsmouth; that he believed that he was too suspicious at times, and was glad that I had not sent forward his letter. Mr. Carmichael told him that he had for those and other reasons (having previously communicated to me the contents of the Dictionary letter), delayed sending it on, with which Mr. Lee was apparently well satisfied.

I mention these circumstances here to show on what ground a serious charge has since been brought by Mr. Lee against Mr. Carmichael for having opened and intercepted these dispatches, as well as to give some idea how difficult a part I had afterwards to act with a colleague of such a disposition, who carried his suspicions so far as often to declare without reserve, that there were many in Congress, and even in their Select and Secret Committee, who ought not to be trusted; these his suspicions, afterwards reported to persons in high rank, were, I am informed, prejudicial to our affairs, because I have been several times seriously questioned on the subject by the minister.

Mr. Lee, during his stay at Paris, though I often spoke to him of the affairs I had with Monsieur Beaumarchais, never inti-

mated that he supposed that gentleman to have received money from the Court of France to enable him to send out supplies, nor was it ever hinted to me until many months after, when to my surprise I learned that such intelligence had been sent to Congress by Mr. Lee.

As I am now on this subject, I must take the liberty to go a little forward in my narrative, and inform that after Mr. Lee's arrival in Paris as Commissioner, when he estranged himself from M. Beaumarchais, and, supposing him to be in disgrace at Court, spoke as contemptuously of him as he had before been high in his commendation, he asserted as a fact that Monsieur Beaumarchais had told him in London that he had received two hundred thousand pounds sterling of administration for the use of Congress. Monsieur Beaumarchais constantly and positively denied his ever having said any such thing. As it is not for me to determine which of these gentlemen is right, I refer Congress to Monsieur Beaumarchais's letter of the 23d March, with the inclosed correspondence between him and Mr. Lee, No. 2, to which may be added the account given by his Excellency Monsieur Gerard, on that subject, which is very different from any supposition that those supplies were a gratuity from the Court of France. Certain it is, I did not consider them as such at the time, for, on finding there was a surplus of cannon in the arsenals to be disposed of, I waited on the minister and solicited the liberty of purchasing them, but was refused. I then proposed to procure a man to purchase them, on condition that he should not be called on for the payment until he received his remittances from America. I could not obtain this. My view in this was to obtain a longer and more certain credit than could be relied on from any individual; this application I made previous to my finishing my contracts with Monsieur de Beaumarchais.

Having been acquainted with Mr. McCreary at Bordeaux, I wrote to him in Holland, that as he was returning to America, and proposed embarking at Bordeaux, I prayed him to take

Paris in his way thither, and to take the charge of my dispatches; by this gentleman I wrote an exact account of all my proceedings to the time of his sailing, which was in September. I informed Congress of my contracts with Monsieur Beaumarchais and Monsieur du Coudray, and of the reasons which had induced me to engage with the latter; that remittances must be immediately made to the former, as I had not proposed more than eight or ten months credit; that by much the greater part of my bills had been protested, that the stores I had engaged and the charges arising on them amounted to many millions of livres, for which I was responsible; and that at the same time I had not received one line from Congress since my leaving America to that time.

Having dispatched Mr. McCreary, I applied myself assiduously to the sending the stores to the different ports; to the procuring intelligence of whatever respected America; in settling and keeping up a correspondence in different parts of Europe, and in forming and cultivating an acquaintance with those characters, who in their different stations might promote the interest of these States.

Doctor Bancroft paid me a second visit in the month of October.

I had made an acquaintance with the agent of the King of Prussia, at Paris; and from the encouragements he gave me, I was induced to prevail on Mr. Carmichael to make a journey to Berlin, by the way of Amsterdam, with the view of obtaining intelligence of the situation of affairs in those parts of Europe; to give necessary information of the state of the American dispute, and to endeavor to open a correspondence and commerce from thence for the benefit of the United States. He set out from Paris in October, and returned in December. During his journey he had an opportunity of forming an acquaintance with many persons of note, was well received by the minister at Berlin, and performed such services as met with the approbation of your Commissioners at Paris, who arrived just after his return.

I need not be more particular on this subject, as the honorable gentleman is present.

From my first engagements with Monsieur Beaumarchais, I was constantly embarrassed with a succession of obstacles in the way of my getting the cannon and other stores to the sea-ports from the inland magazines where they lay. France was then full of British emissaries; the cannon were at Strasbourg and in other interior parts; the moment they began to move, intelligence was given, remonstrances made, and counter orders issued. It would be tedious to recount the instances of this kind, and perhaps improper to relate all the measures taken to obviate the difficulties which arose daily in our way.

The favorable point of light in which my friend Monsieur Beaumarchais stood with the Prime Minister; his assiduity, address, and the amazing fertility of genius which he displayed for finding fresh resources on every occasion, enabled us to get so well forward in the execution of our plan, that in November nearly the whole of the stores were collected at Marseilles, Nantes, Bordeaux, Havre, and Dunkirk, and ships ready at those different ports to transport them to America.

About the last of November, 1776, Mr. Beaumarchais went to Havre de Grace to dispatch the *Amphitrite* and another ship, viz., the *La Seine*, from thence. His going and his errand soon became publicly known, and he had only time to dispatch the first ship before orders arrived from Court to stop them; similar orders were sent to the different ports. Much was said on the subject, and such an alarm given that nothing more could be immediately done, and he returned to Paris almost discouraged, and much blamed at Court, of which his, as well as the enemies of America, took advantage.

Just about this period I received advice of the arrival of Dr. Franklin at Nantes, with a commission appointing the Honorable A. Lee, Esq. and myself, joint Commissioners with him at the Court of Versailles, and with a commission appointing Thomas Morris, Esq., Commercial Agent. I dispatched an

express to London to inform these gentlemen of their appointment, and a few days after met Dr. Franklin at Versailles, and conducted him to my lodgings at Paris. Mr. Lee arrived a few days after. Dr. Franklin took lodgings which I had provided for him by his desire, in his letter to me from Nantes, in the same hotel with me, and Mr. Lee in a different part of the city.

As soon as Dr. Franklin had a little recruited himself from the excessive fatigues of his voyage, we waited on his Excellency Monsieur de Vergennes, Minister for Foreign Affairs, and presented him with a copy of the commission we had received.

Previous to this interview, the *Amphitrite*, dispatched by Monsieur Beaumarchais from Havre de Grace, returned into Port L'Orient by reason of contrary winds, and of some difficulties and disputes among the passengers. The return of this ship increased the reports then circulating in France, and which, being transmitted to England, produced the most unfavorable consequences.

At the interview with the minister, the Commissioners entered only on general subjects, and were generally assured of the utmost personal protection and civilities; were advised to continue as in a private character, in which the minister was pleased to say I had done well; but as to the purport of our commission; so many affairs of the utmost consequence were dependent upon, and connected therewith, that it required the most serious consideration. That he hoped we should be very happy in France, and that he should be always ready to render us every service consistent with his station and the treaties subsisting between the Courts of Versailles and London, which his Majesty would, on no occasion violate. He desired us, that, whenever we had anything to communicate, we should do it directly to him or to Monsieur Gerard, and be careful of speaking to others. This was the substance of the conversation; after which I mentioned to his Excellency the situation in which the cannon and stores I had purchased actually were, and prayed his advice. On which he asked me of whom I had purchased?

I told him; he said there had been some very imprudent conduct in the affair, and appeared to blame Monsieur Beaumarchais on the subject; indeed, he appeared not desirous of knowing anything of the affair, or willing to discourse on it at that time, on which we took our leave and returned to Paris, where I laid the state of my case before my colleagues, and found Mr. Lee persuaded from what had passed between Monsieur le Comte de Vergennes and me, as well as from the common report in the city, that Monsieur Beaumarchais was a disgraced and a ruined man. My colleagues determined that as it was an affair undertaken solely by me, they would not meddle with it, but left it with me to conduct it through in the best manner I could.

I visited Monsieur Beaumarchais, and found him sick and confined to his bed from the fatigue and vexation he had undergone; never had I found myself in so critical and distressed situation as at that period. All the difficulties before removed, were nothing to those I was then surrounded by.

The stores, amounting to thirty thousand stand of arms complete, near two hundred and fifty pieces of brass artillery, clothing, powder, &c., &c., were ready in the ports, and ships lying on expense ready to receive them. The officers returned were very clamorous. Monsieur de Coudray was loud in his complaints against Monsieur Beaumarchais and the agents for supplying the ship, whilst Monsieur Beaumarchais and others complained as loudly against the conduct of M. du Coudray. Add to this the intelligence of the very critical situation of our armies in America, of the misfortunes they had met with, and the distress they were in for the want of supplies, together with the reserve and coolness of the minister on the subject, put me almost into a state of desperation; but as it was absolutely necessary to do something, I consulted with Monsieur Beaumarchais whose abilities and zeal I had been long acquainted with, and, however appearances were at court and in the city then strongly against him, I could not think of deserting,

or rather permitting him to desert from or fall under the great affairs in hand, which must inevitably have fallen with him.

We considered that the *Amphitrite* alone had ten or twelve thousand stand of arms, about sixty pieces of cannon, clothing and blankets to a great amount; and it was very evident that the getting that ship out to America would be a great and capital supply.

To effect this I wrote to Monsieur du Coudray, told him of the complaints made against him, and forbade his embarking again in the *Amphitrite*, or in any other vessel in which I was concerned. The Minister of War sent orders to him to join his corps immediately at Strasbourg, and Monsieur Beaumarchais sent his secretary, M. Francis, now his agent in these States, to L'Orient with orders to clear out the ship as for the West Indies, and to give security with the captain that she should not go elsewhere. By this and other measures the ship got again to sea, and fortunately arrived at Portsmouth in New Hampshire in April following, just as the troops of these States were taking the field.

I ought to mention here, that on the return of the ship in November, 1777, the captain was instantly arrested and imprisoned for the breach of his engagements. The shock which this gave our credit, especially among the merchants and moneyed men, is more easily to be conceived than expressed.

M. du Coudray came secretly to Paris. I saw him and expostulated with him on what had passed, urging him to give up for the present all thoughts of prosecuting his voyage to America. He was unwilling to agree to it, and chose to go out at any rate. I told him he must not rely on my doing anything further in his affairs; he was in danger of being arrested at Paris on account of the order I before mentioned, and left the city privately. After which two gentlemen of high rank, the Duc de Rochefaucault and the Chevalier de Chattelier, waited on Dr. Franklin and myself, Mr. Lee being to the best of my

remembrance out of town, and urged that I should not oppose the going out of Monsieur du Coudray. I stated generally my situation, but the character and abilities of this gentleman were so strongly urged by his noble patrons, that Dr. Franklin resolved to write in his favor, and having written the letter, I could no longer refuse joining him in it, which I did, on condition that Monsieur du Coudray should not embark in any of the ships I ordered stores to be sent in, but that he should shift for himself as well as he could.

Mr. Thomas Morris came to Paris soon after the Honorable Mr. Lee, and Dr. Bancroft and Mr. Williams came with him on a visit, the latter to Dr. Franklin, and the former more immediately to me, on account of the correspondence between us.

The Congress had ordered the commercial agent to pay the Commissioners ten thousand pounds sterling for their private use, which he was not then able to do, but referred us to a banker in Paris for our present demands and went to Nantes. The manner in which affairs were, as the Commissioners were informed, conducted by him, gave them great uneasiness on every account. They were uncertain even of the money necessary for their support, and wrote on the subject; in answer to which, M. Gruel of Nantes wrote to the banker, Monsieur Soulier, to pay us as we should call for it ninety thousand livres, or three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds. Being informed of this, the Commissioners wrote to Congress their opinion of Mr. Thomas Morris, and to him to complete the payment of the ten thousand pounds without delay. The foibles and extravagancies of this gentleman I hope will be buried with him, and I desire only that it may be remembered that he had it not in his power to comply with our demands as to the money; he received remittances but sparingly, and orders for goods very liberally.

Having received this assurance of money for our support, and a promise of two millions of livres to be paid us by Monsieur Grand, whose brother, Sir George Grand of Amsterdam,

then at Paris, was very friendly to us in that and in other matters, it was thought advisable for Mr. Lee to set out for Madrid, as there appeared to be a prospect of doing something there, and he could not for many reasons be of any immediate use to these States at Paris.

Accordingly he set out to make that journey by the way of Nantes and Bordeaux, where it was thought he might be of service in examining personally in what manner our commercial affairs were transacted.

I now return to the affair of the stores in which I was solely engaged. Soon after the sailing of the *Amphitrite* a second time from Port L'Orient, the rumors before raised beginning to subside, I consulted with Monsieur Beaumarchais on *méasures* for sending out the others, and on finding a probability of success, I was alarmed with the report that the arms as well as other supplies were bad, and that I had been imposed on. This was circulated, as I suspected at the time, by the enemies of Monsieur Beaumarchais, as well as of these States, but nevertheless it perplexed me exceedingly, business of the public prevented my leaving Paris to go and examine those cargoes myself. It would have been imprudent in me to have done it, had I been at leisure, as such a step must have confirmed the suspicions of those who conjectured that those cargoes were designed for America; and a report propagated by the enemies of these States that the attempt to destroy the magazines, stores, and shipping at Portsmouth had been made in consequence of my secret negotiations, had such an effect on the minds of the weak and credulous, as well as on the desperate partisans of Great Britain, that the minister advised me not to leave Paris, and even to be on my guard as to the security of my person; whilst there, and from the information he received, he even went so far as to give particular orders to the police, with respect to my personal safety.

Thus situated, I proposed to Dr. Franklin that Mr. Williams should go to Nantes, and examine the stores about to be shipped

from thence, and send up an account how he found them, and samples, by which a judgment might be formed with certainty, and that Mr. Carmichael should go to Havre de Grace for the same purpose. The Doctor approved, and these gentlemen went; found everything in good order, and had the address to ship off the stores, then ready at those ports, a principal part of which arrived in season for the operations of the campaign of 1777.

Nantes being a capital port, from which I found that further exportations must be made, I prevailed on Mr. Williams to return thither and to continue in the business until the whole should be completed. I found this gentleman by this trial to be capable, and really a man of business, willing to sacrifice everything for his country, and of the most disinterested and generous principles. I therefore considered the fixing of him at Nantes, in this business, as a valuable acquisition.

In the course of the examination of the public accounts it will appear what business he did, and what reward he received therefor.

By the embarkation at Nantes and Havre, a considerable part of the stores were shipped, yet a valuable part remained, and the intelligence from America was such as by no means helped forward the remainder. In a word, by a continued secret negotiation, and the most assiduous attention to times and circumstances, the last of those stores were embarked at Marseilles in September, 1777, on board the Flammand, Captain Landais, which ship had been waiting ten months on expenses to receive her cargo. The cargo was finally shipped secretly, and at a considerable risk to the parties immediately concerned. This ship fortunately arrived at Portsmouth in New Hampshire.

During Mr. Lee's absence on his journey into Spain, a contract was made with the Farmers General for five thousand hogsheads of tobacco, as per contract No. 3, and one million of livres were received, the part to be advanced. The Commissioners were now sure of three million of livres, equal nearly to

one hundred and thirty-one thousand pounds sterling, to answer the demands already on them, and to enable them to procure further supplies. When I mention the demands on the Commissioners, I ought to inform that the contract with Monsieur Beaumarchais was considered as an affair entirely out of the question, and solely between him and me, my colleagues having declined being concerned, and that no money was ever advanced or paid to him by the Commissioners.

I purchased of Monsieur Chaumont fifty tons of saltpetre, and shipped it, on account of Congress, as ballast in American vessels going out previous to the arrival of my colleagues, and paid him for it out of the money I carried with me. I had purchased of the same gentleman two hundred tons of powder, for which I had given my notes or bills, which were paid out of this money. These were all the purchases independent of my contract with Monsieur Beaumarchais, which I had made of any consequence. The saltpetre cost nearly five and a half pence sterling, and the powder ten pence per pound.

Mr. Hodge, and soon after him Captain Bell arrived, with dispatches from Congress, in which the Commissioners were directed to fit out, if in their power to do it, armed cruisers from France to annoy the British trade in Europe, and blank commissions were sent there for that purpose.

Previous to the arrival of Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee, I had formed an acquaintance with Monsieur Boux, a gentleman eminent for his knowledge in the construction of ships, and for his bravery in commanding. Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee conversed with him and approved his plans. This man was sent into Holland by the Commissioners to build a large ship for the United States, and three hundred thousand livres advanced to Sir George Grand to carry on the work.

Dr. Franklin and myself, Mr. Lee then in Spain, made a contract with this gentleman to come out to America as soon as the ship should be completed. This proceeding was not a secret to

the ministry, for we made no considerable purchase or contract without acquainting them with it.

Mr. Hodge soon went for Dunkirk, to purchase and fit out from thence a cruiser, and took with him a credit on the house of Messrs. Morrels at that place.

Captain Weeks, on his first coming into France, brought with him two prizes which he disposed of without difficulty. He refitted, made a cruise, and brought in three others which he also disposed of. This gave us encouragement to proceed in executing the wishes of Congress, signified by the Secret Committee.

Captain Johnson arriving at Bordeaux in the Lexington, and the Commissioners having purchased a cutter, it was agreed to refit and send out Captain Weeks and Captain Johnson in their vessels, and Captain Nicholson in the cutter, on a more considerable expedition. Accordingly they sailed, nearly as I remember, some time in April, 1777, with the design of intercepting the Irish linen ships. They cruised some time in the Channel and Irish Sea, and missing the great object in view, they took, burnt, and sunk near twenty sail of vessels of small value, and sailing round Ireland returned into St. Maloes and Morlaix in France, with a part of their prizes. This caused great alarms in England and Ireland, raised the price of insurance, and brought over warm remonstrances from the British Ministry.

From Dunkirk, Mr. Hodge fitted out Captain Conyngham a cutter, with the design of intercepting a rich packet-boat from Harwich, destroy some of the transports carrying over the Hessian troops to England, and to cruise in the Northern Ocean. Captain Conyngham captured a packet-boat, and supposing he had intercepted important intelligence, unadvisedly returned into port. He also took a brig on his return. Mr. Hodge came up to Paris with the letters taken in the packet. Orders were sent from the court to restore the two prizes, to detain Captain Conyngham's vessel, and to imprison him and

his people. These orders were executed; but these expeditions caused a great sensation to the British commerce; and for the first time since Britain was a maritime power, the River Thames and other of its ports were crowded with French and other ships taking in freight, in order to avoid the risk of having British property captured.

After the alarm had a little subsided, liberty was obtained to send Captain Conyngham and his people out of France, in another vessel. To effect this, Mr. Carmichael went with Mr. Hodge to Dunkirk, purchased and fitted out a second vessel well armed against the insults of British cruisers, and ordered Captain Conyngham not to cruise or commit hostilities on the coast of France. Captain Conyngham sailed with the resolution of following his orders, but he had not been long at sea before his people mutinied and obliged him to make prizes. This renewed the alarm in England, occasioned fresh and warm complaints from that side; to silence which, Mr. Hodge was confined in the Bastile for five or six weeks, where he was treated as well as a prisoner could be, and suffered in nothing but the confinement, which indeed was sufficiently severe to one of his spirit and feelings.

Captain Conyngham pursued his cruise, sailed round England and Ireland, and carried a prize with him into Spain, which, from the then situation of affairs there, turned to little account, as did some others he afterwards captured.

Mr. Hodge from the first took an interest in the vessel, and advanced his proportion of the money, and finding this adventure was now become an object too trifling to take up our attention, I proposed a sale of the public interest in the vessel to Mr. Ross and Mr. Hodge. Mr. Hodge delivered his accounts to Mr. A. Lee and went for Spain, but the bargain was never formally completed, owing to some difficulties on the part of Mr. Lee.—While on the subject of marine affairs, I will here take the liberty to finish the information I have to give on those affairs. Orders were given to detain Captain Weeks and all the

other armed American vessels, but after a few weeks they were permitted to sail. The Captains Johnson, Weeks, and others, drew on the Commissioners for the repairs of their vessels, whilst the commercial agents and others, disposed of the prizes and rendered no account to the Commissioners; this occasioned Dr. Franklin and myself to give orders to the Captains to order their prizes to the care and disposition of Mr. Williams. The amount of those expenses was, as will appear by the accounts, very large. Two valuable Jamaica ships were captured and brought into Nantes by armed vessels belonging to the subjects of these States, and put into the care of Mr. W. Lee and Mr. Williams. After Mr. Williams had sold in the usual manner a part of their cargoes, and after Mr. Williams had advanced a considerable sum to the captains, the whole of the prizes by order from court was taken out of his hands, confiscated to the king on account of their having entered as if coming from St. Eustatia, which proved a false entry, and afterwards they were by the king restored to their original owners. This was during the month of August, 1777. I had afterwards, with the assistance of Monsieur Chaumont, who interested himself in this affair, sufficient influence to obtain the most ample satisfaction to be made to the captors. The privateers were the Boston and Hancock. The sum obtained for them in favor of the captors being four hundred thousand livres, or seventeen thousand five hundred pounds sterling, in which affair Monsieur Chaumont and myself were solely active.

Captains Thomson and Hinman arrived in the month of November, 1777, in two of the continental frigates at Port L'Orient with two prizes, which they sold without difficulty, but at a low rate. Their equipments exceeded the continental share to a large amount, as will be seen in the general state of the public accounts.

Captain Cleveland arrived at Bordeaux in a merchant vessel chartered and loaded by order of Congress to the direction of Mr. Mirkle, who had made a contract with the commercial

committee, and was promised fifteen thousand pounds sterling, to be paid him in France. This gentleman, after purchasing part of the goods, and being disappointed of the money promised him, was thrown into the most distressing situation, and Captain Cleveland, unable to return, the Commissioners were in consequence obliged to advance money on that account, as will be seen in the general state of the account delivered; besides these different sums advanced by the Commissioners, they had to pay for packets to a considerable amount.

Before I return to the general thread of my narrative, I must in justice say that, through the whole of these embarrassments and apparent hard treatment from court, the result of political necessity, the American subjects of these States were everywhere kindly received by the people in France, and treated in the most friendly and hospitable manner. Equal justice to my colleagues as well as to myself obliges me also to say, that the principal part of this as well as of every other executive part of the public business was devolved on me.

Soon after receiving assurances of two millions of livres, it was proposed to appropriate a part thereof to the payment of the interest of the money then borrowing by Congress in America, and that we should write to Congress and inform them that the interest of their loan would be paid in Europe at the rate of five livres the dollar. I strenuously objected to this measure. My reasons against it were, first, that the lenders of the money in America had no right to, nor did they expect other money in payment of their interest than what they deposited in the loan office. That the exchange being in favor of Europe and against America, supposing the money lent to have been actually in specie, five livres in France must be of more value than a milled dollar in America. These appeared to me reasonable objections, if no depreciation took place on the Continental currency, but the money had actually begun to depreciate before the loan offices were opened, and how low it would fall was impossible to be foreseen. That the money we had, and the

whole we could venture to count on receiving from the remittances to be made, would fall short of the demands upon us already, and those which must be made on us in the course of the year for supplies. It was easily made evident that no part of the Commissioners' stock actually in hand and expected, could be appropriated, were the other objections removed. The whole amount, including the million received of the Farmers General, was but three millions of livres, or one hundred and thirty-one thousand two hundred and fifty pounds sterling.

The Commissioners, through the agency of Sir George Grand, received general encouragement, that the interest of the money borrowed in America should be paid in France, but never received anything in writing on the subject. Had a promise been ever so explicitly made for the interest, still, my first objections remained, the last of them in full force, and a new and obvious one arose, which was, that if we could rely on the payment even of the interest of but five or ten millions of dollars in Europe, that sum might on this security be borrowed in Europe; which must at that very time have been more than fifty per cent. more valuable than a loan of so much paper in America. To this it was answered, that it was of the last importance to keep up the credit of the Continental paper; that although the paper had begun to depreciate among individuals before they placed it in the public loan, yet the public ought not to know any difference between their paper and specie; that this measure would effectually prevent any future depreciation, and give the paper of Congress such a credit and circulation that the war might be carried on without any foreign loan; and many arguments were urged to show that a foreign loan ought not to be made, if it could possibly be avoided. To me it appeared that a foreign loan was necessary, absolutely so, from the moment the paper remitted exceeded the amount of the specie necessary in circulation, for that, from that moment, a depreciation must commence. These were the arguments used, and, hoping for the best, I submitted and joined in the letter wrote to the Secret Committee on

that subject. After which, to the time of my recall, I exerted what influence and address I was master of to obtain in writing a promise of the interest to a certain amount, but without success, never obtaining more than general encouragement, and that commonly through a third person.

During Mr. Lee's absence a resolution of Congress was received, ordering the Commissioners to purchase a large number of suits of clothes for the army, a number of brass cannon, to the amount of about two hundred; to procure on loan or otherwise, several ships of the line.

At the same time instructions were received to make additional proposals to France and Spain, to induce them to declare in our favor, and to negotiate a loan of money. With these dispatches came an order to the commercial agents to supply the Commissioners with money for the above purchases, and a commission appointing Dr. Franklin Commissioner to the Court of Spain.

On application to the minister, which was in March, 1777, we received for answer that the proposals should be taken into consideration, and that no answer could be immediately given; that he could afford no assistance, either in procuring the cannon or ships; that as to the loan, we were at liberty to negotiate it on the best terms, only advised us not to offer a greater interest than France gave, as they were then borrowing; that he thought it prudent for us to use what funds we might have at command, and what credit we dare venture upon in procuring the most essential part of the supplies.

In addition to the other disbursements, a magazine of arms had been purchased at Nantes for two hundred and twenty thousand livres (see No. 4), which, with four hundred and fifty thousand livres advanced in payment for goods purchased by Mr. Ross for Congress, had diminished our original stock near one-half.

As to the loan, after much deliberation, Dr. Franklin and myself proposed making a trial whether individuals could not

be induced to advance money on the security which could be given them on the vacant lands. It was what had often been thought of, and the moneyed men seemed to listen to the plan, but before we made any proposals to them, or had digested the plan to be laid before Congress, we received a letter from the Secret Committee in answer to one before wrote them on the subject, that it was uncertain what vacant lands there were in America, or whether there were any, or words to that purpose. Previous to the receipt of this letter we had a prospect of a loan, having laid proposals (see No. 5), before many capital houses and bankers; but on this we now dare venture no further, and we set ourselves to do the best in our power with the money in hand, amounting at that time to little more than fifteen hundred thousand livres, or about sixty-five thousand pounds sterling.

A contract was made by Dr. Franklin and myself, Mr. Lee being absent, with Messrs. Holker, Sabattier, fils, and Despriez, for ten thousand suits of clothes, afterwards increased to fifteen thousand, and for fifteen thousand pair of stockings, &c.

A contract with Monsieur Monthieu for ten thousand suits and some lesser articles.

With Mr. Williams for ten thousand suits, a number of shirts, shoes, &c.; and finding no proper vessels to be chartered on good terms, a frigate mounting thirty-two carriage guns, since commanded by Captain Nicholson, was contracted for, and a large ship commanded by Captain Greene purchased, both which arrived safely in America with their cargoes.

A contract also with Monsieur Coder for about fifteen hundred suits, besides lesser purchases of shoes and other articles.

Mr. A. Lee was present at the making of part of these contracts or purchases; the more capital ones were made during his absence in Spain, and afterwards in Germany and Prussia.

Knowing how much these articles were wanted, and flattering ourselves that we should receive remittances in the course of the year, we ventured to engage far beyond our capital in hand.

Our expenses for the relief of Americans escaping from prison in England, and for other contingencies, increased daily on us.

Mr. Lee went no further than Burgos, the Court of Madrid having been, as it was said, advertised of his coming and errand, through his indiscretion in communicating it to many, and fearing the consequences, sent and stopped him there, where the minister met him. As he has sent an account of his negotiations to Congress, I refer to that, and need only say here, that besides the supplies which he procured to be shipped by the house of Gardoqui & Fures at Bilboa, to Boston, about two hundred thousand livres were remitted to Paris, which Mr. Lee, on receiving his commission for Madrid, took the direction of, and the Commissioners at Paris were never permitted to make any use of it towards discharging the contracts they had made in France.

Soon after Mr. Lee's return, he was made acquainted with what had been done in his absence. Mr. Holker, who had the management and direction of the principal contract, waited on Mr. Lee, to inform him of the fashion in which he proposed the coats should be made, and to consult him on an improvement of the lapels by continuing them quite down, so as to join the waistband of the breeches, which would take about one-sixth of an ell of cloth and four buttons more than the usual fashion; but that it would guard the body from the cold in the most tender part of it, &c.

Mr. Holker and the gentlemen with him met with the most disgusting reception; everything was by Mr. Lee found fault with. Mr. Holker very patiently heard him, and pertinently answered his several objections: that as to the improvement on the lapels, it was so great, and the expense so very trifling, that sooner than give it up, he would even be content to throw the extra expense out of his account. To which Mr. Lee replied, that if he did, he had still an objection that could not be got over, it was the additional weight of the four buttons and one-sixth of cloth, which must help to fatigue the soldier in his

marching. Mr. Holker and the other gentlemen at this lost all patience, and refused ever after to have anything to do with him, as did almost every other person with whom we had formed any connections. I mention this, though a trifling circumstance in itself, to show the character of Mr. Lee as to business in the commercial way, and the necessity I was under of taking in a manner the whole executive part on myself, which I constantly proceeded in with the advice and approbation of Dr. Franklin, and also on account of Mr. Lee's having since, in his letter to Congress, peremptorily declared that he never was made acquainted with those contracts.

It is a delicate subject, but justice requires me to say that the jealous disposition of Mr. Lee, which led him to apprehend designs injurious to him in every one he dealt with, and the liberties he took in expressing himself on that and other subjects, gave a general disgust, and often proved prejudicial to our affairs.

After Mr. Lee's return from Spain, I proposed to go to Holland, where I had previously, and from the first of my being in France, established a correspondence, and thence northward, in hopes of doing something towards obtaining a loan and other supplies, but the situation of affairs would not admit of my leaving Paris. Mr. Lee undertook the journey, and at Berlin had the misfortune to have his papers stolen, of which, with other transactions during his journey, he has, I presume, informed Congress.

Some time in February, or early in March, 1777, I received in a letter from Mr. Robert Morris information that Mr. William Lee, then in London, was appointed commercial agent jointly with Mr. Thomas Morris, then at Nantes. I informed Mr. Lee of the intelligence I had received by the post, but received no answer; and he arrived in Paris some time in June.

During the absence of Mr. Arthur Lee at Berlin, he tarried until his return, and soon after went to Nantes.

The commercial affairs of the Congress were then greatly

deranged, and Mr. William Lee, as I was informed by Mr. Williams's letters, by which it appears that Mr. William Lee told him that having a considerable interest in London, and his family still there, he chose for the present not to act, or be known publicly in American affairs, contenting himself with only joining with Mr. T. Morris in complaining, in a letter to the Commissioners, of their appointing Mr. Williams to take charge of the prizes sent into Nantes by the Continental vessels; and soon after receiving a commission for the Court of Vienna, and a commission for the Court of Berlin, he returned to Paris, and again complained of the appointment of Mr. Williams, and of the irregularities of his colleague. What passed in this conversation I have already laid before Congress in writing, in my observations on Mr. Izard's letter, which I shall beg leave to read (No. 6).

Mr. William Lee continued at Paris until some time in March, except going to Nantes to take possession of the late Mr. Thomas Morris's papers. In February, the Commissioners paid to him and Ralph Izard, Esq., who had been appointed commissioner to the Court of Tuscany, forty-eight thousand livres or two thousand louis d'ors each to enable them to proceed to execute their respective commissions.

Mr. W. Lee made several complaints respecting Mr. Williams having the care of the prizes sent into Nantes, and of the Continental ships of war which arrived, being addressed to him, to which he was answered that we had conceived the appointment came within our power and instructions; that everything was in disorder at Nantes when he was appointed, and if he, Mr. W. Lee, had been there himself, and acting as commercial agent, the appointment would not have been made; that Mr. Williams had served the public ably and faithfully; but that as he had much other business on hand, there was no objection to his giving up that part; but a difference arising between the Commissioners on a letter proposed to be sent, no order was given (No. 7).

Mr. W. Lee being about to set out for Vienna, appointed deputies under him in the commercial department in different ports. Mr. Williams wrote me that although he had hitherto done the business at a moderate rate, with the view of serving his country, he could by no means accept of Mr. W. Lee's offer of dividing the commissions with him, but would sooner resign the business entirely. I confess, the thought of losing so able, faithful, and active a person, and one who had rendered himself agreeable to the citizens and merchants of France, hurt me, but I could not as his friend advise him to submit to such ignominious conditions as those proposed to him. Mr. Williams's letter before Congress, which I shall beg leave to read, will show his way of thinking, and the treatment he has met with. (No. 7.) To return a little in my narrative:—

By the month of August, 1777, all the stores M. Beaumarchais had procured were shipped, except those at Marseilles, where a ship had been in readiness to receive them from the month of December preceding; taking advantage at this time of some favorable circumstances, M. Beaumarchais found an opportunity of shipping them.

M. Monthieu, from whom the ship had been originally chartered, represented that the whole of his freight had not been paid him for the ships already sent out. That one had been taken, and the other detained in America, for which he ought to be allowed; that the ship then at Marseilles, chartered by the ton, had been long on expense to him. I consulted with Dr. Franklin, and we agreed that Monsieur Chaumont should settle the allowance that should be made him on his return from Marseilles; on which he set out and dispatched the ship, which fortunately arrived at Portsmouth. After the return of Monsieur Monthieu, M. Chaumont declined meddling at first, on account of the difficulty he said there was in doing any business with Mr. Lee, and as M. Monthieu's contract for clothing was not completed, a settlement was put off, that the whole concern with him might be finished together.

In September, 1777, I laid before my colleagues a general state of our expenditures and engagements, by which it appeared that they far exceeded our funds; and no remittances from America, but on the contrary bills were drawn on us from thence by order of Congress for large sums; we were greatly embarrassed; the most unfavorable intelligence arriving at the same time from America, we were wellnigh discouraged. It was proposed, even by Dr. Franklin, that we should dispose of a part of the clothing provided, and of the ships engaged, to extricate our affairs.

To avoid so desperate a step, fresh applications were made; and the Court going to Fontainebleau, I went there repeatedly in the most private manner, and in the end Monsieur Grand was authorized to supply us with three millions of livres, in four equal or quarterly payments for the year 1778. This enabled the Commissioners to go on with the supplies contracted for; though by the appearance which our affairs then took, and the unfavorable intelligence from America, we were still greatly embarrassed.

During the summer, 1777, previous to the knowledge of the situation and success of the affairs in America arriving in Europe, distant hints were given by the friends of administration in England about an accommodation, and Dr. Berkenhout, who Mr. Lee informed us was in the confidence of Lord North, went so far as to correspond with Mr. A. Lee on the subject, and to propose a meeting with him; but suggested, that as it was reported that there was not a good understanding between the Commissioners, it would be to little or no purpose. Mr. Lee was authorized to say to him, that we knew of no difference subsisting between us that ought to prevent any propositions being made to him for the public good.

Soon after this, the news arrived of the success of General Burgoyne to the northward at Ticonderoga, &c., and of the expedition of General Howe.

I heard no more of Dr. Berkenhout until his imprisonment in this city.

The assurances of the three millions before mentioned, enabled us to go on with the supplies; but from the extraordinary vigilance of the British emissaries, and the unfavorable appearance of the affairs of these States at that time, and previous to the receiving of the news of General Burgoyne's surrender, we proceeded with the utmost caution and secrecy.

The ship, building in Holland, had from the first been carried on under the name of another person; yet from the intelligence published in London, soon after the loss of Mr. Lee's papers at Berlin, we found that this transaction as well as some others had transpired, and that it would not be in our power to get the ship to sea, without great and inevitable risk of a capture. In France, the frigate and other business carrying on at Nantes we were obliged to conceal under other names, notwithstanding which, we met with many, and to appearance, insuperable obstacles, which rose in succession until some time in the winter following.

In November, the *Amphitrite* returned with a cargo of rice, and a trifle of indigo, after having been near twelve months detained, from her first being taken into the service of these States. This cargo, and one of lumber and spars, shipped in the *Morcure* from Portsmouth, were to this time the only remittances made for the stores shipped out by Monsieur Beaumarchais. The captain, I have already mentioned, was imprisoned for breach of his engagements, and the Commissioners proposing to apply the proceeds of the cargo of the *Amphitrite* to the demands then upon them, M. Beaumarchais represented that the large sums he had advanced had exhausted his resources and those of his friends, and the want of remittances had discouraged them. And that if he was deprived of a cargo, which would little more than pay the hire and expenses of the ship, his affairs would become truly desperate, as he should

then have no hopes of anything. The Commissioners delivered him the cargo.

Several persons had reported to the Commissioners that the cannon and warlike stores shipped by him would be taken on [account of] the ministry. They reported this as coming from the minister; but on application, which I several times made in person, I never obtained any such assurance, or even encouragement from them. On the last application I made, I was told that the Congress would do well to make remittances as fast as they could, according to my engagements with him, and that it would be best to have the account finally settled in France. To this purpose the Commissioners, on my reporting to them, wrote to the Secret Committee.

Dr. Bancroft having been involved in the suspicion of being privy to the firing the stores at Portsmouth, and finding himself growing obnoxious to the administration and their partisans in London, left England early in the year 1777, and came to Paris, where he most assiduously devoted his time and abilities to the service of his country, and assisted the Commissioners in writing for them, and by keeping up a correspondence with his friends in London, from whom good and useful intelligence was obtained.

In December, Mr. Austin arrived from Boston with the reviving and important news of the surrender of General Burgoyne and his army. This was, if I may so say, like a sovereign cordial to the dying. It roused and reanimated the friends of America in every part of Europe.

Soon after the receipt of this intelligence, the Commissioners sent one Mr. Thornton, a person who had been introduced to Dr. Franklin, to London, with money for the American prisoners. After his return, he was employed by Mr. A. Lee as his secretary, and was afterwards sent by him to London and Nantes, on affairs which the other Commissioners were not acquainted with. The more I knew and heard of this man, the more I found him, at least, to be imprudent.

The interview with his Excellency, Monsieur Gerard, on the 16th of December, and what then passed, have been fully related to Congress in the dispatches sent out by Mr. Simeon Deane and Captain Courter.

The jealous and uneasy disposition of Mr. A. Lee, which had from the first given Dr. Franklin and myself much trouble, had been constantly increasing; and the dissatisfaction with, and contempt of, the French nation in general, which he took no pains to conceal, often gave us pain, and rendered himself suspected by many.

Soon after the arrival of the news of General Burgoyne's defeat, applications were, by various ways, made to Dr. Franklin and myself, separately, and in a secret manner, by the British emissaries, to agree to an accommodation, and flattering proposals made, with which we acquainted each other, and afterwards communicated them to the minister.

Mr. Lee now indulged his natural disposition so far that my colleague, Dr. Franklin, was of opinion that his head was affected. However that might be, after every article of the treaties were agreed to between his Excellency, Monsieur Gerard and the Commissioners, and whilst they were engrossing to be signed, Mr. Lee expressed great uneasiness, and intimated to Dr. Franklin and myself that he could not sign them unless altered in the eleventh and twelfth Articles; on which we referred him to Monsieur Gerard, who, he told us had satisfied him on the subject, and in consequence thereof he signed the treaty jointly with us on the 6th of February, at my house in Paris; and an engagement was given on each side that the transaction should be kept a secret.

The frigate sent out with the dispatches, by Mr. Simeon Deane, meeting with an accident at sea, returned into port soon after the signing of the treaties, and a second was immediately dispatched, in which he embarked with copies of them.

In the month of February, Mr. Fox declared, in the House of Commons, that the treaties were executed, and named the day.

This caused many speculations and suspicions, which, whether well or ill founded, were attended with no material ill consequence at the time, as the treaties were soon after publicly announced to the Court of London by the ambassador of France.

I had never any correspondence in London previous to my first going to Europe, nor afterwards, except with Mr. Arthur Lee, Mr. William Lee, Dr. Bancroft, and with one or two Americans accidentally there on business. M. Petry, a gentleman of character, indeed, showed me a letter from his friend in London, in which he sent him an extract of a letter he had received from Mr. Lee, dated the 6th of February, the day the treaty was signed, to him in London, informing him generally of the event which had taken place. I mention this, as some pains have been taken to represent as if this intelligence was given by Dr. Franklin or myself.

To expedite the recovery of the two Jamaica prizes detained at Nantes, Mr. Carmichael, who was coming out to America, went down to Nantes, and it was agreed to send our dispatches after him. When they were ready, Mr. A. Lee insisted that they should not be sent by him, but by a Mr. Stephenson, who had just come to Paris from London. Dr. Franklin and myself insisted upon sending them by Mr. Carmichael. Mr. Lee urged his suspicions of Mr. Carmichael, founded on the affair of the Dictionary, of which I had heard nothing from the first transaction to that moment. This appeared the more extraordinary, as the Dictionary had been, for some time after Mr. Lee's being in Paris, in common use on my table as a Dictionary, and he had never mentioned anything to either Dr. Franklin or myself about it until that time. A dispute arose thereon, needless to be related, and Dr. Franklin and myself sent out the dispatches as we had first agreed, by Mr. Carmichael. Mr. A. Lee, Mr. W. Lee, and Mr. Izard sent theirs by Mr. Stephenson.

The first great object of our labors and wishes being now obtained in the treaties, I set myself to complete what I con-

sidered as the secondary, that of obtaining a loan in Holland for these States. I had previously corresponded and made interest with some of the principal houses in Holland on the subject, and was assured of the credit and assistance of some persons of high rank in France.

The stores and clothing were then nearly all shipped, and arrangements taken for the payment as the accounts should be brought in and the money become due. As it would take two or three months to have the several accounts collected, I proposed the spending that time in Holland on this negotiation, when, on the 4th of March, I received a letter from the Hon. Mr. Lovel, with the order of Congress of the 8th of December, 1777 (No. 10). I communicated this letter to Dr. Franklin, who was of opinion that though the dispatches sent out by Mr. Simeon Deane and by Captain Courter would give the state of affairs in Europe to Congress, yet as we had received no letters from Congress for several months, and as we had proof of the intrigues and artifices of the enemy, it was best for me, notwithstanding the unsettled state of the public accounts, to return; he urged that my detention in America could not be for any time, and that, accidents excepted, I might be back in France in season for their final settlement.

Having taken his advice I waited on the minister, acquainted him with my recall. I found him uneasy on account of some reports that were circulating, and particularly so on the report of the appointment and going out of the Commissioners for America, an event which soon after took place. He told me that a frigate, or even a ship of the line should be instantly ready to go out with me, and that, with respect to the affairs in France, which I must necessarily leave unsettled, they would not probably suffer in my absence. Finding it a favorable occasion, I took the liberty, as an individual, to urge an immediate declaration of the treaties to the Court of London, and the sending out of a strong squadron, then nearly ready at Toulon. After several interviews on the subject, the measure was

adopted, and I engaged that the affair should be a secret on my part to all, except Dr. Franklin and Dr. Bancroft, with whom my situation was such that it could not be concealed from them; to the former it was told by orders from the minister. I had to induce the minister to order the fleet direct to the Delaware, laid before him the great certainty of the success, as well as urged the greatness of the object. I also informed him that I could procure four brave and skilful American captains, acquainted with the American coast, to embark in the fleet with me, which I was desired to do, and I engaged Captain All, Captains H. and E. Johnson, and Captain Nicholson, and presented them to the minister.

On the 19th of March the Commissioners were publicly presented to the king, and on the night of the 31st I secretly left Paris with the four gentlemen above mentioned, having previously agreed with Monsieur Gerard on the different routes we should take, and written such letters and taken such measures as would most probably cover our real designs.

Previous to my setting out, I obtained of M. Grand, our banker, an account of all the moneys received or paid out on the public account, which I brought with me, and which has been for some time before Congress; which account must, nevertheless, be liable to be misunderstood without my personal presence, complicated, extensive, and unsettled as they naturally were. Duplicates were also given to Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee, and I left with the former what public papers were in my hands and an explanation of the account. It was all that the little time I had would permit me to do, the greater part of the accounts being then unsettled, without which, no general account could be made, and the order for my recall and Mr. Lovel's letter, which were all the information I received of the motives for my recall, giving me to understand that the desire of Congress pointed to an information of the state of affairs in Europe, I by no means conceived that I was so suddenly called upon to render in an exact state of an account

which demanded necessarily a much longer time to complete than was allowed me by the terms of the recall; nor, in addition to this, could I possibly conceive that the nature of the recall was such as to require of me, individually, an account of the joint transactions in money matters of myself and colleagues. My other papers I lodged in a place of safety.

I ought to mention that copies of the correspondence of the Commissioners on political subjects, and other papers of a political nature, had been kept by Dr. Franklin from his first arrival. Living with him in the same house, I had not the necessity of copies of them, which prevents at this time my being so exact as I wish, as to dates, and has occasioned a longer time in reducing my narrative to writing.

I fell in with M. Gerard on my way to Toulon, and we embarked together, happy in the great prospects before us. I arrived in this city on the 12th of July last.

On the review of this general narrative, it will be found that at different periods I have acted in three different characters.

From my leaving America to the arrival of Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee, I acted as the sole political and commercial agent under Congress; from their arrival to my recall, as joint Commissioner with them to the Court of Versailles only, and at the same time in carrying into execution my former engagements; and from that time to my sailing for America, as an individual desirous of improving every opportunity of being useful; in which last capacity, I had the happiness to induce the Court of France to order the Count d'Estaing's fleet to America.

Just before my setting out, I received a letter from his Excellency the Count de Vergennes to me, with an honorable token from his Majesty of his approbation of my conduct whilst in France. I was honored with one at the same time for the President of Congress, and my venerable friend and late colleague at parting put one into my hand. I also received one

from him at Toulon, which letters I will take the liberty of reading at the close of my narrative.

Having been perhaps tedious already, I will not take up more of the time of Congress by making those observations which I at first intended, on my situation and conduct at different periods; the chief of them are obvious to every one. I need only say that in my first and last characters I took the best advice I could obtain, and acted as I judged was for the greatest advantage to these States, consistently with my instructions and powers.

In the second, I acted jointly with one or both of my colleagues; and though, as I have before said, and it is well known in Europe, as well as in America, that the executive part of the business lay on me, I never undertook anything without the advice and approbation of at least one of my colleagues. I can but observe that Mr. A. Lee and Mr. Izard, with the latter of whom I never transacted any business whatever, appear sensible of this, and have therefore joined Dr. Franklin and myself together in the illiberal and injurious letters they have written to Congress since my departure from France, which, with my observations on them I take the liberty to read (Nos. 9, 11).

I confess I feel a pride in having my name joined with so great a patriot and so venerable a character, and am content that the present age and posterity should be informed that Mr. Lee and Mr. Izard complained of me, if at the same time it be known that a Franklin was *my guide, philosopher, and friend*.

It is now three years since my engaging in the foreign affairs of Congress; near four since I have visited my family, or attended to my private concerns, but from the moment I engaged I put everything private out of the question. And the anxiety I have suffered, and the impatience I have expressed under the delays I have met with, have arisen from the situation of the affairs and interest of these States, more particularly in Europe.

It is now eight months since I left France, and more than five that I have been in this city. The letters that I have had

the honor of writing to Congress, and the observations I have taken the liberty of making on some important subjects, are before this honorable House; they will at least show my uniform and constant wish to render my country every service in my power.

The unsettled state of the affairs I had the honor of being concerned in transacting in Europe, either by myself, or jointly with my colleagues, have long pressed for my return.

I confess that the great and important crisis to which the politics of Europe are now arrived, have lain with still greater weight on my mind, as I see the present peace and tranquillity of these States so nearly connected with, and dependent on the events they may produce, and that soon. I presume the present state of affairs in Europe is better known to Congress than to me; yet from comparing the present appearances which they put on with what I knew them to be last winter, and from the knowledge I had an opportunity of acquiring whilst in France, I am fully convinced that Great Britain is exerting her whole influence, both in Europe and America, to draw off these States from their alliance with France, or to render it ineffectual; and that the British ministry, besides their usual practices of attempting to negotiate secretly with individuals, will avail themselves of every advantage which the present prospect and apprehensions of a general war in Europe, may possibly afford to bring about this favorite object of theirs; in short, that no period in the history of these States was ever more critical and important than the present, nor any one for ages past more so in Europe, since on the issue of the negotiations of the mighty powers now in arms, the peace and tranquillity of more than half the world depend.

From the secret attempts made to negotiate with me in France just before the treaties were signed, and with Dr. Franklin afterwards, I was very apprehensive of the dangerous designs of Dr. Berkenhout; when I heard of his being in prison in this city, which was the first knowledge I had of his being in Ame-

rica, and when I heard of his return to New York, I was surprised, and concluded that some public inquiry had been made, the result of which had satisfied those who ordered him to be apprehended; but confident on my part that his designs were prejudicial to these States, I did what lay in my power as an individual to detect them, and to put my countrymen on their guard. The Dr., on his landing at Staten Island, threw off the mask, and freely declared that he had effected the business of his journey, or, as he said, had got what he came for; that he had been assured that those States were at liberty to make peace without consulting their ally. He showed letters which he had carried from hence, and among others one for Governor Johnstone, one of the British Commissioners, whom he advised to obtain a release of Colonel Connolly from prison, and to send him to join Colonel Butler to lay waste our frontiers, to effect which, should it be refused, he advised them to recall all prisoners out on parole; but, as several of the honorable executive council of this State have seen and conversed with the person with whom the Dr. travelled on his journey to New York, and have been told all, and more than was communicated to me, I need not say more on the subject than this, which cannot be too often repeated: that, at this time, these States are in danger from the arts, rather than from the arms of their enemies.

In reducing the account of my agency for these States to writing, I have introduced many circumstances and anecdotes into the body of it which I did not mention at my audience on the 21st of August, as I then designed to confine myself at first, almost solely to those transactions and affairs which passed immediately through my hands, expecting to have finished everything I thought worthy of laying before Congress in a very few days at furthest.

It always gave me pain to think of being laid under the necessity of speaking of the jealous, uneasy, and captious disposition of my late colleague, Mr. Lee. I evaded doing it as long as was in my power, and have now said much less on the sub-

ject, and of his rude and disgusting manner in which he constantly spoke of the French nation, and hated many of the individuals, than what has been often said and wrote by Dr. Franklin, to whom I freely appeal, and to those gentlemen who had an opportunity of being acquainted with Mr. Lee's style of speaking and conducting on many occasions.

With respect to his brother, the Honorable William Lee, Esq., I think it my duty to declare that it was the opinion of Dr. Franklin and myself, from the little concerns we had with him, as well as the opinion of others who did business with him, that he was by no means calculated to gain the esteem and confidence either of individuals or public bodies, but the reverse, from his suspicious turn of mind, total want of confidence in those whom he attempted to do business with, and from a disposition which was penurious to an extreme, and which common to him with his brother, Mr. A. Lee, often led both the one and the other to littlenesses, extremely disgusting to a gallant and polite people, and in a degree prejudicial to the character of the country they represented.

I beg leave to return to the letter written by Mr. A. Lee of the 1st of June last, and my observations, which I had the honor of writing to Congress the 12th of October last, on those extracts of it which were by order communicated to me. I hope the rather to be indulged in this, as I find that in consequence of that letter and other misrepresentations, the part I acted between the 4th of March, the time I was acquainted with my recall, and the time of my leaving Paris on the 31st, has, by artful men, been turned to my disadvantage; not that complaints have been made against what I really did, which indeed is not generally known; but it has been weakly insinuated that instead of pursuing the great and important line of conduct which I was happily successful in, beyond even my own expectations, and the most sanguine hopes of my friend and late colleague, Dr. Franklin, I ought to have considered the order of Congress and the letter of the Honorable Mr. Lovel as a summons to render

an account of my private conduct, and to settle the joint accounts of myself and colleagues; and consequently that it was my duty to collect all the accounts then outstanding, and the vouchers; to have settled at once up to that time all the concerns and engagements of myself and colleagues, and render on my return an exact and minute state thereof. I could have done this, it is true, and to the uttermost farthing, had I thought the pressing and urgent call of Congress on me to inform them *of the state of affairs in Europe*, could be construed to mean any such thing. I did not think so. Dr. Franklin and the honorable personages I was acquainted with, and who honored me with their friendship and counsel, never dreamed of such a construction; and I have too high an opinion of the open and candid mode of the conduct of Congress, towards those they have honored with public confidence and employments, to harbor for a moment the idea that this was their intentions in the order they sent me.

From the circumstances of affairs in France, as well as in England, objects of the greatest importance presented themselves.

The obtaining a public declaration to be made of the alliance, to that time kept a secret, and such a fleet to come out as should not only convince America of the power, as well as the generosity of France, and not only relieve this capital, but at one blow reduce the whole power of Britain in America; these objects appeared to me so great that the obtaining them was, in my view, sufficient to satisfy the utmost of my ambition or wishes. To this I applied myself, and was fortunately successful. It is no vanity or presumption in me to say that it was, next to concluding the treaties, the greatest and most important services that could, in any circumstances, be rendered to this country, and that the application was made, and the design effected by myself solely. These are facts well known and acknowledged even by my enemies.

The absolute necessity of secrecy and dispatch after the mea-

tures were resolved on, which was not until the 10th of March, left me little time for making the most common preparations for my voyage. It even forbid me to bid adieu to my generous and honorable patrons and friends, much less to call in accounts from the most distant parts of the kingdom, and from Holland; yet what could be done in the time I did. I obtained from the banker an exact account of all the moneys received or paid out on account of these States, from the first arrival of the Commissioners to the day of my leaving Paris, and sent a duplicate to Mr. Lee. I left with Dr. Franklin another, and a full, general explanation of every payment made, with such papers and vouchers as I had on hand.

I presented Congress early with a general, and afterwards, on the 12th of October, with the particular accounts of the receipt and payment of public money, being a duplicate of the banker's account.

In the course of my observations on the extracts of Mr. A. Lee's letter of the 1st of June, I have been so particular that I will now only throw together certain facts, and afterwards submit all that gentleman has wrote to be judged of by Congress.

Mr. Lee asserts:—

1. "That he cannot find any satisfaction as to the expenditures of public money, and says: all we can find is, that millions have been expended, and almost everything remains to be paid for."

It has been proved that Mr. Lee had, when he wrote this letter, an account in his hands of all the expenditures of public money until I left Paris, of the sums paid, and to whom.

2. That one hundred thousand livres had been advanced to Mr. Hodge for the purchase of a vessel which cost but three thousand pounds sterling, or seventy-two thousand livres, &c.

The truth is, Mr. Hodge did not in the whole receive that sum, and he purchased and fitted out two vessels instead of one.

3. Speaking of the contracts, he says: "You will see that my name is not to the contracts."

The fact is, he was not in France when the principal part of them were made.

4. He says there was the greatest profusion and dissipation in the purchases.

The clothes are now in use in the army, and a suit complete delivered on board cost but thirty-two or thirty-three shillings sterling, and better clothes no army was ever furnished with.

5. He says that Mr. Williams had received near a million of livres without accounting, &c.

The truth is, Mr. Lee was privy to the contracts made with Mr. Williams, and signed the orders for the principal part of the money put into his hands by the Commissioners; and when he wrote this letter, he could not be ignorant that Mr. Williams was then adjusting his accounts for a settlement, which was actually made, to the satisfaction of Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams, but a few weeks after. (See Mr. Williams's letter, July 22d, 1778, No. 18.)

6. Mr. Lee says, "that the contracts were industriously concealed from him, &c."

His dispute with Mr. Holker, already mentioned, the principal contractor, now the honorable agent of France in America, about the lapels and buttons, and his assisting personally to settle those accounts, and afterwards his signing the bills for the payment thereof himself (for the truth of which I freely appeal to Mr. Holker and to M. Grand's account delivered), is a sufficient answer, though, as it appears to be a contradiction to his assertion, it hurts me to give it, and would pain me exceedingly, were it not that I am disposed, from these and like circumstances, to join in sentiment with Dr. Franklin as to his unhappy situation. I will now leave him, and the representations alluded to, to be determined on by Congress.

Conscious of the truth of what I have now generally related, and flattering myself that the whole of it will be remembered by this honorable Assembly, I do not feel myself under the necessity of making a particular recapitulation, but generally

entreat this honorable Assembly, in their considering the narrative I have given, in the first place, to take into view the three different periods of my agency abroad for the public, viz:—

The first, from my leaving America until the arrival of Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee in Paris.

The second is from that time until the 4th of March, 1778, the day of my receiving my recall; and the third is thence to my leaving France; and that my situation and conduct may be considered and strictly examined in each of these three different situations and periods, and also what assistance I received, and what services I performed.

In the first, my situation was such as I venture to say no public minister or agent ever before found himself in. During this first period, in a manner, the whole of the artillery, tents, arms, and other stores for the campaign of 1777, were procured by me; the ships engaged to transport them to America, and actually loaded or ready to load with them, and as skilful and gallant a corps of artillery and engineers of family and connections every way honorable, engaged to go out with the stores, as ever (I confidently say it), embarked in any enterprise whatever. Though my contracts with them may have been considered as beyond the powers I was vested with, and an error in me, this by no means lessens the abilities and character of those gallant officers, or the importance of the supplies obtained partly by my engagements with those officers and their connections in France. It is with pleasure I find that those of them who were employed and served in America have fully justified the characters given of them to me at first by my honorable friends, their relations and patrons, and that they have shown themselves, in the opinion of Congress, deserving of higher ranks than what I contracted with them for. At the same time I cannot forbear saying, that the personal distresses and chagrin which others of them have undergone, deeply affects me.

One fortunate circumstance I cannot but mention and con-

gratulate my country on; it is, that of the eight vessels which were taken up by me, and loaded with these stores, one only fell into the hands of the enemy, and that after a considerable part of her cargo had been landed in Martinique. I mean the ship *La Seine*, betrayed through the villany of an ungrateful and abandoned American, one Davis, formerly of Boston.

During the second period, it will be found on examination that my situation was equally peculiar; joined with two colleagues, one of which Dr. Franklin and myself were so unhappy as to differ with, and the public business intrusted to us exceedingly important, pressing, and embarrassed, and, at times, to appearance desperate.

Availing myself of the perfect confidence and friendship which mutually subsisted between my colleague Dr. Franklin and myself, I took the burden of the executive part of American affairs on me.

No remittances were made from America; on the contrary, large drafts for money were sent over from Congress. The whole sum received in Europe amounted to but about one hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling, to answer every demand.

During this period, and thus situated, besides the private as well as public important services I executed, near forty thousand suits of clothes complete, shirts, shoes, stockings, and lesser articles to a considerable amount, arms, ammunition, supplies for ships, cannon, a frigate entirely new of thirty-two guns, a large ship mounting sixteen, and lesser vessels were purchased and procured, and the vessels loaded and sent out to America, where fortunately they all arrived seasonably for the campaign of 1776.

In the execution of this, as well as of every other part of the business executed by me, I was assisted and directed by the advice and concurrence of my colleague, Dr. Franklin; and as uniformly vexed, and at times embarrassed, by the incessant

uneasiness and murmurings of Mr. Lee, who took no part in the execution of the above business of supplies.

In addition to the executing the business above mentioned, the Continental ships of war, prizes, and other ships which arrived in France, or were sent out from thence, on account of these States, formed a most complicated and embarrassing part of our affairs, the management of which was devolved entirely on me.

The captains and others who arrived ever paid the utmost respect to my colleague, Dr. Franklin, and advised with him; but from his advanced age, and never having been conversant in maritime affairs, they never looked to him for the dispatch of their concerns and commissions. As to Mr. Lee, the most any of them could be brought to, was to pay him those ceremonious civilities never to be dispensed with to men in office.

I kept up at the same time a regular correspondence in the different ports and capital trading towns in France, and in other commercial states, particularly in Holland, besides other correspondence of a political nature, and an extensive one with merchants in different parts of Europe, who had turned their attention towards a commerce with the subjects of these States. This general correspondence of mine, and the continual applications made to me by merchants in Paris, and from other places, gave Mr. Lee great jealousy, and led him to imagine me deeply concerned myself; a suspicion totally groundless; for neither in the ships I chartered, before or after his arrival, had I ever shipped one shilling of private property, or made to myself one shilling advantage; and with the merchants who solicited me for information and advice, I had never any interest except two adventures which I engaged in whilst under the character of a merchant, one of which was taken by the enemy, the other arriving, made good my loss. Excepting these, though I had before been in commerce, and had then two brothers actually engaged in it in America, I never, as it is well

known, shipped anything to either of them, except some trifles in the family way.

During the whole of the first two periods, I was generously and ably assisted by Mr. Carmichael and Dr. Bancroft, at their own expense of time and even money in part, as only a part of their expenses and living was paid by the Commissioners, and I never burdened the public with the expenses either of a secretary or clerk. These gentlemen who had thus disinterestedly served their country, I am confident will be properly considered by Congress.

I had on my hands also during this second period until September, 1777, when the last ship sailed, the business of shipping out the stores I contracted for in the first.

The part I acted in the short space of time which forms the third is well known, and it is with the greatest pleasure I this day see this honorable Assembly and these United States enjoying those advantages which have resulted from it, which though not so great and decisive as I had a right at the time to expect, and promised myself, are, notwithstanding, too well felt to require my enlarging on them.

The letters before Congress from Dr. Franklin, and other great and distinguished persons in France, who were intimately acquainted with my whole transactions, will show with what degree of reputation, in France, I conducted the affairs of these States, to which I applied myself with that attention, that during near two years' residence in France, I never appropriated a single day to any private business of my own, nor even to amusement; that I confined myself entirely to the business I was engaged in, never having so much as left Paris or the Court during the whole of that time, except on a journey to Havre for a little relaxation, and where public accounts and other business of these States called me.

Before I close, I ask the attention of Congress to what respects, not only myself personally, but the public.

It is now three years since my entering on the negotiations I

have had the honor of relating. The settlement of the public accounts, which I am exceedingly anxious for, will show, whether, during that time, I have applied one shilling of the public moneys to my own use. It is well known that my private fortune in America, which at the time I left my country was moderate, has not been augmented, but the contrary, by my absence; and I now assure Congress that, except a few pieces of silk sent out to the care of my brother, the effects of which he left with me, and for which I am accountable, and one hundred guineas or louis d'ors for pocket money, I brought nothing with me from France except my clothes.

I should not have troubled Congress with mentioning these circumstances, trifling in themselves, had not reports been industriously propagated, that I had been largely concerned in private commerce, and amassed a large fortune thereby. Those who know me personally, know in how light a scale I have ever held my private interest when that of my country presented itself, as coming in the least in competition with it.

When Congress and the public reflect on the opportunities then in my hands of advancing my private fortune without injuring the public, they will be convinced of the same; for had I sent but one or two trunks or packages in each of the ships which every agent it is well known is always entitled to, or indulged in, such was the situation of American commerce, I well knew I could have made a fortune equal to my wants or wishes. I never lost a moment on the subject.

I must add that when urged to come out in a frigate or ship of the line, instead of insisting on the fleet from Toulon, it was urged to me as an inducement that I could transport with safety any articles I might wish to carry out with me, and which, considering the long time I had been absent, might be of consequence to me and my family, and which by sailing from Brest I might improve, whereas I could not do it at Toulon—the part I preferred is known. I will not boast of sacrifices when serving my country; I study to know only what is my duty, nor

ever think of sacrifices; much less can I ever bring myself to boast of anything I have done, or may do, or suffer, as being sacrifices.

Since my attending the pleasure of Congress in this city, I have repeatedly taken the liberty to express, in my letters to Congress, the situation I found myself in, and my anxiety to finish the errand I returned upon. I presume that no one will censure me for an unbecoming impatience, who considers the trust that had been reposed in me, the great and extensive affairs I had been concerned in, the circumstances of my leaving France, and how prejudicial a silent delay of months must prove to that character and reputation with my countrymen which I flattered myself I had merited, and which I looked for as the only valuable reward of my labors; and when they add to these considerations the insinuations of my enemies, that this delay was on account of the dissatisfaction of Congress with my conduct, and meant as a mark of their displeasure, though I can by no means bring myself to believe that Congress, when dissatisfied with their servants, will not instantly tell them of it, in the most explicit terms, as well as in what they have offended; yet from a resolution passed in Congress on the . . . day of . . . last, ordering Mr. Carmichael to be examined respecting my character and conduct in France, unfavorable inferences may be drawn, I again take the liberty to entreat that if anything has been laid to my charge I may be informed of it in writing.

I cannot omit another circumstance which renders this necessary; a confidential servant of Congress, the secretary of the Secret Committee for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Payne, has, in a publication in Mr. Dunlap's paper of the 15th inst., in order to give the greater force to his illiberal and abusive attack on my character and conduct, whilst the agent and minister of Congress, assured the public that he is, as he expresses himself, no stranger to my negotiations and contracts in France, and indeed that many things respecting my conduct in France (which really never happened), are familiar to him. He then repre-

sents himself equally familiar with everything which is debated, or which passes in Congress; of the grounds on which the resolutions of Congress are taken, and how the votes stood on the question put, as well as of the cause of other important events; and has ventured to acquaint the public that the motives for the resolution of Congress of the 8th of December, ordering my return, were very different from anything expressed in the resolution itself, or in the letter accompanying it, and really such as are totally contrary, not only to the expressed sense of the resolution and letter, but to everything I have been informed of by the honorable members of Congress then present.

Nothing but the official character of this man, and his taking advantage of it to sport with the secret proceedings of Congress, which (if true), affect my reputation, could have induced me to take notice of him or his publications.

Congress best know what were the motives for my recall, and what were then or have since been the charges, if any, against me. As their servant I obeyed their orders, and have since waited their pleasure, though in a situation distressing to my personal interest, and more so to my feelings.

I had the misfortune, when, in August last, I was honored with being heard by Congress, to be greatly misunderstood by some of the honorable members then present, who have since expressed themselves in consequence of such misapprehension, as if I had declined or evaded the answering such questions as were or should be put to me by Congress, as I have been assured by an honorable member of Congress that he understood me in that manner. I have since endeavored to recollect, as nearly as possible, what expression of mine at the time gave the ground for this error. I have* consulted my minutes, but find

* Originally thus: "I have *also* consulted the minutes of those gentlemen who noted in writing what I said, as well as my own, minutes." The several words scored are carefully and artfully scratched with a pen, and almost obliterated; as if Mr. Deane meant, upon second thoughts, arising, probably, upon a second consultation, to conceal that he had "consulted" with "those gentlemen."

nothing on which such a construction could be made, unless it arose from what I then thought and meant to express, and which, as my present sentiments and request, I beg leave to repeat, that, as insinuations had then and have since been propagated to my disadvantage, I then asked, and still pray, that if there are any charges exhibited against me, I may be made acquainted with them, and that in such case those charges, as well as the questions to be asked me respecting them, may be delivered to me in writing.

On a review of what I have written, I think myself obliged as a citizen of America, deeply interested in whatever affects the prosperity and reputation of these States, to say that the Commercial Agency, since the first appointment of Mr. Morris to that department, has not been advantageous to either, and I do not think it will be so hereafter. Capital houses in the trading cities, such as that of Messrs. Delaps at Bordeaux, and Messrs. Montandieu at Nantes, have been greatly disgusted at proposals made to them of dividing a commission with the agent and acting as his deputies; nor will any persons accept of such terms but those who have little or no other employ, and consequently are not of a character in the commercial world to give weight and reputation to our commerce.

A consul at L'Orient, which is probably by this time declared a free port, and another at Bordeaux, or Bayonne, and one at Dunquirke, appear to me to be necessary, and that such a regulation would give the proper reputation to our commercial affairs, which have hitherto suffered greatly, as well by the agency itself, as from the conduct of the agents; and having taken the liberty to say thus much, I ought to add that proper persons for this appointment, and persons well esteemed in the commercial ports of France, are now there, particularly Mr. Williams from Boston, Mr. Johnson from Maryland, and Mr. Nesbit from this city.

Though I have several times mentioned Dr. Bancroft and his services, I cannot, in justice to these States, to him, and to my

own feelings, omit saying that he was early sent for, by order of Congress, from London; that he sacrificed all his prospects there, and, during the whole time of our negotiations in France, devoted himself to the service of his country; that he acquired the esteem and confidence of persons of rank and character in France, as well with the political and commercial, as with the literary characters in that kingdom. It is true he had the misfortune to disagree with Mr. A. Lee, and with Mr. W. Lee, more particularly with the latter, yet I must flatter myself that Congress will not suffer his merit and services to remain longer unnoticed.

M. Beaumarchais often complained to me that, in return for his labors and advances, he was so far unnoticed that he could not obtain a single letter in answer to the many he had written to Congress, and which he was informed had been received by them.

It is of the last importance that persons employed as the agents and ministers of these States in Europe, should be such whose liberal and generous disposition, manner, and address, will conciliate the esteem of the people at large, as well as of the Court to which they are sent. This, though known and acknowledged by all, I mention here, because these States have suffered already partially, and may hereafter, essentially, from different characters.

From the situation of affairs in Europe when I left it, and from everything I am able to form a judgment of what it will be hereafter, I am fully persuaded that these States can never be benefited equal to the expense, by supporting ministers at any of the courts in Europe, except at the principal ones of the Bourbon, or family compact, at Holland, and at Sweden or elsewhere in the north of Europe; at the latter, on account of naval stores, and at Holland, on account of commerce in general, and of a loan of money, if it should be thought necessary to procure one.

When I left France, a loan was practicable in Holland for

these States, as I have before mentioned; but I ought to say it was then, and has ever since been growing more difficult, yet I do not think it impracticable at present, if rightly applied for, and without further loss of time.

I have now, in obedience to the order of Congress, given a faithful narrative of my agency of their affairs in Europe, and such information on other subjects as I have thought of importance that Congress should be acquainted with.

I have now to apologize for the length of my narration, which has unavoidably exceeded what I expected, and to return my grateful acknowledgments to Congress for the honorable trust they appointed me to execute, and the opportunities given me of serving these States in a distinguished and important line, and for the patient and candid hearing I have now been indulged with. The sphere I have moved in, and the part I have acted, can never be considered as an indifferent one. Not to have merited the approbation of Congress, situated as I have been, necessarily must be to deserve their severest censures. I cheerfully rely on the candor and justice of Congress to examine and judge which I am entitled to; their decision will relieve me, my friends and countrymen, from that state of suspense with regard to my conduct which the public have been for some time held in.

The approbation of my country is the greatest reward and honor I have ever aspired to, and the hopes of securing finally their liberty and independence alone animated and supported me under the pressing, the various, and I may say inexplicable difficulties and embarrassments which I labored under from my arrival in, to my leaving of France. Without this, and the generous patronage afforded me by my honorable friends in Europe, in France in particular, I must early have failed and sunk under them. Fortunately for me, and much more so for these States, the great object in view was finally obtained, and the greatest and last wish of my life will be, that the liberty and independence of these States may be perpetual.

Next to the honor of assisting and securing the liberty and independence of my country, I count on that of being its honest, faithful, and disinterested servant and citizen; a character which the following letters will show me to have obtained in France, which I have never forfeited; enjoying this, and while I am conscious of the part I have acted, and that these States are free and independent (partly in consequence of it), whatever my fate may be, I can never be miserable, on the contrary I shall be essentially happy.



MR. DEANE'S MEMORIAL.

TO THE HONORABLE THE DELEGATES OF THE
UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA IN GENERAL
CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

THE Memorial of Silas Deane, late one of their Commissioners at the Court of Versailles, and their political and commercial agent, respectfully sheweth—

That he engaged to serve these States as their political and commercial agent in January, 1776, and soon after embarked for Europe.

That, on his arrival in France, he diligently applied himself to render these States every service in his power, as well in the political as in the commercial line.

That, previous to the arrival of the Honorable Doctor Franklin in the month of November following, with a commission, appointing him one of your Commissioners at the Court of Versailles, your memorialist had contracted for large supplies for these States, and had begun to ship off the same for this Continent, which, with the political concerns intrusted to his care, engrossed the whole of his time and the utmost of his attention, meeting with difficulties and embarrassments, which the situation of affairs in France, at that time, threw daily in his way.

That, on the arrival of Dr. Franklin, many circumstances conspired to increase the difficulties in the way of completing of those contracts, which lay wholly in your memorialist; in addition to which, the executive part of the business of the Commissioners in contracting for, and purchasing clothing and other stores for the armies of these States; the soliciting for supplies and assistance, and the procuring of ships to transport the same to these States, fell, in a manner, wholly on him, and the obstacles he met with, and the embarrassments he found himself constantly under were such, that nothing but the hopes of procuring for his country the most important and seasonable supplies animated him to persevere amid the many difficulties which surrounded him.

That his situation and conduct at the time having been already laid before Congress, need not be particularized at this time; it is sufficient to say that, on the 4th of March, 1778, when all the stores your memorialist first contracted for, were shipped, as were those purchased afterwards by himself and the Commissioners, his then colleagues; and when the treaties of alliance and commerce, being happily completed, your Commissioners and agents found themselves, for the first time, at liberty to transact their affairs openly and with the protection of the court; and when your memorialist found himself in a situation to complete the shipping off the stores still on hand, and to close the accounts of the several purchases made, and of the expenses thereon; he received the order of Congress, of the 8th of December, 1777, for his immediate return to America. Though your memorialist has at all times paid the most ready and implicit obedience to the orders of Congress, yet situated as he then was, and as the affairs of the Commissioners and his own were, he then thought, and is still of opinion, that his immediate return might have been dispensed with, until the accounts of the Commissioners, as well as of his own transactions, should be adjusted and closed, had it not been for an object of the last importance to these States, which then pre-

sented itself, to obtain which, he then and still considers himself justified in neglecting every other consideration.

Your memorialist, therefore, knowing that it was impossible, without delaying his return for many months, to call in, and close accounts open with persons who had been employed in different ports in France and Holland by the Commissioners in procuring the stores, and that to attempt to do it would expose his intention of returning, which it was necessary to be kept secret to effect the other purpose (already explained to Congress), he resolved on immediate compliance with the order received, and left Paris on the 30th of March, taking with him an account from the banker of all the moneys received and paid out, on account of, and by order of the Commissioners, in order that Congress might have an authentic and exact state of their funds in France; which general account, with a particular explanation thereof, he laid before Congress immediately after his return, and to which no exceptions have ever been taken that have come to his knowledge.

On the arrival of your memorialist on the 10th of July in this river, and on the 12th in this city, he, without delay, applied to Congress on the subject of his return; his repeated applications to Congress, and the answers he has received are before them, and need not be recited here. Congress must also be sensible of the delays he has met with, and have some idea of what he has suffered thereby. Your memorialist, from his first arrival in America to this time, having repeatedly solicited Congress, as well in person, as by his letters and petitions, that they would inform him if exceptions had been taken, or charges made against any part of his conduct, and that he might be heard thereon if there were. He has been the more urgent and pressing on this subject, knowing that his conduct had been misrepresented by his enemies whom he left at Paris and at Nantes, and on account of the many false and abusive publications in the newspapers since his return. As his letters and petitions on this subject are still before Congress, your memorialist

need not to repeat them, or the substance of them at this time, but begs leave to observe that, from the resolutions of Congress of the 6th inst., by which *he is discharged from any further attendance on Congress*, and by which *the several Commissioners, commercial agents, and others, in Europe, intrusted with public money, be directed to transmit without delay their accounts and vouchers, and also triplicate copies of the same to the Board of Treasury of these United States, in order for settlement*, he is obliged to conclude that Congress are satisfied with his conduct, whilst their political and commercial agent and Commissioner, and that they do approve thereof so far as the same has come to their knowledge, and that there are no charges against him before Congress, and that it is the resolution of Congress to have all the accounts of their Commissioners and agents settled without delay; this resolution, which your memorialist petitioned for in October last, as by his letter of that date still before Congress will appear, obliges him without further loss of time to return to France, previous to which, he requests the attention of Congress to his situation in a few particulars.

First, that it was his immediate compliance with the orders of Congress, and to render these States an important service, which occasioned him to leave France without first settling his accounts, and finally closing every transaction he had been concerned in, either as the political and commercial agent, or as one of the Commissioners of Congress.

Secondly, that though he is interested in the final settlement of those accounts, Congress is no less so, and that he cannot return to France and attend the settlement of those accounts, and for their final approbation and being passed at the Treasury Board here, without a very great expense both of time and money, for which no provision is made by the said resolutions of Congress.

Thirdly, that the person to *be appointed by Congress to examine the said accounts in Europe, and certify his opinion thereon previous to their being transmitted*, is not by said resolution empowered,

in case he shall find a balance due to either of your agents or Commissioners, to order the same, or any part thereof to be paid; and that your memorialist, well knowing that a considerable balance is, and will be found due to him, which, considering the accidents of war, he must remain long deprived of, if previous to its being paid, his accounts, though examined and approved of in France, must be transmitted for the final examination and approbation of the Treasury Board. That, at the same time that he has no objection to that mode of proceeding, being at all times desirous to prevent any possibility of error in the final settlement, and that Congress may have the most clear and ample satisfaction as to every part of his conduct, he can but inform Congress that his private fortune, which has suffered greatly by his absence and the depreciation of money, must be totally ruined if obliged to wait so long a space of time for the balance due to him; on which your memorialist most respectfully entreats of Congress that the circumstances of his return to America, and his situation since, as well as the necessity of his return to France without loss of time, may be considered by them, and that such provision may be made therefor as shall appear just; and that the person to be appointed to examine his accounts in Europe, and to certify his opinion thereon, may be empowered and directed to order him the payment of the balance which shall be found in your memorialist's favor, he giving security to be accountable therefor, in case that, on the final examination of his accounts by the Board of Treasury, there shall be found any mistake or erroneous charge therein. Your memorialist flatters himself that his request will appear reasonable and just in the eyes of Congress, and that they will grant him the prayer of his memorial; and he, as in duty bound, shall ever pray for their and his country's glory and happiness.

(Signed) SILAS DEANE.

PHILADELPHIA, *August 16, 1779.*

PROPOSED REPORT ON MR. DEANE'S MEMORIAL.

THE Committee, to whom was referred the Memorial of Silas Deane, Esq., of the 16th of August, 1779, beg leave to report—

That the memorialist, as appears by the minutes of the Committee of Secret Correspondence, dated 23d of January, 1776, had undertaken a voyage to Martinico for public service.

That, on the 22d of February, 1776, it was “agreed by the said Committee that he should proceed immediately for France as an agent of the Congress, to transact such business, and negotiate such matters, as may be committed to him by Congress or their Committee.”

That it was certified by the Committee “to all whom it may concern, that the bearer (meaning the memorialist, as your Committee presume), was appointed to go into France, there to transact such business, commercial and political, as the said Secret Committee had committed to his care, in behalf and by authority of the Congress of the thirteen United Colonies.”

That, in the sequel of instructions given by the Secret Committee to the memorialist, the memorialist was directed to keep a daily journal of all material transactions, &c.

Your Committee cannot be of opinion that the Secret Committee judged it necessary to give the memorialist directions to keep fair and exact accounts of all receipts and expenditures of money on account of his constituents, the keeping and regularly transmitting such accounts being the indispensable duty of every agent, whether public or private.

Hence, your Committee are of opinion that Congress had good ground for expecting to receive from the memorialist, upon his arrival at Philadelphia, circumstantial and accurate accounts of his contracts, if any, and a regular stated account current of all receipts and payments of money on account of these States, together with invoices and bills of lading, for

goods shipped, and receipts or other satisfactory vouchers for payments said to have been made by him.

It appears to your Committee that the memorialist had abundant time before he received the notification of his recall, for collecting all accounts, and for making a full and fair state of all his transactions during the time he had acted as commercial agent; and, in the opinion of your Committee, such a statement of accounts ought to have been transmitted to Congress by the memorialist, long before the date on which the memorialist says he received the said notification.

Your Committee are also of opinion that the memorialist ought to have brought with him from France, and to have laid before Congress, a fair abstract of all accounts and engagements on account of these States, so far as he had proceeded in them, which is the duty and the practice of every faithful agent acting for private persons or public bodies.

Your Committee cannot ascertain the meaning of the memorialist when he says, that to render these States an important service was one consideration which occasioned him to leave France without first settling his accounts, and finally closing every transaction he had been concerned in. Be this as it may, your Committee do not know of anything so important which the memorialist has laid before Congress, since his arrival, as will justify his conduct in leaving his accounts and vouchers in France, not in the hands of the other Commissioners, and not producing authenticated copies of them so far as such accounts might have been wholly or partially closed.

Your Committee are clear in their opinion that the memorialist ought to have deposited in the hands of the other Commissioners at the Court of Versailles, the originals, or copies satisfactorily authenticated, of all his accounts and transactions as aforesaid, especially as he was duly informed that another Commissioner was appointed to supply his place, whence he could have had no foundation for presuming that he was to return.

It does not appear to your Committee, from any of the narratives or letters of the memorialist, that a considerable balance, as he insinuates, can possibly be due to him from these States; on the contrary, from the large sums which the memorialist has received from M. Grand, the banker, in Paris, from M. de Beaumarchais, and from other hands, the presumption is, that the memorialist is indebted.

Your Committee are further of opinion that the memorialist ought to be informed that Congress have received the vindications of the Honorable Arthur Lee, and William Lee, Esqs., against certain charges and insinuations respecting their public conduct, published by the memorialist in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of the 5th of December, 1778, and directed to the free and virtuous citizens of America, and also of such charges as the said Arthur Lee, and William Lee, Esqs., have set up against the memorialist.

And your Committee recommend that the memorialist be also informed that the unjust and unwarranted charges against Congress, in the said publication, merit their highest displeasure and resentment.

Lastly, the Committee are of opinion, that if it be still practicable to detain the memorialist, he ought to be detained and directed to send to France for all accounts and vouchers of his transactions, in order to adjust his accounts at the Treasury Board, and to answer to the charges set up against him by the said Arthur Lee, and William Lee, Esqs., and that the said Arthur Lee, and William Lee, Esqs.; should be directed forthwith to attend Congress, as well for the final adjustment of their own accounts, as for answering such charges as have been brought against them respectively by the memorialist, and for supporting their several charges and accusations against him.

Your Committee cannot conclude without remarking that the memorialist, in all his intimations of accounts and transactions, speaks inexplicitly and ambiguously; and that they cannot find among all the papers transmitted to, or laid before Congress by

the memorialist, any contract, or copy of contract entered into by the memorialist for large supplies for these States, as is asserted in the third paragraph of the memorial.

All which is humbly submitted by your Committee, &c.

AMENDMENT TO A MOTION RESPECTING
MR. DEANE.

CONGRESS being informed by a letter of Arthur Lee, Esq., Commissioner of the United States, at the Court of Madrid, and one of the Commissioners of the said States at the Court of Versailles, dated at Paris the 4th day of April last, that the papers left in France by the Honorable Silas Deane, Esq., late one of the said Commissioners at the Court of Versailles, were not sufficient for the purpose of settling the accounts of public moneys received and expended in Europe. And being further informed by the said Silas Deane, that the time between the receipt of the letters to recall him, and his embarkation, was so short, as to render it impossible to adjust the said accounts, which were, from their nature, both various and extensive; wherefore he had left his papers and vouchers in the hands of a friend in France, but by accidents of the sea or enemy they might have been destroyed.

Resolved, That the said Silas Deane be directed to lay before Congress the most accurate accounts, which the materials now in his possession will admit of, of all moneys by him received or expended on account of the United States of America.

CHARGES AGAINST MR. SILAS DEANE, MR. FRANKLIN, AND MR. ADAMS.

CHARGES AGAINST MR. SILAS DEANE, WITH THE EVIDENCE.

1ST CHARGE.—That Mr. Deane, during his political and commercial agency, entered into private commercial concerns:

Evidence.—Mr. Deane's Narrative, p. 119; and a publication by Mr. Robert Morris, 9th January; a letter from Mr. Hodge to Commissioners, 10th July, 1778.

2D CHARGE.—Misapplication of public moneys.

Evidence.—A letter from Mr. Hodge to the Commissioners, 10th July, 1778; information given by Mr. R. H. Lee, 18th September, 1778; extracts of letters from John Lloyd and William Stephenson to Mr. A. Lee, 21st and 22d January, and 1st February, 1778; a letter from John Lloyd to Mr. A. Lee, 24th January, 1778; Mr. Hodge's account of the receipt and expenditure of public money for a lugger and a cutter, bought and fitted out at Dunkirk; Mr. Carmichael's examination.

3D CHARGE.—That Mr. Deane broke the orders of the Secret Committee in cruising the cutters for prizes which he was

ordered to purchase and load with stores for these United States.

Evidence.—Orders of Secret Committee, 30th May, 1776; orders of said committee, 3d October, 1776; Deane's Narrative, pages 46, 47, 48, 49.

4TH CHARGE.—That Mr. Deane exposed the interests of the United States by offending of the French court in breaking his engagements with it.

Evidence.—Count de Vergennes's letter to the Commissioners, 16th July, 1777, and letter from him to Monsieur Grand, dated 21st August, 1777.

5TH CHARGE.—That Mr. Deane exceeded his powers in the engagements he made with several French officers.

Evidence.—Monsieur du Coudray's contract.

6TH CHARGE.—That Mr. Deane was in partnership with Mr. Jonathan Williams, and, in his public character of Commissioner, purchased stores of that partnership for these United States.

Evidence.—Mr. Robert Morris's letter, 26th December, 1777; Mr. Deane's Narrative, pages 60, 61.

7TH CHARGE.—That Mr. Deane withheld information from Mr. Lee, joint Commissioner with him and Mr. Franklin.

Evidence.—Deane's Narrative, p. 87; extracts of letters from Mr. A. Lee, Williams, and Dellaps, 10th August, 23d December, 1777; 9th, 15th, 21st December, 1777; 6th January, 1778; Mr. Franklin's letter, December 22, 1777, to Mr. Williams.

8TH CHARGE.—That Mr. Deane's accounts are in a confused, unsettled state.

Evidence.—Mr. A. Lee's letter, 1st June, 1778; Deane's Narrative, pages 104, 105.

9TH CHARGE.—That Mr. Deane traduced Congress, in charging them with shutting their ears against his information, and sacrificing him for the aggrandizement of others.

Evidence.—Mr. Deane's publication, 5th December.

10TH CHARGE.—That Mr. Deane, in his private character, wrote to Congress information, which in his letters wrote in his public character as Commissioner was directly contradicted.

Evidence.—Mr. Deane's letter 3d and 10th September, 1777, and his public letter 7th October, 1777.*

CHARGES AGAINST MR. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, WITH THE EVIDENCE.

1ST CHARGE.—That Mr. Benjamin Franklin withheld information from Mr. A. Lee, joint Commissioner with him and Mr. Adams.

Evidence.—Mr. A. Lee's letter to committee, 1st June, 1778.

2D CHARGE.—That Mr. Franklin, from a partiality to his nephew, Mr. Williams, and his friend, M. Chaumont, concurred with Mr. Deane in systems of profusion, disorder, and dissipation in the conduct of public affairs.

Evidence.—Mr. A. Lee's letter to committee, 1st June, 1778.

3D CHARGE.—That Mr. Franklin is not a proper person to be trusted with the management of the affairs of America; that he is haughty and self-sufficient, and not guided by principles of virtue or honor.

Evidence.—Mr. Izard's letter to the Honorable Mr. Laurens, President of Congress, 28th June, 1778.

* Altered in original to 16th February, 1778.

CHARGES AGAINST MR. JOHN ADAMS, WITH
THE EVIDENCE.

That Mr. John Adams threatened Mr. Izard with the displeasure of Congress in his opposing the 11th and 12th articles of the Treaty of Commerce; and that the said Mr. John Adams entertained expectations that Congress would be inattentive to the interests of nine States of America to gratify the eaters and distillers of molasses.

Evidence.—Mr. Izard's letter to the President, 12th September, 1778.

PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS

WITH REFERENCE TO

THE DETENTION OF MR. DEANE, AND THE RECALL OF
MR. LEE.

[NOTE BY EDITOR.—The order taken upon the narrative of Mr. DEANE appears in the following resolutions of Congress:—

Tuesday, December 7, 1778, 6 o'clock, P. M.

Resolved, That Silas Deane, Esq., report to Congress, in writing, as soon as may be, his agency of their affairs in Europe, together with any intelligence respecting their foreign affairs, which he may judge proper.

Resolved, That Mr. Deane be informed, that if he hath anything to communicate to Congress, in the interim, of immediate importance, he shall be heard to-morrow at six o'clock.

Mr. Deane attending, was called in, and the foregoing resolutions read to him.

Tuesday, December 22, 1778.

According to order, Mr. Deane attending, was called in, and

proceeded to read his written information, but not having time to finish—

Ordered, That he attend to-morrow at ten o'clock, and proceed in his information.

Wednesday, December 23, 1778.

According to order, Mr. Deane attending, was called in, and proceeded in his information, and having gone through what he had written, he produced sundry letters and papers, which he desired might be read. Upon a letter of April 7, from Dr. Franklin to him, being read, Mr. Deane desired leave to say something in explanation of the last clause of the said letter, which respects a negotiator, "who, as the letter mentions, is gone back apparently much chagrined at his little success, and in which Dr. Franklin says, he has promised him faithfully, that, since his propositions could not be accepted, they should be buried in oblivion; and, therefore, earnestly desires that Mr. Deane should put that paper immediately in the fire, on the receipt of the letter, without taking, or suffering to be taken, any copy of it, or communicating its contents."

As he was proceeding to explain this matter, a motion was made that Mr. Deane withdraw.

Mr. Deane accordingly withdrew.

A motion was made that Mr. Deane be called in, and informed that if he has anything further to report, that he lay it before Congress in writing. In lieu of which it was moved as an amendment: That Mr. Deane be permitted to proceed in his verbal explanation referred to, and that it be afterwards reduced to writing, if Congress should judge it necessary.

Which was resolved in the affirmative.

Ordered, That the Secretary inform Mr. Deane, that Congress will give him notice when he shall attend again, which will probably be this evening.]

IN CONGRESS, 10th June, 1779.

The order of the day being called for, and the report of the Committee of Thirteen on Foreign Affairs being taken up—

A motion was made by Mr. Burke, seconded by Mr. Laurens, that the further consideration of the said report be postponed, until order be taken on the letter of the 22d May last, from Mr. Deane, and a decision made on the resolution moved thereon by a member from North Carolina, seconded by a member from South Carolina. On which, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Burke—

<i>New Hampshire</i>	Mr. Whipple.....	<i>No.</i> —	<i>No.</i>
<i>Massachusetts Bay</i> ...	Mr. S. Adams.....	<i>No.</i>	} <i>No.</i>
	Gerry.....	<i>No.</i>	
	Holton.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
<i>Rhode Island</i>	Mr. Ellery.....	<i>No.</i>	} <i>Div'd.</i>
	Collins.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
<i>Connecticut</i>	Mr. Sherman.....	<i>No.</i>	} <i>No.</i>
	Huntington.....	<i>No.</i>	
	Spencer.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
<i>New York</i>	Mr. Jay.....	<i>Ay.</i>	} <i>Ay.</i>
	Lewis.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
<i>New Jersey</i>	Mr. Scudder.....	<i>No.</i>	} <i>Div'd.</i>
	Fell.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
<i>Pennsylvania</i>	Mr. Armstrong.....	<i>No.</i>	} <i>No.</i>
	Shippen.....	<i>No.</i>	
	Searle.....	<i>No.</i>	
	Muhlenberg.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
	McClane.....	<i>No.</i>	
	Wyncoop.....	<i>Ay.</i>	} <i>Ay.</i>
<i>Maryland</i>	Mr. Paca.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
	Carmichael.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
	Henry.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
	Jenifer.....	<i>Ay.</i>	

<i>Virginia</i>	Mr. Smith.....	<i>Ay.</i>	} <i>Ay.</i>
	Griffin.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
	Flemming.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
<i>North Carolina</i>	Mr. Penn.....	<i>Ay.</i>	} <i>Ay.</i>
	Burke	<i>Ay.</i>	
	Sharpe	<i>Ay.</i>	
<i>South Carolina</i>	Mr. Laurens.....	<i>Ay.</i>	} <i>Ay.</i>
	Drayton.....	<i>Ay.</i>	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

The motion was then read that Silas Deane, Esq. be ordered not to depart the United States without the special permission of Congress, and that Arthur Lee, Esq. be directed to repair forthwith to America, in order the better to enable Congress to inquire into the truth of the several allegations and suggestions made by the said Arthur Lee, in his correspondence with Congress, against the said Silas Deane.

When the question was about to be put, the previous question was moved by Mr. Gerry and seconded by Mr. S. Adams; a division of the main question being called for, and on the question to agree to the previous question for ordering Mr. Deane not to depart the United States without the special permission of Congress, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Laurens—

<i>New Hampshire</i>	Mr. Whipple.....	<i>Ay.</i>	<i>Ay.</i>
<i>Massachusetts Bay</i> ...	Mr. S. Adams.....	<i>Ay.</i>	} <i>Ay.</i>
	Gerry	<i>Ay.</i>	
	Lovel.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
	Holton	<i>Ay.</i>	
<i>Rhode Island</i>	Mr. Ellery	<i>Ay.</i>	} <i>Div'd.</i>
	Collins	<i>No.</i>	
<i>Connecticut</i>	Mr. Sherman	<i>Ay.</i>	} <i>Ay.</i>
	Huntington.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
	Spencer.....	<i>Ay.</i>	

<i>New York</i>	Mr. Jay.....	<i>No.</i>	} <i>No.</i>
	Duane.....	<i>No.</i>	
<i>New Jersey</i>	Mr. Scudder.....	<i>Ay.</i>	} <i>Ay.</i>
	Fell.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
<i>Pennsylvania</i>	Mr. Armstrong.....	<i>Ay.</i>	} <i>Ay.</i>
	Shippen.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
	Searle.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
	Muhlenberg.....	<i>No.</i>	
	McClane.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
	Wynkoop.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
<i>Maryland</i>	Mr. Paca.....	<i>No.</i>	} <i>No.</i>
	Carmichael.....	<i>No.</i>	
	Henry.....	<i>No.</i>	
	Jenifer.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
<i>Virginia</i>	Mr. Smith.....	<i>No.</i>	} <i>No.</i>
	Griffin.....	<i>No.</i>	
	Flemming.....	<i>No.</i>	
<i>North Carolina</i>	Mr. Penn.....	<i>No.</i>	} <i>No.</i>
	Burke.....	<i>No.</i>	
	Sharpe.....	<i>No.</i>	
<i>South Carolina</i>	Mr. Laurens.....	<i>No.</i>	} <i>No.</i>
	Drayton.....	<i>No.</i>	

And so the previous question was lost.

On the question to agree to the main question, for ordering Mr. Deane not to depart, &c., the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Holton—

<i>New Hampshire</i>	Mr. Whipple.....	<i>No.</i> — <i>No.</i>	} <i>No.</i>
<i>Massachusetts Bay</i> ...	Mr. S. Adams.....	<i>No.</i>	
	Gerry.....	<i>No.</i>	
	Lovel.....	<i>No.</i>	
	Holton.....	<i>No.</i>	

<i>Rhode Island</i>	Mr. Ellery.....	<i>No.</i>	} <i>Div'd.</i>
	Collins.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
<i>Connecticut</i>	Mr. Sherman.....	<i>No.</i>	} <i>No.</i>
	Huntington.....	<i>No.</i>	
	Spencer.....	<i>No.</i>	
<i>New York</i>	Mr. Jay.....	<i>Ay.</i>	} <i>Ay.</i>
	Duane.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
<i>New Jersey</i>	Mr. Scudder.....	<i>No.</i>	} <i>Div'd.</i>
	Fell.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
<i>Pennsylvania</i>	Mr. Armstrong.....	<i>No.</i>	} <i>No.</i>
	Shippen.....	<i>No.</i>	
	Searle.....	<i>No.</i>	
	Muhlenberg.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
	McClane.....	<i>No.</i>	
	Wynkoop.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
<i>Maryland</i>	Mr. Paca.....	<i>Ay.</i>	} <i>Div'd.</i>
	Carmichael.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
	Henry.....	<i>No.</i>	
	Jenifer.....	<i>No.</i>	
<i>Virginia</i>	Mr. Smith.....	<i>Ay.</i>	} <i>Ay.</i>
	Griffin.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
	Flemming.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
<i>North Carolina</i>	Mr. Penn.....	<i>Ay.</i>	} <i>Ay.</i>
	Burke.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
	Sharpe.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
<i>South Carolina</i>	Mr. Laurens.....	<i>Ay.</i>	} <i>Ay.</i>
	Drayton.....	<i>Ay.</i>	

So the States were equally divided, and the question lost.

On the question to agree to the previous question on the second part, for directing Mr. A. Lee to repair forthwith to America, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Ellery—

New Hampshire.....Mr. Whipple.....*Ay.*—*Ay.*

<i>Massachusetts Bay</i>	Mr. S. Adams.....	<i>Ay.</i>	}	<i>Ay.</i>
	Gerry.....	<i>Ay.</i>		
	Lovel.....	<i>Ay.</i>		
	Holton.....	<i>Ay.</i>		
<i>Rhode Island</i>	Mr. Ellery.....	<i>Ay.</i>	}	<i>Ay.</i>
	Collins.....	<i>Ay.</i>		
<i>Connecticut</i>	Mr. Sherman.....	<i>Ay.</i>	}	<i>Ay.</i>
	Huntington.....	<i>Ay.</i>		
	Spencer.....	<i>Ay.</i>		
<i>New York</i>	Mr. Jay.....	<i>Ay.</i>	}	<i>Ay.</i>
	Duane.....	<i>Ay.</i>		
<i>New Jersey</i>	Mr. Scudder.....	<i>Ay.</i>	}	<i>Ay.</i>
	Fell.....	<i>Ay.</i>		
<i>Pennsylvania</i>	Mr. Armstrong.....	<i>Ay.</i>	}	<i>Ay.</i>
	Shippen.....	<i>Ay.</i>		
	Searle.....	<i>Ay.</i>		
	Muhlenberg.....	<i>Ay.</i>		
	McClane.....	<i>Ay.</i>		
	Wynkoop.....	<i>Ay.</i>		
<i>Maryland</i>	Mr. Paca.....	<i>Ay.</i>	}	<i>Ay.</i>
	Carmichael.....	<i>Ay.</i>		
	Jenifer.....	<i>Ay.</i>		
<i>Virginia</i>	Mr. Smith.....	<i>No.</i>	}	<i>Ay.</i>
	Griffin.....	<i>Ay.</i>		
	Flemming.....	<i>Ay.</i>		
<i>North Carolina</i>	Mr. Penn.....	<i>Ay.</i>	}	<i>Ay.</i>
	Burke.....	<i>Ay.</i>		
	Sharpe.....	<i>Ay.</i>		
<i>South Carolina</i>	Mr. Laurens.....	<i>Ay.</i>	}	<i>Ay.</i>
	Drayton.....	<i>Ay.</i>		

So it was resolved in the affirmative, that the main question be not now put.

[NOTE BY MR. LAURENS.]

Never was there a more droll scene exhibited in a public assembly than the foregoing.

Almost every man who voted for detaining Mr. Deane, did so from a hope of securing a vote for recalling Mr. Lee. When this should have been effected, Mr. Deane was to have obtained "the special permission of Congress for departing from the United States," or it might be that he would depart without the "special permission," "for who could control him" (said Mr. S. and J. P). Such sentiments were expressed by both parties, which warrant this suggestion. To these and similar expressions I replied in Congress: "If Mr. Deane, in defiance of the order of Congress, shall depart the United States, it will be pleading guilty, and upon Mr. Lee's appearance before Congress and giving evidence against Mr. Deane, judgment will go against him by his default; and I believe neither this nor a future Congress will hazard that public resentment which would follow a permission to Mr. Deane to depart, before the appearance of Mr. Lee, unless from captivity or other extraordinary accident he should be detained an unreasonable length of time." On the other hand, those who could not bear the idea of recalling a faithful servant, and subjecting him to the risk of being captured and carried into England, whose king and ministers of state are exceedingly exasperated against him, and who also suspected the designs of the opposite party, therefore voted against their wishes to *detain Mr. Deane*, because the recall of Mr. Lee was tacked to that article as an express condition. Thus were votes given by all, three or four excepted, against the principles of the voters.

My sole motive in bringing forward the proposition for detaining Mr. Deane and ordering Mr. Lee to appear and support his charges, was for obtaining justice—

- 1st. To my much injured country.
- 2d. To individuals.

The proposition originally sprung from myself, although Mr.

Burke reduced it afterwards to writing, in order, as he said, to try if gentlemen were in earnest. He never found me otherwise.

Before I had voted against the recall of Mr. Lee (on the [8th June, 1779], see the journal), I had repeatedly declared in Congress that I would vote for his recall, provided Congress would detain Mr. Deane, and this opinion I have invariably supported in private conversation with Mr. Lee's brother, and other particular friends, in opposition to their sentiments; "*fiat justitia ruat cælum*," was my governing principle.

Thank God, I have acted agreeably to the dictates of my conscience, without respect to persons, and I trust my country will not condemn my conduct.

11th June, 1779.

[NOTE BY EDITOR.]

IN CONGRESS: *Friday*, August 6, 1779.

Resolved, That the Honorable Silas Deane, Esq., late one of the Commissioners at the Court of Versailles, and political and commercial agent, be discharged from any further attendance on Congress.



APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS REFERRED TO IN SUPPORT OF THE NARRATIVE.

MR. DEANE'S MEMORANDUM.

Total amount of payments made by Monsieur Grand, Banker, to the Commissioners of the United States, from January, 1777, to March 27, 1778, inclusive	livr. 4,049,988 17
Total amount of sums received by the said Monsieur Grand	3,756,250 00
	<hr/>
Balance due M. Grand, 27th March, 1778	“ 293,738 17
	<hr/>

Sums received are as follows, viz:—

Four quarterly payments of 500,000 livres, each	livr. 2,000,000 00
Of the Farmers General in payment of the contract for Tobacco	1,000,000 00
Discount of Interest	3,250 00
Discount with Doerner	600 00
Discount with Mr. McCreary	2,400 00
	<hr/>
	“ 3,006,250 00
The first quarterly payment for 1778	750,000 00
	<hr/>
Total amount of moneys received	“ 3,756,250 00
	<hr/>

N. B. The promise for 1778 was 3,000,000 of livres in quarterly payments, the first is accounted for in the above; there is, therefore, 2,250,000 livres more to be received, but there are also many payments still to be made, some of them large. Mons. Monthieu's contract for clothes, for brass, for tin, &c., amounted, nearly as I remember, to about 600,000 livres, for he procured 10,000 suits of the clothes sent over in one article; besides this he had a demand for the demurrage of his vessels, and the total loss of one of them, for all which he had re-

ceived by orders on M. Grand, charged in M. Grand's account but 60,000 livres. Mr. Williams had a large account unclosed, as had Mons. Chaumont, besides several smaller ones, which with the continual expenses, and disbursements for prisoners escaping from England, for repairs of Continental vessels arriving in France, the dispatching of packets, &c. &c.; to all which is to be added the completing and loading the ships in Holland, which will alone call for 500,000 livres more than has already been advanced. These sums put together will amount to as great a sum in my opinion as the whole of the remaining three quarterly payments. Among other large sums, is the bills drawn in favor of Price & Maywood, sent over by Mr. Bonfield, amounting, as I understand, for I did not see his bills, to about 200,000 livres.

Suppose then the amount coming as follows, to be received in three quarterly payments, 2,250,000 livres.

Demands as follows:—

Supposed in Holland	livr.	500,000
To Price, Maywood, & Co.		200,000
To Monthieu, Williams, Chaumont, Sabbatier, & Co., &c.		1,000,000
		<hr/>
	“	1,700,000

There will remain for the payment of expenses through the year, and for the payment of lesser demands, and the contingent expenses mentioned, of prisoners, repairs, &c. &c. &c.		550,000
		<hr/>
	“	2,250,000
		<hr/>

Forgive my haste, Sir, I have forgot the balance already to send to M. Grand of 293,378 livres 17 s., and I have no time to copy what I send. Should the above estimate prove true, and I think it not far out of the way, there will be left 256,621 livres 3 s. in hand for the payment of expenses, small debts for prisoners, repairs of vessels, and contingent expenses.

I must pray your Excellency after perusing to return this, or a copy, as I have no Secretary, and have not time to copy before I send it, but will afterwards copy it myself and return it if you choose.

P. S. Presume this will be only for your private perusal, have not therefore been so particular as I otherways should have been; but it is near enough to be laid before the public, if you judge proper, as a general memorandum.

DR. MR. SILAS DEANE, in account with WM. HODGE, CR.

To Mr. Murdoch's bill, cost the lugger with provisions and outfits . . .	25,122 15 9					7,000 00 0
" cash paid Captain Conyngnam out of lugger . . .	144 00 0					12,000 00 0
" Murdoch's bill, cost the Cutter Greyhound . . .	37,372 15 6					9,318 14 6
" Capt. Cruize, for expenses going to Dover to purchase the lugger . . .	144 00 0					23,139 10 0
" cash paid Jus. Jones on account of money furnished Capt. Cook, expenses for seamen from Amsterdam, 794 17. 1777 . . .	209 19 0					8,042 10 0
" paid Capt. Cook, his expenses back . . .	96 00 0					240 00 0
" my expenses to Amsterdam and back . . .	180 00 0					2,485 08 0
" two expresses sent to Cassel & Letter and back . . .	85 00 0					480 00 0
" my expenses going up twice to Paris . . .	605 05 0					12,000 00 0
" Morel & fils, acc't. the cutters . . .	26,700 10 0					15,000 00 0
" cash on 100 pigs lead . . .	2,886 10 0					2,586 00 0
" Fitzgerald's account, for cash paid lodging people . . .	15,782 02 0					21,428 12 7
" Murdoch's account for beef and greens . . .	744 16 0					
" cash paid Paul Cruize . . .	900 00 0					
" cash paid Captain Boyly . . .	24 00 0					
" in my commission at 2½ per cent . . .	2,772 00 0					
	livr. 113,720 12 7					livr. 113,720 12 7

Errors excepted. WM. HODGE.

Mr. Deane has the different inclosed accounts as well as the Tradesmen's bills for every article; you will please to observe that I received only 92,292 livres during my stay at Duncurke, for all of which I gave double receipts. (Signed) W. H.

COPIE DE LA LETTRE ÉCRITE PAR M. DE CHAUMONT À M. HOLKER,
DATÉE DE PASSY LE 28 FEVRIER, 1778.

MONSIEUR—

Les deux frégates Américaines le Hancock et le Boston, commandées par les Capitaines Babjors et Hendrik, ont conduit à Nantes le 13 Août dernier, deux navires Anglois chargés de sucre qu'ils ont mis en déclaration comme navires Hollandois venant de St. Eustache; cette fausse déclaration a entraîné légalement la confiscation de ces deux navires, et le Roy, après avoir satisfait à sa justice, a écouté les représentations qui ont été faites à sa bonté, et je suis chargé, Monsieur, de vous autoriser à compter aux armateurs et autres intéressés d'ans les deux frégates Américaines le Hancock et le Boston, la somme de quatre cens mille livres argent de France, que pouvoient valoir les deux navires Anglois et leur chargemens qu'ils ont conduit à Nantes. Je vous avoüe, Monsieur, que je suis enchanté de vous transmettre une commission aussi agréable, et qui prouvera aux Américaines combien nôtre Roy est bon et juste. Vous pouvez tirer sur moi des lettres de changes pour quatre-cens mille livres en m'envoyant en même tems les pieces les plus probantes de payement que vous aurez fait. Si depuis deux mois, il m'avoit été possible de vous faire passer surement une lettre, vous auriez été plustôt à même de régler cette affaire.

J'ai l'honneur d'être tres parfaitement Monsieur,

Vôtre très humble et tres obéissant serviteur,

Signé LE RAY DE CHAUMONT,

Intendant honoraire de l'Hôtel Royal des Invalides.

COPY OF M. GRAND'S GENERAL ACCOUNT OF MONEY RECEIVED AND PAID ON ACCOUNT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

DR. MESSRS. FRANKLIN, DEANE, & LEE, *their account with* F. GRAND.

June 1,	1	To Mr. Deane's accepted draft of Mr. Williams, 3d of June	15,029 02 05
	2	" Mr. Deane, to an order of Mr. Deane, favor of Monthieu	1,200 00 00
	3	" Mr. Deane, of two drafts of Harcourt des Harre, of 6th June, 5,000, 5,016	10,016 00 00
	4	" a payment the widow Dque. Morel & Sons, made to Wm. Hodge of 12,000 and charges, approved by Mr. Deane	12,083 00 00
July	5	" cash to Mr. Deane as per receipt	2,400 00 00
	6	" " Monthieu, by order of Mr. Deane	11,184 00 00
	7	" Mr. Deane's acceptance of Williams's draft 17th June	3,000 00 00
	8	" Messrs. Franklin and Deane's drafts, favor Holker, for	10,000 00 00
	9	" Mr. Deane's acceptance of Williams's two drafts 9th inst., 3,000, 1,500	4,500 00 00
	10	" a payment the widow Morel & Sons, Dunkirk, to Hodge, and charges, 19th	15,098 12 00
	11	" " " 26th, both approved by Mr. Deane	2,606 02 00
	12	" Mr. Deane's acceptance of a draft of Williams's of the 14th	1,200 00 00
	13	" " " four drafts of Williams's of 22d and 26th inst., 1,200, 2,400, 1,500, 1,842	6,942 00 00
	14	" Messrs. Deane and Lee's drafts of 7th inst. to Mr. Franklin	4,800 00 00
	15	" Messrs. Franklin, Deane, and Lee's drafts, 7th inst. to Holker Son	10,000 00 00
	16	" Mr. Deane's acceptance of Williams's drafts of 26th and 29th, 1,200, 2,847 7 8, 1,742 7	5,789 14 08
	17	" " " " 28th, 3,000, 1,000	4,000 00 00
Aug. 12,	18	" Messrs. Franklin and Deane's order of 11th inst. to Mr. A. Lee	2,400 00 00
	19	" " " " 14th inst. to M. le Roy du Chaumont	2,448 00 00

APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS.

20	To Mr. Deane's acceptance of Williams's draft of the 9th inst.	3,000 00 00
21	" " " " 14th inst. 960, 960	1,920 00 00
22	" cash to Mr. Deane, 29th inst. as per receipt	4,800 00 00
23	" Messrs. Franklin and Deane's order of the 25th inst. favor of Sabattier Son	5,509 02 00
24	" " " " " 25th inst. favor of Holker Son	2,888 13 07
25	" " " " " 28th inst. favor of Latour	1,827 08 00
26	" Messrs. Franklin and Deane, their acceptance of Williams's, 17th June	1,257 06 00
27	" acceptance of Mr. Deane to the drafts of Thos. Bell, bought, 4,490 11, 1,000	5,490 11 00
28	" acceptance of Mr. Deane to the drafts of Williams of 18th, 19th, and 26th inst.	9,306 00 00
Sept. 14, 29	" the drafts of S. J. H. Delap of Bordeaux, 30th August, by order Mr. Deane	5,000 00 00
30	" Mr. Deane's order of 3d inst. favor of Monthieu	12,000 00 00
31	" " " " " Mr. Reed, £25 15 sterling	538 11 06
32	" Mr. Deane's acceptance of Williams's drafts, 6th and 9th inst. 641 19, 3,600	4,241 19 00
33	" cash paid Mr. Deane, 16th inst.	4,800 00 00
34	" Messrs. Deane and Lee's order, 16th inst. favor Reed, for £30 sterling	699 12 00
35	" Williams's drafts, 2d inst. favor Monthieu, approved by Mr. Deane	3,791 04 00
36	" Messrs. Franklin and Deane's order, favor of Latour, Shoemaker	1,827 10 00
37	" order of Mr. Deane, 22d inst. favor of Crury, 2,400, 696	3,096 00 00
38	" drafts of S. & J. H. Delaps of Bordeaux, 13th inst. approved by Mr. Deane	30,000 00 00
39	" Mr. Deane's order, favor Mr. Franklin, 25th inst.	4,001 00 00
40	" " acceptance Williams's drafts, 22d August	6,192 17 08
41	" S. J. Delap's drafts, 20th inst. at sight, 6,000, 1,563 10, by order Mr. Deane	7,563 10 00
42	" Williams's drafts, 28th August, accepted by Mr. Deane	3,801 15 00
43	" H. Johnston's drafts, 16th inst. accepted by Mr. Deane	13,342 06 00

	44 To the drafts of Lamb. Wickes, 14th inst. accepted by Mr. Deane	6,000 00 00
	45 " the drafts of Williams, 2d inst. approved by Mr. Deane	1,200 00 00
	46 " the drafts of Thos. Bell, 17th inst. accepted by Mr. Deane	486 00 00
	47 " the drafts of John Williams 8th inst., accepted by Mr. Deane	792 18 00
	48 " Messrs. Franklin and Deane's order, 3d inst. favor Johnston	904 00 00
	49 " cash to Mr. Deane on his receipt	2,400 00 00
	50 " Mr. Deane's order, favor Merceir, 9th inst.	1,200 00 00
	51 " cash to Mr. A. Lee on his receipt	4,800 00 00
	52 " Messrs. Franklin, Deane, and Lee's order, favor Coder, of 14th inst.	78,840 00 00
	53 " Messrs. Deane and Lee's order, 19th inst. favor of Druy	600 00 00
	54 " J. Sabattier & Sons draft, 15th Sept. approved by Franklin, Deane, and Lee	306,910 18 00
	55 " Lambert Wickes's draft, 14th Sept. accepted by Mr. Deane	3,484 18 06
	56 " James Nicholls's draft, 16th September, accepted by Mr. Deane	4,703 18 00
	57 " Landais of Marseilles, accepted by Mr. Deane	3,627 19 00
	58 " Williams's draft of 5th and 7th August, approved by Mr. Deane	25,800 00 00
	59 " " " 5th September, "	480 00 00
	60 " Mr. Franklin's order, 21st inst. favor Caffery	2,932 00 00
Nov.	61 " cash paid Mr. A. Lee, the 12th inst.	2,400 00 00
	62 " Messrs. Franklin and Deane's order, of the 15th inst. favor W. F.	8,000 00 00
	63 " Mr. Deane's order, favor Monthieu	112,000 00 00
	64 " cash paid Mr. Deane, 20th inst. as per receipt	2,700 00 00
	65 " Williams's drafts of 18th and 19th August, ac- cepted by Mr. Deane	10,000 00 00
	66 " Williams's draft of 5th August, accepted by Mr. Deane	1,200 00 00
	67 " draft of Segury, Beaujeard Son of St. Malo, 19th October, by Mr. Deane	3,489 11 06
	68 " Mr. Deane's order, 27th inst. favor Cushing, £24 2 3 sterling	551 03 00
	69 " Williams's draft 2d September, favor Monthieu, approved by Mr. Deane	7,500 00 00

	70	To drafts of Pellitier du Doyer, favor Mr. Williams, 14th August, by Mr. Deane	15,500 00 00
Decem.	71	" cash to Mr. A. Lee	2,400 00 00
	72	" Mr. Franklin's order of inst. favor Troyes	600 00 00
	73	" cash paid Mr. Deane, 11th inst.	2,400 00 00
	74	" draft of Pellitier du Doyer of Nantes, 14th Aug. favor Beaumont, approved by Mr. Deane	3,000 00 00
	75	" " " 11th and 27th Sept. "	20,500 00 00
	76	" " " 25th October, "	8,000 00 00
	77	" " " 11th November, "	4,000 00 00
	78	" " " 20th December, "	4,500 00 00
	79	" " Gardoqui of Bilboa, 18th October, ac- cepted by Mr. Deane	6,580 14 00
	80	" " J. Williams, 26th and 28th August, ac- cepted by Mr. Deane, 6,500, 2,764 7	9,264 07 00
	81	" " Pellitier and Doyer of Nantes, 14th Sept. favor Williams, approved by Deane	9,799 08 00
	82	" cash paid Mr. A. Lee, 23d Nov. as per receipt	22,519 05 06
	83	" " Mr. Silas Deane, 21st Dec. "	2,400 00 00
	84	" " Mr. A. Lee, 23d Dec. "	2,400 00 00
	85	" Messrs. Franklin and Deane's order, 25th Decem- ber, favor de la Plaigne	2,480 00 00
	86	" draft of Coffin of Dunkirk, 12th December, ac- cepted by Mr. Deane	3,300 00 00
	87	" draft of Messrs. Franklin and Deane, 29th Dec. order Monthieu	6,416 00 00
	88	" Messrs. Franklin and Deane's order, 29th inst. favor W. J. Franklin	2,400 00 00
	89	" cash to Boux Neveu, as per receipt, for account, approved by Franklin and Deane	480 00 00
	90	" draft Morel & Sons of Dunkirk, 22d December	1,008 10 00
	91	" Messrs. Franklin, Deane, and Lee's drafts, 21st November, favor Bauregard	119,061 00 00
	92	" " " " " 29th December, favor Monthieu	60,000 00 00
	93	" Horneau, Tireau, & Co. of Amsterdam, approved by Franklin, Deane, & Lee	35,027 01 03
	94	" " " " "	9,232 03 00
	95	" " " for the ship the Indian	72,000 00 00
	96	" P. Ct. 3,069 2 paid by " to Boux of Amster- dam for the Indian	6,649 00 00
	97	" Francis Coffin of Dunkirk, his draft of 19th De- cember, accepted by Mr. Deane	938 02 03

	98 To W. Hodge of Nantes, his draft 20th December, accepted by Mr. Deane	3,000 00 00
	99 " John Hancock's drafts, favor Sundries	17,400 00 00
Jan'y.	100 " Mr. A. Lee's order, favor Byrd, 30 louis d'ors	720 00 00
	101 " Mr. Deane's acceptance of the drafts of T. Thom- son, Coffin	68,984 00 00
	102 " cash paid Mr. A. Lee, 11th inst.	4,800 00 00
	103 " cash paid Mr. Silas Deane, 13th inst.	4,000 00 00
	104 " J. Williams of Nantes, from 18th September to 10th January, of which 500,000 was approved of by Messrs. Franklin, Deane, and Lee, rest by Franklin and Deane	563,097 05 10
	105 " my commission on livres 1,290,275 6 7 at $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent	6,451 00 04
	6 " postage of letters, packets, and other charges on their account	1,998 09 00
		1,962,903 04 01
	7 " balance of the above account of the 15th Janu- ary, 1778	295,725 03 00
	8 " Arnoux de Saulsaye of the Orient, drafts 6th July, account Indian	5,000 00 00
	9 " E. Haimann's draft, 29th December, accepted by Mr. Deane	2,032 18 04
	10 " Messrs. Franklin and Deane's order of the 20th January, favor Sabattier & Despres	49,165 17 07
	11 " Borard Brothers of the Orient, their draft, 12th January, accepted by Deane	2,074 17 06
	12 " J. Williams, since 10th January to 20th, on ac- count of the credit given to him of 200,000 by Messrs. Franklin and Deane	30,862 09 09
	13 " Sabattier & Sons' drafts, 8th January, approved by Messrs. Franklin, Deane, and Lee	153,963 17 04
	14 " my commission on 243,100 at $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent	1,215 10 06
	15 " postage and other charges from 15th January to 24th	52 14 00
	16 " Williams's draft, 2d Sept. omitted in last account 2,000 00	} 2,259 17 00
	17 " draft of Samuel Nicholson of Nantes, 8th Nov. 259 17	
	18 " Mr. Franklin's order of 29th January, favor Bois Martin	6,353 00 00

APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS.

19	To Mr. Franklin's order, 2d February, favor Dannels and Hennel	17,404 06 03
20	" cash to Mr. A. Lee	2,400 00 00
21	" Mr. Deane's order, February 6, favor Holleville	509 00 00
22	" Mr. Franklin's same day, favor Franklin, Jr.	4,800 00 00
23	" Messrs. Franklin, Deane, and Lee's orders, 6th February, favor W. Lee, Iz'd., 48,000 48,000	96,000 00 00
24	" Mr. Deane, 12th February	2,500 00 00
25	" Messrs. Franklin, Deane, and Lee's drafts, 12th February, favor Captain Courtier	1,433 14 03
26	" Mr. Franklin a Bill of Exchange on London for 100 sterling, a 31	2,322 00 00
27	" Mr. Deane's order, 6th February, favor Captain Courtier, £52 10 a 31½	1,200 00 00
28	" Messrs. Franklin and Deane's order of the 6th of February for 100 louis	2,400 00 00
29	" Deane's draft of Amsterdam, 8th January,	2,400 00 00
30	" cash to Mr. A. Lee, 16th January, as per receipt	2,400 00 00
31	" Messrs. Franklin and Deane's orders, 18th Jan. favor Roy de Chaumont	86,000 00 00
32	" cash received by M. Bourbonnette 5th May last, from Horneca, Fireaux, & Co., Amsterdam	4,351 05 03
33	" Thomas Bell of Nantes, his draft, 6th February, on Mr. Deane	570 14 00
34	" cash to Mr. William Lee, February 28th, as per receipt	960 00 00
35	" Messrs. Franklin and Deane's order, March 2d, favor Blunden	3,600 00 00
36	" cash to Mr. A. Lee, March 6th, as per receipt	4,800 00 00
37	" Messrs. Franklin and Deane's order, March 2d, favor Blunden	240 00 00
38	" cash to Mr. W. Lee, March 10th, as per receipt	1,656 00 00
39	" J. Hancock's draft, 14th Sept. 30 days, order the Chev. Desbeusson	4,712 00 00
40	" cash paid Bondel the Printer	246 00 00
41	" Horneca, Fireaux, & Co. draft 26th January, for their remittance 4,000 Platina	20,213 17 06
42	" Sam. Wharton of London, 17th Feb. approved by Mr. Deane	19,520 14 00
43	" Sam. Darcy of Bordeaux, 21st December, on S. Deane	4,800 00 00
44	" Mr. Silas Deane's assignment 16th March, to James Bornel	250 00 00

—	To Mr. Silas Deane's assignment, 17th March, to B. Nicholson	240 00 00
45	“ cash paid Mr. W. Lee 16th March, as per receipt	955 00 00
46	“ “ “ “ “ “	3,600 00 00
47	“ “ Silas Deane 17th March, as per receipt	4,800 00 00
48	“ Leguy, Beauregard, Sons & Co. of Marlo, draft 6th of March on Silas Deane	523 00 00
49	“ cash paid Silas Deane March 24, as per receipt	2,400 00 00
50	“ an assignment March 25th, favor W. J. Franklin	4,800 00 00
51	“ J. Williams's drafts since last account to this day, 28th March	178,273 03 09
52 } 53 }	To drafts by J. Hancock on Commissioners	4,767 00 00
54	To assignment of Mr. S. Deane 25th March, to Johnson, 27 All 800,600	1,400 00 00
	“ my commission on livres 490,756 15 6 at $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent	2,453 00 00
	“ postage of letters, packets, and other charges	441 10 00
		<hr/> 1,043,738 17 00
	On which sum I have received	750,000 00 00
		<hr/> 293,738 17 00

This account amounts to the sum of two hundred ninety-three thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight livres seventeen sous, which is the balance due to Ferdinand Grand this day, 27th March, 1778. Errors excepted.

CREDITS, 1777.

By	balance settled 10th June	664,178 1 1
“	cash 5th July	500,000 0 0
“	a remittance of S. & J. Hans Dellap, account M. Crury	2,400 0 0
“	cash the 10th October	500,000 0 0
“	cash 6th November from Lavabre & Doernir Co.	600 0 0

Messrs. FRANKLIN, DEANE & CO., <i>their account with</i> F. GRAND of Paris.			
DR.			CR.
Jan'y.	1	By cash from those gentlemen, per receipt	500,000 0 0
Feb'ry.	2	To cash paid to L. Mutter of Nantes	168 00 0
	3	“ M. Boux for his quarter	625 03 0
	4	“ M. Chaumont Mr. Deane's bills	180,000 00 0
March.	5	“ Th. Hyson of Dunkirk, his draft	15,169 11 0
	6	“ cash to Mr. Hodge at Dunkirk	7,044 11 0
April.	7	“ Mr. Deane's draft 9th April, on sight	9,707 16 5
	8	“ cash paid Mr. Hodge at Dunkirk	12,075 16 0
	9	“ Horneau Fireaux his drafts (April)	300,000 00 0
	10	“ my remittance B, 1000 at 53½ (April)	2,242 19 9
	11	“ cash to Mr. Hodge at Dunkirk	12,075 16 0
	12	“ Mr. Deane's order favor M. Chaumont	8,729 15 0
	13	“ my commission on 559,848	2,795 04 0
	14	“ postage of letters	227 14 0
	15	Balance in my favor carried to new account	62,071 8 5
		livres	<u>562,071 08 5</u>
			<u>562,071 8 5</u>
April.		To the above balance	62,071 08 5
		By cash from the above gentlemen	500,000 0 0
	16	To cash paid Mr. Hodge at Dunkirk	9,377 15 3
May.	17	“ “ “ “	8,093 11 3
	18	“ their order the 7th, favor Monthieu	220,000 00 0
	19	“ “ “ “	69,455 00 0
	20	“ cash paid Mr. Hodge at Dunkirk	264 14 0
June.	21	“ “ “ “	2,506 12 6
	22	“ their order favor Sabattier	10,000 00 0
	23	“ Mr. Ross, his draft May 17 at 90	450,000 00 0
		By cash from these gentlemen	1,000,000 0 0
		By discount for two months five days on 450,000	3,250 0 0
		To my commission on 1,438,000	7,190 00 0
		“ postage	112 15 0
		By balance due by those gentlemen	664,178 01 1
			<u>1,503,250 00 0</u>
		Errors excepted.	<u>1,503,250 0 0</u>
		To Ross by Mr. Grand	450,000
		“ “ Jonathan Williams	20,000
			<u>470,000</u>

EXTRACT FROM THE BANKER GRAND'S ACCOUNT OF MONEY
PAID TO MR. HODGE.

1777

March 18	Pour autant payé à M. Hodge à Dunkerque sur le credit l 24m que je lui avois atable chez St. Dque. Morel et Fils et d'Ordre de M. Deane avec fraite .	7,044 11 0
April 16	“ autant payés à M. Hodge à Dunkerque avec fraite	12,075 16 0
26	“ “ “ “ “	23,284 18 3
28	“ ci qui à été payé à M. Wm. Hodge à Dunkerque, sur le crédit qui je lui avois établi chez Ste. Dque. Morel et Fils, cet article ainsi que les suivants semblables sont de l'ordre de M. Deane . .	9,377 15 3
Mai 6	“ “ “ “ “	8,093 11 3
Mai 17	“ autant payé à M. Hodge à Dunkerque . . .	264 14 0
Juin 2	“ “ “ “ . . .	2,508 12 6
June 4	To a payment the widow Dque. Morel & Sons made to Wm. Hodge of 12,000 and charges, approved by Mr. Deane	12,083 00 0
10	“ “ made the 19th to “ and charges 15,000	15,098 12 0
	“ “ both approved by Mr. Deane, 26th, 2,586 .	2,606 02 0
		92,441 06 3

A GENERAL STATE OF THE ACCOUNT BETWEEN THE COMMISSIONERS AT PARIS FROM THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA, AND MONS. GRAND, BANKER, SHOWING WHAT PUBLIC MONEYS PASSED THROUGH MR. DEANE'S AND THE OTHER COMMISSIONERS' HANDS, REFERRED TO IN MR. DEANE'S LETTER TO CONGRESS.

Total amount of moneys received by the Commissioners to the time of Mr. Deane's leaving Paris	3,753,250 00 00
The balance due to M. Grand the 27th March last, amounted to	293,738 17 00
Total amount of expenditures in Dollars, 809,337 $\frac{3}{4}$; in livres	4,046,988 17 00

The same particularized—

To Monsieur Chaumont for 2,000 barrels powder for brass can- non for the frigate at Nantes, &c. &c.	277,177 00 00
“ Captain Hyson for the purchase of a lugger for a packet	15,169 11 00

To Mr. Hodge, who purchased successively two cutters at Dunkirk, &c., paid the expenses of Conyngham's imprisonment, &c. &c.	92,729 10 03
“ Hornica, Fitzeau, & Co. at Amsterdam, for the building a large ship of war, and M. Bouy's expenses	307,274 12 06
“ purchase cordage, &c. for said ship	72,000 00 00
“ pay for goods purchased there by Merkle, according to his contract with Congress	44,259 04 03
“ paid “ for gun-locks, &c. sent to Nantes to Mr. Williams, as was also the goods bought by Merkle	20,213 17 06
“ paid “ for moneys paid out by them to Monsieur Dumas and other expenses at Amsterdam	4,351 05 03
Total paid the house of Hornica, Fitzeau, & Co.	448,098 19 06
“ paid M. Monthieu for his magazine at Nantes	220,000 00 00
“ cash advanced by him for goods bought at Nantes	69,455 02 06
“ “ “ “ “	11,184 00 00
“ fusees shipped at Marseilles which arrived at Portsmouth	12,000 00 00
“ freight due him	120,000 00 00
“ so much in part of his contract for clothing	60,000 00 00
484,569 02 06	
“ cash paid Mr. Ross to enable him to pay for goods purchased by him agreeable to his contract with Congress	450,000 00 00
“ cash paid Sabattier, Desprez, & Co. and Mr. Holker, for 15,000 suits of clothes, &c.	538,438 07 11
“ cash paid Desgray, Beaugeard, Fils & Co. for 100 tons of saltpetre purchased at 11 s. the pound, or 5½ d. sterling	119,061 00 00
“ Mr. W. Lee and Mr. Izard for their expenses	96,000 00 00
“ Monsieur Coder for clothing	73,840 00 00
“ Mr. Jonathan Williams at various times	981,901 10 04
“ cash paid Monsieur Monthieu on account	6,416 00 00
“ Dorets Hornet for fusees delivered at Nantes	17,404 06 03
“ cash to the orders of Captains Thomson and Henman for refitting and equipping their ships at L'Orient	70,092 17 08
“ cash paid at L'Orient for carriages and other articles for the ship building at Amsterdam	5,000 00 00
N. B. She was to have been brought to L'Orient to be armed.	
“ orders of Mr. Hancock paid	35,909 00 00

To paid Messrs. Delaps for sundry supplies and disbursements to the Lexington and other ships	42,563 13 10
“ amount of orders paid for the refitting of the Lexington, the Reprisal, and other Continental ships, the orders drawn by Captain Weeks, by Captain Johnson, by Captain Nicholson, and others, as may be seen in M. Grand’s account, D D .	48,262 03 10
“ amount of what the Commissioners paid for their private expenses, of what they paid for expresses, for shoes, and other articles bought at Paris and shipped from Nantes, with other disbursements, as may be seen at large in M. Grand’s account	244,285 13 11
	<hr/>
	livres 4,046,988 17 00
	<hr/>

MR. DEANE’S ASSUMED CONTRACT WITH M. BEAUMARCHAIS.

MEMOIRE FOR CLOTHING.

12,500 aunes of blue cloth to cost nearly 8 livres per aune; 2,500 aunes of cloth of the following colors for lapels or facings, viz: 500 scarlet, 500 green, 500 crimson, 500 buff or white, 500 yellow or orange; 25,000 aunes of shaloon for lining the clothes, of the value of about 1 livre per aune of blue color; 7,000 aunes of linen for lining breeches, and other use in making up the clothes, of the value of 1 livre 10 sous per aune; 2,000 pounds sewing thread for making up the clothes of a blue color; 100 pounds blue sewing silk; 10,000 dozen of coat metal buttons, plain white; 10,000 dozen of vest or small buttons, plain; 30,000 aunes of linen for shirts, at about 2 livres per aune; 5,000 blankets; 10,000 pair stockings, white woollen; 4,000 aunes of blue cloth of better quality, for officers, to cost about 12 livres per aune; 1,000 aunes for facing or lapels of scarlet, of green, of crimson, of buff, or white, of orange, or yellow, of each an equal quantity; 4,000 aunes of blue shaloon for lining the above, of about 2 livres per aune value; 1,000 dozen of plain white metal coat buttons; 2,000 dozen plain white metal vest buttons or small; 3,000 aunes of linen for officers’ shirts of 2 livres 10 sous or 3 livres per aune; 500 pounds weight sewing thread for making up coarse shirts.

The above estimate is for 5,000 men to be clothed in blue, the facings to be various in the different battalions, consequently 30,000 men will take six times the quantity, in the whole of each particular article above mentioned, which follows in detail.

N. B. It is unnecessary to repeat here the particulars of each color, as they

run in the same style and quantity, only varying the colors, and each part for 5,000 men is put up distinct.

OTHER STORES.

24,000 aunes of coarse shagg cloth, of woollen of $5\frac{1}{4}$ wide, for melas or Indian stockings, so called, to cost 2 10 or 3 livres per aune; of this quality the colors must be blue, scarlet, and green, an equal quantity of each; also, 30,000 woollen caps of the same color as the clothes, in equal quantities, viz: 5,000 of blue, 5,000 scarlet, 5,000 green, 5,000 brown or gray, and 10,000 black, the latter to go with the pale blue and gray clothing or uniform; also, 100 needles of the coarse or common kind, and 100 small awls for the soldiers to mend their clothes with; also, 60,000 colored handkerchiefs, one for the neck, a custom among American soldiers, and one for the pocket; also, 30,000 pair of cheap shoe and knee buckles; 30,000 large cutteau knives; 600 boxes of tin plates; 200 brass four-pounders; 88,315 balls; 27 nine-inch brass mortars; 12,326 bombs; 30,000 fusils; 60,000 gun locks; 6,000,000 of flints; 200 or 100 tons lead; 200 tons of powder; 10,000 pair hose for officers; 10,000 additional blankets; 10,000 additional silk handkerchiefs, and 30,000 linen handkerchiefs with several smaller articles, such as buttons, buckles, knives, &c. &c.

M. BEAUMARCHAIS'S CONTRACT WITH MONTHIEU.

WE the Subscribers, John Joseph Monthieu and Roderique Hortalez & Co., Mr. Silas Deane being present, and approving of the following settlement for the United Colonies, have agreed as follows, viz:—

That John Joseph Monthieu promises to furnish for the thirteen United Colonies of North America, a number of vessels armed for war and loaded with stores and goods to the amount of sixteen hundred tons, sufficient to carry over to some of the ports of North America belonging to the thirteen United States, all the stores and goods of which the amount fixed and signed by us is valued to the weight and number of about sixteen hundred tons above mentioned. It is agreed that he shall be paid for sixteen hundred tons, the whole contents of the ships, at the rate of two hundred livres per ton; the said Monthieu further engages to have the said ships ready to sail from the ports of Havre, Nantes, and Marscilles, to the order of Messrs. Roderique Hortalez and Co., viz., the ship which is to carry over the passengers mentioned in the agreement to sail from Havre, and that sailing from Nantes shall be ready in the month of November, and the others in December next, on the condition that the half of the payment for the above said freight at the rate of two hundred livres for each ton to go over to America and come back to France, the ships being likewise loaded in their return for the

account of the thirteen United Colonies, and of Messrs. Roderique Hortalez & Co., who are accountable for the same, will be made directly in ready money, bills of exchange, or any other notes of hand negotiable, and Messrs. Hortalez & Co. will engage themselves to pay me the same—the other half part of the agreed bargain between us at the time when these ships will sail; agreeing besides that it will be paid to me five hundred livres for the passage of every officer or gentleman not belonging to the ship, two hundred and fifty livres for each soldier and servant, and one hundred and fifty for each seaman passenger. It has been positively settled between us that all the risks of sea and the capture of the said ships are entirely on the account of the Congress of the United Colonies, and these vessels shall be paid to me at the rate on which each of these vessels will be estimated upon the bargain which has been made by me—engaging to give to Messrs. Hortalez & Co. before the sailing of these vessels from any of the ports above mentioned, the certificates containing the price of the purchase; and last, it is agreed that if the Americans detain these ships, or some of them, more than two months in their ports without loading them for their return to France, all the expenses, wages, and appurtenances from the day of the arrival of these ships in the ports of North America till their departure from these same ports, will be on their account (two months excepted), and shall be paid by them or by Messrs. Roderique Hortalez & Co. in their own name, and answering for the Congress of the United Colonies. We agree to the above said conditions, and we promise to fulfil exactly all those which concerns us, in faith of what we have signed this writing the 15th of October, 1776.

RODERIQUE HORTALEZ & CO.

MONTHIEU.

SILAS DEANE.

Agent for the thirteen United States of North America.

LETTER OF MR. DEANE TO ROBERT MORRIS.

DEAR SIR—

Your brother, Mr. T. Morris, came to town the 14th, and I was informed that evening that he had letters from you to me, and also letters in which the Commissioners were jointly concerned. I have since his arrival repeatedly applied to him to obtain the letters, but without success; nor has he communicated anything to the Commissioners; nor has he seen them, excepting Mr. Lee, by accident at a public walk two days since. A friend of mine showed me a letter from Mr. Ross, the inclosed No. 1 is an extract of it. This is probably all I shall know of the contents, as I have no reason to hope that the original will ever come to my hands. This you will suppose is sufficient to inform me in what

manner the candid and friendly part I have acted towards you has been represented, and how you have resented it. I should be less surprised, were I not assured that Mr. Bromfield was arrived, and that you must have received my letter by him, copy of which, No. 2, I inclose for your reperusal. I little thought at that time that I was doing what would occasion me the loss of your friendship, and draw on me your reproaches, affected as I am by the consequences, for I have ever held your friendship, or the share I thought I had in it, both honorable and agreeable; yet were I again in the same situation, I would again act the same part, which you, I am confident, will approve when you are acquainted with the whole truth, of which you cannot long be ignorant. Your brother's conduct cannot at this time be a secret in America; it is therefore unnecessary for me to say one word on the subject.

As many of the Commissioners' letters may have failed, I take the liberty of inclosing an extract of a letter wrote jointly by Dr. Franklin and myself in March last, in which we sent an extract of a letter from Mr. Lee, who had been at Nantes and was then at Bordeaux. This letter was to the Committee, and consequently to Congress. We wrote one also previous to this, to the Committee, just before Mr. Lee's going to Nantes, in which your brother's conduct was mentioned; but you will observe that my letter by Mr. Bromfield, of the 5th of January, was the first in which I mentioned your brother's conduct as being in my opinion bad beyond recovery, and that this letter was directed to you particularly. I might, indeed, have wrote you at large before, had I been willing to write from the reports of those who saw him in London; but the prejudice I had in favor of his abilities, as well as the friendship I had, and permit me still to entertain for you, prevented my saying more than "that I feared pleasure had got too strong hold of him," which expression you will find repeated in my letter of November and December last; and your letter to me expressed the same fear on your part.

Letters from Mr. Ross at Hamburg, and from very respectable characters in different parts of Europe, would justify much more than what I have ever wrote or said to you or to the Committee—to the latter I wrote jointly with my colleagues.

I am informed that you complain of me that I wrote to the Congress before I informed you of his behavior; as to this, the dates of my letters will show that you are in error, which I suppose was occasioned by some of my letters being intercepted, and others arriving without duplicates of the first.

I refer you to your letter to me by Captain Bell, for what were your feelings and distress on receiving intelligence of what was your brother's mode of life, and the resolutions you took upon it; also to your subsequent letter to Mr. Ross on the same subject, both of which were wrote in consequence of other information than mine. I must also refer you to my letter by Captain Hammond, and submit to your cool and candid determination whether I acted the part of a friend or an enemy. I confess to you, that Captain Wilkes at that time gave me real hopes that matters were not so bad as both he and I as well as every one else

have since found them to have been. I refer you to Captain Wilkes on this subject if you are still in doubt—I mean with respect to my conduct in this affair.

I am informed, for I have not the advantage of the letter directed for me open to your brother, that it is insinuated that interested and private views influenced me to write as I did, and that the fixing Mr. Williams at Nantes was the object I had in view. I am very sorry you should be so imposed upon; the consequences must ultimately be more prejudicial to yourself than to any other person. In the mean time, as a man of honor I assure you, I have neither interest or connection in Mr. Williams's business, nor have I engaged in the smallest private concern, except what you have been acquainted with, and which you know was in consequence of your letter in June, 1776.

Mr. Williams came to France to visit Dr. Franklin; he was in a good way of business in London, where he was entering into business with a capital house in the sugar business. England was disagreeable to him, solely on account of the animosities which prevailed among individuals on account of the public quarrel. The stores which I had engaged, and which were sent out in the Mercury and Therese, were at Nantes, where matters had been so conducted that you must suppose I had no confidence in the managers. On this occasion, I applied to Mr. Williams, as a friend, to make a journey to Nantes, and examine the goods and see them shipped. He left Paris without intending to tarry longer than to perform this business, but his conduct at Nantes was so much the reverse of what had preceded, that every one who wished well to our affairs desired he might be continued there. No solicitations, the interest of my country was my sole motive; I knew he served it faithfully, and I knew him generous and disinterested in the service. Yes sir, disinterested; and you will acknowledge it, when you are informed that what he exacted of us was barely a sufficiency to support him, not amounting to one-fourth of one per cent. on the business. He has, if I am to have the credit of fixing him there, done me great honor; he has at the same time obtained the good opinion and friendship of the capital persons at Nantes. I am thus particular on this subject, as I am well convinced it has been represented to you very differently; how it has been represented I know not, nor am I like to be informed, but from second-hand, by your brother's showing your letter directed to me, to Mr. Ross, and telling some others what were its contents; and that you not only justified his conduct, but had obtained for him more ample appointments, with severe reprimands to me, and even oblique censure on Dr. Franklin, who happens to be Mr. Williams's uncle.

It is hard for me, acting as I have done from the most disinterested motives, and from those principles of friendship which shall be ever sacred with me, to have been thus censured by you unheard, and that you should still confide so far in your brother as to put the censure in his hands, not to be shown to me but to others. I wrote the 5th of January, you would almost think with a presentiment of what was to happen. I said then "that I would not be angry," and I assure you I am not, but I am exceedingly hurt, not on account of any prejudice your

brother's conduct will in the end do me particularly, but on your account more immediately; for myself, I know you will justify and thank me for the part I have acted when you know the whole circumstances of the affair. I say on your account immediately—for let me inform you of what it is probable others will not—it is reported that your brother's excesses, though no way comparable to the present, were known to you several years before he left America.

The friends of America in France, as well as the Americans themselves, are so surprised to find him still continued in the most important, as well as the most delicate trust, and of being at the head as it were of the American commerce at this critical period, and at the same time are grieved to see the effects this confidence has on him. You may suppose that this occasions much speculation, not among the Americans only, but among the merchants of Europe, to whom the management of our affairs in the commercial department is no secret.

Mr. Ross does justice to the character you gave of him. I expect to see him in Paris in a few days, when I shall show him what I now write you.

I have not the least desire of intermeddling in the commercial concerns of the Congress in Europe, nor of going out of my own department, whatever it may be, on any occasion; but I have been obliged to take much upon my hands in the procuring supplies of clothing, &c., as have also my colleagues, on account of the unhappy situation of our affairs here as to commerce. I will not add to a letter already long, only that if I have been mistaken in anything, you will reflect that I write in reply to a part of one of yours which I am unable to procure a sight of, and assure you that no private concern affects me more than the having drawn on myself your resentment by my desire of serving you; and though confident you will soon be disabused, yet I fear the part you have taken for your brother in this affair, though you have doubtless acted from the most natural as well as generous and good principles, may produce consequences which none but your as well as my enemies wish for. Be assured that I retain the highest esteem and respect for you in your public as well as private character, and am

Your sincere friend and very humble servant,

SILAS DEANE.

PARIS, 23d September, 1777.

LETTER FROM SILAS DEANE TO ROBERT MORRIS.

PARIS, October 5, 1777.

DEAR SIR—

After closing my letters of the 23d and 26th ultimo, which I presume you will lay before the Congress, Mr. Morris, on the 27th, called on me and said he had a letter from you, which, though directed to me, respected the Commissioners, and

therefore he chose to deliver it in the presence of Dr. Franklin. I thereupon conducted him to the Dr.'s apartments, and he delivered the letter to him. It was open, very much worn and dirty, and the cover in which it was wrapped, without being sealed, was superscribed in the handwriting of Mr. T. Morris. After Dr. Franklin had read the letter, Mr. T. Morris told us we had written to Congress more than was true respecting his conduct, that the Congress were of this opinion, and that he should hereafter despise us and treat us with the greatest contempt, adding other insulting expressions, not necessary to be repeated; to all which my venerable colleague made this reply: "It gives me pleasure to be respected by men who are themselves respectable, but I am indifferent to the sentiments of those of a different character, and I only wish that your future conduct may be such as to entitle you to the approbation of your honorable constituents." On parting, Mr. T. Morris told us he had shown the letter to all whom he thought his friends, and having copied it, he should continue to show it in the same manner. How public it may soon be made by him, or those he communicated it to, I know not, but I am apprehensive that many who are neither friends to him nor to America have already seen it, and that this indiscreet exposure of it may give our enemies an opportunity of using it to strengthen their accounts of our internal divisions, animosities, &c. I must also inform you that Mr. Penet, pretending to have received intelligence from you of what I wrote to Congress concerning him, has had the assurance to send me, open, by Mr. T. Morris, an insulting and menacing letter, which had also been shown in the same manner. But such proceedings from these men are not surprising, after you have not only informed them of what we had written to Congress, but have, as I understand, excited them to resent it: though, as far as respects your brother, you yourself declare *that you believe every tittle of it*. The extracts which I inclosed in my last will evince that the good or ill opinion of such men cannot affect us as individuals, though I must confess that it appears derogatory to our public character, as well as of dangerous example, that we should be exposed to such treatment for having, as the servants of the public, done an act of indispensable duty to our constituents.

Your principal cause of complaint against us, as stated in your letter, is that "we did not suppress all information to Congress respecting your brother, and convey it only to you in private, because your letters by Captain Bell ought to have convinced us that it was not necessary, and that you did not wish him employed in the public service if he did not deserve it." You should, however, have reflected (and I remark it once for all), that the letters by Capt. Bell, on which you frequently lay so much stress, did not, and could not possibly come to hand until long after we had written that to Congress of which you complain, and your brother's conduct had then become so flagrant and notorious, that we did not imagine our silence would have preserved to him a good name, though it must have appeared like a culpable sacrifice of public duty to private friendship,

and a sacrifice too, which, had we been disposed to make, did not appear likely to do you any service. Nor would this have been otherwise had it not been for the present very limited communication from Europe to America. You say too that, in your letter by Capt. Bell, you had put your brother in my "power to be confirmed in his employment or dismissed, as his conduct might require." The letter in question was written by you in your private capacity, and it did not appear to me that the private letter of any individual member of Congress would authorize me to displace a man regularly vested by Congress with powers independent of those given to the Commissioner. Of this your brother appeared, both then and since, to be perfectly sensible, and he has long since set us at defiance. It seems, therefore, to be wrong in you "to get up in Congress and declare that you had put your brother in my power," &c., unless Congress had given you special power over that department, which indeed appears likely to have been the case, from your declaring "that if your brother's conduct had been such as to inspire you with perfect confidence, all the Commissioners at Paris should not have removed him." However, as you did not inform me of your having such special authority, all that I could do, in consequence of your letter, was privately to admonish your brother, and endeavor by my friendly exertions, if possible, to reclaim him; and that I was desirous of doing this you will see by my friendly letter of * * *

Respecting the information of gentlemen at Nantes, I shall only observe that, interested as certain persons there are to have Mr. T. Morris continued in his appointment, it is not surprising that they should represent things in his favor; time, however, will discover who has really done the business which passed under his name, and in what manner it has been done; their other scandalous imputations are as contemptible as they are wicked. I have never had any "nephew, cousin, or partner to provide for," and our motives respecting Mr. Williams have been truly stated in my letter of the 23d ult. You will before this have heard that the Commissioners committed to him the care of forwarding their dispatches; we had good reason for this precaution, arising from the manner in which letters to and from America were understood to have been treated by certain persons at Nantes, and we were at that time more particularly induced to it by Captain Hammond's having just been detained near a fortnight after he had received from us dispatches of great importance, whereby he lost the advantage of a most favorable wind, and we much fear he has been himself lost in consequence of it, having heard nothing of his arrival.

You will also, I suppose, have heard that the Commissioners authorized Mr. Williams to sell the prizes lately made by Captains Wilkes, Johnson, and Nicholson; for this too we had sufficient motives. We knew that in Mr. T. Morris's paroxysms of intemperance and debauchery he was unfit for all business, and shut up from all access; that these paroxysms usually lasted for several weeks together without a single hour's omission, and that there were but very short intervals between the termination of one paroxysm and the commencement of another; and the business committed to him not being done by himself or by any in

whom we could confide, but by persons who had just before very badly disposed of prizes consigned to Mr. Morris, we thought the step we took a necessary act of duty. Mr. T. Morris, however, denied both our general authority and that of your letter by Capt. Bell, and has disposed of the prizes, and left us to pay for the repairs and other expenses of the Reprisal, Lexington, and Dolphin, amounting to more than seventy thousand livres. Mr. T. Morris was directed by Congress to pay us ten thousand pounds sterling, but so early as in January last, he boasted that we were in his power, and when we had received about sixty thousand livres (not three thousand pounds), Gruel and Pennet, who manage affairs as they please, ordered their banker at Paris to stop paying us any more, and to protest our bills, wickedly hoping by that manœuvre to get us into their power. Such treatment (and I represent it in the softest light) must, I think, shock the Congress as much as you were shocked by the representation we made to them. Mr. Lee made two journeys, one to Spain, the other to Berlin, and our public characters have required our living expensively here; this, with the sums we have paid for expresses, sent to and dispatched by us, and those we have advanced to relieve distressed Americans escaping from confinement in England, soon exhausted our scanty supply, and we have not at present the smallest prospect of receiving any more of the ten thousand pounds ordered us. This, however, is a subject more proper for our joint representation, than for my answer to a letter addressed individually to me. I am informed that Mr. T. Morris likewise shows about a very long letter from you to him, mentioning among other things that our letters respecting him had been read in Congress, and not only disbelieved, but treated with indignity. What extraordinary causes have been employed to produce such extraordinary effects I know not, but as it seems the Congress have been so far misled as to doubt whether the Commissioners have not, from interested views, unjustly accused Mr. T. Morris, it becomes necessary that they should be made acquainted with what I have written to you on this subject, and I must therefore request that you will communicate to Congress as well the present letter as my last, with the several extracts, documents, &c., inclosed therewith. I have the honor to remain, with much esteem,

Dear Sir, your most obedient servant,

SILAS DEANE.

LETTER OF MR. ROSS TO MR. DEANE.

DEAR SIR—

I confirm and refer you to my last by the Saturday's post. Permit me now to inform you Mr. Morris is possessed of the instructions to Mr. Lee from Committee of Congress on his being appointed Commercial Agent here. *Since your*

last letter came to my hand I suspected this to be the case, from some circumstances, and by accident last evening learnt it to be so. These instructions are contained in a letter addressed to Mr. Lee and Mr. Morris, as joint agents, which is similar and of equal force with the separate powers on which Mr. Morris has acted hitherto. I therefore take the liberty to recommend Mr. Lee's repairing hither immediately, to assume the management, being certain Mr. Morris will possess him of this letter, so soon as they meet, *though kept so long back, probably from inattention.* Am pleased Mr. Lee's objection to coming here is so far removed by this intimation, and flatter myself to have the pleasure of seeing him in Nantes previous to my departure, which I hope may be the next week.

I am, with particular respect,

Dear Sir, your most obedient servant,

(Signed) JOHN ROSS.

NANTES, 22d July, 1777.

To SILAS DEANE, Esq.

LETTER FROM MR. SIMEON DEANE TO THE HON. SILAS DEANE, ESQ.
AND SIR GEORGE GRAND, INTERCEPTED (BY THE ENGLISH), AND
PUBLISHED IN LLOYD'S MORNING POST, AUGUST 26, 1778.

HON. SILAS DEANE, Esq.

DEAR BROTHER—

I wrote you immediately after my arrival in the frigate *Le Sensible*; also three letters from Yorktown; to those I must beg leave in part to refer you for the different articles of intelligence at that time stirring; also the various manœuvres, and appearances of parties and factions so notoriously prevailing in this distracted country. I am sorry to think that such epithets may ever be truly applied to any respectable public body; but the world must and will soon judge, whether certain flagrant transactions proceed from these motives or not.

It is now about a fortnight since I left Yorktown, and having been travelling in different parts of the country, have missed two posts from thence, otherwise should have had letters from our B. D., also from Mr. Holker, who, I conclude, is ere now at Yorktown. To-morrow I go from hence again to Petersburg and Richmond, at which two places I expect to make my stand. I am sorry not to find any of that number of vessels consigned me from Europe; and as these Capes have been so closely blocked up, I expect they have fallen into the hands of the English, except some few who have got into North Carolina, and have then thought proper to do their own business, which is a practice they pretend to adopt, however disadvantageous to their owners. But they very often bring some little piddling fellow, who will do it to save himself the commissions, &c.

I have not as yet had any intelligence concerning the Union, Capt. Welsh, from Cette, nor the Two Friends, from Nantes; but as the communication is at present so interrupted both by land and water, I still hope they are somewhere arrived, either northward or southward. If they were here with such valuable cargoes as theirs, I could sell for £100,000, and procure tobacco at £4 per cent. in immediate payment. Goods are very high here and scarce; but should these Capes continue open for a few weeks, as they have been for two or three weeks past, tobacco would rise, and goods fall very fast. Salt was yesterday sold by the cargo for 100 pounds tobacco for two bushels; but it will certainly fall; indeed it has already greatly fell.

My flattering expectations in this country are greatly checked by the missing so many consignments; also by the brigs Two Friends and Union, still unheard of. However, I shall still continue hereabouts, and try to get what business I can; at the same time hope you will not fail to write to our acquaintance in Europe, and influence their consignments in my behalf, without which I fear I may not be able to make an advantageous settlement here.

Numerous shoals of French adventurers are crowding over in every ship, and will most certainly attempt to secure the consignments of their countrymen by every artifice in their power.

I have wrote to Sir George Grand, Mr. Emery & Son, and Messrs. Morell, by this conveyance, and would write to all my other acquaintance in France, if I could write in French. I beg you to inform them particularly of my situation, and influence their consignments; especially my partners, Sabbatier and Despres, M. Chaumont, and M. Grand; also all our other acquaintance. Pray make my apology to those gentlemen last mentioned; assure them that I would write to them if I could write French; and whenever I can get a French clerk, will regularly write to them.

I am much at a loss to calculate how or in what manner you will proceed, in consequence of the unworthy treatment you have received; but hope that if you can consistently stay in France, and turn your views to commercial matters, they may turn to great advantage. Indeed, one fortunate adventure at this critical time, makes a large fortune. M. Beaumarchais's large ship, *Le Tier Roderique*, from Rochfort, is in York River. She mounts fifty-four guns, and has nearly discharged her cargo, having sold to the State of Virginia at about six for one, or a dollar for a livre, prime cost. She was said to have been consigned to François, but before she came here they made sale of the goods, &c. Yesterday a ship also arrived mounting forty guns; she sold her cargo in New London, and is come to load with tobacco. I have not yet heard her name, or from whence, but expect to be informed this evening.

I have had the honor to wait on his Excellency, Governor Henry, and also on Colonel Harrison. These gentlemen have been exceedingly polite and civil, and I doubt not are your and my real friends. The gentleman first named is very frank, and speaks concerning the plots of your N. E. friends, together with M—— from

this State, in a manner unreserved. Your letter to him he inclosed, and sent to Mr. R. Morris, who, he thinks, will get something done in the matter. Mr. M——, I suppose, has convinced you of the mistake he made concerning his brother, and of his esteem and friendship for you. They are attacking him in a certain great and mighty assembly, and 'tis said that some of the Southern —— are joining those from N. E. against him; especially the present P——t of C——.

I am told that when Mr. H——tn of B——, the late p——t, resigned his office, his countrymen of N. E. vigorously opposed returning him the thanks of C——ss. The two A——'s from N. E. are both strongly against him and yourself. God knows what lengths they intend by their factions; yet depend, they are indefatigable. I can with great truth assure you, that, notwithstanding their treatment of you, and charging every foreigner to your account, they have not yet dared to attack your character, further than to say you were in trade, &c. This has been amply blazed by the imprudence of Mr. Bromfield, who has told it everywhere, in Virginia and the Carolinas, that you and M. M—— owned a quarter or half of the ship commanded by Capt. Roche. The effects of that cargo, I believe, are here (or a part of them), in his possession at James River, and in case they have been laid out into tobacco, last June, at 30 to 36, may turn amazingly advantageous—but whether this has been fully done or not, I am not informed.

His Excellency informs me that a Land Office will likely soon be opened here on very advantageous terms for the sale of * * * * *

LETTER OF MR. DEANE TO PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

PHILADELPHIA, 1st November, 1778.

SIR—

I think it unnecessary to make any apology for sending you the inclosed estimates, and reflections made on two of the most important and interesting subjects, for desiring the same may be communicated to Congress; should that honorable body approve of any or all of them, I shall be very happy, and if they should not, they will excuse me for having given them this trouble, when they reflect that the desire of throwing some light on these subjects has been my sole motive.

The providing for the redemption of our money, and the establishment of a marine, are objects which, in my view, far exceed in the magnitude and extent of their importance, any that are at present under public consideration. They greatly depend on each other, and, permit me to say, all our future operations in a great degree depend on them. We cannot pay the interest of any considerable loan without commerce, which cannot be revived effectually without a marine

force of our own, which may, I am confident, be formed on the inclosed plan, and be ready in a short space of time to act with vigor. Great Britain has long had the empire of the ocean, and, in consequence, the whole world has been her tributary. Her own bad policy and the present war will deprive her forever of that empire; at this important crisis, it depends on the measures taken by the United States, whether they shall succeed Great Britain or not in this extensive dominion. Reason, observation, and experience authorize me to say there is not in the world any power so capable of it, and, as the United States can never aim at foreign conquests, but simply to guard their own coasts, and to protect the commerce of their subjects, their superiority at sea can never give just cause of jealousy or offence to any other nation. I am confident that a fleet of forty sail, to consist of twenty such large ships as I have described, and twenty frigates, will be more than equal to their purpose, and such a fleet may be got to sea in the course of the coming year, if the materials wanted from Europe can be procured, which, if immediately applied for, I have not the least doubt of.

I have the honor to remain, with much respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

SILAS DEANE.

P. S. I am still without the honor of any answer to my letter of the 7th ult.

November 13, 1778.

After writing the above, my apprehension lest I should be thought any way out of the usual course of communicating my sentiments to Congress, made me omit sending it to you with the inclosed; but the alarming intelligence which I received but a day or two since, of the sentiments of my countrymen in different parts, on the present situation of the credit of our money, the state of our finances and resources, and of the temper and disposition prevailing in consequence, has made me waive every personal consideration, and communicate this, with the inclosed, to Congress, and shall count it one of the happiest occurrences in my life if anything in my power will help to prevent that total loss of public as well as private credit, which I am sorry to find begins to be almost universally apprehended—and I fear appearances at this time are in support of such apprehensions; which, though at bottom they may be ill founded, yet if once generally prevailing, will produce consequences easily foreseen. I beg leave to refer to Col. Duer for the substance of the intelligence I refer to, having communicated the letters I have received to him; for as they contain many things merely personal, I could not lay them at large before Congress.

LETTER OF MR. DEANE TO PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

PHILADELPHIA, *November 19, 1778.*

SIR—

I did myself the honor of writing to you on the 7th of October last, and having since received a letter from Mr. Williams, I send it inclosed, to show to Congress, that the moneys mentioned by Mr. A. Lee in his letter of the 1st of June last, to have been received by that gentleman, have, in the opinion of two of the Commissioners, been well laid out and faithfully accounted for. It gives me great pleasure to find that the clothes contracted for by M. Monthieu, Messrs. Holker, Sabbatier, Desprez, that gentleman and others, are on examination approved of and allowed to be the best of the kind, both as to the quality of the cloth and the fashion they are made in, of any that have ever been imported. It is indeed a fortunate circumstance that out of near forty thousand suits so few have been intercepted. As Mr. A. Lee in his letters, has insinuated that the contracts for these clothes were made entirely by me, and has charged me with great extravagance in them, I beg leave to inform Congress, that these suits complete, and delivered on board, do not cost on an average thirty-six livres, or thirty-one shillings and sixpence sterling the suit. I labored hard to send over shoes, stockings, and shirts, in proportion, and so far as it was effected, the suit complete, with shoes, stockings, and shirt, does not amount in the whole to forty shillings sterling. These facts being known, I am content to take on myself the merit or demerit of furnishing these supplies. I will make no comment on the dismissal of a man of Mr. Williams's known abilities, integrity, and economy, and who did the business of the public for two per cent., to make room for the deputies of Mr. William Lee, who shares five per cent. with them, nor on the still more unaccountable conduct of Mr. A. Lee, in ordering bills, accepted by Messrs. Franklin and Adams, to be protested. It gives me pain to be forced to lay these facts before Congress, but cannot, consistent with the duty I owe my country, nor with the justice due myself, to permit them and others of the like nature to remain longer concealed from public view and examination. My letter of the 7th ult. covered observations on Mr. Lee's and Mr. Izard's letter to Congress, to which am still without the honor of any reply. Nothing would give me greater satisfaction than to learn by what part of my public conduct I have merited the neglect with which my letters, and most respectful solicitations, for months past, to be heard before Congress, have been treated. I confess that I once flattered myself the services that I performed in procuring supplies, and sending them to the United States at the most critical period of their affairs, and in assisting to bring forward and conclude the treaties, together with the honorable testimonials from the Court of France whilst I had the honor of residing there, would have merited the approbation of Congress, with every person of sensibility and honor: to imagine

what must be my disappointment and chagrin to find myself obliged at last to leave America without being informed if exceptions have been taken to any part of my conduct, or what they may be. Thus situated, though I can but feel most sensibly, yet a consciousness of the integrity and zeal which have ever guided and animated my conduct, and a sense of the important services I have been so fortunate as to render my country, with the confidence I have that justice will yet be done me, support, and will never permit me to forget or desert myself or my country whilst in my power to be useful. I took the liberty, on the 12th inst., in writing to Congress, again to remind them of my being without any answer to my request, and having wrote already repeatedly, I will not trouble that honorable body further on the subject of my being heard, agreeable to what by their resolutions which recalled me and since I hoped for and had reason to expect, but praying them to accept my sincere thanks for the honor they did me in appointing me their commercial and political agent in Europe, and afterwards one of their Commissioners to the Court of France, by which I have had an opportunity of rendering my country important services. I have only to repeat my former request that orders may be given to their minister at the Court of France, to have my accounts examined and settled immediately on my return thither, referring to my letter of the 7th on that head, and entreating for a speedy resolution on the subject.

I have the honor to remain with the most profound respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,

SILAS DEANE.

P. S. Since writing the above, I am informed that letters have been received from the Honorable Mr. Lee, and read in Congress, which mention certain proceedings of Mr. Hodge, and that a sum of money had been paid Mr. S. Wharton by my order, without the knowledge of the Commissioners, and which I left unexplained and accounted for. I will only say here, that any insinuations of this kind are totally groundless, and makes me feel most sensibly what I suffer by not being permitted to be heard before Congress, which I still solicit for.

COPY OF J. WILLIAMS'S LETTER.

PASSY, July 22, 1778.

DEAR SIR—

I wrote you a few days since by a little vessel from Dunkirk, which I hope will get safe to hand.

There is a wide difference between the state of our affairs here at this time, and during your residence; no further secrecy is necessary in any operation, and Government readily assists instead of opposing American transactions; now there is no longer any vexation, trouble, or danger. The transaction of the public affairs is committed to those who did not dare to appear when they were difficult to manage, and every person who had anything to do with you is shamefully turned aside, because * * * * * (pardon the repetition), because it was you they had to do with; when I give you this reason, you cannot be at a loss of the cause. This, however, is not the reason given; it is, because the simplicity of public business is necessary for the frugality of the public money, and that simplicity requires that it should only be in the hands of Mr. L.'s deputies and sub-deputies. My discharge, therefore, 'tis said, does not proceed from any prejudice to me, for whom they have a great respect and esteem (these are the words), and *two* of the Commissioners say that I am honest, that I have good commercial abilities, that I am industrious, that the money I have laid out has been very beneficially laid out, that I have done great service to my country, that I have been very (nay too) reasonable in charging two per cent. commission when all the other agents charge five. But it is the opinion of *one* that frugality requires a change; this establishes the new doctrine of five being less than two. M. Grand and I exchanged papers the other day of a very singular kind. I presented him with the approbation of *two* of the Commissioners for all my drafts—he showed me the disapprobation of *one* of them, with a prohibition to carry said bills to the public debt. Of all the disagreeable dispositions that the world produces I believe this one stands alone, and, without prejudice or passion, I am sure (and it is an universal opinion here), that he can never have anything to do in any business without defeating its purpose, and quarrelling with all who has any concern with him. I have been here near two months to settle my accounts, and I have been obliged to collect vouchers in the same manner as if I was to appear at a bar of justice, and was accused of fraud, yet I can't get them examined.

I have given up all the goods that were in my possession, and the magazine is stopped.

I shall make no comment on the above, so far as it relates to me, nor shall I make use of any arguments to persuade you to assist me with your interest in

Congress. If you think me still deserving I shall be sure of your friendship, and I have no right to expect it from any other motive.

War is begun, several captures of armed vessels have been made on both sides, and two powerful fleets are now at sea—Keppell with about twenty-eight sail of the line, and d'Orvilliers with about thirty-two. Every hour is big with expectation of a battle. The king is publicly declared, in a letter to the admiral, that he is determined to take vengeance, and has directed his ships to seize and destroy all English property wherever it is to be found.

The Spanish galleons are arrived. I am obliged to break off, but will take up my pen again as soon as possible.

I am, most respectfully and affectionately,

J. WILLIAMS.

Copy original, per Capt. Whipple.

LETTER OF MR. DEANE TO PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

SIR—

I have now to acknowledge your favors of 10 o'clock last evening, and to thank you for the attention paid to my last letter to you. Previous to receiving the intimation you have given me "that Congress had resolved to take into consideration their foreign affairs, and that such branches as I had been particularly concerned in, would in due course become the subjects of deliberation," I had prepared to leave this city, and had made my arrangements accordingly, which will not be in my power to dispense with for any time. I take the liberty of mentioning this, as I do not find in the intimation you have given me of the resolution of Congress, any time fixed for my attendance, and I take the liberty of repeating what I have before had the honor of writing to you, that my detention is extremely prejudicial to my private affairs, and, so far as I am able to judge, in some degree so, to those of the public which I have had the honor of being entrusted with, some of which require my presence at the settlement of them, as well on account of my own reputation as for the interest of the United States.

I have the honor to be, with much respect,

Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

SILAS DEANE.

FRIDAY, 4th December, 1778.

His Excellency, HENRY LAUBENS, Esq.

LETTER OF MR. DEANE TO THE SECRET COMMITTEE.

PARIS, 3d September, 1777.

GENTLEMEN—

Captain Landy is the bearer of this; he comes in the Flammand, loaded with stores for America. This cargo has, by a succession of obstacles thrown in the way, been delayed from January last to a most prodigious cost and expense; I hope, however, that it may finally arrive in season to be of essential service. Captain Landy, whom I have mentioned in my former letters, will offer his service to the United States; I must repeat here, what I have wrote before, that I find him to be a skilful seaman, of long experience in every part of the world, of good judgment, and of the most unsuspecting honor and probity; I can but consider him as a valuable acquisition to our navy. My agreement with M. Monthieu, the owner of this ship, in case she should not be sold in America, is, that she be dispatched with a cargo of tobacco, as soon as possible, if the article is to be had, if not, with such articles as can be procured, as I have engaged for the freight out and home, and you are sensible of the necessity of having remittances by every opportunity. Whatever this ship may be loaded with, I pray the cargo may come to Messrs. Roderique, Hortalez, & Co., as they have advanced for the arms, and many other articles of this cargo over and above their other large advances. Tobacco is the best article at present in the ports of France, or indeed any part of Europe, and must continue so for a very considerable time yet to come, most probably for twelve months. You will please to send me an account of the cargo, whatever it may be, that you ship in this vessel, and duplicates by others.

I have the honor to remain, with the utmost esteem and respect,

Gentlemen, your most obedient and very humble servant,

SILAS DEANE.

To the Honorable,

THE SECRET COMMITTEE.

LETTER OF MR. DEANE TO THE COMMITTEE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

PARIS, September 10, 1777.

GENTLEMEN—

This will be handed you by M. Francy, who is agent to Messrs. Roderique, Hortalez, & Co. You will see by the bills of lading the quantity of stores shipped by that house, and make some judgment of their considerable amount. The

vessel in which M. Francy comes is loaded with stores, which were long since engaged, but by a succession of obstacles have been until this detained; I still hope they will come in safety, and in season to be of service. The ship will be offered you to purchase if she suit you, and if not, will be equally agreeable to have her returned on the owner's account. I could not say anything to purchasing a ship without knowing more of her than I could know of this. I have, therefore, left it to your option to pay the price demanded or the freight; the latter is to be what is at this time customary in vessels of such force, which not being precisely fixed, is submitted to M. Chaumont by the advice and consent of my colleagues. It will probably be about two hundred and fifty livres per ton of goods to America, and back to France; it will not exceed. Messrs. Roderique, Hortalez, & Co. have other vessels which will follow this in a short time, which they want to have dispatched with tobacco, agreeable to what they formerly wrote you, and M. Francy comes partly on that account—must therefore pray you to furnish him with the means of procuring the quantity he will want for them, in season. The cargo of the Therese, sent by the way of St. Domingo, I hope is by this time arrived: it was so valuable that it was thought most prudent to send it by that route, as it would run no risk in getting there, whence it might in different bottoms be got into the continent, without the considerable risk of going direct. As the vessels of Messrs. Hortalez & Co. will arrive at a time when dispatch will be of the utmost consequence, they are desirous to have their cargoes ready on their arrival. By those vessels will write you particularly on this subject, and in the mean time have the honor to be with the greatest respect,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

SILAS DEANE.

The Honorable,

THE COMMITTEE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

LETTER OF MR. DEANE TO HIS EXCELLENCY PRESIDENT LAURENS.

DELAWARE BAY, *July 10, 1778.*

SIR—

This will be delivered your Excellency by Monsieur Chouen, who comes with letters from his Excellency, the Comte d'Estaing. Permit me to recommend him to your favors, and desire that you will furnish him with money to the amount of twenty thousand livres, if he have occasion for it, and the same will be accounted for by his Excellency, M. Gerard, as I have already mentioned in my letter, per Captain Nicholson. I have the honor to be, with the utmost respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,

SILAS DEANE.

LETTER OF MR. DEANE TO HIS EXCELLENCY PRESIDENT LAURENS.

PHILADELPHIA, *September 8, 1778.*

SIR—

I pray your Excellency to remind the Congress that I still wait to receive their orders, and though I am sensible that they have many and important affairs under their consideration, yet I must entreat them to reflect on the peculiar situation I have for some time past been placed in, and inform me if they desire my further attendance. I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,

SILAS DEANE.

His Excellency,
President LAURENS.

LETTER OF MR. DEANE TO HIS EXCELLENCY H. LAURENS.

PHILADELPHIA, *September 24, 1778.*

SIR—

Being informed that letters from Mr. Izard, reflecting on my character and conduct whilst in the service of the public abroad, have been read in Congress, I have to ask that honorable body to grant me copies thereof, and that I may be permitted to wait on Congress and to be heard in my vindication. I have that regard for Mr. Izard's opinion of my ability and disposition to transact public business, which I ought to have, and am consequently easy on that subject; but facts asserted which affect either, call for an explanation; those indeed which respect myself personally, require none before Congress, nor will I trouble that honorable body with the making any; but those which regard my character and conduct as a public minister, and in so important a transaction as that of the late treaties of Paris, call on me, as well in justice to the public, as to myself, for an explanation, which I am very happy in the having it in my power to give, as well as in the confidence I have, that Congress will neither delay, nor refuse doing this justice, to a faithful and greatly injured servant of theirs.

I have the honor to be, with the most respectful attachment,

Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,

SILAS DEANE.

His Excellency,
H. LAURENS.

LETTER OF MR. DEANE TO HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN JAY.

PHILADELPHIA, 12th May, 1779.

SIR—

I returned last evening, and now send you the New York papers of the 3d and 5th inst. You will much oblige me by informing me what resolution Congress have come to on my letters of the 26th, 27th, and 30th ult., as well as on the petitions I have repeatedly made to them for the settlement of the business on which I was ordered to return to America upon. If nothing has been done I pray to be informed when I may depend on a decisive answer from Congress.

I have the honor to be, with the most sincere respect,

Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

SILAS DEANE.

P. S. Mr. Duane has the paper of the 5th, and will hand it to you.

His Excellency,

JOHN JAY, Esq.

 MR. CARMICHAEL'S ACCOUNT WITH MR. DEANE FROM SEPTEMBER, 1776, TO DECEMBER, 1777.

WM. CARMICHAEL, *in account with the* HON. SILAS DEANE, Esq.

1776

Sept. 4.	Lent Mr. Deane	:	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	10	10	00
5th to 20th.	Sundries paid	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	14	00
Oct.	Paid bills for wood, fruit, candles, &c., &c., &c., of											
	which Mr. Deane's share amounted to	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	05	03
	Paid-Traiteur's bill	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	7	13	06
	Sundry expenses at Versailles	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	16	00
Nov. & Dec.	Expenses in Holland, at Hamburgh, Berlin, and thence											
	to Paris	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	151	00	00
	Carriage bought at Hamburgh	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	19	12	00
1777	To Ja Fargne, by your orders, Hotel de'Antragues	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	8	08	00
January.	Expenses at to and from Havre, when sent to expedite											
	the sailing of the Andromeda, &c.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	29	14	00
	Postage of parcels, carriage of fusils, &c.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	11	06
	Paid by your order to Captain Hynson, for Taylor's bill,											
	board, &c. for which you have his receipt to Congress,									22	13	04
	Captain Clerk of Newberry, do.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	02	00

	Lent Mr. Deane in gold	12 12 00
	Sundry expenses at Versailles	1 05 00
	Carriage hire to Dunkirk, 24 days	4 09 00
June.	Expenses to and from Dunkirk, when sent to get out Cunningham	30 06 04
	Paid in cash, and on account of Smith, sent down with me as surgeon for do.	10 11 00
	Expenses to from and at Calais, to get a copy of Compte de Maurepa's letter to Lord Mansfield	3 17 00
July.	Paid a woman at Dunkirk for complaining to the admiralty that the English commissary, Frayer, had enticed her husband, a French pilot, into the British service	2 02 00
November.	Cash, &c., &c., &c.	2 14 10
December.	By order on Dr. Bancroft, for cash taken with him from me but not disbursed	40 00 00

1776

CR.

Sept. & Oct.	By wine merchant's bill, &c., &c., at the Hotel De Grand Villars	
	" Taylor's bill	
	" Surgeons' and Apothecaries' bill	
	" sundries	
November.	" cash from Hodshon at Amsterdam	78 06 00
	" Bill of Exchange on Hamburgh, from Mr. Hodshon	100 00 00
1777	" cash on account of Captain Hynson, &c.	22 13 04
May & June	" cash for self	12 12 00
	" old chaise	1 17 06
	" cash when going to Dunkirk	52 10 00
	" cash borrowed	31 10 00
	" &c., &c., &c., &c., &c.	

The above is verbatim et literatim, a copy of the account sent to me by Mr. Deane, and in Mr. Carmichael's handwriting.

ARTHUR LEE.

PARIS, *January 5, 1777.*

LETTER OF MR. CARMICHAEL TO ———.

GENTLEMEN—

The arrival of my papers at length enables me, in compliance with your desire, to reduce to writing the state of facts which I had the honor of personally submitting to your consideration at Yorktown. I have been under the necessity of transcribing in full, the letters annexed, lest it should be imagined something was suppressed which might operate to my disadvantage. I hope the motive will apologize for the trouble I give the committee, and that a man who has once suffered by injurious suspicions will be excused for excess of caution in future. I know not what resources detected guilt may find for consolation, when even innocence cannot protect from anxiety the man who, for a moment, is liable to suffer in the esteem of the public. I therefore entreat you, gentlemen, to lay this correspondence as early as possible before the honorable Congress, to whose justice I am under the highest obligation for giving me the opportunity of making my defence as public as was the charge against me.

Mr. Arthur Lee having given as a reason for not signing a letter, written unsolicited by me, to the committee for foreign affairs, by B. Franklin and Silas Deane, Esqs., entrusting their dispatches to my care, "That he had received information within the space of a few days that my political sentiments were not the same in the commencement of the dispute as they then appeared to be;" permit me to observe that it would have been proper in him to have mentioned, his informant, the Congress would have then known what credibility was due to evidence which induced conclusions so unfavorable to the character of a man who had been a volunteer near eighteen months in their service.

To invalidate the truth of his information, I refer you, gentlemen, to the representatives of the State of which I am a native, and to a letter, No. 1, from the chairman of the committee for the county of Kent, my place of residence. This reference will best decide what was my conduct, and what my political opinions previous to my departure for Europe in 1774.

I think too highly of Mr. Lee's prudence to suppose he would not take particular pains to inquire what were my political sentiments in England before he entrusted me with secrets and a correspondence which, confided to improper hands, might have endangered his liberty, if not his life. But, lest his prudence should not be deemed a sufficient evidence in my favor, I beg leave to refer to letters written to various gentlemen in America by those in England, whose zeal and attachment are as well known to Mr. Lee as they ought to be to every American. One of these gentlemen is the particular correspondent of Mr. Arthur Lee, and a trustee or attorney in England for Mr. William Lee. These letters, now in the possession of Mr. ———, will by that gentleman be readily submitted to your perusal. If these references should destroy the credibility of his information,

his conclusions, of course, fall to the ground, and I may be allowed to complain that his suspicions should be particularly pointed at me, when not only the three Commissioners, but Dr. Bancroft, Mr. Franklin, jr., Messrs. Beaumarchais, Chaumont, and the two Grands, besides others whom the court might think necessary to trust, knew as much of the matter as myself, or more.

The suspicion entertained by the French ministry, that the secrets respecting our affairs were betrayed, is by no means to be wondered at; for the loss of Mr. Lee's papers at Berlin, gave such a clue to the English Court that the Commissioners could not have concealed the operations at that time commenced, unless, in the midst of them, they had changed their whole arrangement, which was impossible. From this unfortunate circumstance arose the necessity of selling our frigate in Holland, and many obstacles to the transportation of our clothing from Europe. But that these suspicions were not particularly levelled at me, will appear by the concealment of Mr. Holker's voyage to America, and the object of it, from Mr. Lee himself. Indeed, I had the best reason to suppose that I was not suspected, for I was apprised of the favorable intention of the Court of France, though not circumstantially, some days before Mr. Lee knew a syllable of the matter. I am charged also with reporting dissensions among the Commissioners which had no existence. I should have been happy that there were none: I have taken pains to conceal them, but, at the very time alluded to, they were public at every coffee-house. My friend, Mr. Williams, hath put into my hands copies of letters to justify himself, should he fall under Mr. Lee's censure, which he was led to expect from attacks made, without too much consideration, upon the reputation of other gentlemen; to one of these, No. 2, I refer to show the notoriety of these differences at Nantes, three hundred miles distant from Paris, some time before I quitted the last-mentioned city.

I come now to explain the affair of the Dictionary, which, after being buried sixteen months in obscurity, was dragged forth to corroborate conclusions drawn from information that my conduct and opinions had been inimical in the commencement of the dispute. I am extremely sorry that suspicions hastily expressed upon misinformation, lay me under the necessity of producing letters never meant for the public, and accusations which Mr. Lee hath been induced to make in the same light manner against others, but which a further investigation hath probably erased from his mind, for I am informed that he hath since intrusted dispatches to a gentleman whose attachment to his country is well known, but whom he once styled a villain of the first magnitude, as will appear by No. 5 of the papers annexed.

Before I left England, which was in the spring of 1776, Mr. Lee and many others gave me letters for different gentlemen in America, and as we had agreed to correspond while I remained in France, Mr. Lee also gave me a small pocket Dictionary to serve as a cipher between us, the method of which he then explained; and, as it was possible I might be taken, he pasted two small pieces of paper between the blank leaves and cover of the Dictionary, which he informed

me contained intelligence for the Secret Committee. This book I made use of in France for the purpose for which it was originally given, until the arrival of Mr. Deane, and afterwards.

As soon as I was informed of this gentleman's public mission, I addressed him to know how I might soonest convey these letters and this intelligence to America; because unhappily my bad state of health, which had long detained me in England, prevented me from embarking so soon as I hoped and intended. When Mr. Deane was informed that the intelligence came from Mr. Lee, he told me that he was intrusted by the Secret Committee to correspond with him. On which, and the supposition that the Dictionary might contain some particulars relative to the situation of our affairs in Europe, essentially necessary for Mr. Deane to know as early as possible, and which it would have been the duty of Mr. Lee, had he been on the spot, to have communicated instantly, I offered to put the Dictionary, with its contents, into Mr. Deane's hands. I had no knowledge of Mr. Deane, other than the public character he sustained, and had I acted in this transaction from any other motive than what merely regarded the public service, he would not have placed the confidence in me he soon after did, a confidence by me unsolicited, and productive of no advantage to me, except the pleasure of rendering myself useful to the public by assisting him. A little time after this transaction, Mr. Lee came to Paris, was apprised of the proceeding, saw the Dictionary in Mr. Deane's possession, and approved of the reasons which occasioned its being communicated to him. The strongest proofs I can give of this are the letters annexed, our intimacy for many months afterwards, and his proffered confidence to take me as his secretary to the Court of Berlin. In one of these letters, No. 7, you will see, gentlemen, in what manner he speaks of the Dictionary. Indeed, had Mr. Lee thought proper, he might have still sent it on with its contents, Mr. Deane having had no proper opportunity of conveyance until after Mr. Lee's return to England; why he did not do it proceeded from his being convinced by Mr. Deane that he by suspicions, expressed in those very dispatches, injured gentlemen of acknowledged character in the United States. On this occasion I cannot but observe that deeply as my feelings are wounded by the unjust aspersions cast upon my reputation, it is some consolation to reflect that the same man not only suspected the integrity and patriotism of General Reed, and John Langdon, Esq., of New Hampshire, but meant to convey his suspicions to Congress. Probably another reason which induced him to wish that the Dictionary might not be sent on was, that he discovered the account given in it of the French ministry to be erroneous.

This, gentlemen, is the history of a business which is revived after eighteen months' silence, during which Mr. Lee gave me strong and repeated proofs of public and private confidence: he corresponded with me from that period until his appointment as a Commissioner drew him from England to France; he remained on the same terms of intimacy during his residence at Paris, and until his journey to Spain, when he prayed my attention to, and care of, a nephew he

left behind him. He corresponded with me on that journey, as will appear by No. 8, and, finally, on his return, proposed to take me with him in the most confidential capacity, that of private secretary, to Berlin; and, although he was displeased at my refusal to attend him in a private character, yet he never mentioned this affair until some time after I left Paris on my way to America, when, in terms which appeared extraordinary to me, after what had passed, he demanded this book to be given up, and insinuated the charge I am now called to answer. I consulted my respect for Congress, and the business I was charged with, and not the feelings which his letter occasioned. I therefore, instead of returning to Paris, answered him that the book, with its contents, would probably be delivered into the hands of those for whom it was originally intended. If that is not done, the annexed paper, No. 10, will show that it is not my fault.

It is said there is no evil from which some good may not be extracted. I shall have great reason to think so in the present instance, if my conduct meets with your approbation as it did that of Dr. Franklin, to whom I addressed a letter recapitulating the preceding facts, and appealing to the testimony of Silas Deane, Esq., who is now on the spot, to render me justice. With Dr. Franklin's answer, No. 9, I shall close this long recital.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen,

Your most obliged and most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

PHILADELPHIA, 6th August, 1778.

EXAMINATION OF MR. CARMICHAEL BEFORE CONGRESS.

MR. CARMICHAEL having, before taking the oath to give true answers, to speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, touching such questions as shall be asked, intimated that, as he might be embarrassed by the novelty of his situation, he wished to have the questions propounded to him in writing, and that his answers might be received in writing, that he might answer with that clearness and precision which he could wish.

Ordered, That Mr. Carmichael be informed that the questions will be propounded to him by the Chair, and that he is to answer *viva voce*, but that if he should find himself embarrassed, time will be given him in the House for recollection.

September 28, 1778.

Mr. Carmichael called in and sworn.

Q. At what time did you become acquainted with Mr. Deane?

A. In the month of July or August, 1776.

Q. Did Mr. Deane acquaint you with the nature of his mission to France, and at what time?

A. I was introduced to Mr. Deane by Mr. Rogers, of Mary-

land, who informed him I was zealously attached to the interest of America, and some time after Mr. Deane acquainted me with the nature of his mission.

Q. How long after being introduced to Mr. Deane were you acquainted with the nature of his mission?

A. I cannot recollect precisely.

Q. Did you assist Mr. Deane in his public business?

A. On knowing the nature of his mission, I offered to assist Mr. Deane in any way in my power, while I was in France.

Q. Did Mr. Deane accept your offer?

A. He did.

Q. In what respect did you assist Mr. Deane?

A. In various respects; I assisted him in copying letters and in conversations.

Q. During the time you assisted Mr. Deane, were you acquainted with the receipts and expenditure of public moneys which passed through his hands?

A. I knew Mr. Deane received money and made purchases and contracts on the public account, but as I never wished to charge myself, or make myself responsible where I could have no merit, I did not pay sufficient attention to answer with precision.

Q. Do you know whether Mr. Deane misapplied the public money, or converted any of it to his own use?

A. My answer to the former question will show that I am not an adequate judge of the application of public money, and cannot answer with precision; at the same time would entreat that the House would not put an interpretation on my silence to the prejudice of any person whatever.

Q. From the knowledge you had of Mr. Deane's transactions, do you recollect any instance which you apprehend to be a misapplication of the public money?

A. I beg to know whether I am to answer from my knowledge, or suppositions, or opinions in my own mind.

Ordered, That Mr. Carmichael withdraw.

On the question whether the last be a proper question, the yeas and nays being required by Mr. Marchant—

<i>New Hampshire</i>	Mr. Bartlett.....	<i>Ay.</i> — <i>Ay.</i>	
<i>Massachusetts</i>	Mr. S. Adams.....	<i>Ay.</i>	} <i>Ay.</i>
	Gerry.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
	Holton.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
<i>Rhode Island</i>	Mr. Marchant.....	<i>Ay.</i> — <i>Ay.</i>	
<i>Connecticut</i>	Mr. A. Adams.....	<i>Ay.</i> — <i>Ay.</i>	
<i>New York</i>	Mr. Lewis.....	<i>Ay.</i>	} <i>Ay.</i>
	G. Morris.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
<i>Pennsylvania</i>	Mr. R. Morris.....	<i>Ay.</i>	} <i>Ay.</i>
	Clingan.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
<i>Maryland</i>	Mr. Chase.....	<i>No.</i>	} <i>No.</i>
	Plater.....	<i>No.</i>	
	Stone.....	<i>No.</i>	
	Forbes.....	<i>No.</i>	
	Henry.....	<i>No.</i>	
<i>Virginia</i>	Mr. Harvey.....	<i>No.</i>	} <i>Ay.</i>
	R. H. Lee.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
	M. Smith.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
	Griffin.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
<i>North Carolina</i>	Mr. Penn.....	<i>Ay.</i>	} <i>No.</i>
	Harnet.....	<i>No.</i>	
	Williams.....	<i>No.</i>	
<i>South Carolina</i>	Mr. Laurens.....	<i>Ay.</i>	} <i>Ay.</i>
	Drayton.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
	Matthews.....	<i>No.</i>	
<i>Georgia</i>	Mr. Walton.....	<i>Ay.</i>	} <i>Ay.</i>
	Telfair.....	<i>Ay.</i>	
	Langworthy.....	<i>No.</i>	

So it was resolved in the affirmative.

Ordered, That Mr. Carmichael attend at the bar on Wednesday next, at ten o'clock, to be further examined.

Wednesday.

The last question proposed.

Although I think the House, by their determination, has put me into a very delicate, and to me, disagreeable situation, as I am desirous of giving the House every information, I am ready to answer the question, provided the question relates to apprehensions that may have arisen on what I conceived to be fact at the time.

A. I do.

Q. What were the instances?

A. The instance I allude to particularly, was the equipping a vessel of war, where I apprehend the public money had been appropriated to private uses.

Q. What vessel was it you allude to?

A. It was a vessel intended to be equipped in the Mediterranean, partly at the expense of the public, and partly of individuals.

Q. The name of the Captain and of the vessel?

A. The name of the Captain intended to be employed was Bell; as there were vessels bought which were afterwards obliged to be given up, there was no name given to any of them that I recollect.

Q. From what circumstances do you apprehend that there was a misapplication?

A. From this circumstance, that Mr. Deane having received money from M. Beaumarchais, which I conceived to be public money, did appropriate it to private uses, that is, in the purchase of those vessels as far as it regarded individuals.

Q. Why did you suppose that to be public money?

A. Because M. Beaumarchais having, as I apprehended, advanced before to the public to a large amount, I thought it was likewise on the public credit he advanced this sum.

Q. Are you clear there were more vessels than one bought in the Mediterranean?

A. There was but one intended to be bought, but the person employed bought two, as I understood.

Q. Who compelled the giving up of the vessels?

A. I understood the State of Genoa had interposed and compelled the purchaser to restore them to the original proprietors.

Q. What were the names of the private persons that were to have been concerned with the public in those vessels?

A. I do not recollect all the private names.

Q. Do you recollect any?

A. I understood M. Beaumarchais was to have been concerned.

Q. Do you recollect any other?

A. I understood that Mr. Thomas Morris was to have been concerned for others, but who those others were I cannot positively say.

Q. Was Mr. Deane to have been concerned in his private capacity?

A. I do not know that he was.

Q. Did you understand or were you informed that Mr. Deane was to have been concerned in his private capacity?

A. I did not receive such information as to induce me to believe he was concerned.

Q. If you did not believe that Mr. Deane was concerned in his private capacity in those vessels, what did you mean when you said that you apprehended the public money was applied to private purposes in that instance?

A. I meant that I thought Mr. Deane had applied the public money to supply the deficiency of the money that others were to have advanced, but did not, towards the purpose of fitting out these vessels.

Q. On what grounds did you think that Mr. Deane meant to supply those deficiencies?

A. From conversations with divers persons, and other occurrences at that period.

The last question and answer being read, Mr. C. gave this explanation:—

The idea I meant to convey to the House was this: I apprehended Mr. Deane had applied the money which I conceived to be public, to a private use. I judge that I had my information of Mr. Deane's receipt of the money from M. Beaumarchais, Mr. Deane himself, and others, but that this information was merely of the fact that he received it, not whether it was public or private money which he had received and so applied.

Q. What persons?

A. I apprehend Mr. Deane and M. Beaumarchais were two of the persons that informed me at that time.

Q. Were the other Commissioners or either of them acquainted with this transaction?

A. I apprehend Dr. Franklin was acquainted with the fitting out these vessels. I cannot charge my memory whether Mr. A. Lee was then at Paris or not.

Q. Are you sure that Mr. Deane and M. Beaumarchais were two of the persons with whom you had the conversations you before mentioned?

A. I apprehend from the nature of the transaction it must have been these persons, but I cannot be sure.

Q. By Mr. Adams. Whether from conversation with other persons or from other occurrences, he had reason to believe Mr. Deane had advanced or was to have advanced moneys to make up these deficiencies?

A. I cannot at present absolutely charge my recollection with what I had reason to believe at that time—probably there might have been other occurrences which may have induced me to apprehend a misapplication of the money upon that occasion.

Q. By Mr. Duer. Do you know that the particular sum you allude to was charged by M. Beaumarchais to the United States?

A. Since my arrival in this country, by conversation with the agent of M. Beaumarchais, I have reason to believe the

particular sum was charged by M. Beaumarchais to Mr. Deane's private account. M. Francis is now in the country and can answer the question.

Q. Did you know or believe that Mr. Deane applied the public money to the payment of such parts of those vessels as were to have been the property of the public?

A. I do not know, I believe that Mr. Deane would have applied the public money to that purpose, but cannot say that he did.

Ordered to withdraw—to have notice at what hour to attend on Friday afternoon.

Monday, October 5, 1778.

Q. Are you sure that the public had any share in those two vessels which were purchased in the Mediterranean?

A. I apprehended at the time that they had, and my reason for apprehending was that the Captain had a Continental commission; I thought they were on the same footing as those fitted out at Dunkirk.

Q. Were you anywise concerned in equipping Capt. Conyngham from Dunkirk?

A. I was in no way concerned in the equipment. I was sent by Mr. Franklin and Mr. Deane to facilitate the departure of that vessel from the port.

Q. Was Captain Conyngham's vessel fitted out at Dunkirk more than once?

A. Captain Conyngham commanded two vessels from that port, one a lugger, the other a cutter.

Q. Were they fitted at the same time?

A. At different times.

Q. Were they or either of them public or private property?

A. I apprehended that each of them were part public and part private, but I do not certainly know.

Q. When you were sent to dispatch these vessels, did you consider yourself as acting for the public or for private persons?

A. Every service I performed for the Commissioners I considered as done for the public, and so I considered in this instance.

Q. What reason had you to consider these vessels as part private property?

A. From conversations I had at the time, particularly with Mr. Hodge, I had reason to apprehend he was concerned.

Q. Had you reason to suppose that Mr. Deane was concerned, or any of the Commissioners?

A. I did apprehend at that time that Mr. Deane was concerned in the first equipment.

Q. What reasons induced you to apprehend that Mr. Deane was concerned in the first equipment?

A. I cannot recollect the reasons that induced that belief, but I know that I did at the time apprehend he was concerned.

Q. At what time was the first equipment made, what year, and what month?

A. At present I cannot precisely recollect. I think it was in the spring, 1777. The captain of the Harwich packet will nearly point out the time of the sailing.

Q. Do you know if any and what instructions were given to Captain Conyngham respecting that cruise?

A. I think there were instructions given, but I cannot be particular what those instructions were.

Q. By Mr. Lee. Do you know that the vessels or either of them, were ordered to cruise on the coast of England?

A. I speak to the first vessel, I believe the object was to cruise for one of the Harwich packets. I myself gave directions.

Q. Was this equipment at Dunkirk made with or without the knowledge of the French ministry?

A. I cannot answer as to the knowledge of the French ministry.

Q. Did you overhear that the French ministry objected to it?

A. I know they gave proofs that it did not appear to be

agreeable, for the Captain was imprisoned upon his return to Dunkirk.

Q. Did you hear that the French ministry objected previous to the sailing?

A. I do not know that they knew of the first vessel previous to her sailing, therefore they could not object to the equipment.

Q. Did you ever hear that the French ministry offered to pay the expense of equipping those vessels, or either of them, to prevent their sailing?

A. Of the first vessel I never heard that they did; of the second, I heard after she had sailed that they had given orders to pay the expense to prevent her sailing.

Q. Did you understand that much diligence was used to push these vessels, or either of them, out of Dunkirk, to prevent the effect of the measures the ministry had taken to stop their sailing?

A. With respect to the last, I believe all possible diligence was used to accelerate her departure, to prevent measures from being taken by the ministry to stop her sailing.

Q. Did you ever see or hear of a letter or letters written by the Count de Vergennes to M. Grand, or the Commissioners, complaining of this measure?

A. I have heard that there was such a letter, but I do not know whether to M. Grand or the Commissioners.

Q. Do you know whether the Commissioners had received any order from Congress or the Secret Committee relative to the fitting out of these two vessels?

A. I do not know whether they had received orders relative to the fitting out of these two vessels.

Q. Did you ever hear that they had?

A. I never heard that they had received orders to fit out these two vessels particularly, I heard that they had general orders to fit out vessels.

Q. Do you mean vessels of force to cruise against the enemy?

A. I do, because they received Continental commissions for the Captains.

MR. LEE'S NARRATIVE.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, THE PRESIDENT OF THE
HONORABLE THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA.

PARIS, *February 10, 1779.*

SIR—

A letter under the signature of Silas Deane, and addressed to the citizens of America, has been published with great avidity by our enemies, and propagated through all Europe.

Of the public effect it is likely to produce, I shall only speak in the words of a foreign minister here—that he doubted whether any power in Europe would, for the future, think itself safe in treating with us.* Indeed, it must be obvious, that

* The following expression in Mr Deane's letter: "I now see, what I have for some time suspected, a design to lead you into a breach of your national faith and honor solemnly pledged," tends so directly to destroy all confidence in our faith among the powers of Europe, that it is not incredulity itself to believe it was done without design. Lord Mansfield and the Court of England are now employing this assertion with all the courts in Europe, to prevent them from negotiating with us, and Lord Mansfield himself, could not have devised an argument more effectual. Mr. Deane will not deny that when we were settling the treaty here, he had a private conference, upon matters, unknown to one of your Commissioners at least, with a Mr. Paul Wentworth, the corrupt and corrupting instrument of Lord Mansfield. I was informed of this some time after, and de-

if one who has been entrusted with a negotiation, is at liberty to reveal to all the world, and to misrepresent what has come to his knowledge under that trust, there is an end to all public confidence and safety. I am at a loss to conceive what can be more traitorous to the community than such conduct.

Nor is it possible to devise a surer method of disappointing the negotiations in behalf of the States, by rendering the persons of the negotiators odious and suspected, than for a man who is known to have been in high office, thus to publish against them the basest and blackest accusations. It imports not, as to the injurious effect, whether they be true or false. The mischief may happen before it is possible to prove the falsehood of what is alleged; for example, Mr. Deane says: "A gentleman of character in Paris told him that his correspondent in England, saw a letter written by me, dated the night of signing the treaty, and giving an account of its being signed." Had Mr. Deane named this gentleman of character, or his correspondent, I, or any other person, could have gone to him to trace and refute the falsehood, but as it stands I can only say, it is not true; which puts it upon the foot of my denial against his affirmation, and leaves the mind in doubt, but always tainted with the suspicion, that there must be something in the accusation, or a man would not hazard his name to it. With this dark covering are many of his accusations clothed, which shows the art and unfairness with which they are made.

Congress will now permit me to speak to those charges, which he has made against me. And first, I do most solemnly declare, before God and man, that every one of them is totally and absolutely false.

His first charge is, that by a "wanton display of my errand, sired to know of Mr. Deane the subject of this conference, who told me, it was only general professions of wishes to accommodate. I own, therefore, that I cannot help connecting this conference with a declaration so pernicious to our cause, and so direct to the purposes of our enemy. But the facts are before you for your own judgment.

I gave just cause of distrust to the Court of Madrid," and was restricted to Burgos. I inclose a copy of the letter* written to me by order of the minister, which contains his reasons for wishing me to meet him first at Vitoria, and then at Burgos: I thought it prudent to comply, and wrote immediately to my colleagues for their opinion, which may be seen† concurring with mine. Upon my interview with the Duke de Grimaldi, and his endeavoring to dissuade me entirely from going to Madrid, it seemed to me proper to make the representation, a copy of which is inclosed.‡ This, I conceived, would either alter their sentiments, or make them more liberal in their aids, by way of compensation.

With regard to the "wanton display of my commission" which Mr. Deane charges me with making, I affirm nothing can be more contrary to truth. I defy him to produce the least tittle of evidence of what he asserts, or in contradiction to what I declare, that I did not communicate my mission to any one living, or had the smallest intercourse with any person from Bordeaux to Burgos. It was impossible to conceal that I was going to Spain, or prevent persons writing so to Nantes and Bordeaux. But this was all they knew.

* Extract from the said letter.

"MADRID, 17th February, 1777.

"All which we shall so manage as to meet one and the other at Vitoria, where we shall tarry under some good disguise until our mutual arrival, and as this noble minister has had to this day the entire direction of all affairs, and is of course fully acquainted with his majesty's intentions, believe it is the only person with whom you might treat, either in said place, or some country house that might be picked up for the purpose, and thereby avoid the inconveniences which must inevitably follow by your coming to Madrid.

"P. S. Having considered upon the properest place for our meeting, we have settled it on that of Burgos, instead of Vitoria, which pray note accordingly, and hope to meet you there." See the whole letter authenticated, No. I.

"March 21st, 1777.

† "Mr. D. is still here. You desire our advice about your stopping at Burgos. We agree in opinion that you should comply with the request." See the extract authenticated, No. II. signed B. Franklin.

‡ See a copy of the memorial authenticated, No. III.

By the extract of our public letter* it appears that it was the public good which called upon one of us to go to Madrid; and it certainly was that which animated me to travel night and day through every inclemency of weather, to accomplish this end. But, according to Mr. Deane, the *secret* purpose was to get rid of me, which, though I have suspected, I little imagined he would have had the imprudence to declare, and by that means point out the real cause of all the cabals which have been constantly working to calumniate and vilify me since my return from Spain.

As a cover for this, I am represented as "proclaiming my hatred and contempt of the French nation, and being suspected by persons in high office from my connections with Lord Shelburne."

Situated as I was, if I regarded only my personal safety, it would have been little short of insanity to have made such declarations, whatever might have been my opinion. If Mr. Deane means that I frequently exclaimed against those contractors and jobbers, who, very much under his influence, were doing injustice to the public, he is right; and in no other sense is there a color of truth in the charge. I had travelled three times before in France, from my own inclination; was this like one who hated and despised the nation?

If I was suspected for my connection with Lord Shelburne, till very lately an avowed and able friend to the American cause, how came it that Doctor Franklin, who was known to be intimately connected with Lord Howe, Sir Grey Cooper, Secretary to the Treasury, and Mr. Strahan, the king's printer, the most ministerial servants and enemies to America, should have escaped suspicion? If I was suspected, how came the court

* "Finding that our residence here together is nearly as expensive as if we were separate, and having reason to believe that one of us might be useful in Madrid, and another in Holland, and some courts further northward, we have agreed that Mr. Lee go to Spain, and either Mr. Deane or myself to the Hague. Mr. Lee sets out to-morrow." See the extract authenticated, No. IV.

and ministers here to trust me with those of their proceedings which they most wished to be kept secret? The truth is, that I have been apprised often of Mr. Deane, by himself and his agents, having endeavored to excite this suspicion in order to injure me. And so far did he flatter himself he had succeeded, that it appears from the declarations which many gentlemen, particularly Mr. Stevenson, heard Mr. Carmichael, once Mr. Deane's confidant, repeatedly make at Nantz, that he knew the excuse Mr. Deane would make to Congress for his doing the business of the Commission without consulting me, would be that the French ministry had desired it. Mr. Carmichael added that he did not doubt this arose from Mr. Deane's suggestions.

I have written but two letters to Lord Shelburne since my leaving England, of which I send you copies (No. V.). I owe this testimony to the honor of that nobleman, that, notwithstanding our former friendship, he never has attempted directly nor indirectly to get a line from me, nor has he had one but the above, one of which was written soon after my arrival here; and the other to recommend the business of our prisoners. I am next represented "as making the tour of Germany to arrive at Berlin in safety, where I was unfortunate enough to do nothing but lose my papers, discover the secrets and expose the measures of my colleagues, so as to enable the British ministry to counteract the measures taken for our advantage."

That my door and desk should be broke open in the midst of the city of Berlin, in open day, was an outrage little to have been expected, and which no human prudence could have prevented. When Mr. Deane imputes this to me as a crime, he shows at once his candor and his forgetfulness, that a similar accident happened to us all in France, when our dispatches by Folger were robbed. Is it sure that the enemy received no intelligence from that robbery? Congress will see by the inclosed letter* from me to my colleagues, the real state of the

* "Finding two days ago, while I was at dinner, my bureau had been broke open and some papers stolen out which were in my portefeuille. The English

robbery at Berlin, and the early notice I gave them of that event, to prevent any possible ill consequences. Let him point out the measure or measures for the public good which it enabled our enemies to counteract. Certain it is, that it did not interrupt that foolish and fatal business at Dunkirk, which was entirely his, as Dr. Franklin always disclaimed it, and which threw Mr. Hodge into the Bastile, deprived us a long time of even being admitted to see the minister, drew from him the most disgraceful reflections against us, and a positive order* for all our vessels of war to quit the ports of France in twenty-four hours, and not to return. "Pourvu que ce soit à la condition bien exprimée de ne plus revenir;" these are the minister's words. He says I did nothing at Berlin; yet Mr. Deane had read the Prussian minister's letter,† pledging the king, in

ambassador happened to be in the hotel where I lodge, when I discovered the robbery. Upon being informed that I was gone to the governor, and that the suspicion fell upon one of his servants, he went away in great confusion, and in half an hour the portefeuille with all the papers were laid down at the door." See authenticated copy, No. VI.

Extract of a letter signed in the king's own hand on the same subject:—

"Le Roi ayant reçu la lettre du Sr. Lee, de Berlin, le 1st Juillet, et sa plainte du vol qui lui a été fait, veut bien faire savoir en reponse, qui sa majesté vient d'ordonner à son Ministre d'Etat le Baron de Schulenburg d'entendre ce qu'il auroit à lui dire ultérieurement là dessus." See authenticated copy, No. VII.

* Extracts from the minister's letter to a third person, he not then corresponding with the Commissioners:—

"Vos amis ne sont pas ni justes ni honnêtes s'ils se plaignent des bornes qu'on a du mettre aux entreprises de leurs corsaires. Au reste, si on m'écrit, et que ce soit d'une manière convenable, je prendrai les ordres pour repondre. Mais vis à vis ce que vous me mandez des dispositions de vos amis, je vois que le sentiment de l'amitié ne se grave pas profondement chez eux. Je ne sais pas si en Amérique il est permis d'user de ces sortes de detours, mais en France, et en Europe, c'est une faute très grave de mentir au Roi, ce qu'il a fait lorsqu'il a affirmé et cautionné que le bâtiment sorti de Dunquerque n'alloit point en course." See the whole letter authenticated, No. VIII.

† Extract from a letter dated Berlin, 16th January, 1778, signed Baron de Schulembourg:—

"Si Majesté souhaite que vos généreux efforts soient suivis d'un plein succès, et comme je vous l'ai déjà marqué dans ma lettre du 15 Decr. elle ne balancera

the strongest and most explicit manner, to acknowledge our independence the moment it was done in France. He knows that letter was shown to Count de Vergennes and M. Gerard. I have already had the honor of sending Congress a copy of this letter, and they had in their possession a refutation of this charge as of many others, at the time it was made. The acknowledgment of our independence included every purpose I went for, and would have fulfilled the utmost object of my negotiation. The sudden and unforeseen death of the Elector of Bavaria, on the 30th of January, by the smallpox, and the war that grew from it, prevented the King of Prussia's compliance with his promise, because it would necessarily have thrown Great Britain, Hanover, Hesse Brunswick, and their connections into the emperor's scale against him. But, surely, there is not another mortal breathing, so uncandid as to visit this upon me, or to think I failed in my negotiation, because events uncontrollable by any man living, disappointed us of the fruits of it, the moment they were ripe for gathering.

My correspondence with Dr. Berkenhout is his next charge; he is obliged, however, to confess I communicated "a part" of it to my colleagues. How does he know I did not communicate the whole? I *did* communicate the whole, that concerned us jointly. What more could have been required of me? But he forgets to add that I also laid it before the French ministry, and that my answer was made by their unanimous advice. Dr. Berkenhout's reply, and his declining to proceed any further, was not owing to the news of General Howe's success, as will appear by my letter.* It was, that the English ministry understood that there was a difference between Dr. Franklin and me, which rendered it useless to treat with us. This report had

pas à reconnoître votre indépendance dès que la France, qui se trouve plus directement intéressée à l'issue de cette contestation, en donnera l'exemple." See the authenticated copy, No. IX. The copies of the Prussian Minister's letters to me, Nos. X. and XI., contain further accounts of my negotiation.

* See a copy of my letter, No. XII. (A)

been industriously propagated, both here and in London, by Mr. Deane's cabal, to injure me.

Mr. Deane asserts that, "about the time of the arrival of the news of General Burgoyne's surrender, my secretary went to and from London, charged with affairs which were secret to your other Commissioners."

Congress will be astonished to hear that I had no secretary at that time, nor at any time before it, except Mr. Sayre, who left me at Berlin, and has not been in Paris since. Let Mr. Deane name, if he can, who that secretary or person was. The first secretary I ever had was Major Thornton, who entered upon that office late in January, 1778. At the time Mr. Deane mentions, Major Thornton was chosen by my colleagues, I never having seen or heard of him before, to carry our letter to Lord North about the prisoners, and to visit and relieve them. This will be seen by Dr. Franklin's letter,* introducing him to Sir Grey Cooper, and announcing his business. Among other letters of information which he wrote us from London, and which were long concealed from me, one contains the following remarkable piece of intelligence:—

"Lord North told Mr. Hartley last Saturday, the 3d of January, 1778, that he knew of several persons who had come to London, from Messrs. Franklin, Deane, and Lee, and that Dr. Bancroft had been in London, and he was informed had been sent by those gentlemen from Paris on stock-jobbing business."

The fact is, that Dr. Bancroft, then acting as secretary to Mr. Deane, and living in the house with the other Commissioners at

* "Receiving frequent accounts by American prisoners, who have escaped from your jails, of the miserable situation and hard treatment of their countrymen at Portsmouth, and Plymouth, we have prevailed with a gentleman, Major Thornton (to us much a stranger, but who appears a man of humanity), to visit the prisons, and give from us some relief to these unfortunate men." See the authenticated copy, No. IV. (A), dated Passy, 11th December, 1777, and signed B. Franklin. N. B. Mr. Austin arrived at Paris, with the dispatches of General Burgoyne's defeat and surrender, the 4th December, 1777.

Passy, went off express for London the very day the news of the Saratoga surrender arrived. Mr. Jonathan Loring Austin, who brought the dispatches, knows this, as does every American who was then in Paris, or in London. The infamy of this transaction was visited equally upon me.

The whole of this forgery is calculated to support his insinuation, that I held a correspondence with the enemy, and betrayed state secrets; and to confirm this, he refers to a declaration of Charles Fox, that the treaty was signed. For this purpose, too, he has converted Charles Fox from a family foe, as every one knows he is, into the friend of Lord Shelburne. It is impossible Mr. Deane should be ignorant of what was the common talk and surprise of the time, that Mr. Fox expressly declared that his information came from Dr. Franklin. The following are his words, as detailed at large in the *Courier de l'Europe*, Mardi, Fevrier 24, 1778:—

“CHAMBRE DE COMMUNS, Séance de Mardi, 17 Fevrier.

“J'ai vu une lettre du Docteur Franklin dans laquelle ce Commissaire de l'Amérique dit expressément à son correspondant à Londres, il y a dix jours que les députés du Congress ont signé avec le ministère François un traité de commerce, dans lequel toutes les formalités qui s'observent de nation à nation contractantes ont été solennellement observées.”*

To fix, therefore, this imputation upon me, of having betrayed to the enemy “an important matter, that was agreed to be kept a profound secret,” he has recourse to a gross falsehood, and a most palpable misrepresentation of a notorious fact.

But what will be the opinion of him, when, from the following declaration of Captain M. Livingston, which I have under his hand, a direct and irresistible conclusion arises that Mr. Deane himself betrayed the secret, not *after*, but *before* the treaty was signed, which was ten times worse.

“PARIS, 11th April, 1778.

“I do certify that I was shown a letter in London, dated the 27th of January

* See authenticated copy, No. XIII.

last, which I was told was written by Dr. Bancroft to Mr. Wharton, informing him that he might depend upon it, he had it from the very best authority, that the treaty with the Court of France, was to be signed the 5th or 6th of February, and desiring him to make his speculations accordingly, in the above words, or words to that effect. I do also certify that I have seen Dr. Bancroft's handwriting on other occasions, and that I believe the above-mentioned letter to have been written by him.**

Signed M. LIVINGSTON

Witness, GEO. DIGGES.

Captain Livingston is a gentleman of unimpeached character, was some time lieutenant on board the Boston frigate, which he quitted with a recommendation from the Commissioners to Congress. He now commands the Governor Livingston, and I hope will reach America to confirm personally what he has given under his hand. Dr. Bancroft lived with Mr. Deane as his secretary, and every one will judge who was his *best authority*. And since Mr. Deane chooses to deal in circumstantial evidence, there is one circumstance very strong to point this to him; which is, that it appears, from a mistake of our banker in having charged to the public account what belongs to the particular one of Mr. Deane, that some little time† after this transaction Mr. Deane remitted to this Mr. Wharton in London, from Paris, 19,520 liv. 14 s. It is proper to observe that this gaming was, by giving so much down, to receive a certain sum on the happening of a stipulated event in a given time. This made it necessary to remit. Mr. Deane may perhaps explain this away; but I beg it may be by well-authenticated facts, not by mere assertions, as I think some doubts have been thrown on his veracity.

Before I quit this article, I must observe that the stock-jobbers have been base enough to circulate reports that my brother, Mr. Izard, and myself, were also employed in stock-jobbing. They found this upon my having sent my secretary, Major

* See authenticated copy, No. XIV.

† "Trait de Samuel Wharton de Londres du 17th Fevrier, sur M. Silas Deane, 19,520 liv. 14 s. Signé Grand."

True extract from the banker's accounts. H. Ford, Secretary.

Thornton to London. I will state the facts for the judgment of Congress. Finding Major Thornton, from the activity and intrepidity of his disposition, and his acquaintance in the army and navy, to be a very proper person to get me intelligence of the designs and measures of the enemy, I sent him to London for that purpose with the following instructions:—

“February 21, 1778.

“Instructions to Mr. Thornton—To go with all speed to London, and there learn the real and probable future force of Great Britain; the number of men raised and to be raised, and where stationed; the number of ships and seamen; whether the harbor of Shields is fortified; with all other information he may think of use.”*

He accordingly brought me a very accurate account of the number and disposition of the force of Great Britain, of which I informed Congress, in my letter to the Committee, dated April 4, 1778.†

The next important period for intelligence was, when the great fleet of the enemy was arming. I therefore sent him to London again, with the following instructions:—

“April 30, 1778.

“To find the destination of the main fleet under Keppell; the number of seamen actually in service; whether there is any design against the Spanish flota,‡ and what it is; to get copies of material papers of the Cabinet, the Treasury, or the Secretary of State’s Office; whether any more naval or land force is to be sent to America, what, and when; to trace the correspondence by the lady in Paris; to trace the ministerial connections and proceedings of the stock-jobbing company, and get copies of their letters, the feigned names under which they correspond, and the key to their cipher.”§

Mr. Thornton continued to send me constant intelligence on the above subjects,|| and particularly on the force and desti-

* See the authenticated copy, No. XV. (A.)

† See the authenticated extract, No. XXXII.

‡ Of this I informed the Spanish ambassador. See No. XVI. authenticated.

§ See the authenticated copy, No. XV. (B.)

|| Of which I made communications to Count Vergennes and the Spanish ambassador. See No. XV. (G.)

nation of Byron's fleet, of which I sent notice to Count Vergennes,* as appears by my letter-book the 10th of May; and wrote to all my correspondents in France and Spain to communicate it to all captains going to America.

Of this also I informed Congress, by my letter of the 23d of May, in these words: "I have sent orders to all the ports in France and Spain, to communicate the account of the sailing of a fleet of thirteen ships from England against America, to all the captains who sail for the United States or the French islands. This, I conceived, would be the most certain means of communicating the alarm and preventing surprise. The ministry here are also to convey a letter from us by every opportunity to the same purpose."† I was not at Passy when this letter was signed, and therefore my name was not to it.

Before Mr. Thornton went the last time there were whispers that he had been concerned in stock-jobbing. I taxed him with it; and he satisfied me, by a letter from Mr. Wharton, that, though strongly solicited, he would not hold a correspondence with him. These whispers grew stronger in his absence, which made me caution him against giving any foundation for them.‡ At length, a formal accusation was given in against him to Dr. Franklin by Dr. Bancroft, in behalf of Mr. Wharton. It confessed that the former had gained upon his information; that he had given Thornton a promissory note for £500, payable on a declaration of war in such a time, and charging him with having taken copies clandestinely of material papers.§ It ap-

* See authenticated extract, No. XV. (C.)

† See authenticated extract, No. XV. (F.)

‡ See authenticated extract, No. XVIII. And I also wrote to every worthy person to watch his conduct. See my authenticated letter, No. XVII.

§ "Some time in March last, Samuel Wharton informed me by letter, that he feared his brother, Joseph Wharton (who had lost near £10,000 sterling by the bankruptcy of Richard Ford & Co.), was disposed to endeavor to repair his losses by insurances upon political events, and that Mr. Thornton was, as he suspected, encouraging and misleading him into that kind of speculation. A few weeks afterwards, Mr. Austin informed me that Mr. Thornton had shown him a

pears from Mr. Livingston's letter to me, that the material paper cited by them in evidence of this, was furnished from Passy,* and probably with a view of giving color to this accusation. But Mr. Jonathan Loring Austin, who acted then as our secretary, having assured me that he saw the promissory note in Mr. Thornton's possession, and he not coming when I recalled him to answer the accusation, I took another secretary, the Rev. Mr. Ford, and have not heard of Mr. Thornton since.

So far, however, they succeeded in seducing from me the best intelligence I could possibly have found; and avenging themselves on a man who had given early warning of Dr. Bancroft's proceedings.

When Mr. Deane asserts that "frequent bickerings and disputes happened between Mr. Lee and him for his attention to the public service," he commits a little mistake. It was because he was sacrificing the public to private views, usurping the sole management of that business, in which I was equally authorized and equally interested; and because the public money was expended without any specific accounts or vouchers, and I had great reason to believe was very improperly spent.

I have Dr. Franklin's testimony that he did the business without me, as he says in his letter to his nephew: "Mr. Deane generally consults with *me* (not with his colleagues), and has *my* approbation."† Indeed, it may well be conceived that, notwithstanding the modesty and unassuming diffidence so conspicuous in Mr. Deane's character, yet, as he conceived himself *saddled* with me, the moment I was appointed, he would find

note of hand for £500 sterling, payable by Joseph Wharton, on condition that war should be declared before a certain day in April; this note I understood to have been obtained by Mr. Thornton from Mr. Wharton, as a consideration for some intelligence."

True extract from the original in the handwriting of Dr. Bancroft, with which I am well acquainted. H. Ford, Secretary.

* See authenticated copy, No. XXI.

† See a copy of the whole letter authenticated, No. XIX.

out some means of relieving himself from the burthen. The Madrid scheme, it seems, I maliciously disappointed, by proclaiming my commission along the road; he therefore cut the matter short by setting the power of Congress at defiance, and usurping to himself that Commission with which they had jointly intrusted me.

I beg the particular attention of Congress to one observation, the truth of which, the contracts, appointments, and banker's accounts will show. That, though the public money was equally in my disposal, I never disposed of fifty pounds without the concurrence of my colleagues; nor did *one* livre go through the hands of any relation or connection of mine. That no contract or place was ever given by my recommendation. The graciousness and the advantages of these things, my colleagues, their friends and relations, enjoyed exclusively and entirely. One would have imagined this might have kept them in good-humor with me; but unhappily it did not.

I come now to one of the *weakest* confessions of criminality on the part of Mr. Deane that ever the blindness of passion and rage of accusation produced. He informs the public that *he received, the 4th day of March*, the resolution of Congress, which he quotes at large, recalling him and appointing another Commissioner in his place; yet with this recall and annihilation as one of your Commissioners in his possession, he imposed himself upon his colleagues, upon the Court of France, and upon all Europe, as still a representative of the United States. He was publicly presented, on the *20th of March*,* to the King and Court of Versailles as still bearing that character; and this was announced to all Europe. He disposed of the public money to others, and took largely of it to himself, as will appear by the following articles in the banker's account:—

* See the authenticated extract from the Court Gazette of France, No. XXXV.

March 15. Assignation de M. Silas Deane, à Js. Barnet	250
“ 17. Autre du même à B. Nicholson	240
“ 25, and 27. Assignm. de M. S. Deane à H. Johnson & J. All	1,400
“ 17. Compté à M. S. Deane, sur reçu	4,800
“ 24. “ “ “	2,400
“ 30. “ “ “	26,715
“ 30. Payé “ “	4,800*

Thus Mr. Deane, no longer a Commissioner, takes out of the public treasury, entrusted to your Commissioners only, in the space of thirteen days, 38,715 livres, or £1,700 sterling, to his own use. It may be imagined this was to pay the necessary expenses he had incurred here. But I appeal to the banker's accounts, to the Hon. John Adams, Esq., and young Mr. Franklin, whether his houserent, his furniture, his carriage, and even the wages of his servants, have not been paid since out of the public money. Neither can he pretend it was for the expenses of his voyage, since these were defrayed by His Most Christian Majesty.

That he concealed his recall from his colleagues, will appear from the following letter of Dr. Franklin. As I had heard a report of Mr. Deane's recall and Mr. Adams's appointment, I thought it more delicate to inquire about the fact from Dr. Franklin than from Mr. Deane, and therefore I wrote† to the former to know whether there was any intelligence received at

* I have compared the above with the original accounts delivered in by Mr. Grand, and find the statement and sums to be just. H. Ford, Secretary.

[A NOTE ADDED IN PHILADELPHIA.]—The first three sums, amounting to 1,890 livres, have been omitted in Mr. Lee's account, which he calls in gross, 38,715; but the whole amount, from the 15th to the 30th of March, is 40,605, the difference 1,890. The reading should therefore be: “in the space of 15 days, 40,605 livres, or £1,776 9 4½ sterling,” computing livres at 10½ d. After having received his recall, and information that another person was appointed Commissioner in his place, Mr. Deane's power over money in the public banker's hands ceased, and he ought not to have touched a livre of it without an order first obtained from his late colleagues.

† See the authenticated letter, No. XX.

Passy, of the recall of one of the Commissioners. To this I received the following answer:—

PASSY, *March* 13, 1778.

DEAR SIR—

I have been told that some passengers landed at Orient, from an American ship, report that Mr. Adams is coming out to replace Mr. Deane; but I have received no advice of that kind from Congress, and suppose that, if true, he will bring their orders with him.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Signed B. FRANKLIN.*

But these were not his only transgressions against the laws of his country at that period. Mr. Deane knew that it was one of the fundamental laws of our Union, that no person in the service of the United States should accept from any king, prince, or minister, any present or gratuity whatsoever. He knew it, because the Articles of Confederation were transmitted here, and printed by our order, and delivered to this court and several others: yet, in the face of this fundamental law, Mr. Deane accepted of a gold snuffbox, set with diamonds, from the King of France. This court was at that moment anxious to gain every influence for the ratification of the treaties, and the disappointment of the British Commissioners, the extent of whose offers were not known, and Mr. Deane was too modest to refuse the *douceur* they offered.

“Dr. Berkenhout,” says Mr. Deane, “hath since said that he had letters to the Hon. Richard Henry Lee, Esq., from the Hon. Arthur Lee, Esq., joint Commissioner of the United States at the Court of Versailles, and sole Commissioner of these States at the Court of Madrid.” Before whom did Dr. Berkenhout say this? Was it to General Maxwell, or to the council which examined and released him? Did Providence reveal this also to Mr. Deane? Was it revealed before or after the Dr.’s departure? Wherefore was it that Mr. Deane, who knew of his being in Philadelphia, who had, as he pretends, suspicions of

* See the authenticated copy, No. XX.

my correspondence with him, and of my designs against the independence of my country in favor of the English, did not give information against the Dr. when in custody, and have him examined as to this particular and important point? What was it sealed his lips, till opening them could be of no use, but that of aspersing those he hated, and has infinite reason to fear? Particulars are not for Mr. Deane's purpose, they would endanger his "stubborn and undeniable facts." General slander, vague and dark accusation, are at once his dart and his defence. His malice gives a certain force to his accusations, and people are apt to mistake at first the venom of the shaft for the vigor of the bow. When slander is his object, no name escapes him. When evidence is required, his delicacy about names is invincible.

I not only never wrote a line to Dr. Berkenhout about my brother, or any other person in America, but neither he nor Mr. Temple ever apprised me of their intention of going. I was informed of it by others just about the time of their sailing, and had some correspondence on the subject, of which I send copies.*

As to my being at once "joint Commissioner at the Court of Versailles, and sole Commissioner at the Court of Madrid," it is a wilful and shameless perversion of truth, for as shameless a purpose—that of deceiving the public and calumniating their absent servant. I have seen Mr. Deane read my commission more than once; he knew that when I became Commissioner at the Court of Madrid I ceased to be such at the Court of Versailles; nay, that the moment I quitted Paris to enter upon the Commission at Madrid, my powers as Commissioner here ceased, and were no more. The words are: "Provided, always, that the said Arthur Lee shall continue to be possessed of all the powers heretofore given him as a Commissioner at the Court of France from these States, *so long as he shall remain in and be present at the said court.*"

* Sec No. XV. of the authenticated extracts, at the letters (D) and (E).

Thus the existence of the one was incompatible with that of the other Commission, and they could not possibly take place in me at the same time. Thus, too, Congress had a person ready to embrace the first favorable moment of negotiating with Spain without any additional expense, which must necessarily have been double, had they appointed another person; yet this wise and economical measure of Congress excited infinitely Mr. Deane's spleen; because, either in his misconception or misrepresentation, it showed an extraordinary confidence in the man he hated, and whose ruin he meditated.

“——— Hinc spargere voces,
In vulgum ambiguas, et quærere conscius arma.”

But, admitting two commissions had been actually confided in me at once; how came this to give such alarm to Mr. Deane's virtue, when it was not shocked in the least at having an hundred committed to the three, which according to this plan were soon appropriated to my two colleagues, and were likely to vest in Mr. Deane alone? I was dispatched to Madrid; Dr. Franklin or Mr. Deane was to go to Holland. Suppose it had been the former; then Mr. Deane, whose acquaintance with Europe, its language, courts, and politics, was of two whole months standing, and who had travelled quite from Bordeaux to Paris, might have had at once the negotiations to manage with the Courts of Versailles, Vienna, Prussia, Portugal, Sardinia, Naples, Tuscany, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, the Swiss Cantons, all the Electors and sovereign Princes of the Empire, those of Italy, the Grand Seignior, the Emperor of Morocco, and the Barbary States; yet I do not remember that the modesty and diffidence of Mr. Deane expressed the least apprehension at the probability of so much power devolving upon him alone. His mind seems to have been entirely employed in providing against the possibility of so unequal a weight falling upon my shoulders. We are not to search too deep for the motive of so obliging an act.

Mr. Deane's piece was published on the 5th of December. On the 14th of September preceding, Dr. Franklin was chosen Minister Plenipotentiary here; and, consequently, I was no more a Commissioner at the Court of Versailles. If it were possible to conceive that Mr. Deane, though residing in Philadelphia, and attentive to the proceedings of Congress, could be ignorant of this, his own advices to France announcing it, would prove that when he published to the people on the 5th of December that I was a "joint Commissioner at the Court of Versailles and sole Commissioner at the Court of Madrid" he asserted that which he knew to be untrue, and this with the worst and basest of all purposes, the imposing upon the public, to induce them to censure Congress and myself unjustly.

Mr. Deane informs the public that, "unfortunately for them I gave universal disgust to the nation whose assistance we solicited." He had taken so entirely the business of the Commission into his own hands, that not a millionth part of the nation knew that I was a Commissioner or even that I existed. Of all the letters addressed from different parts of the kingdom, there was not one in an hundred which bore my name. The following passage of a letter from the Messrs. Delaps, of Bordeaux, will show the fact and reason of it.

"January 3, 1778.

"We wrote several letters addressed to your direction, to which we received answers only from Messrs. Franklin and Deane, which gave us room to imagine you were absent; in consequence of which we replied only to them gentlemen."

Neither these letters nor answers in general were communicated to me. In answer to his assertion, I will subjoin a single week's engagements from my memorandums, from which every one may judge on what terms I was with the French nation. Possibly Mr. Deane may have poetically put his friend M. Beaumarchais for the French nation, as I certainly have given him disgust by opposing a demand for £200,000 sterling

against my country, the justice of which I have very good reason to doubt.

Note of Engagements to Dine.—Thursday, M. Turgot; Friday, Count Sarsfield; Saturday, Count Welsh; Sunday, Prince Tingry; Monday, Duchess d'Anville; Tuesday, Mons. de Sartine, Ministre de Guerre; Thursday, le Mareschal Duc de Mouchy; Saturday, Duc de Aien. Mr. Deane's calumny obliges me to make a show of the attention paid to me here by persons of the highest rank, which otherwise I never should have mentioned. There could not be a thing more notorious than that I associated with and cultivated the French people ten times more than Mr. Deane. It is true that I did not attempt to have my name celebrated as all-powerful and all-bounteous in every coffee-house in Paris, by arrogating sovereign power, giving commissions and recommendatory letters to all persons who would attend at my levy and flatter my greatness. I considered such conduct as criminal, and never concurred in it. In my judgment it was an usurpation of the sovereign power which sent us, and exercised without the least discretion or discernment. It is in vain to say the court was desirous these officers might be sent, and that recommendatory letters were not conclusive upon Congress. I have had it from Count Vergennes himself that he disapproved of it. Those who gave the recommendatory letters knew that the persons receiving them considered them as commissions, and when they were disappointed, they deemed and complained of it as an act of the highest injustice.* Congress know how much money and disquiet these ill-judged and presumptuous proceedings have cost them and the public. As soon as Mr. Deane informed me of his arrival and business, I came to Paris at the hazard of my life, to consult with him, and communicate to him whatever was in my power for his information. Without derogating from the transcendent abilities of which this gentleman thinks himself pos-

* See the authenticated copy of a letter, No. XXII., which is a strong proof.

sessed, it might have been supposed that one who had been so long in Europe, engaged and active from the beginning, in this question, repeatedly employed, and actually in equal trust with himself, might have given some useful advice. But Mr. Deane neither ever communicated to, nor consulted with me, and when I offered my opinion, he received it with such captious rudeness and indecency, as soon satisfied me of the inutility of again repeating it.

I hope I shall be pardoned for begging the attention of Congress while I answer also the accusations of Mr. Deane against my brother, who, being absent in Germany, cannot defend himself by this opportunity. I have in my possession, proofs of the untruth of every charge which he has made.

Mr. Deane says, that, after informing Mr. William Lee of his appointment as Commercial Agent, "he heard nothing from him till the month of June, when he arrived in Paris." My brother wrote to me immediately that he would come over as soon as he could settle his affairs, of which I informed both my colleagues. He came while I was in Germany, and remained here by the express advice of Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane, he having no commission to act, and they refusing to give him any countenance, till Mr. Ross wrote in the following words, from Nantz, to testify that he was authorized, and to press his coming down.

"NANTZ, 22d July, 1777.

"Permit me now to inform you that Mr. Morris is possessed of the instructions to Mr. Lee from committee of Congress, on his being appointed Commercial Agent here; since your last letter came to my hand I suspected *thus* to be the case from some circumstances, and by accident last evening learnt it to be so. These instructions are contained in a letter addressed to Mr. Lee and Mr. Morris as joint agents, which is similar and of equal force with the separate powers on which Mr. Morris has acted hitherto. I therefore take the liberty to recommend Mr. Lee's repairing hither immediately to assume the management.

Signed "JOHN ROSS."

This letter was addressed to Mr. Deane; their consent could

now no longer with any decency be withheld, and my brother set out for Nantz with a letter from us, recommending harmony between the commercial agents in conducting the public business. Unfortunately for my brother's peace, that harmony appeared to have taken place, as we soon received a joint letter from them stating that the powers given to Mr. Williams by Mr. Deane for his name only, appeared in them, though it appeared afterward that Dr. Franklin had confirmed them, were incompatible with their agency, and therefore they requested those powers might be recalled. An answer was prepared to this letter and shown to me; it expressed a willingness to recall* those powers and to vest them in Mr. Lee alone, with very strong expressions against Mr. Morris. I objected what was obvious, that this would destroy the harmony recommended, and without which the public business could not go on; that the right answer seemed to me plain and simple, which was to recall the powers complained of, without saying anything for or against either of the gentlemen, which it was manifest would be productive of bad consequences. My opinion was not approved. Neither that nor any other answer was

* The sincerity of this profession will appear from the following extract of a letter in the handwriting of Mr. Williams, dated Nantz, 21st August, 1777, and which also shows the private traffic they were carrying on.

“To the Honorable SILAS DEANE, Esq.—

“I have received your favor of the 18th inst., and observe that matters relative to the ships of war and prizes are to remain as they were. The Lion goes on as fast as possible. I have been on board the prize brig, and do not think she is so very fine as was at first supposed; she is a very good merchant vessel, but is not well fitted for a fighting one, though capable of carrying about twelve guns, for a small defence, but they must all fight exposed. Mr. Ross tells me he has written to you on the subject, and the matter rests whether according to his letter you will undertake or not; if we take her on private account she must be passed at 13,000 livres, because that has been offered for her, and I believe that is the extent she would sell for without guarantee.

Signed “JONATHAN WILLIAMS.”

True extract. H. Ford, Secretary.

ever sent to this or to any of the letters written to us by the agents, jointly or separately.

My brother returned to Paris in October, and then received his commissions. On the 13th, the Commissioners met by his desire (and Mr. Izard attended), when he gave them an account of the situation of the commercial affairs at Nantz, and stated, that in consequence of the powers given to Mr. Williams, a quarrel had been produced, which made it impossible to conduct the public business with effect till these were recalled and the Commissioners gave their support openly to the agents appointed by the Committee. He said, people in general could not determine who was Commercial Agent, and others took advantage of their mutual pretensions and endeavored to play one against the other. There was a prize or prizes lying stripped, plundered, and rotting; no one choosing to become purchaser, under an uncertainty of who had the true authority to sell. He therefore begged to know whether they would recall this order from Mr. Williams, and support him in the execution of his office. The two eldest Commissioners professed a willingness to recall the order, but positively refused to give them any support. Thus the meeting ended ineffectually, the order being not only not recalled, but soon after confirmed and extended.* Congress will therefore judge with what propriety and truth Mr. Lee is accused of having "declined to regulate these affairs when loudly called upon." The addition that he

* Extract of a letter from Nantz to Dr. Franklin, 18th April, 1778.

"DEAR AND HONORED SIR—

"As I never had any recall of the power the Commissioners gave me, I was in duty bound to signify to M. Schweighauser that I should oppose those of his powers from Mr. Lee that should interfere with mine. Mr. A. Lee is informed of this, and demands of me copies of the powers I hold from the Commissioners, which I have accordingly made out; but as I do not choose to give your signature without your knowledge, I inclose the copies to you and beg you will give them to Mr. Lee, if you see no objection.

"JONATHAN WILLIAMS."

This letter is in the handwriting of Mr. Williams. H. Ford.

declined it, "lest his property in England should be affected," is a surmise and a calumny entirely worthy of Mr. Deane. A letter had long before that been written from Paris to London, and published in the newspapers, giving his name at large, with information of his being at Paris, and having accepted of the commercial agency.* His wife, children, and fortune, were in the power of the enemy, to whom this information was given. I am not the only person who had it from a gentleman much in their secrets, that this letter was written by persons under Mr. Deane's roof, and known to be under his direction.

Mr. Deane proceeds: "He returned to Paris, and there received his appointment of Commissioner to the Courts of Vienna and Berlin; he continued, nevertheless, inactive at Paris until the month of December, *carefully concealing his appointment*, which might indeed have militated against his *office of Alderman of London*, which he did then and probably does still retain. *When the news of General Burgoyne's defeat and surrender arrived*, it produced a revolution in the minds of many, and among others, *inspired your Commercial Agent and political Commissioner, the Honorable Wm. Lee, Esq., with some degree of activity in your favor.*"

This infamous aspersion comes from the man who knew that my brother had come from London, had openly taken upon him the agency, went down to Nantz where every one saw him

* "Dr. Lee's brother, the *Alderman of London*, is arrived here; he hath accepted of the *employment of Commercial Agent to Congress*—the Alderman is so much of a courtier that he places all virtue in economy." The preceding is an extract of a letter dated Paris, 12th July, 1777, and inserted in the Public Ledger of 22d July.

Extract of another letter taken from the Public Ledger, and dated Paris, 25th August, 1777.

"What doth the court of *Aldermen* say to Lee's departure? He lives [in] the Rue Jacob, in as sparing a manner as American frugality will permit, and yet I am told his allowance from the Congress as their *Commercial Agent* is considerable. His brother, Dr. Lee, hath dropped Sayre in Germany."

True extract. H. Ford, Secretary.

act as agent, had written a number of letters as such to the Commissioners, and of whose acceptance of the place public notice had long been given in the English papers. His appointments as Commissioner were received by us, and given to him by us, as appears by our common letter to the Committee.* From whom did he *carefully* conceal them? Does this man mean that he did not proclaim them to the world? He charges me with not concealing mine, and my brother with concealing his. Charges equally false and equally foolish.

On the 13th November, as I was in correspondence with the Prussian Secretary of State, I wrote to him by my brother's desire, as follows:—

“Since I had the honor of receiving your Excellency's favor of the 8th, a commission has been received appointing Wm. Lee, Esq., deputy of Congress to the Court of Berlin, with powers to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce with the King of Prussia. Your Excellency will have the goodness to communicate to us His Majesty's pleasure relative to this Commissioner's coming to Berlin, in which he will entirely conform himself to the king's sentiments.”

To this, I received the following answer, dated 28th of November:—

“Quant à la commission du Sieur Guillaume Lee, le Roi ayant déclaré, plusieurs fois, ses sentiments sur les difficultés actuelles d'une liason de commerce avec l'Amérique, malgré sa bonne volonté constante pour le Colonies, ne sauroit prévoir comment, les circonstances n'aient point changés le Sieur Lee, pourroit faire à sa Majesté des propositions plus acceptables, ni par consequent qu'il pourroit être le but ou le succès de sa mission.”†

On the 23d of December he wrote me again:—

“Je ne manquerai pas d'avertir M. Guillaume Lee, dis qui le Roi jugera que son arrivée à Berlin peut être d'une utilité mutuelle.”‡

The death of the Elector of Bavaria, as I mentioned before,(1)

* See the authenticated copy, No. XXIII.

† See the authenticated extracts, No. XXIV.

‡ See the authenticated extracts, No. XXIV.

prevented this moment of mutual utility from arriving, and consequently my brother's reception at Berlin.

In the meantime my brother himself communicated his commission for Vienna to Count Merci, the imperial ambassador, who informed his court, from which still less encouragement was received.

On the 4th of December Mr. Austin arrived with the news of Burgoyne's defeat and surrender, and the battle of Germantown. The French court upon this approaching us to treat, it was thought proper for him, especially as the King of Prussia promised to follow their example, to wait the effect of the conclusion of the treaty, and the declaration of our independency, which we supposed would follow it. When these took place, he departed for Frankfort, having first consulted both the Commissioners here and the minister, on which court he should apply to first. But Hanover, and its connections, having taken part against the empress, Vienna seemed to promise the fairest opening. The rest he will explain himself. It suffices that I have opened enough to show the malice and untruth of Mr. Deane's charges and insinuations; or, as he terms them, his "stubborn and undeniable facts."

As to the aldermanship, my brother wrote soon after his first arrival here, to his most patriotic common councilmen, that he would send them his resignation whenever they found it convenient to make a new election as they liked. It appears by the English papers, that it was not till last St. Thomas's day that they requested his resignation, and this in consequence of a second offer from him at Frankfort.

"He appointed," says Mr. Deane, "sundry commercial agents, dismissed one who did the business at two per cent., and shares five per cent. with the others for superintending, at Vienna, the business done on your account a thousand miles off from his place of residence."

His accuser is one who applied to the court here to give Mr. William Lee, as surviving Commercial Agent, an order to re-

ceive the papers of the deceased Mr. Thomas Morris. Of this our joint letter of January informed Congress.* In Mr. Deane's estimation, therefore, he continued competent to, and bound to act in that office, notwithstanding his new appointment. To discharge that trust until a new agent should be nominated, my brother appointed three of the most unexceptionable men in France, Messieurs Schweighauser, Bondfield, and Semosin. All this he wrote to the Committee, desiring a new appointment, and we both pressed the same to our private friends, as essentially necessary to the public good. It is now near a year since Congress resolved, that the Commissioners here should appoint an agent or two to supply his place. We answered Congress, as they would probably appoint consuls agreeable to the treaty, we should inform Congress if we found it necessary to make any change in the agents Mr. William Lee had appointed.†

That he dismissed Mr. Williams is directly contrary to truth; he neither appointed nor dismissed him. Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane appointed him. Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, and myself, dismissed him.‡ I send proofs from Mr. Williams's own letter,§ and accounts,|| that he has done the very thing, with regard to sharing the five per cent., with which Mr. Deane charges my brother. I also inclose evidence from the letters of Mr. Williams,¶ and Mr. Morris, that it was the latter who made this agreement with him, without the knowledge or participation of my brother, though they knew he was joint Commercial Agent, and was at Paris; where it was the intention of the Committee that the agent should reside, and where Mr. Deane must acknowledge he stationed himself, when in that department. It was by such little tricks, as these that all order and decency

* See authenticated extracts, No. XXV.

† See the authenticated extracts, No. XXIX.

‡ See the authenticated extracts, No. XXX.

§ See authenticated extracts, No. XXVI.

|| See authenticated extracts, No. XXVII.

¶ See authenticated extracts, No. XXVI. and XXVIII.

were banished from the conduct of our commercial affairs. Either my brother must have acquiesced in this agreement, whether he approved of it or not, or he must have quarrelled with his colleagues; either of which, those who contrived it, knew would equally answer their purpose.

When called into the public service, my brother quitted a situation in London, at which few strangers ever arrive. He came here in expectation of doing service, instead of which he was treated with every kind of indignity by Mr. Deane, and obliged to acquiesce under the usurpation of his place and powers by one who, a year before, had been clerk to a sugar-baker in that city, when he was one of the chief magistrates and merchants.

As to the commission which Mr. Wm. Lee is said to have shared, he neither stipulated for, nor shared any with those he appointed;* and I am most sure that he made more in any one week in London, than his commissions on the public business amounted to in ten months. But how utterly void of every sense of shame and decency must Mr. Deane be, who inveighs so violently against my brother for bearing at once a political and a commercial character, when he tells us in the same breath, that he himself was the "political and commercial agent of America in Europe." He resided at Paris, had five per cent. commission, and his sphere extended, not a thousand only, but three times a thousand miles. He whose extent of travelling had been bounded by Philadelphia, and whose former life gave him as much opportunity of knowing the merchants and politics, the commercial and political state of Europe, as the ship that brought him. Besides, his total unacquaintance with the language of Europe, rendered the acquisition of that knowledge, for some time at least, utterly impracticable. I

* See Mr. Schweighauser's and Mr. Bondfield's certificates, that my brother neither directly nor indirectly stipulated for, nor received any share in the commissions, nor any gratuity whatsoever for his appointment. No. XXXIII.

have sent Congress copies of Mr. Williams's accounts, from which it will appear, that instead of having done your business for two per cent. he has received two per cent. for *not doing your* business, and as M. Peltier du Doyer, one per cent., besides gratuities *for doing it*. To any other man but Mr. Deane, it would be felt as worse than death, that among the multitude of his charges and assertions, there is not one but what is refutable by undeniable evidence.

After having thus exposed the malice and untruth of Mr. Deane's accusations, the honor of every man in Congress must feel for my situation, when I assure them that, since my return from Spain, this assassination of my character, which is now extended to America, has been practised without intermission by a cabal of Mr. Deane's, both in Paris and London.* These imputations were so artfully and industriously urged, that my best friends were tainted by them for some time. But this is not a subject which I shall now enter into.

In every accusation the character of the accuser ought to be considered. Is Mr. Deane's character fair? Is he an unaccused man, and has he answered by anything but his own assertions, the accusations against him? Do not his own confessions render him criminal, and are there not upon the records of Con-

* Extract of a letter published in the Public Ledger, and dated Paris, July 12, 1777.

"Dr. Lee is certainly joined in the Commission, but he understands the business of courts so ill, that not one of the ministers will negotiate with him. He is *the straight-laced image of awkward formality*. To the preciseness of a Presbyterian he endeavors to add the Jesuitism of a Quaker. The one renders him *ridiculous*, the other *suspected*. When he thinks he is imposing on mankind, they are laughing at him."

Extract from another letter, printed in the Public Ledger, Paris, dated Sept. 2, 1777.

"Two of these Commissioners, for the third is a cipher, are protected in their public capacities by the Court of Versailles; the Court of London hath sent one ambassador, the Congress of America have sent two, to France."

True copy. Attest, H. Ford, Secretary.

gress, or of the Committee, evidence from himself of his illegal conduct, and of the malice and falsehood of many of his accusations against my brother and me?

“Mr. Lee,” says this accuser, “was dragged into the treaty with the utmost reluctance.” The authenticated extracts which I have the honor of sending from my private and public letters from the first moment of the treaty's being taken up by this court, till after its conclusion, prove that this charge too is, like all the others, destitute of every color of truth.

No man, it will appear, could be more anxious for its conclusion; nor any one more rejoiced or more sanguine in his expectation from it than myself. Every letter* will show how strongly my sentiments were against England and in favor of France. It was my hope and expectation as I wrote Mr. S. Adams the 1st of March, “that the British Commissioners would return as they came unless they had power and did acknowledge, fully and clearly, the sovereignty and independence of America as an indispensable preliminary; † this hope and this expectation were fully gratified by the proceedings of Congress. I also gave immediate information of the intention the British ministry discovered of endeavoring to succeed by bribery. ‡ Congress know whether Mr. Deane gave the same warning, for he certainly was also informed of it. The variety of accusations which it hath pleased Mr. Deane to make against my brother and me, has necessarily drawn this answer into a tedious length. Congress I am sure will pardon me. When I entered the public service, it was with a resolution of serving at the hazard of everything but of my honor and reputation, yet I feel it as a real misfortune that I am compelled to call so much of your attention to what may be deemed the con-

* See authenticated extracts, No. XXXI.

† See extracts, No. XXXI. (E.)

‡ See No. XXXI. (D.) “But the ministry of England give out that they have dispatched half a million of guineas to pave the way to a favorable reception of their propositions.”

cerns of individuals, but in truth the public is highly interested in the question. There is one observation on Mr. Deane's conduct which I cannot omit.

He acknowledges his having been passed in both of his suspicions, and what he grounds them upon when he left France. He would induce us to believe that he considered his recall, not to be for any misdemeanor, but to give Congress an account of their affairs in Europe. For this purpose he had two audiences of Congress. Now I appeal to every man living, whether, if he had the least evidence to support his suspicions, or had any sense of the duty he owed to his country, his first word ought not to have been, "Gentlemen, I have a matter to communicate of the last importance to these United States; I beg a secret committee may be immediately appointed, to whom I may make it known, that upon their report you may take such measures as you may think the welfare of the public requires."

Could there be possibly anything more highly and immediately interesting to the common weal, than the treachery of one so highly trusted as I was, and possessed of such a knowledge of your affairs, as to have it in my power to do infinite injury? If he really believed what he pretends, could he have avoided making this communication? Does he not know that if what he mentions could be proved, and would fix treason upon me, that his concealment of it so long is misprision of treason? From the 19th of August to the 5th of December, he left me to do all the mischief to the public, which he could not but expect I should do, if I were guilty of what he accuses me.

At length he publishes it to all the world, and, of consequence to me. It was therefore a warning to me, if guilty, to go over to the enemy, with every communication that could be injurious to your interests. The extremes of folly and unkindness combined could not have dictated a conduct so opposite to what he ought to have pursued.

The truth is that Mr. Deane expected, from the effect of a

French fleet, of which he was to claim the sole merit, the brilliancy of a diamond snuff-box, and complimentary letter, that he should have nothing to do, but make his triumphal entry into Philadelphia, and return immediately. * * * * *

APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS REFERRED TO
IN SUPPORT OF MR. LEE'S LETTER.

No. I.

FROM JAMES GARDOQUI, WITH A. LEE'S ANSWER.

MADRID, *February 17, 1777.*

ARTHUR LEE, Esq., SIR—

My person and house, in the commercial way, are well known to the American colonies, not only on account of our long standing correspondence of thirty or forty years, but also on that of the true affection with which we have endeavored to serve them. I am lately arrived at Madrid on some particular affairs which have occasioned my treating with the ministers of state who have honored me with their especial favors and trust, and of course this has led me into the bottom of the principal affairs of Europe, among which I have talked about your coming from Paris to Spain, undoubtedly with the design of treating on the subject of the colonies, as I judge they have already done and continue doing at said Paris; but having heard that in such a small place as Madrid it would be absolutely impossible to remain incog, either by your own or any other name, and you would of course be spied by the gentlemen here who have a real interest therein; and, consequently, you could not treat with the ministers without hurting the colonies in the highest degree by your own doings, and besides you would set this court at variance without success, I judge you will improve of the opportunity which offers by chance, and I think is an excellent one, and have therefore no objections to hint it to you, being fully assured that it will cause no displeasure here.

The Marquis of Grimaldi intends to set out soon for Biscay, and I propose to do the same for my house at Bilboa, all which we shall so manage as to meet one and the other at Vitoria, where we shall tarry under some good disguise until our mutual arrival, and as this noble minister has had to this day the entire

direction of all affairs, and is, of course, fully acquainted with his Majesty's intentions, believe it is the only person with whom you might treat, either in said place or some country-house that might be picked up for the purpose, and thereby avoid the inconveniences which must inevitably follow, by your coming to Madrid. By the aforesaid, believe I have given you a proof of my attachment to the colonies, and I must also add, with all truth, that the principal persons here are of this same opinion, although the present state of affairs obliges them to make no show thereof. In short, sir, I hope you will approve of my proposed method, being the safest and most natural to carry out the views of both parties, and beg you would give me an answer through the same hands as the present will be delivered you, doubting not but you will tarry at said Vitoria until we get there; and you will also observe that you will be at full liberty to proceed to Madrid, if you should judge proper, after you have talked over the matter with nobleman, which being what occurs.

I have the honor to subscribe myself sincerely, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JAMES GARDOQUI.

P. S. Having considered upon the properest place for our meeting, we have settled it on that of Burgos, instead of Vitoria, which, pray note accordingly, and hope to meet you there.

February 16, 1779. Copy of a letter with its P. S., signed James Gardoqui. Compared by John Adams.

Received the 28th.

ANSWER.

BURGOS, *February 28, 1777.*

SIR—

I have the honor of yours of the 17th, and, agreeable to your request, will wait for you at this place.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

ARTHUR LEE.

Duplicate copy. H. Ford, Secretary.

February 16, 1779. Copy of a minute, in the handwriting of the Hon. Arthur Lee, made on the above letter. Compared by John Adams.

On the Inside Cover.—"To Arthur Lee, Esq., at ——"

Outside.—"To A. Dr. Arthur Lee, Caballero Ingles."

No. IV.

EXTRACTS FROM THE COMMISSIONERS' LETTERS TO THE
COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS.

(B.)

PARIS, 28th April, 1777.

"As the minister from Prussia may not soon arrive, and that court has shown a disposition to treat, by entering into a correspondence with us, we have thought it might be well that one of us should visit it immediately, to improve its present good dispositions, and obtain, if possible, the privilege of their ports to trade and fit ships in, and to sell our prizes. Mr. Lee has readily undertaken this journey."

Copy of a paper in the handwriting of M. Gillee, said to be a copy. Compared by John Adams.

(C.)

PARIS, 8th September, 1777.

"Spain not having yet resolved to receive a minister from Congress, Mr. Franklin still remains here. She has, however, afforded the aids we formerly mentioned, and supplies of various articles have continued till lately to be sent, consigned to M. Gerry, much of which we hear have safely arrived."

February 19, 1772. Copy of extract from a copy attested by W. T. Franklin. Compared by John Adams.

No. VIII.

VERGENNES TO M. GRAND.

SIR—

Your idea has been thought to be good, but as it can produce only a small effect without a frequent repetition of it, it is judged best to defer the execution until the moment arrives proper to render the sensation more durable. The news received from Holland from the envoy of certain personages in America, is not confirmed from any other quarter. There is no longer any doubt of England's desire of peace; the minister himself wishes it, but I do not believe it is upon America's terms. Your friends are neither just nor honest, if they complain of the bounds which must be set to the enterprise of their privateers. They have

been informed of what can be granted; they have been entreated to conform themselves to our obligations. We have exercised a patience which they ought not to have counted on. But when matters are carried to excess, it is necessary to let them see that we are not insensible. We cannot suffer the privateers of any nation whatever to come in and go out of our ports as they would in and out of their own; our treaties will not permit it. In like manner we cannot admit the sale of prizes. As to everything else we have been easy, as we have been heretofore, in whatever could be expected. It is with regret that in some few cases, although we have had frequent occasion, we have urged some severity; however, if I have a letter written to me couched in proper terms, I shall take order for returning an answer. But with regard to what you tell me of the disposition of your friends, I see that the sentiment of friendship is not deeply engraved in them. M. De Chaumont hath spoken to me of the intention they now have to sell their privateers here. If they had rather send them away let them explain themselves. I will readily undertake to procure for them the earliest permission, provided it be on conditions clearly expressed, not to return again. As to Hodge, you know what engagement he had made. I cannot tell whether in America it is allowable to use such insincerity, but in France and in Europe it is a very serious offence to lie to a king, which he hath done, when he declared and gave bond that the vessel upon leaving Dunkerque should not make a cruise.

Signed DE VERGENNES.

August 21, 1777.

No. IX.

FROM BARON SCHULENBERG TO A. LEE.

BERLIN, *January 16, 1778.*

SIR—

In answer to the letter which you did me the honor to write to me the 28th of December last year, I begin by remarking to you, sir, that before this last I received two of your letters, viz., of the 4th and of the 11th of that same month; but as you assure me of having written two since the fourth of December, that expression may leave some doubt whether the letter of the 4th of December is counted among the two letters of which you speak to me, or not; in the latter case, one of your letters will have been lost. As to myself, sir, after my letter of the 13th of December, the receipt of which you acknowledge, I have made you two replies, the 18th and 23d of the same month, which, I hope, you will have received. I address this, as you wish, to M. Grand, in Montmartre Street; and that you may be certain, in future, whether any of our letters miscarry, I

propose to you, sir, to number yours, as I do mine, beginning with this present one.

The reflections which you make, sir, upon the present state of affairs in America are most just; and we do in fact perceive the situation of Gen. Howe to be embarrassed and difficult. Time must show whether, and how, he will get out of it, or whether, at least, he will take and maintain his quarters with more prudence and success than the last year.

As the events of this war become, from day to day, more interesting, I repeat my request, sir, that you will be pleased to communicate regularly to me the intelligence which you may receive. The king takes constantly much interest therein. *His Majesty wishes that your generous efforts may be followed with full success*; and, as I have already told you in my letter of the 15th of December, *he will not hesitate to acknowledge your independence as soon as France, who finds herself more directly interested in the issue of this contest, shall set the example.* His Majesty would not make so much difficulty of receiving your vessels into his ports if it was not that, being without any fleet to revenge the affronts that might be given to your vessels in these ports, and Embden, fine and secure as it may otherwise be, having no fort to defend it, he is unwilling to expose himself to such an unpleasing contingency.

As to the muskets, and other arms of our manufacture, you are free, sir, to purchase or command them; and the bankers, Spittberger, who are the undertakers of the manufacture of arms, have received instructions to deliver whatever may be demanded by you. I inclose a memorandum of the price, which is the same as the king pays; and I add that the muskets for the infantry may be delivered at a little lower price, if you will be satisfied with the soundness of the work without requiring that perfect equality which the king insists upon.

I have the honor to be, with the most distinguished consideration, sir,

Your very humble servant,

Signed THE BARON OF SCHULENBERG.

To Mr. ARTHUR LEE, at Paris.

No. X.

FROM BARON SCHULENBERG TO MR. ARTHUR LEE.

BERLIN, June 26, 1777.

After having testified to you, sir, in my letter of the 18th of this month, our inclination to establish a direct commerce with the colonies of North America, provided we can surmount the difficulties which are in the way of it, it remains

only for me to answer you concerning the free access of your privateers into our ports, which you mention in your letter of the 20th. I can assure you, sir, that the king is thoroughly disposed to give pleasure to your constituents; but, on the other hand, as you readily perceive, his Majesty, in the present circumstances, would not wish to embroil himself with the Court of London. Besides, our ports have not hitherto received any but merchantmen, and neither has a man-of-war nor a privateer ever entered; so that the officers in our ports would be embarrassed by their conduct on such occasions, the customs which are observed in that respect being absolutely unknown to them. We must therefore inform ourselves how the Courts of France and of Spain conduct; we must learn the formalities which they observe towards your armed vessels, and how it is they give free access to these, consistent with the ties of friendship which they preserve with Great Britain. The result of these inquiries will decide whether, and on what conditions, the desired permission can be granted; and I shall do myself the pleasure, sir, to let you know personally the intention which his Majesty shall judge fit to make.

I have the honor to be, with the most perfect consideration, sir,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,
Signed THE BARON DE SCHULENBERG.

To Mr. ARTHUR LEE, at Berlin.

No. XI.

FROM BARON SCHULENBERG TO MR. ARTHUR LEE.

BERLIN, *August 8.*

I should not have so long omitted my answer to the two letters which you did me the honor to write to me the 15th of August and 21st of September, if I had been possessed of any intelligence favorable to your wishes. But the king, notwithstanding his good will towards your nations, having not judged it suitable to grant to your privateers a free entrance into his ports, at a time when even France, though beginning to reap considerable profits from the trade of America, gave way to the representations of the British minister. * * * * *

No. XII. (A.)

FROM ARTHUR LEE TO DR. FRANKLIN.

CHAILLOT, *November 16, 1777.*

To Dr. FRANKLIN.

DEAR SIR—

I send you the inclosed letter in answer to mine on the proposed negotiation. It contains the conversation he heard in the Cabinet. If you think it proper, I shall answer that there is no foundation for supposing any disagreement between you and me; that if they wait for propositions coming from us they deceive themselves, as we are not solicitous about treating with them—and that their honor and satisfaction is their affair, not ours. It seems to me, that treating them cavalierly is most likely to do service by making them despair of their undertaking. I am satisfied that no principle but fear will ever operate upon them.

The two first lines of this conversation, joined with a variety of information I have received to the same purpose, have given me much uneasiness. Great industry, I am sure, has been used to propagate this report during my absence in Germany, and, it appears, with success. I beg and hope for your advice how to discover the authors, and prevent the consequences both to the public and myself.

I have the honor to be, dear sir,
ARTHUR LEE.

True copy (duplicate), from the Letter-Book. H. Ford, Secretary.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS WROTE BY THE HON. ARTHUR LEE.

PARIS, *November 30, 1777.*

To the CHAIRMAN OF THE

COMMITTEE OF FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—

“Yet, with these circumstances to oppose it; the impracticability of obtaining any adequate number of troops, the lowness of their credit, the probability of an European war, the carrying on of their commerce by the ships of their rivals, to every common understanding the impossibility of success, and, I may add with certainty, their own conviction of it, I am clear in my opinion that they will attempt another campaign, and that every man and every shilling they can procure will be devoted to the desolation of our country.”

A. LEE.

PARIS, *November 29, 1777.*

Hon. R. H. LEE, Esq.—

“Much ill humor is expected by this gentleman against the French court, and he has endeavored much to make us and others hold the same language. But our colleague and myself think very differently, and are of opinion that this court has been compelled to every step of severity by gross misconduct on our part. The principal one was Cunningham’s business at Dunkirk; with the particulars of this business I am to this moment unacquainted. He is unwise enough to declare he did it to excite war. Such an attempt without our advice and concurrence on the propriety of it, and the means, was highly criminal. He is conscious of it; and therefore seems as if he was searching for shelter under a general discontent and disagreement, than which, if it operated upon our friends here, nothing can be more injurious. For, though they do not all we wish, they certainly do more than any other; and, it would be both ingratitude and folly to repay it with ill-humor and ill-will. They told us fairly and fully from the beginning the line they meant to pursue, and entreated us repeatedly not to transgress it, and involve them. It has been transgressed by this gentleman’s advice and by his agents, with strong circumstances of ill-faith, and with the ridiculous idea of forcing them into a war. The consequence of this has fallen upon our heads, and we have not the least pretence for complaint.”

A. LEE.

PARIS, *December 19, 1777.*

Hon. S. ADAMS—

“The last ray of British splendor seems now passing away, and the American sun emerging in full glory from the clouds that obscured it. His Most Christian Majesty has assured us in the most explicit terms, that he will enter into a treaty with us as soon as the courier returns from Spain, and maintain our independence by arms, if necessary. The only stipulation he requires is, that we shall not renounce our independence when we make peace, a condition to which, I believe, we have no insuperable objection or reluctance. I have no reason to doubt the good faith of this assurance, and the solid wisdom of it is manifest. They say their object is to attach us to them, as long as human ties can endure, and certainly the principles on which they mean to act are wisely calculated for this purpose. I doubt you will not drop a single tear upon the grave of G. B. That perverse and fallen people seem now sensible of the shame and ruin that await them. But I question whether they have spirit to avenge themselves upon the royal villain who is the great author of all their calamities. Farewell.

A. LEE.

PARIS, *January 5, 1778.*

Hon. R. H. LEE, Esq.—

“Though nothing is yet concluded, yet everything seems hastening to the declaration we wish.”

A. LEE.

PARIS, *January 9, 1778.*

Hon. R. H. LEE, Esq.—

“I hoped by this time to have informed you that something decisive was concluded. We remain, however, in the same state of inertitude. There is nothing so necessary in politics and negotiations as patience.”

A. LEE.

True copies (duplicates), from the Letter-Book. H. Ford, Secretary.

February 16, 1779. I have compared the extracts on this sheet, with a Letter-Book in the handwriting of the Hon. Arthur Lee, and find them true copies. John Adams.

No. XVII. (DUPLICATE.) LETTER-BOOK II., page 80.

A. LEE TO ——— IN LONDON.

PARIS, *July 25, 1778.*

DEAR SIR—

Your friend received yours of the 2d. The ring is delivered. Mr. T. called upon you by my direction, but not for money, of which he had from me what I thought sufficient, but he has since drawn on my banker for twenty guineas. I doubt very much the truth of what Mr. W. tells you relative to him, having evidence in my possession of his being a false accuser. Nor is it true that he has directly or indirectly communicated to me what he told you he had done; on the contrary, he and his brother have, by their agent here, been insinuating accusations secretly against me, which have come to my knowledge without their intending it. I have had frequent information of those very men and their correspondent here having done all in his power to calumniate me, and I am very well persuaded from their own account of the matter that they have endeavored to seduce my S——y. I have a great many other reasons for cautioning you against any communications with those men, either in what concerns the public, or me. At the same time as Mr. T——’s conduct has appeared to you suspicious, I shall be obliged to you for any information that may be relied upon relative to his proceedings, which are the more to be watched, as he has staid a long time

contrary to my orders, by alleging sickness. In our situation we are obliged to employ persons of whom we cannot be altogether sure, and there are but too many motives to tempt them to infidelity. You will be so good as to give me at all times intelligence of what reaches you relative to such persons, that both the public and myself may suffer as little as possible by their treachery. You will certainly find in the shops a print of the old gentleman, taken from a portrait in my possession, and which is the most like him of any I know; as to the other, there is no likeness of him to be got in Europe. Be so good as to convey the inclosed letters, two for Mr. Ridley, and one for Mr. Downman, and write to me as often as you can. Byron's fleet was met the 9th July, lat. 47, lon. 31, 33, standing westward, with the wind S. S. W. The conciliatory bills were received, but not very graciously. Philadelphia was evacuated. No intelligence of the arrival of the Commissioners, 14th June. Supplies going in fast, and every one in high spirits. Adieu."

Trip. True copy from the Hon. A. Lee's Letter-Book. H. Ford, Secretary.
February 19, 1779. Copy from a Letter-Book in the handwriting of the Hon. Arthur Lee. Compared by John Adams.

The letter, of which this is a true copy, is addressed to a respectable gentleman, and who has always been a firm friend to America. Edm. Jennings. February 20, 1779.

NO. XVIII. (DUPLICATE.)

I received yours of the 7th and the newspapers. The information it contains relative to intelligence from hence, cannot be of any material use without the original papers or letters to prove it. **** of these, if not all, you will therefore endeavor to procure. Learn how many months provisions the fleet has on board, the number of men in each ship, as near as you can, and whether any thing is intended against the Spanish flota. I mentioned to you the charges against you here of stock-jobbing. You must avoid giving any foundation for them. You know the quarter from which the accusation comes. It would be doubly improper for any one employed by me to be doing that which in itself is wrong, and which I am censuring in others. Those who accuse you I believe to be people capable of any falsehood to cover their own proceedings and criminate others.

True copy. H. Ford, Secretary.
February 19, 1779. Copy from a Letter-Book in the handwriting of the Hon. Arthur Lee. Compared by John Adams.

No. XIX. (DUPLICATE.)

PASSY, 22d December, 1777.

DEAR NEPHEW—

You need be under no concern as to your orders from Mr. Deane; as you have always acted uprightly and ably for the public service, you would be justified if you had no orders at all; but, as he generally consulted me and had *my* approbation in the orders he gave, and I know they were for the best, and aimed at the public good. I hereby certify you that I approve and join these you have received from him, and desire you to proceed in the execution of the same.

Signed B. FRANKLIN.

No. 4. Copy of extract.

February 16, 1778. Copy of a paper which I take to be in the handwriting of Mr. Williams. Certified by John Adams.

JONATHAN WILLIAMS, Esq.

No. XXII. (DUPLICATE.)

PARIS, ce Samedi, 8 Aoust, 1778.

J'ai beaucoup réfléchi, Monsieur, sur la conversation que nous eûmes ensemble hier, et voici les observations simples auxquelles je dois m'arrêter. J'avois fait des conventions, il y a environ 18 mois, avec Messrs. Franklin et Deane, qui n'avoient pas qualité ny autorité pour les faire. Et borné de bonne foi, j'ai payé envers les Etats Unis de l'Amérique tous les services dont j'ai été capable. J'ai fait, comme vous savez, un voyage en Hollande de 4 mois 72 pour faire exécuter un vaisseau pour les Etats Unis, sur lequel je devois me transporter en Amérique pour y aller établir une marine militaire en exécution des engagements pris et signés par Messrs. Franklin et Deane depuis mon retour en France. Vous savez combien on en a mal agi avec moi, quoique je n'aye jamais mis aucun prix à mes services.

Il m'est affligéant de savoir que l'on m'avoit trompé, puis qu'on n'avoit pas qualité suffisante pour traiter avec moi, et que par cela, on m'exposoit à avoir l'air d'un aventurier en arrivant en Amérique; j'ai cela sur le cœur, et ne l'oublierai de ma vie à cette faute éminemment grave, surtout pour un jeune peuple qui ne doit montrer, et avoir que des vertues, on y a ajouté le dernier trait de scélératesse digne du peuple le plus corrompû en m'escamotant l'écrit passé entre nous; ce n'est pas que j'en fisse, puis qu'il n'avoit point de valeur faute de qualité suffisante pour contracter; mais la bonne foi auroit du revenir sur ses pas et convenir qu'on avoit été trop loin, par le désir d'utilité de son pays, tout devoit alors nul et honnête.

Enfin, Monsieur, je ne me refuserois pas à faire ce dont j'ai eu la volonté les années derniers ; mais je ne me prêterois et ne m'engagerois à rien que par des propositions du Congrès. Je n'ai point besoin de fortune. J'en ai une double de mes besoins ; j'ai une réputation faite ici pour avoir été professeur en marine à Versailles ; un vieux peuple tient à ces anciennes erreurs, ce n'est que les jeunes assez sages pour profiter des fautes par où l'on a passé, qu'ils peuvent retirer des fruits utiles achetés par des siècles et des millions. Le bien dans votre patrie doit dans ce moment y être facile à faire, car il ne peut y avoir à vaincre que la difficulté des choses, et point des personnes des talens seuls suffisent ; pour cela, et très volontiers, je donnerois quelque années de ma vie pour la gloire d'un peuple que j'estime, quoique je tienne beaucoup à un repos que j'ai acheté par 32 ans de service dans la marine. A mesure que le services que je peux rendre à l'Amérique sont plus importants, puis qu'il s'agit de la création d'une marine militaire, dont le sagesse des principes dans son institution doit la mettre de niveaux, tout au moins avec la puissance qui en a le plus sur les mers, et avec surement une depense moindre de moitié, il est evident que je ne saurois et ne pouvois faire le bien avec une qualité subalterne.

Votre pays aurait-il le courage de confier à un étrangère l'autorité suffisante d'une des plus grandes et importants partes de son administration ? Voilà ce dont je doute, malgré qui cela soit indispensablement nécessaire pour maner tout à son entière exécution, et qu'il ne faille pas plus d'une séance au Congrès assemblé pour examiner la constitution de toutes les parties législative et de compabilité que comporte cet immense département dans toutes ces parties. J'ajouterois que cet ordre d'institution est tellement simple, qu'une heure d'examen du Congrès chaque mois seroit suffisant pour l'examen de toutes les parties séparés, tant des hommes, des choses, que la depense des unes et des autres. C'est de cet ordre clair et simple qui doit resulter une permanence d'économie, de force, de sagesse, et de justice. Voilà, Monsieur, en précis, le bien que je voulois faire à votre pays, et que je doute que je lui fasse jamais.

Mon amitié pour vous me fit promettre hier de vous donner pour le Congrès trois tableaux qui font la substance du département de la marine des Etats Unis de l'Amérique, que j'ai composées, il y a environ deux ans ; mais comme ces ne sont que des résultats, et qu'il est nécessaire d'expliquer les différents principes auxquels ils tiennent, et que pour cela il faudroit y joindre ma collection entière de marine, vous trouverez, bon Monsieur, que je retire ma parole. Cet envoie n'apperoit pas le bien que vous et moi desirons ; un mémoire, ou un plan très composé, et toujours un mot, si son auteur n'y est pas pour l'expliquer.

Adieu, Monsieur ; je vous embrasse de tout mon cœur, et suis avec un très parfait attachement votre très humble et obéissant serviteur,

ROUX.

Vrai copie de l'original. Ludwell Lee.

Copy from the original. Compared by John Adams.

No. XXXI. (DUPLICATE.) LETTER-BOOK III., page 2.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS WROTE BY THE HON. ARTHUR LEE, ESQ.

(A.)

PARIS, *January 24, 1778.*

HON. R. H. LEE, Esq.—

“Our ultimate object here is in great forwardness, and I hope we shall soon give you an account of its conclusion. A war seems every day more certain, and I can assure you that this country is exceedingly well prepared for it.”

Letter-Book III., page 22.

(B.)

February 5, 1778.

HON. R. H. LEE, Esq.—

“The delay of our dispatches enables me to add this to my former, and to assure you that the business has gone on with all possible dispatch, and that in all human probability my next will inform you of its happy conclusion.”

Letter-Book III., page 25.

(C.)

PARIS, *February 9, 1778.*

HON. F. L. LEE, Esq.—

“I congratulate you with all my heart on the treaties which Congress will receive by the frigate that brings this. According to the present appearance of things, the event, which is to bring the second treaty into operation, will take place before this reaches you.”

Letter-Book III., page 32.

February 17, 1778.

HON. S. ADAMS, Esq.—

“Let me embrace you, my dear friend, on the accomplishment of the end of all our labors by the treaties which will accompany this, in which the liberty, sovereignty, and independence of the United States are secured. I thought it absolutely necessary that we should urge the insertion of sovereignty, that there might not hereafter be any question on that head, as there long was in the case of the United Provinces, and the Swiss Cantons. You may be assured that war is resolved on here; and from the situation of things it cannot long be avoided.”

Letter-Book III., page 71.

(D.)

PARIS, *February 28, 1778.*

The CHAIRMAN OF THE

COMMITTEE OF FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE—

“Our joint dispatches will convey to you the bills as they are now passing in the Parliament of Great Britain, for appointing Commissioners to negotiate with *their deluded subjects and declaring in what manner they will be graciously pleased to exercise in future the right of taxing us.* It would not be doing justice to their bills to attempt any comment upon them. They speak for themselves, and loudly too. But the ministry of England give out that they have dispatched half a million of guineas to pave the way to a favorable reception of their propositions; and I know from the best authority here, that they have assured Count Maurepas of their being sure of a majority in Congress. By such base arts do they endeavor to cover their nakedness, and sustain their desperate cause. France has done us substantial benefits—Great Britain substantial injuries. France offers to guarantee our sovereignty and universal freedom of commerce—Great Britain condescends to accept of our submission, and to monopolize our commerce. France demands of us to be independent—Great Britain tributary. I do not comprehend how there can be a mind so debased, or an understanding so perverted, as to balance between them.”

Letter-Book III., page 80.

(E.)

March 1, 1778.

Hon. SAMUEL ADAMS, Esq.—

“I was in hopes to day’s post would have brought us news from England, and the acts for negotiating with you. If we may judge of them from the bills, they will be an everlasting proof of the feebleness and folly of our enemies. I trust their Commissioners will return as they came, unless they have power, and do acknowledge clearly and fully the sovereignty and independence of America as an indispensable preliminary.”

Letter-Book III., page 93.

(G.)

PARIS, *March 19, 1778.*

Hon. HENRY LAURENS, Esq., President—

“P. S. To-morrow we are to be presented to the King of France, and the English Ambassador quits this court without taking leave. War must immediately be the consequence, as these movements have been determined on, from the treaty of amity and commerce which we have concluded with this court,

having been announced in form to that of London. The consequence of this, in relieving our country from the chief weight of the war, cannot but follow, and therefore I congratulate you upon it most sincerely. In my judgment, a year or two must reduce Great Britain to any terms the allies may think proper to demand."

Letter-Book III., page 116.

PARIS, *April 4, 1778.*

Hon. HENRY LAURENS, Esq., President.—

"I trust he (Mons. Gerard) will conduct his negotiation agreeable to what appears to me to be the disposition of the court and minister here—fairness and generosity."

True copies from the Letter-Book. H. Ford, Secretary.

No. 1, page 162.

PARIS, *December 19, 1777.*

Hon. R. H. LEE, Esq.—

"Our joint dispatches will inform you how near we are to a conclusion of what must settle the question between Great Britain and the United States forever. I see no reason to doubt the good faith of what they promise here, and much to admire the substantial wisdom of it."

Letter-Book II., page 116.

PARIS, *May 7, 1778.*

His Excellency Gov. HENRY, Virginia—

"The exhausted state of Great Britain has disenabled her to carry her menaces into execution against France for concluding a treaty with us. Before this reaches you, a French fleet under Count d'Estaing, their best admiral, will have arrived to your assistance. The enemy therefore is likely to be blocked up in their turn, for the fleet they had prepared under Admiral Byron to reinforce Lord Howe is stopped, and it is generally thought will not sail. This arises from apprehensions for their safety at home. If they do not support their naval superiority with you, I think we shall soon have the pleasure of seeing them driven entirely out of America. A continuation of that spirit and vigor with which your affairs have hitherto been conducted, must soon accomplish our utmost wishes, and secure us in peace, liberty, and safety."

PARIS, *June 15, 1778.*

His Excellency, Gov. HENRY, Virginia—

“As our enemy appear unable to enforce their navy employed against you, and Count d’Estaing’s fleet is stronger, it is to be hoped your coast will soon be cleared, by their ships being entirely driven away. They are equally unable to avenge themselves upon our ally here, and will probably soon be forced to call home all their forces for their defence. The diminution of their commerce, the distress of their people, the imbecility and wickedness of their consuls, and the rapacity of their officers, announce the inevitable downfall of their domination, and the ruin of their affairs.”

Letter-Book II., page 126.

True copies from the Letter-Books. H. Ford, Secretary.

No. 1, page 81.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE HON. ARTHUR LEE, ESQ., TO THE
HON. RICHARD HENRY LEE, DATED PARIS, OCTOBER 4, 1777.

I inclose you a copy of a late measure of the court here, which with others seems unfavorable to us. The reasons they give for them are the proceedings with respect to the arming Cunningham in their ports, and sending him to cruise directly in the channel, contrary to their treaty, and to their repeated requests and our promises. That fact is so, and it was done by Mr. Deane without consulting or informing us. He has, therefore, thought it necessary to write an apology for it to Mr. Morris, which I understand is to be shown about privately, and he seems desirous of persuading us and others to be in ill humor with the court for taking violent measures, to which they have been compelled by his unwarrantable conduct. All I can say is, that it will be doing them great injustice to form an opinion of their disposition from steps which they assure us were taken from necessity, and which we are conscious those proceedings forced on them.

These three leaves contain extracts from Letter-Books of the Hon. A. Lee. Compared by John Adams.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE HON. A. LEE, ESQ., TO THE
HON. RICHARD HENRY LEE, DATED NOVEMBER 29, 1777.

Much ill humor is expressed by this gentleman against the French Court, and he has endeavored much to make us and others hold the same language. But our colleague and myself think very differently, and are of opinion that this court has been compelled to every step of severity by gross misconduct on our part. The principal one was Cunningham’s business at Dunkirk; with the particulars of this business I am at this moment unacquainted. He is unwise enough to

declare he did it to excite a war. Such an attempt without our advice or concurrence in the propriety of it, and the means, was highly criminal. He is conscious of it, and therefore seems as if he was searching for shelter under a general discontent and disagreement, than which if it operated upon our friends here nothing can be more injurious. For though they do not do all we wish, they certainly do more than any other, and it would be both ingratitude and folly to repay them with ill humor and ill will. They told us fairly and fully from the beginning the line they meant to pursue, and entreated us repeatedly not to transgress it and involve them. It has been transgressed under this gentleman's advice and by his agents, with strong circumstances of ill faith, and with the ridiculous idea of forcing them into a war. The consequences of this have fallen upon our heads, and we have not the least pretence for complaint.

Extract. Compared by John Adams.

No. XXXII.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE HON. A. LEE, ESQ., TO THE
COMMITTEE OF SECRET CORRESPONDENCE, APRIL 4, 1778.

“I also send an accurate list of the actual and intended force of Great Britain.”

True copy from the Letter-Book. H. Ford, Secretary.

No. XXXIII.

To whom these presents may concern:—

I, John Bonfield, at Bordeaux, in France, Merchant, do hereby certify that the Hon. Wm. Lee, Esq., did not propose or demand to receive for himself, either directly or indirectly, any part of the commissions that I might charge or receive in consequence of his appointment of me to be Commercial Agent for the Secret Committee of Congress; and I further certify that the said William Lee never did, either at the time of his making such appointment, or at any time before or since, make or even hint at receiving any part of such commissions as aforesaid; and I further certify that the said William, nor any person for him, has ever received from me any reward, gratuity, or commission whatsoever, in consequence

of his appointing me commercial agent as aforesaid. In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, at Bordeaux aforesaid, this 19th of February, 1779.

Signed JOHN BONFIELD.



Copy from the original. Compared by John Adams.

I, John Schweighauser, Merchant, of this city of Nantes, in France, do hereby certify to all whom it may concern, that when the Hon. William Lee, Esq., appointed me Commercial Agent for the Secret Committee of Congress, he did not then, nor at any time before or afterwards, propose, stipulate, or demand to receive for himself, directly or indirectly, any part or share of such commissions as I might charge or receive for doing the business of said committee; and I do further certify that neither the said William Lee, nor any person for him, has heretofore received or is to receive from me or on my account, any reward, gratuity, or commission whatsoever in consequence of his having appointed me commercial agent as aforesaid. In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal at Nantes, in France, this day of 18th February, 1779.

Signed J. D. SCHWEIGHAUSER.

Witnessed.

J. A. CALLARD.

J. J. SCHORNDORFF.

True copy compared with the original. H. Ford, Secretary.

No. XXXIV.

PARIS, July 4, 1777.

Captain WEEKES, SIR—

We have appointed Mr. Williams to take the direction of such affairs at Nantes as are more particularly within our department, and accordingly advise you to address yourself to him for any assistance you stand in want of in the disposition of your prizes or your other concerns; you will give directions to Captains Johnson and Nicholson, which renders it unnecessary for us to write to each one separately.

We are yours, &c. &c.,

Signed B. FRANKLIN.

SILAS DEANE.

True copy from a letter in the handwriting of Mr. Jonathan Williams. H. Ford, Secretary.

LAMBERT WICKES, Esq.

(DUPLICATE.)

PARIS, July 4, 1777.

Mr. JONATHAN WILLIAMS,

DEAR SIR—

Yours of the 30th ult. and 1st inst. are before us. Mr. Morris, were he present, has not the least right to *any direction of Captain Weekes or his prizes, and less so to Johnson or Nicholson; they are Continental property, and are immediately under our direction, by the express orders of Congress and under no other persons.*

Inclosed you have a letter to Captain Weekes, and to Captains Johnson and Nicholson on this subject. Mr. Lee's arrival would make no odds in *this business*, as it is distinct from anything contained in either of their appointments, and your appointment from us is the only one at present that can be of any force; we therefore direct you not to give way to any pretensions of any one, but consulting with Mr. Ross and Captain Weekes, proceed to dispose of the prizes, and to settle their affairs in the best and most expeditious manner possible. Mr. Deane has wrote to Captain Weekes to address to the house you mention.

Signed SILAS DEANE.

True copy from the extract in the handwriting of Mr. Jonathan Williams,
H. Ford, Secretary.



CONSTITUTION
OF THE
SEVENTY-SIX SOCIETY.

ARTICLE I.

THIS Society shall be called "The Seventy-Six Society," and its object shall be the publication and republication of books and papers relating to the American Revolution.

ARTICLE II.

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and a Council. The Council shall consist of the above-named officers, and of ten other members.

ARTICLE III.

It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the meetings of the Society and the Council.

ARTICLE IV.

It shall be the duty of the Secretary to keep minutes of the meetings of the Society and of the Council, and to conduct their correspondence. The minutes of this Council shall be at all times open to the inspection of the members of the Society.

ARTICLE V.

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to collect the subscriptions of the members. He shall pay no money of the Society without the

written order of the Council, signed by the President and attested by the Secretary. He shall present a report of the receipts and payments of the preceding year, at the annual meeting of the Society.

ARTICLE VI.

The Council shall have the management of the business of the Society; they shall decide what publications shall be made, and provide for their distribution among the members. They may enact such by-laws for their own government, and appoint such committees as they may think necessary. They shall make a report of their transactions for the preceding year, at the annual meeting of the Society.

ARTICLE VII.

The Society shall meet annually on the fifth day of September (the anniversary of the meeting of the first Congress), or on the following day when the fifth of September falls on Sunday. At this meeting the election of officers for the ensuing year shall be held. Special meetings of the Society may be held upon the written request of not less than twenty members, addressed to the President, and specifying the object of the meeting. No other business than that specified shall be transacted at such special meeting.

ARTICLE VIII.

The Council shall meet on the third day after their election (on the fourth, when such third day falls on Sunday), and at such other times and at such place as they may from time to time appoint.

ARTICLE IX.

The annual subscription shall be Five Dollars, payable on or before the first day of January. No member shall be entitled to receive any of the publications of the Society, during any year for which his subscription is in arrears.

ARTICLE X.

The publications of the Society shall not be sold upon any pretence whatever; they shall be distributed among the members equally; and

persons joining the Society after the first year, shall pay the subscription of any previous year, to entitle them to the publications issued during that year.

ARTICLE XI.

The members of this Society shall consist of such persons as shall sign this Constitution, or shall, if not residents of Philadelphia, express in writing their desire of joining it. Resignations shall be presented at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE XII.

This Constitution shall be altered only at the annual meeting of the Society, and only by a vote of four-fifths of the members present.

OFFICERS
OF THE
SEVENTY-SIX SOCIETY.

ELECTED SEPTEMBER 5, 1854.

PRESIDENT.

HENRY J. WILLIAMS.

SECRETARY.

HENRY PENINGTON.

TREASURER.

WILLIAM DUANE.

COUNCIL.

*EDWARD D. INGRAHAM,
LEONARD R. KOECKER, M. D.,
JOHN JORDAN, JR.,
EDWARD ARMSTRONG,
THOMAS BALCH,

TOWNSEND WARD,
AUBREY H. SMITH,
JOSEPH R. PAXSON,
FERDINAND J. DREER,
CHARLES F. BECK, M. D.

* Deceased.

*Allen
4*

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