

state of slavery, by every effort and artifice in their power, we are of opinion that the time has fully arrived for the Colonies to adopt the last measure for our common good and safety, and that the sooner they declare themselves separate from, and independent of the Crown and Parliament of *Great Britain*, the sooner they will be able to make effectual opposition, and establish their liberties on a firm and permanent basis. We, therefore, most earnestly instruct and charge you to move for, without loss of time, and endeavour to obtain, positive instructions from the Convention of *Maryland* to their Delegates in Congress, immediately to join the other Colonies in declaring that the United Colonies no longer owe allegiance to, nor are they dependant upon, the Crown or Parliament of *Great Britain*, or any other power on earth, but are, for time to come, free and independent States; provided that the power of forming Government, and regulating the internal concerns of each Colony, be left to their respective Legislatures; and that said Delegates give the assent of this Province to any further confederation of the Colonies for the support of their union, and for forming such foreign commercial connections as may be requisite and necessary for our common good and safety. And as the present Government under the King cannot longer exist with safety to the freemen of this Province, we are of opinion a new form of Government, agreeable to the late recommendation of the honourable Continental Congress to all the United Colonies, ought immediately to be adopted.

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE DELEGATES OF TALBOT COUNTY,
MARYLAND.

To the Honourable MATTHEW TILGHMAN, Esq., JAMES LLOYD CHAMBERLAINE, EDWARD LLOYD, NICHOLAS THOMAS, and POLLARD EDMONSON, Esqs., Representatives for TALBOT County, in Convention now sitting:

The Address of part of the freemen of the said County:

GENTLEMEN: The vast importance of the dispute now subsisting between *Great Britain* and the *North-American* Colonies, the fatal consequences that must attend the mismanagement of that dispute, and the effects they must inevitably have on us, in common with the neighbouring Governments, sufficiently justify us, your constituents, in laying our sentiments before you, on the present occasion, respecting the measures taken for carrying into execution the plan proposed for the preservation of our liberties, now in the most imminent danger.

We, therefore, in virtue of that right which the constituent hath in his Representative or Deputy, take leave to express to you our great concern and sorrow that we cannot approve the measures pursued in the last session of Convention. We have seen, with grief and astonishment, the Convention of *Maryland*, in matters of the utmost importance, resolving in direct opposition to the honourable Congress. We have also seen it, in our opinion, profusely lavishing the publick money, at a time when the constituents are labouring under every burden which imagination can conceive, without money, without trade, or any possible means of procuring either. We likewise view its instructions to our Delegates in Congress, of the 18th of *January* and 21st of *May* last, as tending, in direct terms, to a breach of that confidential harmony so happily, before that, subsisting among the United Colonies, and which we, in common with every Colonist embarked in the cause of liberty, beheld as our greatest glory, and the only source of our protection. Its resolves in opposition to those in Congress of the 15th of *May*, declaring it to be necessary that the exercise of any kind of authority under the Crown of *Great Britain* should be totally suppressed, and all the powers of Government exerted under the authority of the people, we conceive to be a direct breach of the Continental Union, and to have a tendency to introduce anarchy and confusion, by setting up and continuing two separate and opposite authorities at the same time binding on the good people of this Province. We look upon the rule of voting in Convention by Counties to be dangerous, as productive of influence which may be used to rule the determinations and resolves of the House by a minority of twenty-seven members, who, in such case, may have all the effects of a majority. We consider our present mode of Government by Conventions and Committees, as insufficient to accomplish the end for which it was instituted; and dan-

gerous, so far as it unites the Legislative and Executive powers in nearly the same persons, which is the true definition of tyranny. We would by no means insinuate that the Convention hath any intention of using its power to that purpose, and hope we shall not be so understood by you; but it is proper to guard against probable evil, where the liberties of mankind are concerned. We have seen, with sorrow of heart, the King of *Great Britain* inexorably determined upon the ruin of our liberties. We view the Parliament as lost to all sense of justice and humanity, attached to, and governed by, a corrupt and wicked Ministry, who are intending the ruin of their infatuated master, or determined to make his Government absolute, and erect a tyranny over his dominions, of which they expect to have the direction. We have seen all the petitions of the Congress treated with contempt; an act of Parliament declaring our resistance against actual violence to be rebellion, excluding us from the protection of the Crown, and compelling such of the Colonists as shall be taken prisoners to fight against their country; the treaties of the King of *Great Britain* with *European* Princes, for engaging foreign mercenaries to aid the forces of that Kingdom in their attempts to subdue the *Americans*, or cut their throats; and by his answer to the Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council of the City of *London*, he manifests such a determined resolution to effect the destruction of *American* freedom, that we cannot entertain the most distant expectation of a reconciliation on reasonable terms. This being the case, we look on all lukewarm backwardness in the Convention of this Province, in the common cause of *America*, and every opposition to the resolves of Congress calculated for our safety and general security, (as we are convinced that of the 15th of *May*, above-mentioned, was,) to be of the most dangerous tendency, and that it will naturally induce the Ministry to look on this Province as friendly to their measures, and, in all probability, bring their forces among us, by which we shall have our country made the seat of war, and experience all its horrors. Possessed with these sentiments, we, in the most earnest terms, request your attention to the following Instructions, viz:

First. That you use your utmost influence that the Instructions given by Convention to our Delegates in Congress, before-mentioned, be rescinded, and that they may be instructed by the present Convention to concur and co-operate with the Delegates of the other United Colonies, in forming such further compacts between the said Colonies, concluding such treaties with foreign kingdoms, and in adopting such other measures as shall be judged necessary for promoting the liberty, safety, and interest of *America*, and defeating the schemes and machinations of our enemies, the King and Parliament and Ministry of *Great Britain*.

Second. That you use the same influence to induce the Convention to comply with the resolves of Congress of the 15th of *May* last, in exerting all the powers of Government under the authority of the people of this Province, by forming a Constitution adequate to that purpose; and in case the present Convention shall decline that task, that you promote and procure a resolve to determine their power at the end of the present session, and order an election for members to compose a new Convention for the purpose of forming such Constitution.

Third. That you use your endeavours to procure a different mode of voting in Convention; that the method may be by the members each voting separately, as was formerly practised in Assembly; that in all questions of importance, when the House divides, the yeas and nays be constantly taken, and published with the proceedings, for the information of the publick respecting the behaviour of their Representatives.

Fourth. That you use your utmost endeavours to put a stop to the executing the writs of election which we understand are already issued in the name of the Proprietary, or by the authority of the King of *Great Britain*, as no fair elections can be held, or the people legally represented, under the present circumstances of this Province, for reasons too obvious to require being mentioned.

Fifth. That you use your endeavours and influence to have the members of the Council of Safety appointed from among the Delegates in Convention only, they being persons duly elected by the people, who are the source of all power.

Sixth. That you endeavour to procure a resolve of Convention to prevent any undue influence being used at elections by military officers over the men they command, a danger which may possibly arise from the attachment natural enough in the soldier to his commander.

Seventh. That you move for and promote a reasonable regulation to enable debtors to pay off their creditors in country produce, especially in the case of rents and interest due on obligations or otherwise, and also the publick levies now due.

Eighth. That you endeavour to procure a resolve of Convention to exclude all officers, civil or military, from holding seats in Convention or Congress, after appointment to each office, until rechosen; and to exclude all members of Congress from a seat in the Convention.

Ninth. That you endeavour to reduce the enormous allowance of fifteen pounds per week given to each of our Delegates in Congress, this being a time when strict economy is necessary; and also reduce the allowance of members in Convention to a sum adequate to their necessary expense, as we are persuaded you will agree with us in opinion that the present state of this Province will by no means admit of profusion.

PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO JOSEPH TRUMBULL.
Philadelphia, June 22, 1776.

SIR: I am so extremely hurried at present that I have only time enough to send the enclosed resolves.

By the next post I purpose doing myself the pleasure of writing you fully.

In the mean time I am, sir, your most humble servant,
JOHN HANCOCK, *President*.

To Joseph Trumbull, Esq., Commissary-General, Canada.

PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS TO EBENEZER HANCOCK.
Philadelphia, June 22, 1776.

DEAR BROTHER: I do myself the pleasure to enclose you the pay-roll of the Continental Army, it being necessary for you in your new Department.

I have just received a letter from General Washington, in which he very obligingly says he will give you such further directions as you may stand in need of. I have only time to add that I hope to write you fully by the next post.

I am your humble servant,
JOHN HANCOCK, *President*.

To Ebenezer Hancock, Esq., Deputy Paymaster-General, at Boston.

WILLIAM WHIPPLE TO JOHN LANGDON.
Philadelphia, May 18, 1776.

MY DEAR SIR: This only serves to tell you Colonel Bartlett arrived yesterday, and to enclose a resolution of Congress, which I know will not displease you. You see how we come on. A Confederation, permanent and lasting, ought, in my opinion, to be the next thing, and I hope is not far off; if so, then the establishment of foreign agencies, I hope, will fill our ports with ships from all parts of the world. By the enclosed *Evening Post* you will see the effects of their resolution. May it operate in the same manner through America.

Your sincere friend,
WILLIAM WHIPPLE.

JOSIAH BARTLETT TO JOHN LANGDON.
Philadelphia, May 19, 1776.

DEAR SIR: Last Friday afternoon I arrived here, all well, and on Saturday we received a sad but very imperfect account of affairs at Quebec. According to the account received it seems there was a most shocking and unaccountable misconduct in the whole affair; however, cannot help hoping that affairs are not so bad as has been reported; and if they are, that the Generals and soldiers who had not joined the Army will, in a great measure, retrieve matters, and that things there will soon be in a better situation.

Hard money is very much wanted in Canada; and unless considerable sums are forthwith sent there, our affairs will suffer very much on that account. You will receive

directions from the Chairman of the Secret Committee relative to what you have in your hands.

The order of Congress concerning taking up Government under the people, which Colonel Whipple sent forward, has made a great noise in this Province. Enclosed I send you an address to the people of Pennsylvania, and an order for the meeting of the City and Liberties to-morrow: what will be the consequence I know not, but think the Assembly will be dissolved and a Convention called. As to other affairs, I have had no time to be informed myself; and Colonel Whipple tells me he has written you from time to time fully. As to the agency affair, I shall make one more trial when that matter comes on. The order of Congress for raising a regiment for the defence of our Colony, you will receive before this comes to hand. I hope good officers will be recommended, and everything put in the best posture of defence, and the courage and resolution of the people kept up, as I have great reason to think we shall have a severe trial this summer with Britons, Hessians, Hanoverians, Indians, Negroes, and every other butcher the gracious King of Britain can hire against us. If we can stand it out this year, and I have no doubt we can, by Divine assistance, I think there will be a final end of British tyranny, and this country soon enjoy peace, liberty, and safety. Use your best endeavours to keep up the spirit of the people, for our all is at stake—life, liberty, and fortune. We have nothing to hope for, if conquered; and our misfortunes in the war ought to animate us the more to diligence, firmness, and resolution. To conquer is better than life; to be subdued, infinitely worse than death.

I have resolved punctually to answer all letters written to me from any persons in our Colony, but never to write a second to any person who does not answer mine, except what I am obliged to write officially to the Colony or Committee of Safety.

By an express received from General Lee, we are informed a number of transports had arrived at Cape Fear with troops from England, but had not landed when the express came away.

May 21st.—Yesterday the city met, agreeable to notification, in the field before the State-House, a stage being erected for the Moderator, (Colonel Roberdeau,) and the chief speakers Mr. McKean, &c. I am told they unanimously voted that the present House of Assembly are not competent to changing the form of Government, and have given orders for calling a Convention. The Pennsylvania Assembly was to meet yesterday. I fear some convulsions in the Colony. The infamous instructions given by the Assembly to their Delegates, which they at their last meeting refused to alter, is the cause of their losing the confidence of the people.

One of the riflemen taken at Quebec last fall arrived in this city last evening. I am told he has brought letters, sewed up in his clothes, for the Congress; and that he left England the 24th of March last. I saw him last evening, when he first came in the coffee-house. I expect to know more at Congress, as the letters are sent to the President; but the post is now setting off, so must conclude, by assuring you I am your steady and sincere friend,

JOSIAH BARTLETT.

P. S. Colonel Whipple has enclosed one of the addresses.

WILLIAM WHIPPLE TO JOHN LANGDON.
Philadelphia, May 20, 1776.

MY DEAR SIR: Your favour of the 6th instant is now before me. I am glad the money has got safe to hand. The list of officers you mention, I suppose has reached you before now. I enclosed one some time ago. I also gave you my reasons for disapproving the person you mentioned for First Lieutenant. I have no objection to the Mr. Roche you mention; but am apprehensive his being appointed will make some uneasiness, as there are many masters of vessels, of good character, out of employ, who perhaps will think themselves neglected. I shall nominate Captain Thompson the first opportunity; and think it won't be amiss to appoint such of the warrant or petty officers as you think necessary; as to the other officers, I think you may sound such persons as you may think proper, and know what places they will accept, without engaging them absolutely.