

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AS SEEN IN

THE GAZETTE DE LEYDE (1774-83)

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE BACKGROUND OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY WAR PERIOD . .	1
II. 1774. . . . .	5
III. 1775. . . . .	15
IV. 1776. . . . .	28
V. 1777. . . . .	43
VI. 1778. . . . .	55
VII. 1779. . . . .	62
VIII. 1780. . . . .	69
IX. 1781. . . . .	74
X. 1782. . . . .	85
XI. 1783. . . . .	93
XII. CONCLUSION. . . . .	101
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	104
APPENDIX . . . . .	108
INDEX OF NAMES . . . . .	112



## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The Gazette de Leyde, one of the most active and influential journals of the eighteenth century, was published in Leyden, Holland, from 1680 to 1814. The Gazette de Leyde was the popular name for the Nouvelles extraordinaires de divers endroits.<sup>1</sup> The French journal was started in 1680 by J. A. La Font, former editor of the Gazette ordinaire and the Traduction libre des Gazettes. The La Font family kept the journal until 1738. In that year the daughter of La Font sold it to Etienne Luzac, one of her father's collaborators.

Etienne Luzac, the son of an exiled Huguenot merchant of Bergerac, was a careful worker. However, he made many enemies because of the boldness and frankness of his political opinions.<sup>2</sup>

Jean Luzac, his nephew, joined him as associate editor in 1772. Nevertheless, the name of Etienne Luzac appeared as editor of the Gazette de Leyde from 1738 to 1798. Jean Luzac, professor of Greek literature at the famous University of Leyden, was a correspondent of John Adams and George Washington. During the American Revolutionary War, Jean Luzac received direct and authentic news from America. The

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<sup>1</sup> Eugène Hatin, Bibliographie historique et critique de la presse périodique française (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, Fils et Cie, 1866), pp. 85-86.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 85.

Gazette de Leyde became one of the first ranking journals of Europe under his guidance. News was received from almost all the known world. Regular correspondence received from North America, Russia, Sweden, Poland, Italy, Great Britain, Turkey, Prussia, and Africa.

Jean Luzac, who was a liberal, but not a Jacobin, suffered many reverses during the French Revolution. The Gazette de Leyde was suppressed April 23, 1798. Several days later it was resumed by Abraham Buisson under the official title of Nouvelles politiques publiées à Leyde. The journal continued under this title until 1804. In October, 1804, it was suppressed again. Fifteen days later the paper reappeared as the Journal politique publié à Leyde by J. C. Texier Westmuller. It was continued under this title until 1814. A few issues were published in 1814 but soon the famous journal ceased publication.

From the beginning the Gazette de Leyde contained frequent supplements. Soon these became a permanent part of the journal. The supplements are probably the most interesting section of the Gazette de Leyde for modern readers because the editorial comments and opinions are found there.

The journal was semi-weekly. Each news issue is four pages in length, and each page has two columns. Since the pages were not numbered, a number has been assigned in this study to each page of each news issue. A number has also been assigned to each column on each page. The supplement to each news issue is also four pages in length. The news

material and editorial comments and interpretations in the supplement were printed straight across the page. Since the pages of the supplement were not numbered, a number has also been assigned to each page of each supplement.

Not all the news given in the news issues and supplements of the Gazette de Leyde is original with the journal. The journal used news clipped from London, French, and American newspapers. But, of course, the editorial comments, interpretations, and opinions, which are the most important contribution of the Gazette de Leyde, are original with the journal.

Bernard Fay, eminent French writer and exchange professor at Columbia University, has listed the Gazette de Leyde in the bibliographies of two of his works. The first work is a study of the moral and intellectual relations of France and the United States at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup> The second is a biography of Benjamin Franklin.<sup>4</sup> However, numerous other French and American journals were used by Mr. Fay in both books, and no special study of the Gazette de Leyde was made by him. The writer of this thesis has not been able to find any other studies which used the Gazette de Leyde.

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<sup>3</sup> Bernard Fay, The Revolutionary Spirit in France and America (translated by Ramon Guthrie; New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1927), 613 pp.

<sup>4</sup> \_\_\_\_\_, Franklin, the Apostle of Modern Times (translated by Bravig Imbs; Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1929), 547 pp.

The purpose of this thesis is to study the American Revolutionary War period as presented by the Gazette de Leyde from 1774 to 1783. Special emphasis is placed upon events not usually treated in American histories. Matters of common knowledge regarding the American Revolution are not given in detail. The writer has read all the news items, editorial comments, letters, reports of parliamentary proceedings, accounts of military events--all material about the American colonies and their struggle with Great Britain printed from 1774 to 1783 in the Gazette de Leyde. A treatment of the background of the American Revolutionary War period, i.e., the events of 1774 which preceded the outbreak of war on April 19, 1775, is given in the second chapter. The succeeding chapters present in chronological order the material from the Gazette de Leyde. At the end of each chapter a brief summary will be given of the main events of the year under discussion.

## CHAPTER II

### THE BACKGROUND OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY WAR PERIOD

War between Great Britain and her American colonies began with the Battle of Lexington and Concord on April 19, 1775. There are, however, many important events which preceded the first military encounter. This chapter presents some of these events as they were reported and interpreted in the Gazette de Leyde issues of 1774. Care is taken throughout the study to select items which are not fully treated in the ordinary American history or which offer unusual interpretations of commonplace facts.<sup>1</sup>

On December 31, 1773, news from London reported that the British ministry was occupied with the financial affairs of the East India Company and the adjustment of the misunderstanding between the colonies and the home government. The following selection<sup>2</sup> from a letter of a Philadelphia merchant to a Boston merchant, October 25, 1773, is given

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<sup>1</sup> The following American histories have been consulted: James Truslow Adams, The Rise of the Union: The March of Democracy; Carl Becker, The Beginnings of the American People and The Eve of the Revolution; Edward Channing, A History of the United States, vol. III; John Fiske, The American Revolution, vols. I, II; Ralph V. Harlow, The Growth of the United States; William Lecky, The American Revolution 1763-1783; Claude Van Tyne, The Causes of the War of Independence and The American Revolution.

<sup>2</sup> Gazette de Leyde, January 7, 1774, no. II, p. 2, col. 2 and p. 3, col. 1.

in the same news report:\*

Le projet, formé par la Compagnie des Indes d'envoyer du Thé dans les Colonies, a mis ici tout en alarme. Jamais je n'ai vu des marques si soudaines et si universelles de mécontentement. Il se tiendra cette semaine ici une Assemblée générale pour concerter la manière de faire échouer ce projet: Selon toute apparence, il ne sera pas possible de débarquer le Thé ici, à moins qu'on le veuille le faire à main armée; et, dans ce cas-là la Ville éprouvera les plus fortes convulsions. Les Commissaires, désignés pour la vente de cette Denrée, ne se sont pas encore positivement expliqués mais, s'ils refusent de déclarer en termes exprès qu'ils ne recevront point le Thé, vous devez vous attendre à recevoir avis, qu'on aura pris des mesures fermes et résolues. Rien ne peut nous attiédir, si ce n'est de nous voir abandonnés par nos Voisins. Nous sommes assurés qu'à la Nouvelle-York est dans les mêmes dispositions qu'ici.

P.S. Les Agens, que la Compagnie des Indes a nommés pour vendre son Thé ici, sont déterminés à ne point se charger de cette Commission.

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\* Throughout the study the notation & is written et. Otherwise, the original spelling, capitalization, italicizing, and punctuation are preserved. All material quoted in French is translated in the footnotes.

3 The plan formed by the East India Company to send the tea to the colonies has caused great fear here. I have never seen such sudden and universal marks of unrest. A general assembly to devise a way of overthrowing this plan will be held here (Philadelphia) this week. According to all appearances it will not be possible to land the tea here unless they wish to do it by armed force; and in that case the town will be prey to the most violent disturbances. The commissioners appointed to sell this commodity have not yet made definite explanations; but if they refuse to declare in express terms that they positively will not receive the tea, you must expect to receive the information that firm and resolute measures will be taken. Nothing can cool our ardour unless it is to see ourselves abandoned by our neighbors. We are assured that New York is in the same disposition as here.

P.S. The agents which the East India Company named to sell its tea here are determined not to undertake this commission.

This letter shows that there was a strong and growing spirit of revolution in the colonies, especially the northern ones, before the tea ships arrived. It also shows that the colonists were quite confident of themselves and of the right of their cause.

When the Count of Dartmouth, secretary of state for the department of colonial affairs, learned that the American colonists objected to the tax on the tea and that they planned to send the tea back to England, he asked the governors of all the colonies to send immediately a report of the condition of the royal troops stationed in the colonies.<sup>4</sup> The above statement seems to indicate that the British government realized early the possibility of more serious conflict.

In a dispatch from Newport, Rhode Island, came the report that fifty to sixty families accustomed to drinking tea had given up the luxury in order to aid the colonies in their fight with Great Britain.<sup>5</sup> It became quite fashionable in 1774 not to drink tea, at least not the dutied tea.

According to a news item<sup>6</sup> from New York November 29, 1773, Captain Couper, an officer of the Royal Naval Force who had just returned from England, reported that the East India Company was sending two

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<sup>4</sup> Gazette de Leyde, January 11, 1774, no. III, p. 3, col. 2 to p. 4, col. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., January 28, 1774, no. VIII, p. 1, cols. 1-2.

<sup>6</sup> Loc. cit.

thousand two hundred chests of tea to North America--six hundred to Boston, six hundred to Philadelphia, six hundred to New York, two hundred to Rhode Island, and two hundred to Charleston.

Following this news directly from America the Gazette de Leyde printed a London dispatch of January 21, 1774, which reported that three tea ships had arrived in Boston Harbor and that several hours after their arrival the people of Boston dumped three hundred forty-two chests of tea into the harbor. No damage was done to the ships or to the rest of the cargo. The dispatch from London also said that the British government feared that the same thing would happen in Philadelphia and New York.<sup>7</sup>

It is interesting to note how quickly the news of the Boston Tea Party, December 16, 1773, reached England and then the continent. London received the news January 21, possibly a little sooner. The London dispatch was printed in the Gazette de Leyde issue of January 28. On February 1 the Gazette de Leyde printed the complete story of the Boston Tea Party.<sup>8</sup>

When the news of the Boston Tea Party reached England, the British authorities began to fear that the colonists would revolt. It was even reported that the province of New England, and the colonies of New York, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Rhode Island were able

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 3, col. 1

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., February 1, 1774, no. IX, p. 1, col. 1 to p. 2, col. 2.



to arm one hundred thousand men if they were forced to do so.<sup>9</sup> The above report was, of course, only an absurd rumor. It is one example from many of the numerous rumors which were so prevalent in England, especially London, after the Boston Tea Party.

An excerpt of a letter from New York told of the adventure of several Philadelphians who were too zealous in the cause of their city:<sup>10</sup>

Le peuple de Philadelphia aiant refusé d'admettre dans le Port le Vaisseau, qui avoit à bord le Thé envoyé par la Compagnie des Indes, le Capitaine Ayres avoit cédé à leur opposition, et se préparoit à retourner à Londres, lorsque le Peuple se défiant peut-être de la sincérité de sa résolution, envoya à son bord trois ou quatre Députés pour être témoins de son départ et le voir sortir de la Rivière: Mais au moment que, parvenus à une certaine hauteur, ils demandèrent à être mis à terre, le Sr. Ayres leur déclara qu'il ne l'avoit point entendu ainsi, et que son intention étoit de les emmener en Angleterre, afin de lui servir de garants de la conduite qu'ils l'avoient forcé de tenir. On assure qu'effectivement il les a retenus à bord, et qu'ils ont dû faire le voyage, sans avoir pris congé de leurs Amis.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 4, col. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, February 22, 1774, no. XV, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> The people of Philadelphia having refused to admit into the port the ship which had aboard the tea sent by the East India Company, the Captain Ayres had yielded to their opposition and prepared to return to London. The people, mistrusting perhaps the sincerity of his resolution, sent on board three or four deputies to be witnesses of his departure and to see him leave the river for the open sea. But, at the moment that, becoming somewhat arrogant, the deputies demanded to be landed, Mr. Ayres declared that he had not understood it in this way, and that it was his intention to take them to England to serve as hostages of the conduct that they had forced him to undergo in America. He actually kept them on board, and the deputies were obliged to make the voyage, without having said good-bye to their friends.

This interesting anecdote, which probably is true, is not mentioned in most American histories.

The British ministry had to choose between two policies in regard to the American situation: the first, to abandon for all times the right to tax the colonies; the second, to force the colonies to recognize the sovereignty of the British government. Two letters which exposed the dangers of the second policy were written to two government officials. The first letter<sup>12</sup> was written to Lord North, prime minister of Great Britain from 1770 to 1782.

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Des personnes sensibles mais sans passion violente ne seront jamais convaincus par la force; et l'obstination est une marque si certaine de foiblesse, que pour votre propre honneur il est nécessaire de ne rien faire qu'après mûre délibération.

... C'est un Peuple poli, orné de toute sorte de connoissance, et justement attaché à sa liberté, dont il sent vivement la valeur. Dès le berceau ils ont appris à estimer ce Privilège et à s'en glorifier, et jamais ils ne subiront patiemment le joug de la servitude. Aujourd'hui on les opprime; on leur fait injustice. . . .<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Gazette de Leyde, March 11, 1774, no. XX, p. 3, cols. 1-2 and p. 4, col. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Sensitive people but without violent passion will never be convinced by force; and obstinacy is such a certain mark of feebleness that for your own honor you must do nothing without serious deliberation.

... They are a polite people, possessed of every kind of knowledge and properly attached to their liberty, the value of which they strongly recognize. From the cradle they have learned to esteem this privilege and to glory in it. They will never patiently undergo the yoke of servitude. Today they are oppressed; injustice is being done to them.

Even many Englishmen recognize that the love of liberty was an important force in America.

The other letter was written to the Count of Dartmouth:<sup>14</sup>

.....

Une tentative. . . faite pour établir un tel Gouvernement en Amérique par la force militaire, doit nécessairement être à la fin fatale à ce Pays. Elle commencera par la folie et l'injustice. . . Elle finira par le malheur et l'humiliation.<sup>15</sup>

This letter pointed out the danger of forceful suppression of the American colonists.

A news article from London, March 18, showed that the British ministry realized that all Europe was intensely interested in which policy the British government would choose in regard to the treatment of rebellious Americans. The ministry knew that if the government chose moderation and leniency, it would lose an important part of its sovereignty over the American colonies. If the government chose force, British trade would suffer an irreparable blow, because trade with the American colonies amounted to four millions pounds sterling a year.<sup>16</sup>

The British government chose force. The Coercive or "Intolerable"

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<sup>14</sup> Gazette de Leyde, April 15, 1774, no. XXX, p. 5, cols. 1-2 to p. 4, col. 1. Ibid., April 19, 1774, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

<sup>15</sup> An attempt made to establish such a government a despotic government in America by military force must be by necessity the disastrous end of this country (England). It will begin by misguided enthusiasm and injustice. . . It will end by misfortune and humiliation.

<sup>16</sup> Gazette de Leyde, March 29, 1774, no. XXV, p. 4, col. 1.

Acts were Lord North's answer to the Boston Tea Party. The Gazette de Leyde made the following editorial comment on the reception of Lord North's policy of force by the people of New York:<sup>17</sup>

... les Défenseurs des droits du Peuple se distinguoient par la modération, qui régnoit dans leurs procédés. Ils ont détesté publiquement par écrit les excès auxquels s'étoit portée la Populace en trainant et brûlant trois Effigies qu'elle regarde comme ses Ennemis . . . .<sup>18</sup>

The people in every revolution divide themselves into conservative and radical groups. The American Revolution was no exception to the rule. The more moderate group was fighting for a principle--liberty. The populace was more inclined to be radical and to indulge in rioting and burning in effigy.

An excerpt from a letter of a Charleston merchant to a London merchant showed that the colonies were determined to resist the force of Great Britain:<sup>19</sup>

... Les Américains ne se soumettront jamais à leurs procédés arbitraires: Ils ne veulent point être Esclaves; cependant il semble que l'Angleterre ne vise pas à moins . . . .<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, August 30, 1774, no. LXIX, p. 1.

<sup>18</sup> . . . . the defenders of the rights of the people have distinguished themselves by the moderation which prevails in their conduct. They have protested publicly by writing against the excesses to which the populace had showed in dragging through the streets and burning three effigies of persons which it regards as its enemies. . . .

<sup>19</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, September 20, 1774, no. LXXV, p. 1.

<sup>20</sup> The Americans will never submit to their despotic force. They do not wish to become slaves. However, it seems that England does not aim at less. . . .

Every person who commented on the trouble between America and Great Britain seemed to have realized the great determination of the colonials to resist the force of the British government. This determination helped to unite the colonies.

The Gazette de Leyde did not receive much news from America or from London during September and October. However, an interesting comment was made in a supplement of the Gazette de Leyde early in October:<sup>21</sup>

La résolution, que les Colonies Angloises en Amérique ont prise de suspendre tout commerce avec la Grande-Bretagne, si celle-ci ne renonce à sa prétention de taxer les Américains sans leur consentement, les engage à s'appliquer aux Arts et aux Manufactures avec plus d'activité que jamais. On fait actuellement à Philadelphie du velours de coton, qui ne le cède guères à celui de Manchester: Et cet esprit d'industrie, excité par la nécessité, s'est répandu jusques dans les Colonies les plus Septentrionales. Ce qu'il y a de fâcheux, c'est que la prorogation ou la dissolution de plusieurs Assemblées Provinciales, avant qu'elles n'eussent pu renouveler les Loix prêtes à expirer, a causé une grande confusion dans l'Administration publique, particulièrement celle de la Justice . . . .<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, October 7, 1774, no. LXXX, p.1.

<sup>22</sup> The resolution, which the English colonies in America have taken to suspend all commerce with Great Britain, if this government does not renounce its claim to tax the Americans without their consent, urges them to apply themselves to the arts and industries with more activity than ever. Velveten which hardly gives precedences to that made in Manchester is now being made in Philadelphia. And this spirit of industry, stimulated by necessity, has spread to the most northern colonies. What is troublesome is that the adjournment of several Provincial Assemblies before they were able to renew laws ready to expire has caused much confusion in public administration, particularly in the courts of justice.

The editor of the Gazette de Leyde seemed to be interested in the people of colonial America in what they did in daily life, how they met the serious problems of revolution, and how the growth of liberty and justice spread throughout all the colonies.

This chapter on the background of the American Revolutionary War period has included only items from the Gazette de Leyde of 1774 containing material which has not been fully treated in the ordinary American history or which has been given unusual interpretation.

The Boston Tea Party of December 16, 1773, precipitated events leading to the American Revolution. The 1774 issues of the Gazette de Leyde are filled with accounts of this famous affair. The Coercive or "Intolerable" Acts were Lord North's response to the Tea Party. The First Continental Congress met in the fall of 1774 and adopted the non-importation and non-exportation agreements against Great Britain.

### CHAPTER III

1775

The 1775 issues of the Gazette de Leyde are particularly interesting because they contain many editorial comments concerning the American Revolution. A gradual development of sympathy for the American colonists is shown in the editorial comments.

In 1775 the Gazette de Leyde published many documents of the First and Second Continental Congresses, petitions of the English and Scottish merchants to Parliament, addresses to the king, and the letters of General Gage to the British ministry.

On January 4, according to a news report from London, an assembly of London merchants met at an inn and drew up a petition to be presented in Parliament on the trade conditions in North America since the declaration of the non-importation and non-exportation agreements by the First Continental Congress.<sup>1</sup> The assembly determined to recommend moderation, to support methods of restoring trade conditions by peace, and to leave politics alone.<sup>2</sup> When the merchants of Bristol, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds decided to follow the course of the London merchants, the following comment was made by a London newspaper and copied by the

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<sup>1</sup> Gazette de Leyde, January 13, 1775, no. IV, p. 3, col. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., January 17, 1775, no. V, p. 3, col. 2.

Gazette de Leyde.<sup>3</sup> "Quel que soit son succès, la Séance ne peut manquer d'être une des plus mémorable de ce Siècle."<sup>4</sup>

A special news report that the colonies of New England had armed sixty thousand men reached England early in January.<sup>5</sup> The English people really believed this absurd rumor. Such a rumor as this helped to convince the Tory ministry that coercive measures were absolutely necessary in order to subjugate the colonies.

A January 6 dispatch from London brought the report of the census taken by the First Continental Congress. The population<sup>6</sup> of the colonies, Delaware and Georgia being omitted, was listed 3,026,678.

The editor of the Gazette de Leyde made the following comment on the news received from the colonies:<sup>7</sup>

Depuis quelques Ordinaires l'on n'a point de Nouvelles particulières des Colonies Angloises en Amérique; et les Lettres, qu'on reçoit, se bornent à dire qu'on s'y met sérieusement en état de défense, sur-tout depuis que le Vaisseau de guerre, le Scarborough, y a apporté avis de la résolution, où le Ministère Britanique persiste, de prendre des mesures vigoureuses, pour réduire les Américains. Dans la Nouvelle Angleterre on a établi, outre les Milices ordinaires, un Corps particulier, sous le nom de Soldats de minute, parce que, dans le tems

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., January 20, 1775, no. VI, p. 4, col. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Whatever may be its success, the session cannot miss being one of the most memorable of this century.

<sup>5</sup> Gazette de Leyde, January 20, 1775, no. VI, p. 4, col. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, January 13, 1775, no. IV, p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., February 28, 1775, no. XVII, p. 1.



d'une minute après le premier ordre, ils doivent être prêts à marcher. . . .

Luzac was interested in the formation of the "minute-men." On March 7 the Gazette de Leyde published the translation of a letter of the First Continental Congress to the people of Quebec. In the letter the Congress quoted several passages (Book XI, Chapter 6 and Book XIX, Chapter 27) from Montesquieu's Esprit des Loix, a book that had a great influence on the leaders of the American Revolution. Luzac noted that slight changes had been made in the French text, although these did not affect the meaning of the passages cited.<sup>9</sup>

More than a month before the Battle of Lexington and Concord the editor of the Gazette de Leyde remarked:<sup>10</sup> "Il paroît de plus en plus, par tous les avis que l'on reçoit de l'Amérique Septentrionale, que l'on s'y prépare à tout événement. . . ." <sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> For several issues we have not received any special news items from the English colonies in America, and the letters, which we are receiving, are limited to saying that the colonies are seriously placing themselves in a state of defense, especially since the warship, the Scarborough, has brought news of the resolutions, in which the British ministry persists, that vigorous measures will be taken to subjugate the Americans. In New England there has been established, besides the regular militia, a special body under the name of "minute men," because in one minute after the first order the men must be ready to march.

<sup>9</sup> Gazette de Leyde, March 7, 1775, no. XIX, p. 2, cols. 1-2 and p. 3, col. 1; March 14, 1775, no. XXI, p. 3, cols. 1-2, p. 4, col. 1 and March 17, no. XXII, p. 3, cols. 1-2 and p. 4, cols. 1-2.

<sup>10</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, March 7, 1775, no. XIX, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> It seems more and more, by all the news that we are receiving from North America, that the people there are preparing for any event. . . .

On April 7 the following editorial comment was published in the Gazette de Leyde:<sup>12</sup>

Les Habitans de l'Amérique Septentrionale ne paroissent nullement intimidés par le train que prennent leurs affaires au Parlement de la Grande-Bretagne. Suivant les avis de Philadelphie du 15. FÉVRIER, on y a reçu le Discours, par lequel le Roi a fait l'ouverture de cette Assemblée; et l'on y a publié cette Pièce sous le nom de Sentence de mort de l'Amérique.<sup>13</sup>

In this comment the editor took notice of one of the pertinent facts in the history of the American Revolutionary War period; i.e., the American colonists were not frightened or unduly impressed by any of the forceful measures which the British ministry took to suppress them. The citizens of Philadelphia even published the opening address of George III to Parliament under the title, Death Sentence of America.

In the supplement of April 11 the editor of the Gazette de Leyde gave his opinion of the importance of the American Revolution as an event in world history. He also pointed out how interest in North America had spread since the beginning of the trouble between Great

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<sup>12</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, April 7, 1775, no. XXVIII, p. 1.

<sup>13</sup> The inhabitants of North America do not seem at all intimidated by the turn which their affairs are taking in the British Parliament. According to reports from Philadelphia of February 15, they have received the address by which the king opened Parliament, and they have published this document there under the name of Death Sentence of America.

Britain and the colonies: <sup>14</sup>

Farmi les grands évènements qui arrivent de nos jours, il n'y en a peut être aucun qui soit plus digne d'attention que la Révolution qui se prépare en Amérique, et qui sera vraisemblablement époque dans l'Histoire-Générale du genre humain: Il n'y en a aussi aucun, sur lequel le jugement du Public paroisse plus universellement le même tant en Angleterre que dans les Pays Etrangers. . . .<sup>15</sup>

The excellence of Luzac's powers of observance are seen in the above statement. His interpretation of the importance and probable influence of the American Revolution is correct.

On May 30 the editor declared:<sup>16</sup> "Les Américains sont toujours résolus à maintenir leur liberté aux dépens de leurs Biens et même de leur Vie. . . ." <sup>17</sup>

On May 29 the Count of Dartmouth, British foreign minister for

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Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, April 11, 1775, no. XXIX, p. 1. See Appendix p.109 for photostatic copy of the page from which this comment is taken.

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Among the great events which have taken place in our day there is perhaps nothing more worthy of attention than the revolution which is starting in America and which will truly be epoch-making in the history of the human race. There is nothing upon which the judgment of public opinion appears to be more universally agreed in England as well as foreign countries.

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Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, May 30, 1775, no. XLIII, p. 1. See also Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, June 23, 1775, no. L, p. 1 and Supplement, December 19, 1775, no. CI, p. 1.

17

The Americans are always resolved to maintain their liberty at the cost of their property and even their lives. . . .

the colonies, reported the skirmish between the British troops and the "minute men" at Lexington and Concord. These dispatches from General Gate were so incoherent that the British government asked the London journals to suspend judgment on the event until the government had received more authentic news.<sup>18</sup>

An excerpt from a letter from Boston dated April 30, gave the following report of the results of the skirmish:<sup>19</sup>

Le sort de l'Amérique Angloise est jetté; et dans l'extrémité, où les choses en sont enfin venues, il semble ne lui rester que l'alternative de périr ou de se mettre dans une indépendance presque entière de la Mère-Patrie. Quel que soit l'évènement, il est certain qu'on est à la veille de voir ruisseler des fleuves de sang, et des Citoyens, originaires d'une même Patrie, Sujets d'un même Roi, animés à leur mutuelle destruction: Perspective, que les Auteurs des conseils violents, qui ont conduit à cette crise, s'ils ont des sentiments d'humanité, ne peuvent sans doute envisager sans frémir. . . .<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Gazette de Leyde, June 6, 1775, no. XLV, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., June 13, no. XLVII, p. 1, col. 1.

<sup>20</sup> The fate of English America is decided, and in the extremity to which events have come at last it seems that there remains only the choice of perishing or placing herself in a state of almost complete independence from mother country. Whatever may be the choice, it is certain that we are on the eve of seeing streams of blood flow and of seeing citizens, originally from the same country, subjects of the same king urged on to their mutual destruction--a perspective which the authors of violent counsels who have brought them to this crisis, if they have any human feelings, certainly cannot view without trembling. . . .

The writer of the letter quoted above certainly must have been a Loyalist sympathizer even if he came from Boston, the center of the radical movement.

On July 4 the Gazette de Leyde published the news of the capture of Fort Ticonderoga. May 10, 1775, is the date usually ascribed to this event. But the dispatch said that on Tuesday, May 11, Colonels Allen and Easton, with forty-eight men, reached the lake near Fort Ticonderoga. The small army did not attack the fort until daybreak, Wednesday, May 12. A list of all provisions taken by the American army was included in the dispatch.<sup>21</sup> However, Tuesday was not May 11 in 1775, but May 9. Since the attack on Fort Ticonderoga was on Wednesday, this would make May 10 the correct date for the battle. Colonel Easton was correct about the day of the week but not about the date in the month. Furthermore, Easton, who wrote the report, took most of the credit himself and did not give Ethan Allen his just dues.

Another Cambridge dispatch reported that one of the British barracks in Boston caught fire on May 17, and was completely destroyed. The fire was caused by carelessness in the distribution of cartridges to the soldiers of General Gage. The loss was estimated at forty thousand pounds sterling.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Gazette de Leyde, July 4, 1775, no. LIII, p. 1, col. 1. See Appendix p. 110 for photostatic copy from which this news story is taken.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 1, col. 2 and p. 2, col. 1.

In the supplement given below the editor commented as follows:<sup>23</sup>

Outre ce que nous avons déjà rapporté dans notre Gazette de ce jour, les Lettres particulières et les Papiers publics de Londres, apportés par la dernière Malle, sont remplis de détails concernant les affaires de l'Amérique. Nous ne pouvons qu'en donner successivement les plus essentiels; et nous nous contenterons de dire en général, qu'ils se réunissent tous à faire prévoir dans ce Pays les évènements les plus intéressans. A l'exception des Provinces de Quebec, de la Nouvelle-Ecosse, de Georgie, de Terre-Neuve, et des deux Florides, toute Amérique-Angloise respire le même courage, le même desir de défendre ses Droits et ses Libertés, comme Hommes et comme Anglois, jusqu'au dernier Individu . . . Il n'y a que la Nouvelle-York où il se trouve des Personnes qui ne partagent point l'esprit général et que l'on présume attendre avec secret plaisir l'arrivée des Troupes, que l'on y attendoit d'Irlande. Cependant les Gouverneurs paroissent eux-mêmes se promettre peu de succès de toutes les voyes de rigueur et de force, auxquelles le Ministre de la Grande-Bretagne a cru devoir recourir. . . .<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, July 4, 1775, no. LIII, p. 1. See Appendix p. 107 for photostatic copy of the page from which this comment is taken.

<sup>24</sup> Besides what we have already reported in our Gazette for this day, special letters and public papers from London, brought by the last mail, are filled with details concerning the affairs of America. We can only give in turn the most important. We will content ourselves by saying in general that they combine to foretell the most interesting occurrences in this country. With the exception of the provinces of Quebec, of Nova Scotia, Georgia, Newfoundland, and the two Floridas, all English America gives evidence of the same courage, the same desire of defending her rights and liberties as Englishmen unto the last individual. . . Only in New York does one find that there are some people who do not share the general enthusiasm and who are presumably awaiting with secret pleasure the arrival of the British troops, which are being expected from Ireland. However, the governors seem themselves to promise little success to all the measures of force to which the British ministry has believed necessary to take recourse. . . .

The city of London was very sympathetic toward the colonies and championed the cause of the Americans in a petition addressed to the king. London hated the Tory ministry under the leadership of Lord North. The London merchants had most of their capital invested in colonial trade. George III refused to receive the petition.<sup>25</sup> When the members of the London council learned that the king had refused to accept their petition, they were quite ready to moderate some of their more radical statements in favor of the rebelling colonists. However, they did not swerve from the belief that the colonists were being treated unfairly.<sup>26</sup>

News from London July 11 reported that General Israel Putnam of the American army, tired of the jesting of the British troops of Boston, had challenged General Gage to an equal combat. The British general made no reply to General Putnam's formal letter of challenge.

Late in July the British ministry began to refuse publication of the American dispatches to the London journals because much of the news received from America was not authentic and was often detrimental to the British morale.<sup>27</sup> This request had little effect on the Gazette de Leyde. In 1775 the journal began to receive more news directly from America.

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<sup>25</sup> Gazette de Leyde, July 14, 1775, no. LVI, p. 2, cols. 1-2 and p. 3, col. 1.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., July 18, 1775, no. LVII, p. 3, cols. 1-2 and p. 4, col. 1.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., August 1, 1775, no. LXI, p. 2, col. 1.

A letter from North Carolina, dated July 31, 1775, gave the following picture of conditions in America:<sup>28</sup>

Notre situation est vraiment terrible.\* Tout commerce est anéanti. . . . Les Américains sont déterminés à périr ou à conserver leur Liberté. Nous sommes convaincus, que rien n'est capable de rétablir la paix dans ce malheureux Pays, et d'assurer votre propre liberté, sinon un changement total du Ministère, que l'on regarde ici comme ennemi du Genre-Humain. Nous n'ambitionnons point l'Indépendance; nous ne visons point à une Révolution. . . . Nous sommes prêts à sacrifier jusqu'au dernier Chelin et nos Vies pour la maintien de la dignité du Roi et de sa Couronne, lorsqu'il protégera nos Libertés. À moins qu'on ne prenne, et bientôt, des mesures pour le prévenir, ce Pays sera inévitablement perdu pour la Mère-Patrie. . . . Tout dépend de la résolution, que l'on prendra à cet égard en Parlement. . . .<sup>29</sup>

This letter gave the viewpoint of an aristocratic Southerner who was eager to defend the rights of his country and who wished to remain at the same time under the protection of the British crown. The writer of this letter certainly was not a Tory, and many Southerners felt as he did. They fought for their individual liberties, and not for

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<sup>28</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, October 20, 1775, no. LXI, p. 2, col. 1.

\* The Gazette de Leyde printed this letter in italics.

<sup>29</sup> Our situation is truly terrible. All commerce is utterly destroyed . . . . The Americans are determined to perish or to conserve their liberty. We are convinced that nothing is capable of re-establishing peace in this unhappy country and of assuring your own liberty unless there is a complete change of ministry, which is regarded here as an enemy of the human race. We do not aspire to independence; we do not seek a revolution . . . . We are ready to sacrifice the last shilling and even our lives for the preservation of the king and his crown when he will protect our liberties. Unless measures are taken soon to prevent it this country will inevitably be lost to the mother-country. . . . All depends upon the resolution that Parliament takes in this matter.



the independence of the colonies.

Late in December the editor gave the following comment on the precarious situation of the royal governors of the colonies:<sup>30</sup>

Malgré les troubles qui règnent en Amérique, et quoique dans les douze Colonies-Unies\* le Peuple ait pris toute l'Autorité en mains, les Gouverneurs de la plupart de ces Provinces y étoient restés à l'abri du mécontentement populaire: Mais aujourd'hui, si l'on en excepte Mr. Tryon, Gouverneur de la Nouvelle-York, dont la conduite l'a fait généralement aimer, il paroît qu'ils sont dans une situation fort précaire . . . .<sup>31</sup>

The Gazette de Leyde also said that Governor Martin of North Carolina fortified his mansion with several cannons, many guns, and ammunition. Several chests of powder were discovered buried in the gardens of the mansion. A committee, appointed to investigate the situation, wanted to punish the traitors who aided the governor in the fortification of the mansion. The governor succeeded in escaping when his plan of defense was discovered. Furthermore, Lord William Campbell, governor

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<sup>30</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, December 15, 1775, no. 0, p. 1.

\* Georgia had not yet joined the colonial union.

<sup>31</sup> In spite of the troubles which reign in America and although the people have taken all the authority in their hands in the twelve united colonies, the governors of most of these provinces have remained in their respective colonies protected from common discontent. But today, if one except Mr. Tryon, governor of New York, who conduct has made him generally loved, it seems that they are in a very precarious situation . . . .

of South Carolina, tried, through a deputy named Cameron, to excite the Indians to attack the inland settlements. He succeeded in providing six hundred Indians with guns and ammunition. Then Lord Campbell, who had been trusted by the colonists, retired for safety to the launch Tamer and refused to leave it. On December 29 the editor of the Gazette de Leyde made the following comment on the struggle between the royal governors of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina and the provincials of these colonies:<sup>32</sup>

Si les trois Colonies les plus Méridionales des douze, qui se sont réunies contre les prétentions du Ministère et du Parlement Britannique, se sont portées à quelques extrémités à l'égard de leurs Gouverneurs . . . . il paroit, qu'elles ne l'ont pas fait sans avoir contre eux des griefs . . . .<sup>33</sup>

Luzac criticized the harsh attempts of the colonial governors to subdue the people.

In 1775 the editor of the Gazette de Leyde was more open in his defense of the American people. He showed a more definite sympathy and understanding for their cause. He claimed to be impartial in the reporting of the news, but in his editorial comments he evidently favored the Americans.

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<sup>32</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, December 29, 1775, no. CIV, p. 1.

<sup>33</sup> If the three most southern of the twelve colonies, which are united against the pretensions of the British ministry and of Parliament, are brought to some extremities with regard to their governors, it seems that they have not done it without having some grievances against them. . . .

The first important event of 1775 was Paul Revere's ride to Lexington and his warning the colonists of the movements of General Gage's Boston detachment. William Dawes carried the same message to Concord. The clash between the American "minute men" and the British soldiers came on April 19 at Lexington and Concord. Priceless military stores came to the Patriots when Colonel Ethan Allen captured Fort Ticonderoga on May 10 and Crown Point on May 12. The Second Continental Congress began its sessions in May, 1775, and on June 15 unanimously voted George Washington commander-in-chief of the American army. The battle of Bunker Hill, which demonstrated the strength and weakness of the American militiamen, was fought on June 17. Late in 1775 Benedict Arnold and General Richard Montgomery invaded Canada. Montgomery was killed and Arnold suffered defeat. In 1775 the British government realized the seriousness of the American revolt.

CHAPTER IV

1776

In 1776 news directly from America ranked first in the Gazette de Leyde. The continental readers of the journal demanded authentic and interesting reports of the war.

In the first supplement issue of 1776 the editor remarked:<sup>1</sup>

... selon les avis de l'Amérique le Gouvernement Britannique a donné ordre de réduire en cendres toutes les Villes maritimes du Continent, qui refuseroient de se soumettre aux loix qu'en voudra leur imposer . . . .

.....  
L'évènement pourra nous apprendre, si ces voyes de rigueur serviront à ramener les Colonies: A en juger par les apparences actuelles, leur effet sera peut-être de les raidir dans leur resistance, le génie Britannique, qui les anime, ne se laissant guères domter par la violence. . . .

The editor realized that the stubbornness and powers of resistance of the American people came from their British origin. The Americans became more obstinate each time that the British government tried new measures of force.

In the January 9 supplement the editor of the Gazette de Leyde

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<sup>1</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, January 2, 1776, no. I, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> . . . .according to reports from America, the British government has given orders to reduce to ashes all the coast towns of the continent which should refuse to submit to the laws which one will wish to impose on them . . . .

The events will be able to show us if these measures of force will serve to bring back the colonies. To judge by present appearances the effect will perhaps be to strengthen them in their resistance as the British spirit which animates them scarcely allows them to be dominated by violence . . . .

showed that he was a liberal thinker and a keen observer. He wrote as follows:<sup>3</sup>

Si le point où la contestation entre la Grande  
Brétagne et ses Colonies est enfin montée, amène des  
événemens, qu'on peut ranger à juste titre parmi les  
plus intéressans de ce Siècle, les ressources qu'on  
voit déployer à ces dernières, ne sont pas un des objets  
les moins dignes de l'attention du Public observateur . . . .  
Mais en général l'on n'avoit pas supposé aux Américains  
tant de forces, tant de courage, tant de conduite, tant  
d'union, qu'on leur voit aujourd'hui . . . .

The editor remarked that virtue, Montesquieu's fundamental principle for all republics, was rapidly developing in the colonies and that the love of liberty had inspired the people to unexpected efforts. The editor's clear and liberal thinking enabled him to see the forces back of the Revolutionary War.

In the same supplement,<sup>5</sup> the editor published a letter written in code by Dr. Benjamin Church, a surgeon in the American army, to Major Kane, an officer at the British headquarters in Boston. Dr. Church gave a detailed account of the Battle of Bunker Hill and of the condition of the American army. He informed Major Kane that New Jersey and Connecticut were jealous of each other and that neither would submit

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<sup>3</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, January 9, 1776, no. III, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> If the point which the dispute between Great Britain and the colonies has finally reached brings events which one can justly rank among the most interesting of this century, the resources which one sees developing in the colonies are objects indeed worthy of the attention of the public observer . . . . But in general one had not supposed that the Americans had so much force, so much courage, so much administrative ability, so much union as they show at the present time.

<sup>5</sup> Supplement, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

to orders from the other. The copy of Dr. Church's letter used by the Gazette de Leyde was taken from a London journal which printed it to show the desperate condition of the American army. The letter helped to aid the belief that the American officers could be easily corrupted.

On February 2 the Gazette de Leyde published a news dispatch from London which indicated that a number of Englishmen realized that the colonies were already lost.<sup>6</sup>

Malheureusement, non-obstant ces préparatifs formidables, la Nation en général appréhende la perte de toutes les Colonies sur le Continent: Un des motifs, qui fondent ses craintes, c'est l'esprit de fermeté et en même tems d'ordre et de modération, qu'on remarque dans toutes leurs démarches. Tandis que les plumes viles, que sans doute le Gouvernement ne sauroit regarder comme ses vrais Partisans, cherchent à rendre les Américains méprisables, en les traitant d'Idiots et de lâches, en leur prodiguant le Sobriquet de Yankees, en représentant le Congrès-Général comme un coquard d'Enthousiastes, yvres de leur puissance passagère et prêts à rompre à tout moment leur Ligue pour des intérêts particuliers; des têtes plus réfléchies, qui aiment véritablement leur Patrie, voient avec une espèce de douleur, mêlée d'admiration, la prudence qui dirige toutes les entreprises des Américains . . . .

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<sup>6</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, February 2, 1776, no. X, pp. 3-4.

<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, notwithstanding these formidable preparations, the nation in general fears the loss of all the colonies on the continent. One of the reasons upon which her fears are founded is the spirit of firmness and at the same time of order and moderation which is noticed in all their proceedings. While vile pens, which without doubt the government should not regard as true partisans, seek to render the Americans despicable by treating them like idiots and cowards, by heaping on them the nickname of Yankees, by representing the Continental Congress as a mob of enthusiasts intoxicated with their momentary power and ready at any time to break their league for their own private interests, the most thoughtful minds, who really love their country, see with a kind of sorrow mixed with admiration, the prudence which directs all the enterprises of the Americans . . . .

This news dispatch was dated January 19. It is rather surprising to find such a report so early in 1776. It indicated a growing dislike and mistrust of the Tory ministry in London.

The editor made the following comment on the military plans of the British government:<sup>8</sup>

Pendant que le Gouvernement de la Grande Bretagne forme le projet de détacher, s'il est possible, les Colonies Méridionales de la Confédération Américaine et de profiter de la bonne volonté des Partisans qu'il peut y avoir conservés, le Congrès Général, convaincu de la nécessité dans une union indissoluble, pense aux moyens de diminuer l'influence de la Couronne dans quelques-unes des Provinces. . . .<sup>9</sup>

The Southern colonies were weaker than the New England ones. The leaders of the Northern colonies realized this fact and were prepared to combat the influence of the royal governors. The American army officers knew that one of the first strategies of the British leaders would be to separate the Northern and Southern colonies.

The editor made a mistake in the supplement of February 13 when he wrote that John Adams was the brother of Samuel Adams. These two men, so important in the American Revolutionary War, were only second cousins.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, February 9, 1776, no. XII, p. 1.

<sup>9</sup> The British government is forming the project of detaching, if it is possible, the Southern colonies from the American Confederation and profiting by the good will of the partisans which it may have conserved there. The Continental Congress, meanwhile, convinced of the necessity of an indissoluble union, is thinking of ways to lessen the influence of the crown in several of the provinces . . . .

<sup>10</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, February 13, 1776, no. XIII, p. 1.

The Gazette de Leyde published many of the documents, petitions, and letters of the Continental Congress. The editor believed that the European readers would be interested in the proceedings of this new assembly. The editor himself considered the members of the Continental Congress to be sagacious men who sought to bring peace and liberty to their country through moderate means. He said that he found no unbridled enthusiasm, no radicalism in their documents and that he discovered no justification for the belief that the Continental Congress desired complete independence from Britain.<sup>11</sup> It must be remembered, however, that this editorial comment was made before the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776.

All European papers had great trouble in receiving authentic and timely news dispatches. The editor remarked:<sup>12</sup>

Quoique l'on ne doutât point de la mauvaise réussite du Siège de Quebec, entrepris par les Troupes des Colonies Angloises en Amérique, la Cour Britannique n'en avoit jusqu'à présent publié aucun avis authentique; et l'on n'avoit trouvé dans les Papiers de Londres que des récits si vagues; que nous avons jugé devoir les omettre et attendre des rapports mieux circonctanciés . . . .<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, February 20, 1776, no. XV, p. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., March 19, 1776, no. XXIII, p. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Although one did not doubt at all the unfortunate result of the siege of Quebec, undertaken by the troops of the English colonies in America, the British court had not published up to the present any authentic reports. Only such vague accounts have been found in the papers from London that we have judged it our duty to omit them and to wait for more detailed news . . . .



The editor often waited for authentic news dispatches. He was unwilling to publish vague and inaccurate reports. It was seldom that he had to correct any statements made in the Gazette de Leyde.

The first indication of possible French interference in the American Revolutionary War came on March 14, 1776, when the Duke of Grafton reported to the House of Lords that two Frenchmen had gone to the camp of General Washington in the late summer of 1775. He said that Washington, without entering into their propositions, sent them to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia.<sup>14</sup> The writer has not been able to find any reference to the two Frenchmen mentioned by the Duke of Grafton.<sup>15</sup> Bonvouloir, the first representative of the French government, did not arrive in America until December, 1775.

During April and May the editor made no comment on the news from London or from America. Early in June he wrote:<sup>16</sup>

Pendant que, dans la Grande-Bretagne, le Ministère prend toutes les mesures qui sont à sa portée, pour réduire les Colonies Américaines à l'obéissance, quelques Gouverneurs de ces Provinces font encore, malgré la probabilité contraire, des efforts pour les ramener par la voye de la persuasion . . . .<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Gazette de Leyde, March 26, 1776, no. XXV, p. 2, col. 2 and p. 3, col. 1.

<sup>15</sup> The books consulted were J. J. Jusserand, En Amérique Jadis et Maintenant; John Holladay Latané, A History of American Foreign Policy; and James Breck Perkins, France in the American Revolution.

<sup>16</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, June 4, 1776, no. XLV, p. 1.

<sup>17</sup> While the British ministry takes all measures which are in its capacity to reduce the American colonies to obedience, several governors of these provinces are still making efforts to bring them back by measures of persuasion in spite of the probability of failure . . . .

The governors of New York, Georgia, and Virginia tried diligently to turn the colonists against the Revolution. Governor Tryon of New York used the Loyalist paper, the New York Gazette, for the publication of his letters against the war. Governor Dunmore of Virginia took refuge in a boat anchored in the Elizabeth River and sent threatening letters to the rebelling colonists. Governor Wright of Georgia retired to the warship Scarborough when his colony finally declared in favor of the Patriots. He sent persuasive letters to the members of the local patriotic council, which was meeting in Savannah.

In regard to the military preparation for the last months of 1776 the editor commented:<sup>18</sup>

Dans le tems que la Grande-Bretagne faisoit les préparatifs plus considérables pour attaquer les Colonies Américaines en différents endroits à la fois, l'on croyoit prévoir que celles-ci ne seroient pas en état de résister à des efforts si extraordinaires, d'autant plus qu'on gardoit absolument le silence sur les arrangemens, qu'elles prenoient pour se mettre par-tout en état de défense. Cependant aujourd'hui il est certain, qu'elles ont eu le tems et les facultés de rassembler, dans chaque Colonie où l'on peut craindre une attaque, des forces suffisantes pour disputer du moins le terrain jusqu'à la jonction de nouveaux Renforts . . . .<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, June 21, 1776, no. L. p. 1.

<sup>19</sup> When Great Britain was making the most important preparations in order to attack the American colonies in different places at the same time, it seemed evident that the colonies would not be in a state to resist such extraordinary efforts, so much the more as they kept silence completely on the arrangements that they were taking to place themselves everywhere in a state of defense. However, it is certain at the present time they have had time and power to collect in each colony in which an attack is feared sufficient forces at least to fight for the land until the arrival of new reinforcements . . . .

The editor carefully pointed out that the American army was able to meet and to defeat most of the elaborate plans of the British army. He also stated in the same article that the Americans were superior on both land and sea.

A news dispatch from Marseilles on June 2 reported that the dispute between Great Britain and America offered many advantages to the commercial nations of Southern Europe. The American merchants now began to trade freely with Spain, Portugal, and France. In speaking of the capture of an American privateer, loaded with wheat and flour for Barcelona, by an English frigate, the dispatch from Marseilles said that a commercial nation, animated by the spirit of liberty, could easily repair a few inevitable losses. The greater freedom in trade relations was a distinct advantage to the colonies and to the European countries with which they traded.<sup>20</sup>

On June 25 the editor wrote:<sup>21</sup>

La Guerre de la Grande-Bretagne avec ses Colonies devient de plus en plus intéressante: Il n'est pas difficile de voir par l'évènement, que ces dernières, avant que de s'y engager, ont été assurées, de ressources qu'on ne leur avoit jamais soupçonné . . . .<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, June 21, 1776, no. L, p. 3.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., June 25, 1776, no. LI, p. 1.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. ante, p. 29.

La certitude qu'on a que les Colonies ont l'adresse de se procurer des secours en Armes et Munitions, si ce n'est de la part de Puissance Etrangères (ce que l'on ne sauroit encore supposer) du moins de celle de leurs Sujets et la conviction où l'on est en même tems, que tous les efforts, toute la vigilance de la Marine Royale ne sauroient les leur couper entièrement, font naître des inquiétudes, qui ne sont que trop fondées au sujet de l'issuë que pourra avoir cette malheureuse contestation. La résolution de forcer les Américains à l'obéissance par le moyen de Troupes Etrangères, prises à la Solde Britannique n'a fait que les raffermir dans leur dessein d'une résistance opiniâtre . . . .

. . . . l'on n'a pas entièrement perdu l'espérance d'une réconciliation; et, quoique les principes de la Brochure, intitulée le Sens commun<sup>23</sup> soient goûtés par un puissant Parti, d'autres cependant croient que l'intérêt des Colonies permet encore d'y penser . . . .<sup>24</sup>

The editor recognized the great influence which Thomas Paine's Common Sense had on the American people. Yet he thought that many were still

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<sup>23</sup> Thomas Paine's patriotic and radical pamphlet, Common Sense, was published January 9, 1776. More than a hundred thousand copies were quickly sold.

<sup>24</sup> The war of Great Britain with her colonies is becoming more and more interesting. It is not difficult to see by the events that the latter, before engaging themselves in war, have been assured of resources which one had never suspected . . . .

The certainty shown that the Colonies have the ability to procure for themselves aid in arms and munitions, if not on the part of foreign powers (which one would not yet know) at least on the part of their citizens and the conviction which one has at the same time, that all the efforts, all the vigilance of the Royal Marine would not be able to out them off entirely, all these cause anxiety which is only too well founded on the probable result of this unfortunate dispute. The resolution to force the Americans to obedience by means of foreign troops taken into British pay has only strengthened them in their plan of stubborn resistance . . . .

. . . . hope for a reconciliation has not been lost entirely; and although the principles of the pamphlet intituled Common Sense are enjoyed by a powerful party, others believe that the interest of the colonies still permits them to think of it (reconciliation) . . . .

considering a reconciliation with Great Britain.

During the month of July the London journals and the Gazette de Leyde received few dispatches from America. To make up for this lack of news, the London journals printed the reports of the naval battles between the British frigates and the American privateers. The editor copies from one of the London papers the list of the British captures.<sup>25</sup> In the next supplement he gave a list and detailed accounts of the American captures.<sup>26</sup>

The Gazette de Leyde received a news dispatch from London on August 13 which reported the Declaration of Independence in America.<sup>27</sup> The London dispatch was printed in the news issue of the Gazette de Leyde for August 20, and the entire document<sup>28</sup> was published in the news issue of August 30. Since the editor did not comment on this, it seems that the document did not especially impress him.

In the supplement of August 30 the editor discussed more fully the successful privateering of the Americans. He said:<sup>29</sup>

Parmi les objets dignes d'attention qu'offrent la contestation entre la Grande-Bretagne et ses Colonies,

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<sup>25</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, August 13, 1776, no. XLV, pp. 1-2.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., August 16, 1776, no. XLVI, pp. 1-2.

<sup>27</sup> Gazette de Leyde, August 20, 1776, no. LXVI, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., August 30, 1776, no. LXX, p. 2. col. 2; p. 3, cols. 1-2; and p. 4. cols. 1-2.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 1.

et la Guerre qu'en est résultée, l'accroissement subit de la Marine Américaine n'est pas le moins remarquable. Nous avons déjà rapporté dans le Supplément du No. LXVIII que cette Guerre avoit absorbé toutes les Frégates et autres petits Bâtimens, propres à être employés dans les parages de l'Amérique, pour la protection du Commerce Britannique et pour couper celui des Colonies avec les autres Nations Européennes. . . .<sup>30</sup>

Luzac commented frequently on the work of the American privateers.

When the British ministry began to refuse to publish any important dispatches from America, the editor of the Gazette de Leyde wrote:<sup>31</sup>

Quoique la Cour Britannique ne publie presque rien des fréquentes Dépêches; qu'elle reçoit de l'Amérique comme nous l'avons dit dans la Gazette de ce jour, l'on n'est pas néanmoins absolument sans Nouvelles de cette Contrée . . . .<sup>32</sup>

As soon as the editor did become somewhat independent of the London journals and began to receive news directly from America, probably from American newspapers, he became bolder in the statement of his opinions and in the criticizing of the British ministry and army and the American Royalists.

Luzac scarcely believed any of the rumors which came from London.

When he received a news report that General Washington had been killed

<sup>30</sup> Among the items most worthy of attention which the dispute between Great Britain and her colonies and the war which has resulted from it is the sudden growth of the American Marine. We have already reported in the Supplement No. LXVIII that this war had absorbed all the frigates and small boats of Great Britain suitable to be employed along the coast of America in order to protect British trade and to cut off the trade of the colonies with other European nations . . . .

<sup>31</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, Oct. 15, 1776, no. LXXIII, p. 1.

<sup>32</sup> Although the British court publishes almost nothing from the frequent dispatches which it receives from America, as we have said in the Gazette of today, we are not, nevertheless, absolutely without news from this country . . . .

and the entire American army had been defeated, he gave this rumor two lines on the last page of a supplement issue.<sup>33</sup>

Whenever the editor received reports of the same event from America and from London, he always compared them carefully and impartially to find out the truth.<sup>34</sup>

Malgré les différents avis répandus par les Papiers publics de l'Angleterre, il paroît que les Indiens de l'Amérique-Septentrionale n'ont pas pris une part fort sérieuse dans la Guerre entre la Grande-Bretagne et ses Colonies: Il est vrai cependant, que les Chiroquois continuent d'inquiéter les derrières des Colonies Méridionales, excités, à ce que prétendent les Américains par un Émissaire des Royalistes, nommé Cameron . . . .<sup>35</sup>

The editor disregarded the partial and false reports which he found in the London newspapers. He seemed to have a much higher esteem for the American newspapers than for those of London.

On November 26 the Gazette de Leyde published a news dispatch from The Hague which reported that Silas Deane, agent of the United Colonies of America in France, had found a way to secure fifty cannons and a great quantity of ammunition. This dispatch was the first hint of Beaumarchais' aid to the colonies.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, Oct. 29, 1776, no. LXXXVII, p. 4.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., November 5, 1776, no. LXXXIX, p. 1.

<sup>35</sup> In spite of the different reports spread by the English public journals, it seems that the Indians of North America have not taken a very serious part in the war with Great Britain and her colonies. It is true, however, that the Cherokees continue to trouble the inland settlements of the Southern colonies aroused, as the Americans claim, by an emissary of the Royalists, named Cameron . . . .

<sup>36</sup> Gazette de Leyde, November 26, 1776, No. XCX, p. 3, col. 2.

Several letters from Nantes, October 30, reported the arrival of Benjamin Franklin, agent for the United Colonies, at Quiberon. One letter gave a detailed account of Franklin's voyage on board the American privateer Reprisal which narrowly escaped being captured by a British warship. But an error was made in the letter<sup>37</sup> when it reported that Franklin was eighty-four years old. The next issue of the Gazette de Leyde said that Franklin was seventy-four years old. However, Luzac was still in error. Franklin was born in 1706; therefore, he was seventy in 1776. As to the purpose of Franklin's voyage the editor said:<sup>38</sup>

. . . . Quant au but de son voyage, on fait entendre, qu'il ne vient en France que pour s'y fixer et pour faire imprimer ses Ouvrages: Mais dans la Lettre d'un Membre du Congrès à son Correspondant en France dont nous avons donné un Fragment dans notre dernière Gazette, il est dit: Nous avons presque achevé un Traité, que nous espérons d'offrir à votre Cour par les mains de Mr. Deane ou peut-être par celles de Docteur Franklin. Quoiqu'il en soit, l'on sent aisément qu'il ne convient point d'apprécier ni l'une ni l'autre de ces assertions.<sup>39</sup>

The editor was guarded in the statement of his own opinions and always tried to be impartial. He was not influenced by partisan news dispatches.

On December 2<sup>d</sup> the editor made the following comment on the

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<sup>37</sup> Gazette de Leyde, December 20, 1776, no. CII, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

<sup>38</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>39</sup> . . . .As to the purpose of his voyage, it is understood that he comes to France to make his home and to publish his works; but a letter from a member of Congress to a correspondent in France, from which we have given an excerpt in our last Gazette, said: "We have almost finished a treaty which we hope to offer to your court through Mr. Deane or perhaps through Doctor Franklin." Whatever it may be, one feels easily that it is not expedient to evaluate either one or the other of these assertions.



improbability of reconciliation between Great Britain and her colonies:<sup>40</sup>

Pendant les Amis de la Paix et des vrais intérêts de la Grande-Bretagne font des vœux pour le rétablissement de la bonne intelligence entre elle et ses Colonies; ils ont la douleur de voir, que de part et d'autre les esprits ne se rapprochent nullement, et que tout l'ensemble des circonstances fasse croire, que rien, n'est moins probable qu'une prochaine réconciliation . . . .<sup>41</sup>

The editor of the Gazette de Leyde realized that the American people had no desire for reconciliation as long as their army and privateers were holding their own with the British army and navy or as long as they were able to obtain provisions and munitions from European countries.

In the last supplement issue of 1776 the editor published a detailed list of the British captures.<sup>42</sup>

A dispatch from Amsterdam, dated December 29, reported that Beaumarchais was aiding the American army although the French government had expressly forbidden him to have any trade relations with the American insurgents.<sup>43</sup> This dispatch was the first to name Beaumarchais openly

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<sup>40</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, December 24, 1776, no. CIII, p. 1.

<sup>41</sup> While the friends of peace and of the true interests of Great Britain pray for the reestablishment of harmony between her and her colonies, they are pained to see that the feelings of both parties are not at all similar, and the general effect makes one believe that nothing is less probable than an immediate (reconciliation) . . . .

<sup>42</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, December 31, 1776, no. CV, pp. 1-2.

<sup>43</sup> Gazette de Leyde, December 31, 1776, no. CV, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

as an agent for the aid of the Americans. The writer of the dispatch seemed to doubt the French government had condemned the activities of Beaumarchais.

In 1776 the Gazette de Leyde published more news directly from America and the editor made more comments on the news received from America and from London. Also short but important dispatches about the American Revolutionary War came from different cities of Europe in touch commercially with America--Marseilles, Amsterdam, and Nantes. News of the war was given first rank in the Gazette de Leyde issues of 1776.

American independence was declared on July 4, 1776. The military engagements of this year were centered in New York. The Battle of Long Island was fought on August 27, 1776. On August 29 and 30 Washington transferred his army from Long Island to Manhattan. The British then completely occupied New York City. On September 11 Lord Howe met a committee from Congress consisting of John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Edward Rutledge. The Americans insisted that independence must be recognized before negotiations could begin. Lord Howe, not being able to meet these requirements, withdrew. The victory at Trenton and the capture of the Hessians came on December 26. In 1776 the American Revolution developed into a serious struggle between Great Britain and America.

## CHAPTER V

1777

In the 1777 issues of the Gazette de Leyde the editor stressed further the necessity of reporting the news of the American Revolutionary War impartially although he was not so unbiased as he claimed. He began to place special emphasis on the comparison of reports received from London with the reports received from America.

In the first supplement of 1777 he wrote:<sup>1</sup>

Four satisfaire la curiosité du Public, qui desire sur-tout d'être instruit avec impartialité de tous les évènements de la Guerre entre la Grande-Bretagne et ses Colonies en Amérique, comme l'objet le plus intéressant de l'époque présente, nous continuerons ici l'Extrait des différents Avis concernant la retraite de l'Armée Américaine de son Poste au Pont du Roi (Kingsbridge). . . .<sup>2</sup>

The editor compared two letters received directly from America which reported the retreat of the American army from Kingsbridge with the reports received from London. He complained that it was practically impossible to reconcile many of the reports. British news described the Americans as a miserable group of poorly equipped and untrained soldiers. An article taken from a Philadelphia newspaper told of the

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<sup>1</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, January 3, 1777, no. 1, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> In order to satisfy the curiosity of the Public that especially desires to be instructed impartially on all the events of the war between Great Britain and her colonies which is the most interesting subject of the present time, we shall continue here the extract from the different reports concerning the retreat of the American army from its post at Kingsbridge . . . .

capture of a British ship, the Thomas, which had on board sixteen thousand complete uniforms, thirty thousand overcoats and pairs of shoes and stockings destined for the English army stationed in Canada. The value of the cargo was estimated at eighty thousand pounds sterling.<sup>3</sup> The editor of the Gazette de Leyde printed both these dispatches in the same article to show that each side published exaggerated accounts in favor of its cause.

On January 15 an important council meeting was held at the British court to examine the news dispatches from America and from the ambassadors at the French and Spanish courts, Viscount Stormont and Lord Grantham. The British government had no fear of foreign interference early in 1777. In fact Stormont first believed that Franklin had come to France to effect a reconciliation by means of negotiations with him.<sup>4</sup>

On February 21 the editor wrote:<sup>5</sup>

Les différentes Pièces, émanées tant du Congrès-Général que des autres Assemblées des Colonies Angloises, au commencement de leur rupture avec la Grande-Bretagne, ont été lues avidement par le Public: Sans décider de la justesse de l'application, il y a vu retracer avec plaisir les principes fondamentaux des Sociétés Civiles, principes presque universellement reconnus chez tous les Peuples éclairés et enseignés par les Ecrivains mêmes, que la Nation Britannique a placés au rang des Grands-Hommes, qui la font admirer de l'Europe. . . .<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Supplement, op. cit., p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, January 24, 1777, no. VII, pp. 3-4.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., February 21, 1777, no. XV, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> The different documents which have come from the Continental Congress as well as from other assemblies in the English colonies have been read eagerly since the beginning of the rupture with Great Britain. Without deciding the justness of the application, one sees with pleasure the retracing of the fundamental principles of civil societies, principles almost universally recognized among all enlightened people and taught by the very writers whom the British nation has placed in the rank of the great men and who have made all Europe admire that nation.

The liberal thinkers of the eighteenth century admired the English form of government and thought it the best and only true one. The editor of the Gazette de Leyde, a liberal thinker himself, commented several times that the Americans had modelled their government on the liberal principles of the British government.

On March 24 the Gazette de Leyde received a letter from an American who was in France.<sup>7</sup> The editor published translated selections from the letter:<sup>\*</sup>

Les Troupes Américaines ont réduit leurs Ennemis à peu près dans la même situation où ils étoient le premier jour de leur débarquement. Depuis le 25. Décembre 1776. jusqu'au 20. Janvier 1777. il ne s'est guères passé de jour sans quelque nouveau succès. La flamme de la Liberté a paru se ranimer dans tous les coeurs avec plus de vigueur que jamais. Tous ceux qui quittèrent l'Armée, à l'expiration de leur engagement ont rejoint leurs Drapeaux. . . . N'allez pas croire, que j'exagère: Je n'ajoute rien à la plus simple vérité; et je suis en état de prouver par des Avis authentiques tout ce que j'ose avancer . . . . Cependant au milieu de nos succès, nous nous ressouvenons de l'instabilité de la fortune, et nous ne perdons point de vue l'objet, auquel toute Guerre réellement juste doit tendre . . . la conservation de nos Droits et la Paix.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, March 25, 1777, no. XXIV, pp. 3-4.

<sup>\*</sup> The Gazette de Leyde printed the letter in italics.

<sup>8</sup> The American troops have gradually reduced their enemies to nearly the same state in which they were at the day of their landing (in America). Since December 25, 1776, up to January 20, 1777, hardly one day has passed without some new success. The flame of liberty has seemed to revive with more energy than ever in all hearts. All those who quit the army at the expiration of their enlistment have rejoined their colours. Do not believe that I exaggerate. I do not add anything to the simple truth, and I am able to prove by authentic reports all the things which I dare to advance. . . . However, in the midst of our success, we will remember the instability of fortune. We do not lose sight of true objective to which all really just war must lead, . . . the conservation of our rights and peace.

The editor remarked that the last line of the letter quoted above indicated that the American people desired to see the end of all the troubles provided that their rights and liberties were guaranteed.

In the supplement of April 14 the editor gave a report of the condition of the American army. He wrote:<sup>9</sup>

La situation, où l'Amérique Confédérée se trouva réduite par la diminution soudaine de son Armée, sur la fin de l'année dernière, doit avoir été extrêmement inquiétante; et il n'a pas fallu moins que la surprise de Trenton et l'Action près de Prince-Town, pour produire en faveur des Colonies un changement aussi prompt qu'imprévu . . . .<sup>10</sup>

The Gazette de Leyde recognized the military importance of Washington's manoeuvres at Trenton and Princeton.

A news dispatch from Brussels on April 10 reported that the French and Spanish governments were determined to maintain the liberty of their commerce although no hostilities had begun between them and Great Britain.

In the supplement of April 22 the editor of the Gazette de Leyde again reported that the American troops always had the advantage over the British.<sup>11</sup> He remarked that most of the credit for the success of the American army was due to General Washington, a commander whose firm and

<sup>9</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, April 4, 1777, no. XXVII, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup> The situation to which the American confederation found itself reduced by the sudden diminution of its army at the end last year, must have been extremely disturbing. Nothing less than the surprise at Trenton and the action near Princeton would have been able to produce in favor of the Colonies a change which was as prompt as it was unexpected. . . .

<sup>11</sup> Gazette de Leyde, April 15, 1777, no. XXX, p. 3, col. 2, and p. 4, cols. 1-2.

discreet management had brought universal admiration.

On April 25 the Gazette de Leyde published the translation of a polite but firm letter to Benjamin Franklin from Lord Richard Howe, commissioner for the pacification of America. In the letter, dated July 12, 1776, he complained that the American people were too prejudiced against the English government and that all attempts for peace were made in vain.<sup>12</sup> In the same issue the journal published a translation of Franklin's lengthy reply, dated July 30, 1776, from which selections follow:<sup>13</sup>

.....  
 Faire offrir des pardons aux Colonies, qui sont elles-mêmes les parties offensées, c'est montrer, en vérité, cette opinion de notre ignorance, de notre bassesse, et de notre insensibilité, qu'il a plu à votre Nation mal-informée, superbe et hautaine, de nourrir si longtems à notre égard. . . . Il est impossible, que nous puissions penser à nous soumettre à un Gouvernement, qui a fait brûler, avec la barbarie et la cruauté la plus gratuite, nos Villages sans défense, au coeur de l'hyver; qui a excité les Sauvages à assassiner leurs Maitres; qui encore aujourd'hui s'occupe à conduire dans ce Pays des Mercénaires Etrangers, pour inonder nos Etablissemens de sang. Des injustices si atroces ont éteint jusqu'à la moindre étincelle d'affection pour cette Mère-Patrie . . . .<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., April 25, 1777, no. XXXIII, p. 3. cols. 1-2.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 3. col. 2 and p. 4. cols. 1-2.

<sup>14</sup> To offer pardons to the colonies which are themselves the offended parties is to show, in truth, that opinion of our ignorance, our baseness, and our insensibility which it has pleased your badly-informed nation, proud and haughty, to foster so long in our regard. . . . It is impossible that we could think to submit ourselves to a government which has ordered, with the most gratuitous barbarity and cruelty, the burning of our defenseless villages in the heart of winter, which has aroused the savages to massacre our peaceable farmers and our slaves to assassinate their masters, which even today brings foreign mercenaries to inundate our establishments with blood. Such atrocious injustices have extinguished the last spark of the affection for this mother country . . . .

In this manner Benjamin Franklin answered the complaint of Lord Howe. Franklin even said that unless the British government soon made a treaty which recognized the independence of America, the American people would enter into a foreign alliance. Franklin wrote the letter two months before he left for the French court, and may have mentioned the possibility of a foreign alliance as a threat to the British government.

The Gazette de Leyde printed in its supplement of May 27 contradictory news from London and from America:<sup>15</sup>

Tandis que les dispositions, qu'on a vu faire pendant l'hiver, n'annoncent de part et d'autre que le dessein d'ouvrir la Campagne au Printemps avec une nouvelle ardeur, les Lettres de Londres du Mai 20. parlent encore de propositions d'Accommodement, faites, dit-on, au Général Howe de la part du Congrès. "Quelques Colonies, lassées de la Guerre, fournoissoient avec repugnance et lenteur les moyens de la continuer; et, pourvu que les Troupes Royales pussent s'approcher de Philadelphie, on regardoit la réconciliation comme certaine." Les Avis de l'Amérique, reçus par la voye de France, portent précisément le contraire: Il n'y a, disent-ils, aucune Négociation sur le tapis; et, quand même on seroit des offres de Pacification, certainement on ne les écouteroit point. En effet, toutes les Lettres des Colonies semblent confirmer ce qui est dit dans celle de Paris. . . .<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, May 27, 1777, no. XLIII, p.2.

<sup>16</sup> While the preparations which have been made during the winter announce on both sides the plan of opening the spring campaign with a new ardor, the letters from London on May 20 still speak of the propositions of conciliation made, it is said, to General Howe on the part of the Continental Congress. "Several colonies, tired of the war had been furnishing with reluctance the means of continuing it and if the royal troops could reach Philadelphia, one regarded the reconciliation as certain." The reports from America, received by way of France, convey precisely the opposite idea. "There is not," they say, "any negotiation on hand; and, even if there should be offers of conciliation, they certainly would not be heeded." Indeed, all the letters from the colonies seem to confirm what is said in the letter from Paris . . . .



The editor's plan of placing side by side two contradictory reports formed a striking method of comparison. However, he seemed usually to favor the American cause.

In the same supplement issue the Gazette de Leyde translated selections from an article which was originally printed in several New England papers and which was an attack upon the treatment of American prisoners by the British. The editor remarked that the article was so vitriolic that it was impossible to print it entirely. Directly after the abridged article concerning the treatment of American prisoners, the journal published an article originally printed in two Maryland papers which told of the kind treatment of almost one thousand Hessian prisoners by General Washington.<sup>17</sup> This is another example of the partiality shown by Luzac toward the Americans.

Early in June the editor remarked<sup>18</sup> that the British ministry was still flattering itself with the hope that the colonies would submit to a reconciliation. This hope was based on the belief that the Americans could not hold out long because of lack of provisions.

In the June 17 supplement the editor again commented on the contradictory news received from London and from America:<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Supplement, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

<sup>18</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, June 6, 1777, no. XLV, p. 1.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., June 17, 1777, no. XLVIII, p. 1.

Quoiqu'il soit assez ordinaire, qu'en tems de Guerre les deux Partis répandent des Récits forts différents, le Public a pu cependant remarquer, que jamais les Nouvelles n'ont été plus contradictoires que dans la Guerre présente entre la Grande-Bretagne et ses Colonies. Dans cette conjoncture, l'impartialité exige de rapporter en entier toutes les Relations de part et d'autre, comme le meilleur moyen d'approcher, par la voye de la comparaison, le plus près de la vérité . . . .<sup>20</sup>

The editor of the Gazette de Leyde frequently used the method of comparison when he published reports from London and from America.

The Gazette de Leyde quoted letters<sup>21</sup> from London of June 17 and a letter from an American in Europe to prove that the Americans were ready for a reconciliation. The British statesmen hoped that General Charles Lee would be able to effect his promise of reconciliation. The letter from the American said that the people of his country were ready for peace because they were not able to get support from any foreign power. The American pointed out that none of the absolute governments of Europe wanted to aid people who were rebelling and who hoped to set up an independent democratic government. However, the editor of the Gazette de Leyde seriously doubted that America was not receiving secret aid from Europe, particularly France. In fact he had received word from South Carolina that a French frigate had arrived in Charleston April 17,

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<sup>20</sup> Although it is rather ordinary that in time of war between two countries very different reports are spread, the public, however, must have noticed that the news never has been so contradictory as in the present war between Great Britain and her colonies. In this conjuncture impartiality requires the reporting in their entirety of all the accounts of both sides as the best way of approaching, by means of comparison, as nearly as possible to the truth . . .

<sup>21</sup> Supplement, op. cit., p. 2.

loaded with munitions and uniforms for the American army. He also cited an article in the New York Gazette which said that a French vessel headed for Philadelphia had been attacked by Captain Hammond of the British navy and that all the cargo was lost. The editor also mentioned that a number of French soldiers were enlisted in the American army.

A dispatch from London June 20 gave the following report:<sup>22</sup>

Le bruit d'une Pacification avec l'Amérique, si général et si accrédité il y a trois jours, est presque entièrement tombé, ou du moins ce qu'on en dit est si vague, si contradictoire, qu'il prouve l'embarras de ses Auteurs. . . .<sup>23</sup>

This is one example of the numerous rumors of reconciliation which were believed by many over-zealous Britishers.

A news dispatch from London contained the following comment:<sup>24</sup>

Tandis que les difficultés, qu'on éprouve dans la réduction de l'Amérique font presque désespérer d'y réussir jamais, l'on remarque avec chagrin l'influence, qu'ont dans l'Etranger les reproches de ceux qui blâment la conduite du Gouvernement dès le commencement de cette malheureuse brouillerie . . . .<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Gazette de Leyde, June 27, 1777, no. LI, p. 1, col. 1.

<sup>23</sup> The rumor of pacification with America, so general, so accredited three days ago has almost entirely dwindled or at least what they say of it is so vague and so contradictory that it is proving embarrassing to its perpetrators . . .

<sup>24</sup> Gazette de Leyde, July 18, 1777, no. LVII, p. 3, cols. 1-2.

<sup>25</sup> While the difficulties which have been experienced in the subjugation of America have almost caused the British government to despair of ever succeeding there, one notices with chagrin the influence on foreigners of the reproaches of those who have criticized the conduct of the government since the beginning of this unfortunate quarrel . . . .

The news dispatch then referred to two pamphlets by Dr. Price which ridiculed the ministry. These pamphlets were translated and read by all Europe. The English financiers blamed these pamphlets for the loss of foreign creditors in the loan which they wished to float in Europe.

A news article from Leyden, July 29, reported that outward relations of France and England were amicable but that France, according to letters received from there, had decided to make an alliance with America. The news article also reported that the trade and manufacturing interests of the province of Berry were greater because of the activities of Beaumarchais' company.

The same article reported that the Marquis de la Fayette had arrived recently in Philadelphia and that his arrival was thought to be a signal of friendship and alliance between France and America.

The editor expressed the following opinion of General Washington in the August 5 supplement:<sup>26</sup> ". . . il est certain, que les Américains n'auraient jamais pu choisir un Chef, qui remplit avec plus de dignité sa Place éminente . . ."<sup>27</sup> The editor of the Gazette de Leyde was an admirer of George Washington, and he often remarked about the simplicity and great strength of the letters and reports written by Washington. He also admired the general's firmness and common sense.

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<sup>26</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, August 5, 1777, no. LXII, p. 1.

<sup>27</sup> . . . it is certain that the Americans could not have chosen a leader who fills his eminent position with more dignity . . .

During August and September the Gazette de Leyde received detailed accounts of the major engagements of the summer of 1777. The journal published all the military news which it could receive.

The supplement of October 17 contained news of an unsuccessful conspiracy by the Royalists of Annapolis, Maryland, to destroy the city hall by fire. The plan was revealed to the assembly of Annapolis by a maidservant in one of the Royalist homes.<sup>28</sup>

A Leyden news article of November 4 reported that France and Spain were not the only European countries that were trading with America. Sweden was beginning to see a great opening in American trade. An American privateer, the Molly, carried rice and indigo to Marstrand in the summer of 1777 and returned to America with war supplies and other merchandises. The king of Sweden had done much to encourage trade with America.<sup>29</sup>

On December 29 a news report from Leyden gave the following report of the French soldiers in America:<sup>30</sup>

On a eu quelquefois occasion de parler du nombre d'Officiers François qui ont passé au service de l'Amérique-Union. Les dernières Lettres de ce Pays étoient remplies d'éloges de la bravoure et de l'intelligence, que tous les Officiers Etrangers, qui servent tous les Drapeaux du Congrès, mais particulièrement les François, ont fait

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<sup>28</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, October 17, 1777, no. LXXXIII, p. 1.

<sup>29</sup> Gazette de Leyde, November 4, 1777, no. LXXXVIII, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., December 30, 1777, no. CIV, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

paraître dans les dernières Actions: Et la satisfaction, qu'on a de leur conduite, a été prouvée par l'avancement, qu'ils ont successivement obtenu . . . .<sup>31</sup>

The Gazette de Leyde published a list of famous men who were serving in the American army—Thomas Conway, the Chevalier de Bory, the Baron de Kalb, and the Marquis de la Fayette. Not all these men were native Frenchmen but they did serve in the French companies of the American army.

Luzac emphasized the comparison of news received from London and from America in 1777. He sharply criticized the Royaliste newspapers of New York for printing inaccurate news deliberately. The editor noted that various European countries were anxious to develop their trade with America.

The surrender of General Burgoyne at Saratoga on October 17, 1777, was the most important military success for the American army. The Battle of Saratoga is considered the turning point of the American Revolution, because it paved the way for the French alliance, which changed the balance of sea power. Beaumarchais continued to send munitions and supplies to the American army. The terrible winter of 1777-1778 was endured by Washington's troops at Valley Forge while the British troops were comfortably quartered in Philadelphia.

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<sup>31</sup> One has had the occasion several times to speak of the number of French officers who have taken service in America. The last letters from this country were filled with praises of the bravery and intelligence shown by all the foreign officers, and especially the French, who serve under the flag of the Congress. And the satisfaction which one has of their conduct has been proved by the advancement which they have successively obtained . . . .

## CHAPTER VI

1778

The Gazette de Leyde published more detailed news of the military and naval engagements in late months of 1777 and during the spring and summer of 1778. However, these reports do not differ from the accounts in the American histories and, for this reason, the writer has not included them in this chapter.

The editor continued to compare the dispatches received from America. Luzac knew that the continental readers especially wanted authentic military and naval news. But he wrote as follows in the third supplement of 1778:<sup>1</sup>

En tâchant de donner dans notre Feuille tous les matériaux que nous pouvons sur la Guerre Américaine, ce n'est pas aux seuls Récits d'Actions et de Combats, que nous croyons devoir nous attacher. Les autres Pièces, telles que les Déclarations, Lettres, Résolutions, Manifestes, etc., ne sont sans doute pas moins intéressantes pour le Public éclairé, en lui faisant connoître le génie et les principes des deux Peuples belligérants et en servant ainsi à éclairer son jugement sur cette étonnante Révolution. . . .<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, January 9, 1778, no. III p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> In trying to give in our journal all the materials which we can on the American War, it is not only the reports of combats which we believe it our duty to report. The other documents, such as declarations, letters, resolutions, manifestos, etc. are not probably less interesting for the enlightened public in making known the spirit and principles of the two belligerent nations and serving thus to clarify its judgement on this astounding Revolution . . . .

The editor himself was more interested in the spirit and principles back of the American Revolutionary War than in the accounts of battles. Letters and documents gave him material on which he could comment and which he could interpret and criticize. For example, the Gazette de Leyde on January 2 and 6 published day by day accounts of the letters of negotiation between General Horatio Gates and General John Burgoyne after the Battle of Saratoga.<sup>3</sup> The report of the battle itself was merely a news story and scarcely needed any interpretation.

On January 20 the editor made the following comment on the tendency of newspapers in warring countries to paint the enemy in the blackest terms:<sup>4</sup>

Depuis le commencement des troubles de l'Amérique, il paroît avoir été constamment de la Politique de part et d'autre de s'y concilier le Peuple au moyen des Feuilles publiques. Les Colonies Angloises en ont toujours produit un nombre même proportionnellement plus grand que leur Mère-Patrie; et dans la partie, qui est restée attachée à celle-ci, les Auteurs périodiques n'ont pas cessé de peindre les Rebelles des couleurs les plus noires, dans le tems que leurs Confrères, Partisans du Congrès, ne représentoient la conduite du Gouvernement Britannique d'une manière plus flatteuse . . . .<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Gazette de Leyde, January 2, 1778, no. I, p. 2, col. 2; p. 3, cols. 1-2; p. 4, cols. 1-2. Ibid., January 6, 1778, no. II, p. 2, cols. 1-2; p. 3, cols. 1-2.

<sup>4</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, January 20, 1778, no. VI, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Since the beginning of the troubles in America, it seems to have been constantly the policy of both sides to strengthen their cause with the people by means of public journals. The English colonies have always produced them in number even proportionally greater than the mother-country; and the Royalist writers of these periodicals have not ceased to paint the rebels in the blackest of colors, at the same time as their colleagues, partisans of Congress, were representing the conduct of the British government in no more flattering terms. . . .



The editor of the Gazette de Leyde received copies of all the important American newspapers, Tory and patriotic. He studied them carefully and probably used them for the basis of the above comment.

On January 27 the editor again gave an example of his method of treating contradictory news when he wrote:<sup>6</sup>

Persuadés que le meilleur moyen de démêler la vérité au milieu des nuages, dont l'esprit de parti tâche de l'envelopper, c'est de comparer les Relations et les Avis qui se publient de part et d'autre, nous croyons, qu'après avoir donné dans notre Gazette d'aujourd'hui la Lettre du Chevalier Howe, il ne sera pas hors de propos de placer ici l'Extrait suivant de la Gazette de Boston du 10. Décembre, afin de mettre nos Lecteurs à même de juger par comparaison du véritable état des choses dans la Pensylvanie . . . .<sup>7</sup>

This particular time the editor allowed the readers to form their own opinions on the true state of affairs in Pennsylvania.

He criticized other journals for inaccuracy as follows:<sup>8</sup>

Par les derniers Ordinaires de Londres, nous avons encore reçu différents Extraits des deux Gazettes de New-York. Ces Auteurs périodiques, toujours fidèles à leurs premiers errements, représentent les affaires de l'Amérique-Unie comme étant dans la confusion la plus extrême . . . . Mais, quand même des Avis directs de l'Amérique ne contrediroient pas toutes ces Nouvelles, la hardiesse, avec laquelle les mêmes Gazettes donnent le détail de la prise de 700. Américains, dans German-Town au commencement de Décembre

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<sup>6</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, January 27, 1778, no. VIII, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Since we are persuaded that the best way to untangle the truth in the midst of the obscurities, in which partisan feeling tries to envelop it, is to compare the reports which both sides publish, we believe, after having given in our Gazette of today the letter of Lord Howe, it will not be irrelevant to place here the following extract from the Boston Gazette of December 10, thereby to allow our readers to judge by comparison the true state of things in Pennsylvania . . .

<sup>8</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, February 3, 1778, no. X, p. 1.

(avantage dont le Chevalier Howe ne dit pas un mot dans sa Lettre du 13 du même mois) et d'autres impostures de ce genre suffiroient pour inspirer non-seulement de la défiance mais du mépris pour de pareils mensonges et pour ceux qui les croient nécessaires ou utiles au crédit de leur Cause.<sup>9</sup>

It is evident that the editor was criticizing two of the Loyalist newspapers of New York which printed inaccuracies about the American army and the Continental Congress in order to bolster up their own cause. He certainly held such newspapers in contempt.

A March 6 news dispatch from Paris reported that the French government had already made a commercial treaty with America and that the treaty had been sent to the Continental Congress to be ratified.<sup>10</sup> No mention was made of a treaty of alliance. On Saturday, March 14, the Count of Noailles, French ambassador to the English court, delivered a written announcement to Viscount Weymouth, secretary of state, that Louis XVI had made on February 6 a treaty of commerce and friendship with the thirteen united and independent states of America. On March 16 Viscount Weymouth delivered the message to the House of Lords, and Lord North

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<sup>9</sup> By the last mail from London we have again received different extracts of the two New York Gazettes. These writers of periodicals, still faithful to their first errors, represent the affairs of united America as being in the most extreme confusion. . . . But even if the reports direct from America would not contradict all this news, the boldness with which the same Gazettes give details of the capture of seven hundred Americans in Germantown at the beginning of December (an advantage of which Lord Howe did not speak a word in his letter of the thirteenth of the same month) and other impostures of this kind would suffice to inspire not only mistrust but scorn of such lies and of those who believe them necessary or useful to the credit of their cause.

<sup>10</sup> Gazette de Leyde, March 13, 1778, no. XXI, p. 1, col. 2 and p. 2, col. 1.

delivered it to the House of Commons.<sup>11</sup> Soon the British government discovered that the French court had also made a treaty of alliance. Then both governments recalled their ambassadors. On April 24 the Gazette de Leyde published a report that two hundred homes of Charleston, South Carolina, had been destroyed by fire in the middle of January. The damage was estimated at five hundred thousand pounds sterling. It was rumored that the Royalists of Charleston had started the fire.<sup>12</sup>

The Gazette de Leyde received very little news from America during May. In June reports of an approaching reconciliation came from London and from the British leaders in America. The Gazette de Leyde paid very little attention to the reports and regarded them as untrue.<sup>13</sup>

The editor of the Gazette de Leyde must have disliked the New York Gazette, a Royalist journal. On June 26 he again criticized the journal for exaggerating the success of the British army, and for printing news contrary to the actual conditions.<sup>14</sup> It is interesting to observe that he never made an unfavorable criticism of the news in the patriotic journals.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., March 24, 1778, no. XXIV, p. 4, cols. 1-2.

<sup>12</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, April 24, 1778, no. XXXIII, p. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., June 19, 1778, no. XLIX, pp. 1-2.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., June 26, 1778, no. LI, p. 1.

On July 31 the editor remarked:<sup>15</sup>

Au nombre de plusieurs Pièces très-intéressantes, que nous venons de recevoir de l'Amérique-Unie, il en est quelques-unes qui prouvent de la manière la plus indubitable la ferme détermination des Corps législatifs de ce Pays de ne point départir de leur Indépendance. . . .<sup>16</sup>

Evidently the Americans showed a firmer determination than ever not to give up their independence.

During the months of August, September, and October the Gazette de Leyde did not publish much news or editorial comments about the war in America with the exception of the detailed negotiations of British commissioners for a reconciliation, the addresses in Parliament, and reports from British and American generals. On October 30 the editor made a rather surprising remark:<sup>17</sup>

La Guerre entre la Grande-Bretagne et l'Amérique-Unie, quelque intéressante qu'elle soit par son origine ses progrès, et ses effets présents et futurs, n'étant plus cependant le seul objet, qui intéresse la curiosité du Public, nous sommes dans la nécessité de partager la place bornée de notre Feuille entre les Pièces, relatives aux différentes contentations de l'époque actuelle . . . .<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., July 31, 1778, no. LXI, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> In a number of very interesting documents which we have just received from united America, there are several of them which prove in the most unquestionable manner the firm determination of the legislative bodies of this country not to depart at all from their independence. . . .

<sup>17</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, October 30, 1778, no. LXXVII, p. 1.

<sup>18</sup> The war between Great Britain and united America, however interesting it may be in its origin, its progress, and its present and future effects, not being the only thing which interests the curiosity of the public, we are in the necessity to share the limited space of our newspaper with reports relative to other important struggles of the present epoch. . . .

At no time was the Gazette de Leyde exclusively devoted to the publication of American Revolutionary War news. Interest in the war began to decline considerably in 1778, probably because the campaign was moved to the South. Then the editor began to turn the attention of the readers to European affairs.

The French treaties of alliance and commerce were signed in Paris on February 6, 1778. The British evacuated Philadelphia because the French naval power made its retention impossible. The alliance with France destroyed the hopes of the Loyalists for a British victory. Border warfare was widespread and destructive in 1778.

1779

The Gazette de Leyde did not show so much interest in the affairs on the American continent in 1779 as it showed in previous years because (1) the Gazette did not receive so many dispatches from America, (2) the editor became more interested in the European implications of the war and of the French alliance, and (3) the intense excitement created by the American Revolution from 1775 to 1778 had gradually died down.

In the January 26 supplement the editor seemed to believe that Thomas Paine's radical pamphlet, Common Sense,<sup>1</sup> had been written by Samuel Adams.<sup>2</sup>

Early in February the Gazette de Leyde reported that Generals Arnold, Mifflin, Sinclair, and Thomas of the American army had formed a cabal to oust Washington from his position as commander-in-chief of the American army. General Gates and Lee of the American forces, according to this report, received from New York, refused to join the conspiracy but really wished for the success of it.<sup>3</sup>

On April 13 the editor wrote as follows:<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. ante, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, January 26, 1779, no. VIII, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., February 9, 1779, no. XII, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., April 13, 1779, no. XXX, p. 1.

Quoique le retour des Officiers François, qui ont servi dans les Armées des Etats-Unis de l'Amérique, ait causé quelque surprise, et qu'en Angleterre l'on en ait pris occasion de débiter, que l'antipathie entre le gros du Peuple Américain et la Nation Françoise en avoit été la cause, il est certain, que plusieurs de ces Militaires n'ont eu d'autre motif pour demander leur congé du Congrès, que l'inactivité actuelle des Armées sur le Continent de l'Amérique dans un tems que leur Patrie est elle-même en Guerre avec la Grande-Bretagne. L'on pourra du moins se convaincre que le Marquis de la Fayette n'a pas quitté l'Amérique pour d'autre raison . . . .

Luzac defended and praised the conduct of France in America. He believed that the French soldiers had returned to their country because of the war between France and Great Britain, and not because of any dissatisfaction with America. The subject of the conduct of the French soldiers in America has been adequately treated by several writers.<sup>6</sup>

In the April 16 supplement the Gazette de Leyde published the letter of Congress which gave the Marquis de la Fayette permission to return to France and which rendered thanks for all his services to

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<sup>5</sup> Although the return of the French officers who have served in the armies of the United States of America has caused some surprise, and, although in England opportunity has been taken to spread the news that the antipathy between the mass of the American people and the French nation has been the cause of this, it is certain that a number of these soldiers in asking Congress for a furlough have had no other motive than the present inactivity of the armies on the American continent which has occurred at a time when their country is itself at war with Great Britain. At least one would be convinced that the Marquis de la Fayette has not left America for any other reason . . . .

<sup>6</sup> J. J. Jusserand, En Amérique Jadis et Maintenant; Joachim Merlant, Soldiers and Sailors of France in the American War of Independence 1776-1783; and James Breck Perkins, France in the American Revolution.

America. Following this letter was printed La Fayette's reply to the president of Congress.<sup>7</sup>

In the supplement of May 11 Luzac criticized the British court because of its refusal to publish important news dispatches from America. He considered this attitude harmful to the British cause. In the same article he commented on the sufferings of the British forces in America:<sup>8</sup>

. . . .Le climat brûlant de la Georgie et l'air mal-sain, qu'on y respire, par la multitude de Marais et de Bois dans un Pays peu cultivé, ont causé . . . une maladie contagieuse parmi les Troupes Royales dont un grand nombre a déjà péri; et, comme les mois les plus chauds sont encore à venir, l'on craignoit, qu'il ne restât bientôt que des débris de la petite Armée, qu'on a hazardée à cette périlleuse Expédition . . . .<sup>9</sup>

It seemed that nature was one of the best allies of the American forces.

On May 10 the Gazette de Leyde published the translation of a clipping from a Pennsylvania newspaper which told of a public entertainment given by Congress in honor of the first anniversary of the French alliance.<sup>10</sup> The French minister plenipotentiary to the United

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<sup>7</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, April 16, 1779, no. XXXI, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., May 11, 1779, no. XXXVIII, p. 1.

<sup>9</sup> . . . . The burning climate of Georgia and the unhealthy air breathed there because of the multitude of swamps and forests in a country little cultivated have caused . . . a contagious illness among the royal troops from which many have already died; and, as the hottest months are yet to come, it is feared that soon there will only remain the remnants of the small army which was risked in this perilous expedition. . . .

<sup>10</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, May 14, 1779, no. XXXIX, p. 1.



States, Conrad Alexander Gérard, was guest of honor. Thirteen toasts were drunk at the discharge of the artillery of Philadelphia: (1) to the eternal alliance of France and America; (2) to the United States of America; (3) to his Christian majesty of France; (4) to the queen of France; (5) to his Catholic majesty of Spain; (6) to the princes of the house of the Bourbon; (7) to the success of the allied arms; (8) to General Washington and the army; (9) to the friends of Liberty in all parts of the world; (10) to the new constellation reaching its zenith; (11) to the thirteen American stripes now bringing Great Britain to reason; (12) to the memory of the Patriots who had sacrificed their lives in defense of the liberty and independence of America; and (13) to a sure and honorable peace. The last sentence of the dispatch said that some day the human race would congratulate itself on this union between the two nations, one of the old world, the other the most respectable of the new.

In the May 28 supplement the editor wrote as follows on the success of the British army in the South:<sup>11</sup>

D'abord après la première entrée des Troupes Britanniques dans la Georgia, l'on assura à Londres et l'on répéta dans la plupart des Feuilles de l'Europe, que non-seulement cette Province, mais aussi les deux Carolines s'étoient soumises à la Mère-Patrie; que la Virginie alloit suivre leur exemple; et que bientôt toute l'Amérique-Unie seroit rentrée sous l'obéissance de la Grande-Bretagne. La Liste seule des Membres du Congrès . . . prouveroit la fausseté de pareilles assertions, vu que l'élection des Députés à cette Assemblée se fait dans

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., May 28, 1779, no. XLIII, p. 1.

toutes les Provinces par les Francs-tenanciers ou principaux Habitans; et que, les Membres nouvellement choisis étant connus pour zélés Partisans de l'Indépendance Américaine, il en résulte, que l'esprit général des Citoyens n'est point celui de la soumission de la Suprématie Britannique . . . .<sup>12</sup>

Again Luzac pointed out the falsities in the London reports. He hated the London journals that had spread untrue reports and reproved the papers on the continent for having believed them.

The June 14 supplement of the Gazette de Leyde said:<sup>13</sup>

. . . . Les Caroliniens bien loin de s'être déclarés pour la Grande-Bretagne, comme l'on en avoit répandu le bruit absurde, sont plus ardens qu'en aucune autre à maintenir le Système Républicain, qu'ils ont adopté . . . .<sup>14</sup>

Luzac may have been overemphasizing the loyalty of the Carolinas which were among the least enthusiastic of the rebelling colonies during the early years of the war.

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<sup>12</sup> Soon after the first entry of the British troops in Georgia, it was asserted in London and was repeated in most of the papers of Europe that not only Georgia but also the two Carolinas had surrendered to the mother-country, that Virginia was going to follow their example, and that soon all America would again be restored to the authority of Great Britain. The mere list of the members of the Congress would prove false such assertions, in view of the fact that the election of the deputies to this assembly is made in all the provinces by the freeholders or principal inhabitants. Since the members recently chosen are known as zealous partisans of American independence, it is evident that the general spirit of the citizens is not at all one of submission to British supremacy . . . .

<sup>13</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, June 4, 1779, no. XLV, p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> The Carolinians, far from having made a declaration in favor of Great Britain as an absurd rumor had indicated, are more ardent than any other state to maintain the republican system which they have adopted . . . .

Early in August Luzac made the following comment on the troubles of the new republic of America aside from the war:<sup>14</sup>

Un des principaux obstacles, que l'Union Américaine a éprouvé dans l'établissement de sa nouvelle République est le manque de Numéraire, qui a obligé le Congrès à avoir recours au Papier-monnaie: Cette ressource, qui a toujours entraîné des inconvénients dans les États connus depuis plusieurs Siècles, ainsi, que l'exemple de la Suède l'a fait voir récemment, doit nécessairement en causer de plus grands encore, dans un Pays, qui, luttant jusqu'à ce jour contre ses anciens Maîtres, n'a pu encore, dans l'incertitude de son sort futur, faire prévaloir son crédit dans l'Etranger sur des craintes, que ses Adversaires sont si intéressés à entretenir . . . .<sup>15</sup>

This was the first mention of the financial situation of the United States made in the Gazette de Leyde. It was extremely important to stabilize the finance of the country because of the great need for foreign credit.

During the last months of 1779 the Gazette de Leyde received less news from America and consequently published fewer news stories and editorial comments. The Gazette did publish reports of the British campaigns in the South, but they do not differ from the accounts found in American histories. The naval war between France and Great Britain seemed

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<sup>14</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, August 3, 1779, no. LXII, p. 1.

<sup>15</sup> One of the principal obstacles which the American union has experienced in the establishment of her new republic is the lack of specie which has obliged Congress to have recourse to paper money. This expedient has always caused difficulties in modern states as the example of Sweden has recently shown. It must necessarily cause greater difficulties in a country which, still struggling with its former masters, has not been able yet in the uncertainty of its future fate, to make its credit abroad take precedence over the fears which its adversaries are so interested in maintaining.

more important to the editor than the American Revolution.

In 1779 Sir Henry Clinton, commander of the British forces in America, moved eight thousand men from New York to Charleston, Clinton, under the directions of the War Office in London, thus transferred the main objective of the war from the North to the South. However, the British remained faithful to the rule of divide and conquer. The American army, even with the aid of the French navy, failed in the attack on Savannah. George Rogers Clark succeeded in maintaining a firm control over the allied British and Indians in the Northwest.

## CHAPTER VIII

1780

The editor published less news and made fewer comments on the Revolutionary War in 1780 than in any previous year. However, he showed considerable interest in the progress and problems of the United States, particularly in its financial affairs. The war between France and England had greater news value in 1780 than the war in America. However, this study does not deal with the European implications of the American Revolution.

In several successive February supplements, the Gazette de Leyde published a circular letter of Congress to the citizens of the United States. The letter was dated September 13, 1779, and it dealt with the financial conditions of the country. Luzac made the following comment on the letter:<sup>1</sup>

. . . . Comme cette Pièce, émanée d'un Corps public, est essentielle à l'Histoire de la Révolution Américaine, la plus intéressante de nos jours, nous l'insérerons successivement, quoique nous eussions désiré, que deux ou trois passages de cet Ecrit se fussent moins ressentis de l'animosité, fruit ordinaire des Contestations Civiles et dont les Pièces, publiées du côté de la Grande-Bretagne, n'ont pas même paru exemptes quelquefois. . . .<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, February 11, 1780, p. 1. Ibid., February 15, 1780, no. XIII, pp. 1-2; February 22, 1780, no. XV, pp. 1-2; February 25, 1780, no. XVI, pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> . . . .As this document, emanated from a public body, is essential to the history of the American Revolution, the most interesting of our day, we will insert it in successive numbers although we would have desired that two or three of the passages of this writing were less filled with animosity, the ordinary fruit of civil strife and of which the published documents on the part of Great Britain have not sometimes appeared exempt. . . .

The editor had great admiration for the documents and letters of the American Congress. He quoted passages from them as often as he could and used them to prove to the readers of the Gazette de Leyde that the Congress was an intelligent assembly of men who sought to better the conditions of their country.

The Gazette de Leyde printed an interesting excerpt of a letter from Williamsburg, Virginia, which described conditions in that state in January:<sup>3</sup>

.....

... on n'oublie point, que l'Argent est le nerf de la Guerre: Notre Etat a presqu'achevé de rassembler sa Quote-part des 15. Millions, que le Congrès a résolu de lever par mois, à l'effet d'arrêter le déchet du Papier-Monnoye et de diminuer la Dette publique. Le premier Payment (quoique le Peuple ait ressenti toute la pesanteur du Fardeau, et que quelques Individus en aient murmuré) a prouvé l'utilité du moyen: Le Papier-Monnoye a depuis ce temps augmenté en valeur; la circulation s'est ranimée; et, si nous réussissions à faire quelques Emprunts dans l'Etranger, nous aurons bien-tôt surmonté les difficultés, occasionées par le manque du Numéraire. . . .<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, March 31, 1780, no. XXVI, p. 1.

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... one should never forget that money is the nerve of war. Our state has almost finished collecting its quota of fifteen million dollars which the Congress had resolved to levy by the month, with a view of stopping the depreciation of paper money and of reducing the public debt. The first payment (although the people have felt all the weight of the burden and although some individuals have murmured against it) has proved the usefulness of the means. The paper money has since this time increased in value; its circulation has revived; and if we succeed in securing some loans from foreign nations, we will soon have surmounted the difficulties occasioned by the lack of specie. . . .

The Gazette de Leyde was here interested in the method taken by Congress to stop the depreciation of the paper money. The financial levy, although heavy, did restore the credit of the country.

A dispatch from Paris on May 1 reported that Captain John-Paul Jones attended the opera on April 23 accompanied by the grandson of Benjamin Franklin. The audience knew that the guest of Franklin's grandson was an American naval officer but did not learn immediately that he was the famous John-Paul Jones. When Jones returned to his box after the intermission, he received a great ovation. The American officer rose and thanked the audience. On leaving the theatre, he was followed by a large crowd.<sup>5</sup>

On June 9 the editor said:<sup>6</sup>

.....  
 Si la Guerre Américaine mérite l'attention du Public, qui en recueillit avec plaisir toutes les circonstances, les Lecteurs éclairés ne fixent pas moins leurs regards sur les difficultés que s'opposent à l'établissement de cette nouvelle république Fédérative, et sur les moyens que ses Chefs employent avec une constance inébranable pour vaincre ces obstacles. . . .

Luzac realized that his readers not only were eager to receive military news but also were becoming interested in the financial and political problems involved in the establishment of a new republic.

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<sup>5</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, May 9, 1780, no. XXXVII, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., June 9, 1780, no. XLVI, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> If the American war merits the attention of the public who welcome with pleasure all accounts of it, the enlightened readers do not fix any the less their attention on the difficulties which stand in the way of the establishment of this new federated republic, and on the means which its leaders employ with an unshaken loyalty to conquer these obstacles. . . .

The editor made a comment on September 12 which showed clearly his attitude toward the United States:<sup>8</sup>

Depuis le commencement de la Révolution Américaine nous avons eu plus d'une fois l'occasion de remarquer, qu'outre les évènemens de la Guerre, intéressans pour la curiosité générale, la partie éclairée du Public aimoit encore davantage à fixer son attention sur les progrès, que la nouvelle République faisoit dans sa Législation Civile, d'autant plus que, par un exemple rare dans les Annales du Monde, l'Américus-Unig se trouve à même de s'en choisir une, qu'elle juge être la plus conforme aux principes Démocratiques et la plus favorable à la Liberté générale, tandis que la plupart des Républiques, qui existent de nos jours, doivent leur Constitution plutôt qu'à simple hazard qu'à une combinaison réfléchie. . . .<sup>9</sup>

The editor realized that the continental readers were interested in the experiment in America because it was the first time that a people had an opportunity to work out a plan of government without being limited by existing forms.

Letters from London on November 17 carried the news of the treason of Benedict Arnold. The news was so contradictory that the editor refused to comment on it. However, he did report what he considered the most probable part of the news.<sup>10</sup> Late in December the editor received the

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<sup>8</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, September 12, 1780, no. LXXII, p. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Since the beginning of the American Revolution, we have had several times occasion to notice that more enlightened persons preferred rather to fix their attention on the progress which the new republic was making in its civil legislation than on the events of the war, interesting to the general curiosity. So much more because, by an example rare in the annals of the world, America finds herself ready to select a body of legislation, which she judges to be the most in conformity to the principles of democracy and the most favorable to the general liberty, while on the other hand, most of the states which exist in our day owe their constitution rather to simple chance than to combined reflection. . . .

<sup>10</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, November 24, 1780, no. XXIV, p. 1. Ibid., December 22, 1780, no. CII, p. 1.



official reports of Congress and the letter of the American Brigadier-General Knox on the treason of Arnold. Luzac pointed out that the Royalists in America and a number of London newspapers tried to use the treason of Benedict Arnold to prove that the Americans were ready to surrender to the superior strength of the British army. He added that the Royalists had tried to use such untruths for five years and had always failed.

In 1780 Luzac did not deal with the American Revolution so much as he had done in the earlier years of the war. The defeats which the Americans suffered in 1780 were no indication to him of the final outcome of the war. Luzac now became more interested in the financial and political problems of the new democracy. His comments on these problems form the most significant material in the Gazette de Leyde for that year.

In America 1780 was the blackest year of the Revolutionary war. Benedict Arnold, who betrayed his country, joined the British army and fought in the North; later he became a leader of the British raiding parties in the South. Charleston fell under British domination. England was still the great sea power. But there was a brighter side. Holland, as well as Spain, was now leagued against Great Britain. Washington's Continentals, although even they were beginning to mutiny because of Congressional neglect, were still able to resist British force.

## CHAPTER IX

1781

The Gazette de Leyde in 1781 attacked George III, the London newspapers and the American Royalists. The British king was sharply criticized because he was so obstinate in continuing a useless war, the London newspapers because they printed untrue news, and the American Royalists because they deliberately published false reports against the Patriots and because they destroyed property, and aroused the Indians. The editor vehemently censured the New York Gazette, the chief organ of the Royalists. Etienne Luzac was now much bolder in the expression of his own opinions and in his attack on the British. He also showed more partiality toward the United States, and he defended with great eagerness the military, political, financial, and intellectual progress of the struggling democracy.

In the supplement of January 12 the editor again showed his dislike and mistrust of the British court. He wrote:<sup>1</sup>

Comme il est arrivé ces dernières semaines plusieurs Vaisseaux de l'Amérique-Septentrionale, il est singulier que depuis plus d'un mois la Cour Britannique\* n'ait rien publié ni touchant les progrès du Comte Cornwallis dans la Caroline ni au sujet de l'Expédition du Général-Major Leslie dans la Baye de Chesapeake ou de la situation des affaires à New-York, et Rhode-Island. Ce n'est pas néanmoins, que cette Cour manque d'informations authentiques, puisque 'il est venu récemment de ce Pays plusieurs Officiers de marque. . . l'on donne quelquefois des raisons fort extraordinaires du silence du Gouvernement: C'est ainsi, par exemple, qu'on dit que les dernières Dépêches du Comte Cornwallis ont été perduës, sans qu'on sçache comment. . . Quelle que soit la vérité de ce rapport, une partie

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<sup>1</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, January 12, 1781, no. IV, p. 1.

\* The editor began to spell this word with two n's in 1781.

du Public infère du silence de la Cour, que les dernières Nouvelles de l'Amérique ne lui sont pas favorables. . . .<sup>2</sup>

The editor believed that of the loss of the official reports of Lord Cornwallis was a wilful concealment of unfavorable news. After the editorial comment, the Gazette de Leyde printed an excerpt from a Pennsylvania paper which reported that the turn of events in the Southern campaign was really against the British. Luzac was partial to the American newspapers and accepted their news stories as the true picture of the military, economic, and political events of the Revolutionary period.

The following extract from a Philadelphia letter was given in the February 13 supplement:<sup>3</sup>

Un des principaux avantages, que la Révolution de l'Amérique Unie a paru dès son origine, aux yeux des Personnes impartiales qui aiment à réfléchir sur les événemens, devoir produire pour le bien général de l'Humanité, c'est d'aggrandir et de vivifier, pour ainsi dire, l'esprit de Commerce et de communication générale des divers Peuples de l'ancien et du nouveau Monde, en a franchissant leur Navigation des entraves, que l'ambition d'une seule Nation

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<sup>2</sup> As several ships have arrived from North America in the last several weeks, it is strange that since more than a month the British court has not published anything either touching the progress of Lord Cornwallis in Carolina or Major-General Leslie in Chesapeake Bay or the state of affairs in New York and Rhode-Island. However, it is not that this court lacks authentic information, because several officers of note have recently come from America. Sometimes very extraordinary reasons are given for the silence of the government. It is said, for example, that the last dispatches of Lord Cornwallis have been lost without any one knowing how. . . . Whatever may be the truth of this report, a part of the public infers from the silence of the court that the last news from America is not favorable. . . .

<sup>3</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, February 13, 1781, no. XIII, p. 1.

y avoit mises pour son intêrêt exclusif. . . .<sup>4</sup>

The writer of this letter declared that the American Revolution was divine in its origin, was being fought for all mankind, and that it would bring closer communication and better commercial relations between Europe and the United States when peace was declared. This was the general opinion in Europe and America during the final years of the war. However, the opposite result came after the peace. The United States continued to trade with Great Britain because of the closer connection of the two nations racially and because Great Britain manufactured goods which suited the American taste.

When reports came from London that a part of the American army had seceded from the command of General Washington, the editor commented:<sup>5</sup>

Quelque agréable qu'ait été en Angleterre la Nouvelle de la sécession d'une partie de l'Armée Américaine, commandée par le Général Washington, il s'en faut de beaucoup que les Pièces, insérées dans la Gazette de Londres du 20 Février, aient rempli les espérances du Public Anglois à cet égard; et il est remarquable, que depuis ce tems les Fonds ont baissé d'un pour-cent. Effectivement les gens qui réfléchissent sur les évènements du jour, ne peuvent se dissimuler, qu'on ne sauroit fournir de preuves plus convaincantes de l'éloignement des Américains pour une réconciliation avec la Grande-Bretagne que ces Pièces mêmes, publiées par la Cour. Les

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<sup>4</sup> One of the principal advantages which the American Revolution has seemed, since its beginning, to have been able to produce for the general good of h manity, in the eyes of impartial persons who like to reflect on the events, is to enlarge and to vivify, so to speak, the spirit of trade and general communication between the different peoples of the old and new world by freeing their navigation from the shackles in which the ambition of one nation had placed them for its exclusive interest. . . .

<sup>5</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, March 2, 1781, no. XVIII, p. 1.

Adhérents de celle-ci ne cessent de répandre, que le Peuple des Colonies ne se voit qu'à regret soumis à l'Autorité du Congrès, et qu'il languit de rentrer sous le Gouvernement Britannique. . . .<sup>6</sup>

Luzac blamed the New York Gazette for the spread of the rumor that Washington's Pennsylvania troops had deserted. The paper had reported that the army had revolted against Congress and that many soldiers had returned to their homes. The truth of the matter was that Washington had decided to move his chief headquarters.

On March 16 the editor wrote concerning the rumors of mutiny among the troops with Washington:<sup>7</sup>

Quoique les Feuilles Ministérielles en Angleterre aient itérativement assuré, que le feu de la Mutinerie, qui avoit éclaté le Jour du Nouvel-an par les Troupes Américaines aux ordres du Général Washington, ne s'étoit pas éteint, mais s'étoit communiqué au contraire à presque toute l'Armée, elles n'ont pu citer jusqu'ici d'autre garant de cette Nouvelle que la Gazette de New-York: Il est néanmoins plus que vraisemblable que la Cour de Londres l'auroit confirmée par des Pièces authentiques, si elle eût été vraie. . . .<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> However agreeable may have been in England the news of the secession of a part of the American army from the command of General Washington, the reports inserted in London Gazette of February 20 lack a great deal in fulfilling the hopes of the English public in this regard; and it is remarkable that since this time the stocks have lowered one per cent. Indeed, men who reflect on present events cannot conceal that one would not know how to furnish more convincing proofs of the great distance which the Americans are from a reconciliation with Great Britain than these very reports published by the court. Its adherents do not cease to spread the news that the people of the colonies see themselves, only with regret, submissive to the authority of Congress and that they long to return under the rule of the British government. . . .

<sup>7</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, March 16, 1781, no. XXII, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Although the ministerial papers in England have continually asserted that the flame of mutiny lighted on New Year's Day by the American troops under the orders of General Washington had not yet been extinguished, but had been communicated on the contrary to almost all the army, they have not been able to cite up to the present any other surety of this news than the New York Gazette. It is, nevertheless, more than likely that the London court would have confirmed the report by authentic documents if it had been true. . . .

Luzac thoroughly disliked the New York Gazette; he refused to believe any of the reports printed against the Americans in the Royalist paper.

In the March 30 supplement the Gazette de Leyde printed a selection from a letter from Marblehead, Massachusetts, which gave a detailed report of the military campaigns in New York, New Jersey, and South Carolina.<sup>9</sup> He referred to this letter again on April 6 when he wrote:<sup>10</sup>

Dans la Lettre de Marblehead en l'Etat de Massachusetts's Bay . . . il est dit, "que les Gouvernements du Continent et de chaque Etat en particulier ont acquis aujourd'hui une consistance et une solidité, qui augmente chaque jour." Cette assertion, diamétralement opposée aux insinuations des Partisans du Ministère Britannique, mais attestée par les faits, est sur-tout irréfragable à l'égard de l'Etat, que nous venons de nommer. S'il étoit possible d'en douter, l'on devroit s'en convaincre par l'établissement même de la nouvelle Constitution de Massachusetts's-Bay et par ce qui s'y est passé depuis cette époque. . . .<sup>11</sup>

Luzac pointed out that Massachusetts had continually been the leader in the struggle for American liberty.

Luzac sharply criticized the British king in the following comment:<sup>12</sup>

Au nombre des assertions fausses, auxquelles l'esprit de parti donne souvent lieu relativement à la Guerre Américaine, il n'en est aucune qui le soit davantage que celle qu'un Ecrit, publié récemment, prête à S. M. Britannique, en adressant un Discours exhortatoire à ses Sujets révoltés. "Nous n'avons employé, y est il dit, jusqu'à présent

<sup>9</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, March 30, 1781, no. XXVI, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., April 6, 1781, no. XXVIII, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> A letter from Marblehead in the state of Massachusetts-Bay says, "The government of the continent and that of each individual state has now acquired a stability and solidity which increases each day." This assertion, diametrically opposed to the insinuations of the partisans of the British ministry, but attested by facts, is especially irrefutable in regard to the state which we have just named. If it were possible to doubt this, one ought to be able to be convinced of truth of it by the establishment of the new constitution of Massachusetts's Bay and by what has happened there since that time. . . .

<sup>12</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, April 13, 1781, no. XXX, p. 1.

contre vous que des forces médiocres, dans l'espérance qu'elles suffiroient pour vous faire rentrer en vous mêmes et revenir à l'obéissance: Mais, si vous nous obligez à déployer enfin tout notre pouvoir, soyez bien assurés, que nos ressources sont encore telles que vous ne sauriez manquer d'y succomber. On y verra, que par la Guerre Américaine et ses suites immédiates la Grande-Bretagne a non seulement déployé toutes ses ressources, mais qu'elle a dû même anticiper sur celles des générations futures; et que, si pour le moment elle suffit à tous ceux qu'elle a attaqués, ce n'est qu'au prix d'efforts extrêmes, dont l'Empire Britannique déploiera un jour les tristes effets. Louis XIV. résista avec succès à toute l'Europe, liguée contre son ambition démesurée et finit par laisser son Royaume dans la misère. . . .<sup>13</sup>

The editor made his boldest comment when he drew an analogy between the reigns of Louis XIV of seventeenth century France and George III of Great Britain. It must be remembered that Luzac printed his paper in Holland, where Louis XIV was detested. Luzac regarded George III as a stubborn ruler who was blind to the ruinous effects of the continued warfare.

Luzac showed his eagerness to defend the Americans as an educated and progressive people when he said in April 24 supplement:<sup>14</sup>

En notre Supplément du No. XXX, nous avons eu l'occasion de rectifier par les faits une des assertions fausses, semées dans un Ecrit récent, dont l'Auteur prétend avoir pour but la réconciliation

<sup>13</sup> Among the number of false assertions which the partisan spirit often occasions relative to the American war, there is none more false than the one which, an account, published recently, attributes to his British majesty, when he was addressing a warning discourse to his rebellious subjects. "We have only employed," it is said there, "up to the present mediocre forces against you in the hope that they would be sufficient to make you come to your senses and return to obedience. But if you oblige us to employ finally all our power, be well assured that our resources are still such that you would not fail to yield to them. . . ." One will see there that in the American war and its immediate results Great Britain not only has used all its resources but has even been obliged to encroach upon those of future generations; and that if, momentarily, England is able to deal with her opponents, it is only at price of extreme efforts of which the British Empire will some day deplore the unfortunate effects. Louis XIV successfully resisted all Europe leagued against his boundless ambition, and he ended by leaving his kingdom in poverty. . . .

<sup>14</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, April 24, 1781, no. XXXIII, p. 1.

entre l'Angleterre et ses Colonies.<sup>15</sup> Le même Ecrivain, traçant d'après son imagination les effets de la Révolte des États-Unis, voit entre autres la porte fermée chez les Américains aux Arts, aux Sciences, aux lumières qui contribuent à la félicité publique et ouverte aux ténèbres, à l'ignorance, à la barbarie, qui sont incompatibles avec elle. Heureusement pour la République naissante que des Rêveries différent très-souvent de la réalité. Jamais les Arts, les Sciences, les lumières de tout genre n'y ont fait plus de progrès que depuis qu'elle a commencé à se soustraire au joug de la Mère-Patrie, dont l'intérêt étoit de tenir ses Enfants en tutelle aussi longtems que possible. . . .<sup>16</sup>

Luzac pointed out the falseness of the London report by citing the act of the Massachusetts assembly which created an academy of arts and sciences. The first meeting of this academy was held on November 8, 1780, in Boston. James Bowdoin, president, read an address which prophesied a great future in arts and sciences in the United States. However, the editor believed that the best proof of the intellectual interests of the new republic was shown when several members of the Massachusetts academy went to England in the fall of 1780 to study.

The ports of Spain were the chief communication points between

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<sup>15</sup> Cf. ante, pp. 11, 15, 41, 42, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 59.

<sup>16</sup> In our Supplement No. XXX we have had occasion to rectify by facts one of the false assertions found in a recent writing in which the author pretends to have for object the reconciliation between England and its colonies. The same writer, tracing according to his own imagination the effects of the revolt of the United States, sees among others the door closed in America to the arts and sciences and to culture of all kinds which contribute to the public happiness and the door open to darkness, to ignorance, to barbarism which are incompatible with happiness. It is fortunate for the new republic that dreams are often different from reality. Never have the arts, sciences, and culture of all kinds made more progress there than since the nation has begun to free itself from the yoke of the mother-country whose interest was to hold its children under tutelage as long as possible. . . .



America and Europe in 1780 and 1781. The editor made this cutting remark:<sup>17</sup>

. . . l'on reçoit par cette voye des Papiers publics et des Lettres particulières, propres à éclaircir la vraie situation d'un Pays, au sujet duquel la Cour Britannique et ses Adhérents n'ont cessé d'induire l'Europe en erreur depuis six ans. . . .<sup>18</sup>

The Spanish ports now became one of the chief avenues of communication between Europe and America, probably because the English were making entrance to the Dutch ports difficult. Luzac was bold in saying that the British court had from the very beginning deliberately falsified its reports of the American Revolution.

On August 7 the Gazette de Leyde published an intercepted letter, dated May 29, 1781, written by Washington to General Sullivan. The letter originally appeared in the London Gazette.<sup>19</sup> Although Luzac caustically attacked the London papers because they published inaccurate news, he was not adverse to copying any material he wanted from them. In the same news issue an intercepted letter by the Marquis de La Fayette to Washington was published. The letter contained a complete report of the condition of his troops and of the battles which had taken place in the South since the beginning of the spring campaign of 1781.

In the following comment the editor gave his opinion of the Royalists in New York:<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, May 11, 1781, no. XXXVIII, p. 1.

<sup>18</sup> . . . we receive by this way public papers and private letters, suitable to bring to light the true situation of a country, concerning which the British court and its adherents have not ceased to lead Europe into error for six years. . . .

<sup>19</sup> Gazette de Leyde, August 7, 1781, no. LXIII, p. 2, col. 2; p. 3, cols. 1-2; p. 4, col. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, September 28, 1781, no. LXXVII, p. 1.

Dans le tems que la Cour Britannique garde le silence sur les Dépêches, qu'elle reçoit de l'Amérique-Septentrionale, les Feuilles de London y suppléent ordinairement par des Extraits de la Gazette de New York, contenant de longues Relations de quelques Expéditions d'Américains Loyalistes sur Terre-ferme, qui aboutissent presque toutes à courir le Pays en Brigands, à tuer par surprise quelques-uns de leurs Compatriotes, quoique ne portant pas les armes, à en enlever d'autres, à emmener le Bétail, et à s'enfuir au plus vite dès qu'il se rassemble des Forces suffisantes pour leur tenir tête. . . .<sup>21</sup>

He thought that the Loyalists were dishonored by their raiding expeditions in New York although the London newspapers recounted these stories at length.

When the Gazette de Leyde received reports of the American victory at Yorktown, the editor wrote the following laudatory comment:<sup>22</sup>

Si jamais un Plan d'opérations militaires a été habilement concerté, prudemment conduit, et heureusement exécuté, c'est celui d'envelopper et d'enlever le corps du Cornwallis en Virginie, et tandis que ce Projet dépendoit de combinaisons aussi multipliées que lointaines, dont une seule manquée eût pu faire échouer l'entreprise entière, elles ont toutes remplies à point nommé. . . .<sup>23</sup>

Luzac considered that the manoeuvres preceding the surrender at Yorktown as evidences of masterly military leadership.

<sup>21</sup> While the British court keeps silence on the dispatches which it receives from North America, the London papers make up the deficiency ordinarily by selections from the New York Gazette containing long accounts of several expeditions of the American Royalists on the mainland. These raids succeed in overrunning the country with brigands, in killing by surprise some of their defenseless fellowmen, in kidnaping others, and in carrying away stock. Then they flee with great swiftness as soon sufficient forces assemble to cope with them.

<sup>22</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, November 30, 1781, no. XCVI, p.1.

<sup>23</sup> If ever a plan of military operations have been cleverly contrived, prudently conducted, and fortunately executed, it is that of surrounding and capturing the army of Cornwallis in Virginia. While this project depended upon combinations as numerous as they were far-reaching, the failure of a single one of these plans could have caused the ruin of the entire enterprise, but they were all carried out at the time arranged.

The editor told an interesting story in the December 14 supplement:<sup>24</sup>

Depuis le commencement des hostilités sur le Continent de l'Amérique-Septentrionale en 1775, tous les treize Etats-Unis avoient éprouvé successivement les calamités de la Guerre, soit par le séjour permanent de Troupes ennemies dans leur enceinte, soit par des invasions momentanées, à l'exception du seul Etat de New-Hampshire: à la fin néanmoins il s'y est vu exposé comme les autres. Un Parti d'Anglois Torys et d'Indiens du Canada y a fait une incursion du côté des Montagnes-blanches au mois de Juillet dernier; mais elle n'a abouti qu'à tuer quelques infortunés Habitans, à enlever d'autres, à piller et dévaster leurs Plantations. La Milice, s'étant mise à leur poursuite, trouva des Billets affichés aux arbres, par lesquels les Habitans emmenés Prisonniers la prioient de ne pas poursuivre les Pillards, parce qu'ils avoient menacé de les mettre à mort en ce cas. . . .<sup>24</sup>

The account of this raid is similar to that taken from the New York Gazette: Evidently Luzac showed great interest in the Tory cruelties.

In 1781 the editor of the Gazette de Leyde was more open in his criticism of all the opponents of the American cause. He accused the British of having falsified news from America since the beginning of the war. He also censured the atrocities of the American Tories. He considered the events leading to Cornwallis' surrender was a brilliant military manoeuvre but did not emphasize it as the decisive end of the struggle.

<sup>24</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Loyde, December 14, 1781, no. C, p. 1.

<sup>25</sup> Since the beginning of the hostilities on the North American continent in 1775, all the thirteen states have experienced successively the calamities of war, either by the permanent quartering of foreign troops within their borders or by momentary invasions. The one exception has been the state of New Hampshire. Nevertheless, it has finally seen itself exposed like the others. A group of English Tories and Indians from Canada made a raid in the direction of the White Mountains last July. But the raid succeeded only in killing several unfortunate settlers, in kidnaping others, in pillaging and devastating their farms. The militia, starting to pursue them, found notes nailed to the trees by which the inhabitants taken prisoners begged the militia not to follow the plunderers because they had threatened to put them to death in this case. . . .

The greatest year for the American army came in 1781. Major-General Nathanael Greene, although technically defeated at Guilford, North Carolina, on March 15, really won a victory; for Cornwallis lost one third of his army in that engagement. The British army retired to Wilmington, but Greene refused to follow them and turned to South Carolina to drive out the rest of the British army. Cornwallis then went to Yorktown, Virginia. The siege of Yorktown lasted from September 30 to October 19, when Lord Cornwallis surrendered to the combined French and American forces.

## CHAPTER X

1782

The illegal execution of American prisoners of war, the cruelties of the Royalists and the British commanding officers, the credulity of the English people, and the actions of the new Whig ministry were criticized by the editor of the Gazette de Leyde in 1782. Most American histories do not treat the war in detail after Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown. However, Luzac was much interested in the conduct of the British officers, especially those stationed in Charleston.

Early in January the Gazette de Leyde reported that the English and American papers were filled with news of the execution of Colonel Isaac Hayne, commanding officer of a regiment of militiamen. The American officer had previously been captured by the British at Charleston, had sworn fidelity to George III, and had consequently been released on his word of honor. When he was retaken, his captor, Lord Rawdon, condemned him to be executed. On August 2, 1781, two days before his death, Hayne gave to a friend some private papers in which he claimed that his trial was illegal and that he had been treated as a spy rather than as an enemy. Although Hayne was given a short reprieve, he was hanged on August 4, 1781. The editor made the following comment concerning the execution of Hayne:<sup>1</sup>

Plusieurs Avis reçus de l'Amérique font craindre, que le Meurtre aussi illégal que gratuit, que Mylord Rawdon, de concert avec les Colonels Gould et Balfour, a jugé à propos de commettre dans la

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<sup>1</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, January 18, 1782, no. VI, pp. 1-2.

Personne de l'infortuné Colonel Isaac Hayne, ne soit l'ouverture d'une scène de sang et de carnage, qui achèvera de combler les horreurs, dont la Guerre Americaine n'a fourni que trop d'exemples. . . .

Il paroît . . . que la seule prudence auroit dû empêcher Mylord Rawdon et le Colonel Balfour d'user de toute la rigueur de la Loi Martiale envers le Colonel Hayne, au cas même qu'il eut été coupable; mais les Pièces, pour la publication desquelles cet infortuné Officier a pris des mesures avant sa mort, font voir du moins que son Crime n'a pas été prouvé judiciairement, et que son exécution a été aussi précipitée qu'illégale. . . .<sup>2</sup>

All Luzac's sympathies were with the condemned American officer. He made no comment on the fact that when Hayne was recaptured, he was bearing arms against the British contrary to his earlier promise. Luzac considered the execution of Hayne one of the worst blunders of the British army in the South and the first one of a series of similar incidents. It is curious that the story of Hayne is not found in most American histories.

The editor gave his opinion of the warfare of the South Carolina Royalists when he wrote:<sup>3</sup>

Il est aisé de se figurer, qu'une pareille façon de faire la Guerre en Sauvages ne sert nullement à ramener les Américains révoltés. En effect, les Lettres particulières de la Caroline nous apprennent, que les esprits y sont plus aigris que jamais contre la Grande-Bretagne, et que les Habitans de la Campagne à l'entour de Charles-Town, occupés

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<sup>2</sup> Several reports received from America make it feared that the murder which was as illegal as unnecessary and which Lord Rawdon, with the mutual consent of Colonels Gould and Balfour, has judged fitting to inflict upon the unfortunate Colonel Isaac Hayne, is only the beginning of a scene of bloodshed and carnage which will end by piling up to the highest degree the atrocities of which the American war has furnished only too many examples. . . .

It seems that mere prudence should have prevented Lord Rawdon and Colonel Balfour from using all the severity of martial law against Colonel Hayne, even if he had been guilty; but the documents, for the publication of which this unfortunate officer took precaution before his death, make it seem at least that his crime has not been proved judicially and that his execution was as hasty as it was illegal. . . .

<sup>3</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, February 19, 1782, no. XV, p. 1.

par les Royalistes, ont mieux aimé abandonner leurs Habitations et se réfugier dans les Bois, que de se soumettre au pouvoir Britannique. . . .<sup>4</sup>

Again the editor pointed out the stubborn resistance of the American people to conciliation by force. He did not believe that the British had gained by the capture of Charleston, for the interior of South Carolina remained faithful to the United States.

The Gazette de Leyde revealed the attitude of the English people toward the Tory ministry and the attitude of the Dutch people toward the British court and ministry when it published the following item,<sup>5</sup> dated from Leyden, March 7:

Le tour, que les affaires prennent enfin parmi la Nation Angloise, laisse d'être la Victime d'un Ministère opiniâtre et corrompu. . . . font voir que l'Époque s'approche où l'Amérique-Unie prendra, du propre aveu de la Grande-Bretagne, sa place parmi les Puissances indépendantes. Les menagemens, qu'en a toujours eus dans notre Pays pour l'Angleterre, auroient fait différer une démarche décisive à cet égard de la part de notre République jusqu'à cette reconnaissance générale: Mais la Guerre injuste, que la Cour de Londres lui a déclarés a mis fin à ces considérations particulières. Depuis cette rupture, le vœu des bons Citoyens a été de voir contracter une Alliance avec la République Américaine. La nécessité s'en fait sentir plus que jamais aujourd'hui que, par les dispositions des Angloises eux-mêmes un plus long délai rendoit une pareille démarche aussi infructueuse que tardive. . . .<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> It is easy to imagine that such a manner of waging savage warfare does not serve at all to bring back the rebelling Americans. Indeed, private letters from Carolina tell us that the minds of the people are more embittered than ever against Great Britain. The inhabitants of the country around Charleston, occupied by the Royalists, have preferred to abandon their homes and to take refuge in the woods rather submit to British power. . . .

<sup>5</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, March 8, 1782, no. XX, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> The turn which affairs finally are taking in the English nation, tired of being the victim of a stubborn and corrupted ministry, make it seem that the time is approaching when United America will take, with proper acknowledgment from Great Britain, its place among the independent powers. The respect which one has always been held in our country for England would have put off a decisive move in this regard on the part of our state until the general recognition of independence. But the unjust war which the British court has declared against our country has put an end to these special considerations. Since this break the wish of good citizens has been to see contracted an alliance with the American republic. Necessity makes it felt more than ever today, by the dispositions of the English themselves that a longer delay would render such a course unfruitful as well as belated.

When this article was written, Holland had not yet recognized the United States. However, this was done one month later, in April, 1782.

The July 23 news issue of the Gazette de Leyde contained a dispatch from London, dated July 13, which reported the change of ministry and which gave a complete list of the members of the new Whig cabinet.<sup>7</sup>

The editor again showed his hatred of the Royalists and the British commanders in America when he wrote:<sup>8</sup>

Les protestations, que Sir Henry Clinton fait. . . de son aversion pour tout acte de barbarie, contrastent singulièrement avec les horreurs commises par les Royalistes dans toute l'Amérique. Parmi plusieurs exploits du Colonel Fanning, (Partisan Loyaliste de la même trempe que le Capitaine Lippencote) l'on se vante . . . de ce qu'il a pendu près de Guilford trois de ses Prisonniers par prétendues Représailles. . . .

Si les cruautés, commises sous l'Etendard Royale en Amérique, sont de nature à le flétrir, les Commandants Britanniques ne se deshonnorent pas moins par leurs fréquentes tentatives pour gagner, par voye de Trahison, ce qu'ils ne peuvent obtenir par une Guerre de bonne-foi. . . .<sup>10</sup>

This was Luzac's most bitter denunciation of the British officers in America.

<sup>7</sup> Gazette de Leyde, July 23, 1782, no. LIX, p. 1, col. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, July 26, 1782, no. LX, p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. post, p. 89.

<sup>10</sup> The protestations which Sir Henry Clinton makes. . . of his aversion to all acts of barbarity contrast strangely with the horrors committed by the Royalists in all America. One boasts, among the various deeds of Colonel Fanning (Loyalist partisan of the same character as Captain Lippencote) that, in pretended reprisals, he has hanged near Guilford three of his prisoners. . . .

If the cruelties committed under the royal standard in America are of the nature to stain it, the British commanders dishonor themselves no less by frequent attempts to gain, by way of treason, what they can not obtain by a war of good faith. . . .



For three years, according to the Gazette de Leyde, the London papers tried to convince Europe that America was tired of its alliance with France. However, Luzac refused to believe any of the reports because he had the American papers which were filled with proofs of confidence and friendship between the two nations.<sup>11</sup>

On September 10 the Gazette de Leyde published an excerpt<sup>12</sup> from the Boston Independent-Chronicle which reported that Captain Lippencote, British officer who had unjustly condemned the American Captain Muddy to death had been tried by a British council of war and had been sent from the British lines to the American forces, which ordered his execution for June 21. No mention of Captain Lippencote has been found in the American histories consulted by the writer, although Luzac considered him a leader in the British atrocities.

The editor made his first comment on the change of ministry in England as follows:<sup>13</sup>

Lorsqu'après la chute de l'ancien Ministère Anglois la nouvelle Administration se flatta d'entamer avec plus de succès une Négociation avec l'Amérique-Unie, pour la ramener sous la suprématie de la Couronne Britannique, ceux qui connoissent les principes et les sentimens des Américains prévirent que l'espoir des nouveaux Ministres ne seroit moins vains que les tentatives de leurs Prédécesseurs: L'évènement a vérifié leur prédiction; mais l'unanimité, avec laquelle les Assemblées respectives de tous les Treize-Etats ont rejeté les offres de la Grande-Bretagne et ses ouvertures pour une Paix séparée,

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<sup>11</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, August 2, 1782, no. LXII, p. 1. Ibid., September 3, 1782, no. LXXI, p. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., September 10, 1782, no. LXXIII, p. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., September 13, 1782, no. LXXIV, p. 1.

a même surpassé leur attente. . . .<sup>14</sup>

While the histories consulted indicate the eagerness of the Whig ministry to make peace with America, there is no mention of the desire of the Whigs to retain the colonies under the British crown. This may have been the original intention of the Whig ministry, but events forced them to change their plans.

The editor remarked once more in the September 20 supplement that since the beginning of the American Revolution, the English newspapers had spread rumors that several of the rebelling colonies, now among the thirteen states, had grown tired of the rule of Congress and had come back to Great Britain.<sup>15</sup> Luzac believed that most of the rumors originally came from American Royalists who desired to continue the war. He cited a letter written by Doctor Walter, a New York Loyalist, to Sir William Pepperell, one of principal Boston refugees, who was living in England. The letter showed a bitter hatred of the Patriots. Luzac said that the letter alone caused many false reports in England concerning the American dissatisfaction with Congress. His final comment was as follows:<sup>16</sup>

. . . . Cet artifice grossier a été employé si souvent qu'on ne s'attendoit point à le voir se reproduire, aujourd'hui que l'Europe entière est convaincuë de la constance, qu'a pris l'Union-Américaine.

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<sup>14</sup> When, after the fall of the old English ministry, the new administration flattered itself that it was beginning with more success negotiations with united America in order to bring back the country to the supremacy of the British crown, those who know the principles and sentiments of the Americans foresaw that the hope of the new minister would not be less in vain than the attempts of their predecessors. The events have verified their prediction, but the unanimity with which the respective assemblies of all the thirteen states have rejected the offers of Great Britain and its overtures for a separate peace has even surpassed their expectations. . . .

<sup>15</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, September 20, 1782, no. LXXII, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Loc. cit.

Cependant il paroît qu'il n'y a rien dont les Réfugiés puissent rougir, ni rien que la crédulité Angloise n'admette, pour peu que cela flatte l'orgueil National. . . .<sup>17</sup>

Luzac emphasized English credulity and the failure of English people to see that American independence had already been accomplished. It is probable that he was exaggerating the stupidity and obstinacy of the British people.

The editorial comments published in the 1782 issues of the Gazette de Leyde clearly showed Luzac's hatred of the Royalists and his partiality toward the Americans. He tended to give a completely one-sided picture of the struggle between the Patriots and the Loyalists after the victory at Yorktown. The fact that Holland was fighting against Great Britain probably increased Luzac's prejudice.

The year 1782 saw the beginning of the preliminary negotiations for peace between Great Britain and America. Lord North, head of the Tory ministry, resigned in March, 1782; and the new Whig ministry came in. Informal peace negotiations were begun with Robert Oswald, retired Scottish merchant, representing Great Britain and Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, John Jay, Thomas Jefferson, and Henry Laurens representing the United

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<sup>17</sup> This gross artifice has been employed so often that one was not expecting it to see it repeated now that all Europe is convinced of the solidity which the American union has achieved. However, it seems that there is nothing which can make the refugees ashamed nor is there anything which the English credulity does not admit, no matter how little it may flatter the national pride. . . .

States. This attempt brought no results because Oswald refused to recognize the independence of the United States before beginning the negotiations. Holland officially recognized the United States in April and made commercial and amity treaties in October. On December, 1782, Washington resigned his commission as commander-in-chief of the American army at the State House Annapolis, Maryland, although he continued to work for the advancement of the republic.

## CHAPTER XI

1783

The editor of the Gazette de Leyde published few news stories and comments on the peace negotiations in the issues of 1783. He turned his attention to the publication of letters, Congressional reports and items from American, English, and French newspapers which presented different sides of the financial and political situation in the United States. He seemed particularly interested in the treatment of the American Tories after the peace, which was signed at Versailles on September 3, 1783.

On February 4 the Gazette de Leyde printed a Boston dispatch, dated November 28, 1782, which reported the happiness created by Holland's formal recognition of the independence of the United States.<sup>1</sup> A translation of John Hancock's proclamation concerning the great importance of this event was published with the dispatch. The people of Holland were especially impressed by the proclamation, because Hancock was then governor of Massachusetts, the leading one of the thirteen states.

The provisional articles of peace between the American commissioners John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens<sup>2</sup> and the British representative, Richard Oswald, were printed in the February 7 news issue.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, February 4, 1783, no. X, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ante, p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> Gazette de Leyde, February 7, 1783, no. XI, p. 3, cols. 1-2; p. 4, cols. 1-2.

In the February 11 news and supplement issues and the February 14 news issue, the Gazette de Leyde published the preliminary articles of peace between France and Great Britain.<sup>4</sup> The preliminary articles of peace between Spain and Great Britain were printed in the February 14 supplement.<sup>5</sup>

The editor made the following comment on the financial condition of the United States:<sup>6</sup>

Il y a longtems que les Ennemis de l'Amérique-Unie ont l'embarass de ses Finances, causé principalement par la chute du Papier-monnaie, et par la répugnance du Peuple à porter des Impôts: Mais il y a longtems aussi qu'ils ont fondé sur cet embarass la frêle espérance de voir le Congrès implorer la merci de la Grande-Bretagne; espérance qui ne s'est pas remplie jusqu'aujourd'hui au plus fort de la Guerre, et qui par conséquent se réalisera beaucoup moins après l'Indépendance reconnué. La ponctualité des Etats-Unis à faire honneur à tous leur engagements en Europe est un garant de plus pour rassurer leurs Créanciers Etrangers. Cependant l'on ne scauroit dissimuler, que le Congrès trouve les plus grandes difficultés à surmonter par rapport à ses Finances, et qu'il partage à cet égard le sort de la plupart des Etats Européens, quoiqu'il soit bien plus en état qu'eux de se libérer, parce que sa Dette

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., February 11, 1783, no. XII; p. 1, col. 1; p. 2, cols. 1-2. See also Supplement to Gazette de Leyde, February 11, 1783, no. XII, pp. 3-4. Gazette de Leyde, February 14, 1783, no. XIII, p. 2, cols. 1-2.

<sup>5</sup> Supplement to Gazette de Leyde, February 14, 1783, no. XIII, pp. 203.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., May 13, 1783, no. XXXVIII, p. 1.

est très-peu considérable, comparativement à celle qui les accable . . . .

A translation of the resignation of Robert Morris, superintendent of finance, followed the above editorial comment. Luzac again defended the financial affairs of the United States against British and European accusations.

Luzac blamed the Tories for having been the principal cause of prolonging the war. He claimed that they were kindly treated by the Patriots in spite of statements printed later in the Gazette de Leyde that the Loyalists were exiled from several states. On June 6 Luzac wrote:<sup>8</sup>

Toutes les Lettres du Continent de l'Amérique-Septentrionale, celles mêmes qui sont écrites par des Loyalistes, concourent à se louer de la manière amicale et humaine, dont les Habitans attachés à ce dernier Parti sont traités par ceux qui ont défendu les intérêts de la République aujourd'hui indépendante . . . . Cependant il est un assez grand nombre d'Américains-Torys trop opiniâtres dans leur attachement à la Grande-Bretagne ou trop ulcérés contre leurs Compatriotes

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<sup>7</sup> It has been a long time that the enemies of the United America have been speaking of the problems of its finances, classed principally by the decline in value of paper money and by the dislike of the people to submit to taxes. But it has also been a long time that the enemies have founded on this problem the frail hope of seeing Congress implore the mercy of Great Britain, a hope which was never fulfilled even in the most serious moments of the war and which will consequently be realized much less after the independence has been recognized. The punctuality of the United States in meeting all its European debts is one more guarantee to reassure their foreign creditors. However, one could not conceal that Congress finds the greatest difficulties in regard to its finances and that it shares in this respect the fate of most of the European states, although it is much more in a position to liberate itself than they, because its debt is very small in comparison with the debt which is crushing them. . . .

<sup>8</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, June 6, 1783, no. XLV, p. 1.

Républicains pour se soumettre à l'Autorité du Congrès, qui ont le parti de se transplanter dans la Nouvelle Ecosse. . . .

Ce qui, au milieu de la situation fâcheuse où se trouve les Loyalistes Américains doit les toucher le plus, c'est qu'on leur reproche à juste titre d'avoir été la principale cause de la Guerre en trompant le Gouvernement et le Commandants Britanniques par des fausses espérances et des rapports exagérés. Soit que ses impostures ou ces exagérations aient dû s'attribuer à un zèle bien-intentionné mais imprudent et aveugle ou que les passions de la haine et de la vengeance leur aient donné naissance, en étouffant tout sentiment de délicatesse sur les moyens de parvenir à leurs fins, il n'est que trop certain, que ces attentes trompeuses ont induit le Ministère et les Généraux Anglois à la plupart des démarches mal-conçues, qui ont mis la Cour de Londres dans la dure nécessité de reconnaître l'Indépendance des Treize-Etats-Unis. . . .<sup>9</sup>

Luzac reported that Cornwallis blamed the Loyalists in South Carolina for the failure of the entire Southern campaign because they had pro-

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<sup>9</sup> All the letters from the North American continent, even those written by the Loyalists, agree in praising the friendly and humane manner in which the Loyalist inhabitants are treated by those who have defended the interests of the republic, which is today independent. . . . However, there is a rather large number of American Tories who are either too stubborn in their attachment to Great Britain or too embittered against their republican compatriots to submit themselves to the authority of Congress and who have decided to emigrate to Nova Scotia. . . .

This disagreeable situation in the midst of which the American Loyalists find themselves must affect them greatly, for they are justly reproached for having been the principal cause of the war because they deceived the British government and officers by false hopes and exaggerated reports. Whether these impostures or these exaggerations should have been attributed to a well-intentioned but indiscreet and blind zeal or whether the passions of hate and vengeance have given birth to them, choking all sentiment of delicacy on the means of attaining their ends, it is only too certain that these misleading expectations have induced the ministry and English generals to most of their ill-conceived measures which have placed the court of London in the harsh necessity of recognizing the independence of the thirteen United States. . . .



mised him that a majority of Carolinians and Virginians would finally join the British army. The editor quoted passages from Cornwallis' Response to Sir Henry Clinton's Observations. There seemed to be a disagreement between these two British officers as to why the British army had failed in America. The Loyalist refugees who were living in England addressed a letter to Cornwallis which politely demanded an explanation for his attitude toward the Southern Loyalists. James Wright, chief of the exiled Loyalists in England, wrote the letter of which the Gazette de Leyde published a translation.<sup>10</sup> Lord Cornwallis' tactful reply was published in the next supplement issue of the paper.<sup>11</sup>

The Gazette de Leyde published a translation of Thomas Paine's thirteenth essay in his collection called The Crisis.<sup>12</sup> Luzac was particularly interested in the influence on the American people of the works of this radical pamphleteer.

A short news dispatch from Paris on September 5 reported that the preliminary treaty between Great Britain and the Netherlands had been signed in Paris on September 2 and the final treaties between Great Britain and the United States, between the kings of Spain and England,

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<sup>10</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, June 6, 1783, no. XLV, pp. 2-3.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., June 10, 1783, no. XLVI, p. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., August 8, 1783, no. LXIII, pp. 1-2. See also Ibid., August 12, 1783, no. LXIV, pp. 1-2.

and between the kings of France and England had been formally signed at Versailles on September 3. The Gazette de Leyde reported the news just one week from the date of the Paris dispatch.<sup>13</sup>

The supplement of September 16 contained an account of the proceedings of an assembly of Philadelphia freeholders which met on June 14, 1783, to determine the treatment of the Loyalists in Pennsylvania.<sup>14</sup> Colonel Samuel Miles was president of the assembly which decided to banish all Loyalists from the state and to confiscate their property.

A letter from Williamsburg reported that Virginia was one of the principal states opposed to the readmission of Loyalist refugees.<sup>15</sup> Benjamin Harrison, governor of the state, declared by formal proclamation that all who had voluntarily abandoned their country and had joined the enemy since April 19, 1775, were exiled from the state of Virginia.

The Bill of Rights, which the editor believed worthy of the attention of all men interested in the welfare of humanity, was published in the September 23 supplement.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Gazette de Leyde, September 12, 1783, no. LXXIII, p. 3, col. 1.

<sup>14</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, September 16, 1783, no. LXXIV, pp. 1-2.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., September 19, 1783, no. LXXV, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., September 23, 1783, no. LXXVI, pp. 1-2.

The editor made the following comment in October:<sup>17</sup>

Pendant que la nouvelle République Américaine voit ainsi les diverses Puissances de l'Europe s'empresser à cultiver son amitié, elle s'occupe de son côté à payer le juste tribut de sa reconnaissance à ceux dont l'intelligence guerrière, le courage et l'intrépidité ont le plus contribué à fonder sa Liberté et son Indépendance . . . .<sup>18</sup>

On August 7 Congress resolved to erect a bronze equestrian statue of General Washington, to place it on a pedestal of marble and to represent in bas-relief the principal engagements which Washington conducted in person--the evacuation of Boston by the English, the capture of the Hessian troops at Trenton, the combat at Princeton, the battle of Monmouth, the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. Congress also voted the sum of ten thousand pounds sterling to General Greene, head of the army of the South; and South Carolina added five thousand pounds to the sum, so Greene would be able to buy some land in that state. The Gazette de Leyde quoted a short selection from the Gazette de France which reported that Congress had awarded a medal to Lieutenant-Colonel de Fleury in thanks for his bravery at Stony Point July 15, 1779.

A translation of the Congressional report on the financial condition of the United States was published in the October 28 supplement.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., October 24, 1783, no. LXXXV, p. 1.

<sup>18</sup> While the new American republic sees thus the different European powers hastening to cultivate its friendship, the country is concerning itself with paying the just tribute of gratitude to those whose military knowledge, courage, and boldness have contributed the most to the foundation of its liberty and independence. . . .

<sup>19</sup> Supplement to the Gazette de Leyde, October 23, 1783, no. LXXXVI, pp. 1-2.

The letter by which Benjamin Franklin notified Lieutenant-Colonel de Fleury of the Congressional medal was also printed in the October 28 supplement.<sup>20</sup> The letter was probably copied from the Gazette de France. During the nine years of the war, Congress awarded only eight medals. Fleury was the only foreign officer to receive such an honor. The medals were given: (1) to General Washington for the capture of Boston in 1776; (2) to General Gates for the capture of Burgoyne's army at Saratoga in 1777; (3) to General Wayne for the capture of Fort Stony Point; (4) to Lieutenant-Colonel de Fleury for his services in the same engagement; (5) to Lieutenant-Colonel Lee for the capture of Paulus Hook in 1779; (7) to General Morgan for the capture of Colonel Tarleton's troops in 1780; and (8) to Lieutenant-Colonel Howard for his part in the same engagement.

In 1783 Luzac realized that there were many serious problems facing the new government of the United States of which finance was the most serious. Yet he had a firm belief that the American people, strengthened by the principles of democracy, would be able to solve their difficulties.

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

## CHAPTER XII

### CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study has been to present the attitude of the Gazette de Leyde toward the American Revolutionary War as revealed in the news articles and the editorial comments of the issues from 1774 to 1783. Etienne Luzac, editor of the journal from 1758 to 1798, was sympathetic toward the American people from the beginning of their struggle with the British government. This sympathy gradually developed into a definite partiality toward the cause of the Patriots and a strong prejudice against Great Britain and the Loyalists in America. When Holland joined in the war against Great Britain in 1780, Luzac became more open in his attacks against the Whig ministry, George III, the Loyalists, the Tory New York Gazette, and the London newspapers favorable to the ministry.

Before Luzac became so partial toward the American cause, the Gazette de Leyde received most of its news material from the London newspapers. As the war progressed more news reports were received directly from America. Although the Gazette de Leyde had access to many letters sent to Europe by patriotic Americans, the source of most of its news material was the American newspapers, which the editor believed to be free from such false reports as he had found in the London journals. One of the best examples of Luzac's partiality is that he accepted the American newspaper reports as authentic and never criticized them.

The editor considered the American Revolution one of the greatest events in the eighteenth century--an event which would have a great influence on the history of mankind. From 1775 to 1778 the news of the American Revolution ranked first in the issues of the Gazette de Leyde. After 1778 interest in the war itself began to decline gradually and the editor turned the attention of the readers to the new democratic government. News of the European implications of the war in America also became more important.

The Declaration of Independence, although the Gazette de Leyde did publish a translation of this document, seemed to make little impression on the editor. The French treaty of alliance received scarcely any comment in the Gazette de Leyde, but one must remember that this paper was printed in Holland.

Detailed military accounts of the important battles of the war were printed in the journal from the very beginning of the war. The editor realized that the European readers were probably more interested in the military engagements between the famed British army and the untried and unorganized Americans. However, Luzac himself was more interested in Congress, in the struggles of the state governments against the British army, the Loyalists, and the Indians. He tried to impress upon the European readers the great importance of these events.

The influence of Thomas Paine's Common Sense and The Crisis greatly interested the editor. He considered Paine a radical political thinker and

not representative of the American people.

From 1781 to 1783 Luzac became absorbed in the financial situation of the United States. He was eager to defend the policies of the new republic in regard to the settlement of its European debts. He pointed out that the debts of the United States were considerably less than those of its creditors.

A study of the news stories and the comments of the Gazette de Leyde issues from 1774 to 1783 furnishes a valuable source of information concerning contemporary opinions of the American Revolutionary War.

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## APPENDIX

SUPPLEMENT AUX NOUVELLES EXTRAORDINAIRES  
DE DIVERS EN DROITS

du NUMERO XXIX.

De LEIDE, le 11. Avril, 1775.

**P**ARMI les grands évènements qui arrivent de nos jours, il n'y en a peut être aucun qui soit plus digne d'attention que la Révolution qui se prépare en *Amérique*, & qui fera vraisemblablement époque dans l'Histoire-Générale du genre humain: Il n'y en a aussi aucun, sur lequel le jugement du Public paroisse plus universellement le même, tant en *Angleterre* que dans les Pays Etrangers. Ainsi nous croyons faire plaisir à nos Lecteurs en donnant ici la Suite de l'Extrait des Nouvelles les plus récentes reçues de cette partie du monde, dont nous avons déjà donné quelques-unes l'Ordinaire dernier.

„ Dans une Assemblée des Comités de correspondance & d'inspection au Comté de la *Nouvelle-Londres* tenuë le 30. Janvier, il a été entre autres unanimement résolu de regarder & de traiter comme violateur du vrai sens & de l'esprit des Résolutions Continentales, & comme Ennemi de ce Pays, quiconque aura la moindre liaison de commerce avec aucune des Personnes, qui ont complimté le Gouverneur *Hutchinson* à son départ, ou avec des Agens du Ministère. ”

„ Les Comités de la *Pensylvanie*, s'étant assemblés à *Philadelphie* le 28. Janvier, ont approuvé avec empressement la conduite & les procédés du Congrès Continental, reconnu les grandes peines qu'il s'est données avec tant de desintéressement pour le maintien des droits & des libertés des Colonies *Britanniques*, & pris unanimement la Résolution suivante: “ Que, si, sans égard à l'humble & loyale Pétition du Congrès à Sa Majesté, le Ministère *Britannique*, au lieu de redresser les griefs, se déterminoit à opérer par la force une soumission aux Actes passés dernièrement en Parlement, ils se croyoient indispensablement obligés de résister à cette force à tout hazard, & de défendre les droits & les libertés de l'*Amérique*: ” Et en conséquence il a été arrêté dans cette Assemblée des Comités. qu'après le 1. Mars personne ne tuera pour l'usage de sa Famille, si ce n'est dans des cas de nécessité, ni ne vendra, sous quelque prétexte que ce soit, à des Bouchers, ou au Marché, pour être tués, aucun Mouton au-dessous de 4 ans; & dans les cas de nécessité on ne tuera que ceux dont la conservation est la moins avantageuse: Et de plus l'Assemblée a recommandé l'établissement & l'encouragement de Manufactures en *Amérique*. ”

„ Selon des avis authentiques, tout est sur pié dans la Colonie de *Maryland*. Les Habitans s'assembloient dans les différents Comtés; ils choisissent des Comités chargés de veiller à ce que les mesures recommandées par le grand Congrès Continental soient ponctuellement observées: Ils forment des Compagnies pour s'instruire dans l'Art militaire. Le Comté d'*Annapolis*, y compris les Citoyens d'*Annapolis*, a arrêté, que toute Personne, qui refuseroit de contribuer à l'achat d'Armes & de Munitions pour l'usage de ce Comté, avant le 1. Février, seroit réputée Ennemie de l'*Amérique* & son nom publié dans la Gazette de *Maryland*. ”

„ L'Assemblée Générale de la *Nouvelle-Jersey* a pareillement approuvé les procédés du Congrès Continental, & résolu unanimement; “ que *Jacques Kinsey*, *Etienne Crane*, *Guillaume Livingston*, *Jean de Hart*, & *Richard Smith*, Ecuyers (ou trois d'entre eux) assisteroient comme ses Délégués au Congrès Continental, qui doit se tenir à *Philadelphie* dans le courant du mois de Mai prochain, les autorisant à faire des propositions de sa part & à consentir en son nom à toute mesure raisonnable & constitutionnelle tendant à ajuster les malheurs différends, qui subsistent actuellement entre la Mère-Patrie & les Colonies. ”

„ Les procédés de ce Congrès ont aussi été unanimement approuvés dans une Assemblée de 144 Députés, représentant les Villes & Bourgs de la *Nouvelle-Hampshire*, laquelle s'est tenue à *Exeter* le 25. Janvier. Ils en ont témoigné leur reconnaissance à tous les Membres de ce Congrès en général, & en particulier aux Députés de la Province, pour la fidélité avec laquelle ils se sont acquittés de leur Commission: Et ils ont nommé *Jean Sullivan* & *Jean Langdon*, Ecuyers, pour assister de leur part au prochain Congrès à *Philadelphie*, leur assignant 250. Livres de monnoye légale pour les défrayer. ”

De *LARNECA*, le 27. Janvier. *Ismaël-Aga*, Gouverneur de cette Isle, se propose de partir dans dix jours pour *Constantinople*; & *Aly-Aga*, son Successeur, est attendu à peu près vers ce tems-là. L'on apprend de *Caramanie*, que *Mehemet-Sidig*, Pacha d'*Alaya*, qui parvint de *Cberines* au commencement du mois dernier pour se rendre à son Gouvernement, y est arrivé heureusement; mais l'on n'a aucune Nouvelle d'une Tatarpe qui y transportoit les Ba-



NUMERO LIII.

# NOUVELLES EXTRAORDINAIRES DE DIVERS ENDROITS

du MARDI 4. Juillet, 1775.

De CAMBRIDGE, dans la Nouvelle-  
Angleterre, le 18. Mai.

**L**E Colonel Easton arriva hier à Watertown, & informa le Congrès - Général de cette Province, qui s'y tient; que les Troupes Américaines, sans perte d'un seul Homme, s'étoient emparées de Ticonderoga. En voici les particularités.

Mardi 11. de ce mois, les Colonels Allen & Easton, aiant sous leurs ordres environ 240. Hommes, tant de la Province de Connecticut que de celle de Massachusetts-Bay, arrivèrent le soir au Lac près de Ticonderoga. Quatre-vingts Hommes passèrent le Lac, & se présentèrent devant le Fort au point du jour. La Sentinelle, surprise à l'apparition de ce Corps, tira sur lui. Nos gens s'avancèrent cependant, se saisirent de la Sentinelle, passèrent par le Chemin-couvert, & se postèrent dans la place de parade, tandis que la Garnison dormoit tranquillement. Elle s'éveilla à la triple acclamation de Hurra, que firent les Provinciaux aussitôt qu'ils se furent formés en quarré. Il s'en ensuivit une légère escarmouche, dans laquelle quelques Soldats de la Garnison furent blessés. L'Officier, qui commandoit au Fort, s'avança alors pour demander assez sèverement à nos gens ce que cela signifioit & quelle étoit leur intention. Le Colonel Easton, lui frappant sur l'épaule, lui répondit, "qu'il étoit son prisonnier, & qu'il demandoit au NOM DE L'AMÉRIQUE la reddition Immédiate du Fort, avec tout ce qu'il contenoit, aux Troupes Américaines." Le Commandant voulut répliquer; mais Mr. Easton lui ferma la

bouche, en lui répétant que lui & sa Garnison étoient prisonniers; de sorte qu'il n'eut pas d'autre parti à prendre, que de témoigner qu'il espéroit d'être traité avec honneur; à quoi Mr. Easton lui répondit, "qu'il seroit traité plus honorablement que ne l'étoient les Habitans de Boston par les Troupes Britanniques." Ensuite le Commandant ordonna à la Garnison de mettre bas les Armes, & de se rendre à discrétion. On a trouvé à Ticonderoga 112. à 120. Canons de fer de 6. à 24. livres de balle, 50. Pierriers de différente grandeur, 2. Mortiers de dix pouces, un Obusier, un Cochoorn, 10. Tonneaux de Balles de fusil, trois charretées de Fusils, 30. Voitures neuves, quantité de Bombes, un Magasin rempli de matériaux pour la construction de Barques, de petites Armes pour cent Soldats, 10. Caissons de poudre, 2. Canons de fonte, 30. Barils de Farine, 18. de Porc, quantité de Fèves & de Pois, & 42. Prisonniers outre les Femmes & Enfants.

Après cette Expédition, on a fait un Détachement pour aller pareillement prendre possession de Crown-Point, où il y a un train considérable d'Artillerie. Un second Détachement s'est rendu à Skenesborough, & y a fait prisonniers le Major Skene avec sa Famille, & quelques Soldats; & l'on y a trouvé plusieurs petites Pièces d'Artillerie.

Le Colonel Allen est resté au Fort, pour y commander, & Mr. Jean Brown a conduit dans l'intérieur du Pays les Prisonniers, qui, compris les Nègres, sont au nombre de cent.

De CAMBRIDGE, le 25. Mai.

Le 17. à 8. heures du soir, le feu prit dans une Baraque au Quai de Trent dans la Ville

**SUPPLEMENT AUX NOUVELLES EXTRAORDINAIRES**  
**D E D I V E R S E N D R O I T S**  
 du N U M E R O L I I I .

De L E I D E , le 4. *Fuillet*, 1775.

**O**UTRE ce que nous avons déjà rapporté dans notre *Gazette* de ce jour, les Lettres particulières & les Papiers publics de *Londres*, apportés par la dernière Malle, sont remplis de détails concernant les affaires de l'*Amérique*. Nous ne pouvons qu'on donner successivement les plus essentiels; & nous nous contenterons de dire en général, qu'ils se réunissent tous à faire prévoir dans ce Pays les évènements les plus intéressans. A l'exception des Provinces de *Quebec*, de la *Nouvelle-Ecosse*, de *Georgie*, de *Terre-Neuve*, & des deux *Florides*, toute l'*Amérique-Angloise* respire le même courage, le même desir de défendre ses Droits & ses Libertés, comme Hommes & comme Anglois, jusqu'au dernier Individu. Le Congrès-Provincial de *Maryland*, assemblé à *Annapolis*, le 1. Mai, a unanimement résolu " de suspendre immédiatement toute exportation de cette Province vers celles de *Quebec*, de la *Nouvelle-Ecosse*, de *Georgie*, & de *Terre-Neuve*, ainsi que vers aucune partie des Côtes ou des Îles de la Pêche, & même vers la Ville de *Boston* (actuellement au pouvoir des Troupes du Roi) jusqu'à ce que le Congrès-Continental de toutes les Provinces ait donné des ordres ultérieurs à ce sujet. " Il n'y a que la *Nouvelle-York*, où il se trouve des Personnes qui ne partagent point l'esprit général, & que l'on présume attendre avec un secret plaisir l'arrivée des Troupes, que l'on y attendoit d'*Irlande*. Cependant les Gouverneurs paroissent eux-mêmes se promettre peu de succès de toutes les voyes de rigueur & de force, auxquelles le Ministère de la *Grande-Bretagne* a cru devoir recourir. L'Assemblée-Générale de la *Pensylvanie* s'étant assemblée le 8. Mai, en conséquence de son ajournement, à *Philadelphie*, reçut un Message de la part du Gouverneur, portant, " qu'il avoit donné ordre au Secrétaire de remettre devant elle une Résolution, prise par la Chambre des Communes de la *Grande-Bretagne* le 20. Février dernier, relativement aux malheureux différends, qui subsistent entre la Mère-Patrie & ses Colonies *Américaines*, & dont la substance étoit: Que c'est l'opinion du Comité, que, si quelque Conseil, Assemblée, ou Cour-Générale d'aucune des Provinces ou Colonies de *S. M.* en *Amérique*, venoit à proposer de pourvoir elle-même aux besoins publics, &c. &c. l'on pourroit se dispenser, à l'égard de telle Province ou Colonie, d'y imposer aucun Droit, Taxe, ou Impôt, à l'exception uniquement des Droits, dont l'on pourroit continuer la levée comme utile à régler le Commerce, &c. " A ce Message l'Assemblée a fait la Réponse suivante.

*Qu'il plaise à Votre Excellence,*

**N**ous avons pris en sérieuse considération votre Message du 2. de ce mois, & la Résolution de la Chambre des Communes de la *Grande-Bretagne*, à laquelle il est relatif. Aiant pesé & examiné ce Plan avec toute la modération, le sang-froid, & la réflexion que demandent l'importance du sujet & la présente situation critique des affaires, nous sommes réellement fâchés d'être obligés de déclarer, que nous ne pouvons pas regarder les conditions proposées comme un fondement juste & raisonnable pour un Accommodement définitif entre la *Grande-Bretagne* & ses Colonies.

Votre Excellence observe, " que les Colonies, au milieu de toutes les plaintes, qu'une jaou-  
 " se pour la conservation de leurs Libertés a occasionnées, n'ont cependant jamais méconnu la  
 " justice ou l'équité, qu'il y a qu'elles contribuent à porter les Charges de la Mère-Patrie: "  
 Mais que V. E. se rappelle, que les Colonies ont toujours unanimement soutenu comme leur  
 Droit incontestable, que tous les Subsidés, qu'on leveroit sur eux, fussent des Dons-Gratuits, ac-  
 cordés librement, de plein-gré, & non pris par force ni extorqués par crainte ou par menaces.  
 Sous lequel de ces deux genres le Plan, proposé & offert par la Mère à ses Enfants, à l'époque  
 présente considérée avec toutes les circonstances qui l'accompagnent, doit être rangé, c'est une  
 question, dont nous aimons mieux soumettre la décision au jugement de Votre Excellence, que  
 de tâcher de la définir ensuite d'un dénombrement de faits notoires, ou après avoir répété des  
 raisons, qui sont généralement connus.

Quand même il n'y auroit pas d'autre objection à faire à ce Plan, nous jugeons que ce seroit  
 abandonner d'une manière deshonorante les autres Colonies, liées à la nôtre par une union, qui  
 est fondée sur de justes motifs, sur la bonne-foi mutuelle, & dirigée par des Conseils-Géné-  
 raux, si une Colonie seule adoptoit une mesure, dont les conséquences peuvent être si étendues,  
 sans l'avis & le consentement des autres, engagées avec nous par les liens solennels de la mé-  
 me Cause, commune à toutes.

Car, qu'il nous soit permis d'en assurer Votre Excellence, nous ne pouvons nous former de

INDEX OF NAMES



## INDEX OF NAMES

### A

Adams, James Truslow, 4, 109  
 Adams, John, 1, 31, 42, 91, 93  
 Adams, Samuel, 31, 62  
 Allen, Colonel, 21, 27  
 Arnold, Benedict, 27, 62, 72, 73  
 Ayres, Captain, 9

### B

Becker, Carl, 4, 109  
 Beaumarchais, 39, 41, 43, 52, 54  
 Bonvouloir, 33  
 Bory, Chevalier de, 54  
 Bowdoin, James, 80  
 Burgoyne, General, 54, 56, 100  
 Bussé, Abraham, 2

### C

Cameron, 26, 39  
 Campbell, Governor William, 25, 26  
 Channing, Edward, 4, 109  
 Church, Benjamin, 29, 30  
 Clark, George Rogers, 68  
 Clinton, Sir Henry, 68, 88, 97  
 Conway, Thomas, 54  
 Cornwallis, Lord, 74, 75, 83, 84,  
 85, 86, 96, 97, 99

### D

Dartmouth, Count of, 7, 11, 19  
 Dawes, William, 27  
 Deane, Silas, 39  
 Dunmore, Governor, 34

### E

Easton, Colonel, 21

### F

Fanning, Colonel, 88  
 Fay, Bernard, 3, 109  
 Fiske, John, 4, 109  
 Fleury, Colonel de, 99, 100  
 Franklin, Benjamin, 3, 40, 44, 47,  
 48, 71, 91, 95

### G

Gabriel, Ralph Henry, 109  
 Gage, General, 15, 21, 23  
 Gates, General Horatio, 56, 62, 100  
 George III, 18, 23, 74, 79, 85, 100  
 Gerard, Conrad Alexander, 65  
 Grafton, Duke of, 33  
 Grantham, Lord, 44  
 Greene, General Nathanael, 84, 99

### H

Hammond, Captain, 51  
 Hancock, John, 93  
 Harlow, Ralph V., 4, 109  
 Harrison, Benjamin, 98  
 Hatin, Eugène, 1, 109  
 Hayne, Isaac, 85, 86  
 Howe, Lord Richard, 42, 47  
 Howard, Lieutenant-Colonel, 100  
 Huddy, Captain, 89

### J

Jay, John, 91, 93  
 Jones, John Paul, 71  
 Jefferson, Thomas, 91  
 Jossierand, J. J1, 33, 63, 109

## K

Kalb, Baron de, 54  
 Kane, Major, 29  
 Knox, Bregadier-General, 73

## L

La Fayette, Marquis de, 52, 54,  
 63, 64, 81  
 LaFont, J. A., 1  
 Latoné, John Holladay, 33, 109  
 Laurens, Henry, 91, 93  
 Lecky, William, 4, 109  
 Lee, General Charles, 50, 62, 100  
 Leslie, Major-General, 74  
 Lippencote, Captain, 88, 89  
 Louis XIV, 79  
 Louis XVI, 58  
 Luzac, Etienne, 1, 14, 16, 17,  
 18, 19, 25, 26, 28, 32, 33, 34,  
 38, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 43,  
 44, 45, 46, 49, 50, 52, 54, 55,  
 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63,  
 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71,  
 72, 73, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80,  
 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89,  
 90, 91, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99,  
 100, 101, 102, 103, 104

## M

Martin, Governor, 25  
 Merlant, Joachim, 63, 109  
 Mifflin, General, 62  
 Miles, Colonel Samuel, 98  
 Montesquieu, 17, 29  
 Montgomery, Richard, 27, 29  
 Morgan, General, 100  
 Morris, Robert, 95

## N

Noailles, Count of, 58  
 North, Lord, 10, 12, 14, 23,  
 58, 91

## O

Oswald, Robert, 91, 92, 93

## P

Paine, Thomas, 36, 62, 97, 100  
 Pepperell, Sir William, 90  
 Perkins, James Breck, 33, 63, 109  
 Price, Doctor, 52  
 Putnam, General Israel, 23

## R

Rawdon, Lord, 85  
 Revere, Paul, 27  
 Rutledge, Edward, 42

## S

Sinclair, General, 62  
 Stormont, Viscount, 44  
 Sullivan, General, 81

## T

Thomas, General, 62  
 Tryon, Governor, 25, 33, 34  
 Turlington, Colonel, 100

## V

Van Tyne, Claude, 4, 109

## W

Walter, Doctor, 80  
 Washington, George, 1, 27, 33, 38,  
 42, 46, 49, 52, 54, 65, 73, 76,  
 77, 81, 92, 99, 100  
 Wayne, General, 100  
 Westmuller, J. C. Texier, 2  
 Wood, William, 109  
 Wright, Governor, 34  
 Wright, James, 97  
 Wrong, George, M., 109 <sup>172</sup>