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*Lehigh University*

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PHILADELPHIA

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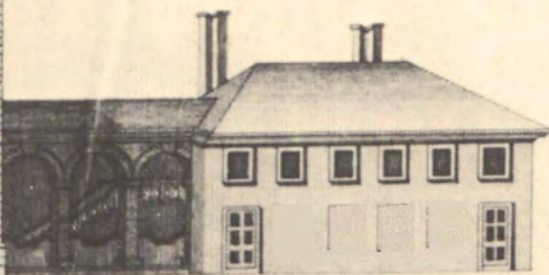
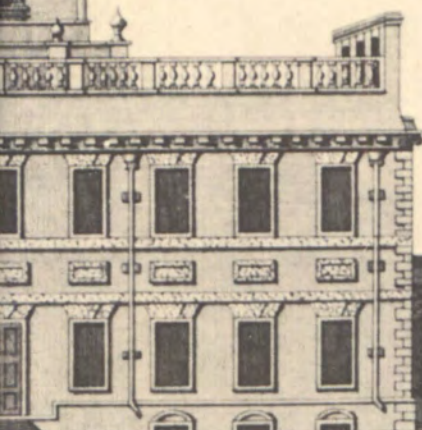
SCALE

A TABLE of the DISTANCES

on this PLAN beginning

To	M	F	To
Pool Bridge	0	5	
Lynn	1	5	
Balls	2	4	
Warners	3	0	
Oldmans	5	0	
Hopkins	5	1	
Logan	5	0	
Parr	6	0	
Lane to Rofs & Moland	3	0	
Frankfort House	5	0	
Meeting	5	1	
Doc <sup>r</sup> : Moore	7	6	
Oxford Church	8	6	
Norris's	2	6	
Fairhill Meeting	3	2	
Rising Sun	4	0	
Logan	5	5	

STATE HOUSE



Cover Design from North American  
Colonial Atlas, 1759-1777. (See Item No. 1)

# The American Revolution

*An Exhibition of Rare Books  
and  
Manuscripts*

Rare Book Room  
Linderman Library  
Lehigh University — 1975-1976



## Foreword

During this Bicentennial year of the United States it is proper that, so far as possible, we recall the men and ideas which brought this nation into being. Quite apart from the agony of battle, there was also the agony of the spirit which found its outlet in the printing presses on both sides of the Atlantic. For there was also a vast propaganda war, waged with great skill, with stubbornness and with deep conviction. It began in 1765 with the passage of the Stamp Act. It culminated in the Declaration of Independence. The issue was clearly drawn and eloquently argued: Did or did not the British Crown possess the right to tax the American colonies? We exist as a nation today because the answer was that it did not.

Vituperation and calm reason poured from the presses in millions of words. And since the issue was essentially political it was also a matter of party faction. Thus there were Colonial Whigs like Tom Paine and English Whigs like Joseph Priestley. There were Colonial Tories like Samuel Seabury and English Tories like Samuel Johnson. And there was the monumental "dove", Edmund Burke, whose *Speech on Moving his Resolutions for Conciliation with the Colonies* still stands as a model of English parliamentary debate. Letters, pamphlets, newspapers, periodicals, broadsides, and official documents, all became part and parcel of the larger war we call the American Revolution.

\* \* \*

Special notice should be taken here at Lehigh University of Lawrence Henry Gipson. His fifteen-volume work, *The British Empire Before the American Revolution*, remains the standard authority on the events leading to the revolt of the American colonists. It was written here, and inevitably it becomes a part of our Bicentennial celebration.

Thanks are due to Mrs. Jean S. Hudson for her work in the preparation of this exhibition.

James D. Mack  
*Director of University Libraries*

26 August 1975

1. [North American Colonial Atlas, 1759-1777]. [n.p.]
2. Selected issues of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*:  
 April 18, 1765, reporting passage of the Stamp Act.  
 April 26 and May 3, 1775, reporting the Battles of Lexington and Concord.  
 July 10, 1776, reporting the Declaration of Independence.  
 October 31, 1781, reporting Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown.  
 December 3, 1783, reporting the Peace of Versailles.
3. Declaration of Independence.
4. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Congress Held at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774.*  
 Philadelphia, 1774.  
 Printed by the official printer to the Continental Congress, William and Thomas Bradford, editors of the *Pennsylvania Journal*.  
 Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Robert B. Honeyman.  
*Journal of the Proceedings of the Congress held at Philadelphia, May 10, 1775.*  
 Philadelphia and London, 1776.  
*Journal of the Proceedings of Congress, held at Philadelphia, from September 5, 1775 to April 30, 1776.*  
 Philadelphia and London, 1778.  
*Extracts from the Records of the Late Provincial Congress, Held at Cambridge in the Months of October, November and December, A.D. 1774. Also Extracts from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Congress, Held at Cambridge, February, A.D. 1775.*  
 Boston: Edes and Gill, 1775.  
*Results of the Convention of Delegates Holden at Ipswich in the County of Essex, Who Were Deputed to Take into Consideration the Constitution and Form of Government, Proposed by the Convention of the State of Massachusetts Bay.*  
 Newbury-Port: John Mycall, 1778.  
 After the Declaration of Independence, each new state had to set up a governmental structure if it had not done so already. This convention at Ipswich met to discuss the proposed constitution for the state of Massachusetts.
5. Edmund Burke. *The Speech of Edmund Burke, Esq; on Moving his Resolutions for Conciliation with the Colonies, March 22, 1775.*  
 London: J. Dodsley, 1775.

First edition.

Gift of Mr. & Mrs. Robert B. Honeyman.

Burke's speech was an eloquent plea for conciliation with the colonies. He attributed colonial prosperity to "salutary neglect" rather than to "constraints of a watchful and suspicious government." Had his proposal been adopted, it is doubtful that the colonists could have been reconciled at this point, for the war would begin within a month with the confrontations at Lexington and Concord.

6. Josiah Tucker. *A Letter to Edmund Burke, Esq; Member of Parliament for the City of Bristol, an Agent for the Colony of New York &c. Answer to his Printed Speech, Said to be Spoken in the House of Commons on the twenty-second of March 1775.*  
Gloucester: R. Raikes, 1775.

Unlike most of his contemporaries, Tucker did not think the Empire was profitable. For this reason, he advocated giving the colonies independence.

Most Americans quickly recognize the names of Adams, Jefferson, and Otis as ardent defenders of liberty. Less familiar are the names of Priestley, Rokeby, and Evans, three English Whigs who wrote with equal fervor on the same subject. The injustice toward the colonies was merely one more example of attempts to subvert liberty which they saw taking place in England.

7. [Joseph Priestley]. *An Address to Protestant Dissenters of all Denominations, on the Approaching Election of Members of Parliament, with Respect to the State of Public Liberty in General, and of American Affairs in Particular.*  
London: Joseph Johnson, 1774.

Priestley, the discoverer of oxygen, was one of the leading advocates of political and religious reform. This pamphlet was originally printed in London in 1773 and subsequently reprinted there and in the colonies (Philadelphia, Boston, and Wilmington, N.C.).

8. [Matthew Robinson-Morris, 2d Baron Rokeby]. *Considerations on the Measures Carrying on with Respect to the British Colonies in North America.*  
London: Printed Hartford: Reprinted, E. Watson, 1774.

Alarmed by threats to liberty in England, Rokeby envisioned the colonies as the hope of the future: "the same sacred flame . . . which once showed forth such wonders in Greece and in Rome . . . burns brightly and strongly in America."

This pamphlet was also frequently reprinted: three times in Boston, twice in Philadelphia, and once in New York and Hartford.



9. Caleb Evans. *Political Sophistry Detected, or Brief Remarks on the Rev. Mr. Fletcher's Late Tract Entitled "American Patriotism."*  
Bristol, W. Pine, 1776.

Written in the guise of a letter, this pamphlet replied to an earlier one by the Rev. Dr. John Fletcher, *American Patriotism Further Confronted* . . . (Shrewsbury, Eng., 1776). It refuted Fletcher's contention that Parliament did indeed have every right to tax the colonists.

10. [Anonymous]. *The General Opposition of the Colonies to the Payment of the Stamp Duty; and the Consequence of Enforcing Obedience by Military Measures; Impartially Considered* . . . .  
London: T. Payne, 1766.

Writing pamphlets in the form of letters was a common device of pamphleteers. They usually addressed such "letters" to "a Friend," "the Inhabitants of" a particular place, or, as in this case, "a Member of Parliament."

11. *The North Briton*. No. 45. Saturday April 23, 1763.

Forty-five issues of this controversial paper were published between June 1762 and April 1763. In No. 45 Wilkes attacked the King's speech at the opening of Parliament in such deprecating terms as to make the monarch seem to be a liar.

The government issued a general warrant for the arrest of anyone connected with the *North Briton*, resulting in the arrest of Wilkes, several court cases, and his flight to France.

\* \* \*

John Wilkes was a scoundrel, but his case became a *cause célèbre* when he was elected to Parliament four times — by large majorities — and four times denied his seat by Commons. To English and American Whigs alike, it was another example of liberty being subverted.

When Wilkes finally was allowed to take his seat in Commons, he refused to take part in the debate which had grown up around him. He faded quietly into the background while others carried on the reform activity which had developed out of his scandalous activity.

12. [John Almon]. *A Collection of Interesting, Authentic Papers, Relative to the Dispute Between Great Britain and America* . . . 1764 to 1775.  
London: J. Almon, 1777.

Included are many of the letters and speeches which illustrated the developing argument between England and the colonies. The compiler claimed to present an "impartial collection" of material, but he con-



cluded that the colonists were "left to weep over their apprehensions, realized in the utter subversion of their liberties," thus revealing his support for the colonial cause.

\* \* \*

The passing of the Stamp Act in 1765 raised the issue of Parliament's right to tax the American colonies. Although the act was repealed in 1766, the debate over taxation and representation continued to rage during the next decade. These five pamphlets, written by English Tories, defended Parliamentary taxation arguing that while the colonists had no actual representatives in Commons, they were virtually represented by Members of Parliament with similar constituencies.

13. [William Knox]. *The Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies Reviewed . . .*  
London: J. Almon, 1769.

Knox contended that the distinction between internal and external taxes, i.e., taxes for revenue and duties to regulate trade, was "only a pretence under which to strip Parliament of all jurisdiction over the colonies."

14. [William Knox]. *The Controversy between Great Britain and her Colonies Reviewed . . .*  
Boston, Mein & Fleeming, 1769.

An American edition of Knox's pamphlet.

Eighteenth-century pamphlet literature was frequently reprinted, not only in its place of origin but also on the other side of the Atlantic.

15. [Anonymous]. *The Right of the British Legislature to Tax the American Colonies Vindicated; and the Means of Asserting that Right Proposed.*  
London, T. Becker, 1774.

16. Josiah Tucker. *The True Interest of Great Britain, Set Forth in Regard to the Colonies . . .*  
Norfolk: 1774.

Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, claimed that if the colonists had not raised taxation as the issue, then they would have chosen something else. He suggested that "the only means of living in peace and harmony with them" would be to give them independence. He was one of the few Tories to hold such a view.

17. [Samuel Johnson]. *Taxation no Tyranny; An Answer to the Resolutions and Address of the American Congress.*  
London: T. Cadell, 1775.  
Third edition.

This pamphlet contains the oft-quoted line, "In sovereignty, there are no gradations, "that is, in every political unit existed a single source of arbitrary power. The colonists, on the other hand from their long experience with King, Parliament, and provincial government, had concluded that sovereignty was in fact divisible.

18. John Wesley. *A Calm Address to our American Colonies.*  
London, Robert Hawes [1775].

Wesley's pamphlet drew heavily on Dr. Johnson's *Taxation no Tyranny*. Both pamphlets produced quite a flurry of replies.

Pamphlets such as these buttressed the Ministry's adamant position which it refused to moderate until 1778 — when reconciliation was no longer possible.

\* \* \*

Not all supporters of the British government lived in Great Britain. Just as there were English Whigs who supported the Patriot cause, so there were colonial Tories who feared that the Revolutionary ideas were not compatible with order and stability. Tory pamphleteers were not nearly so numerous as Patriot ones; throughout the colonies there were only five or six, including Thomas Bradbury Chandler, Daniel Leonard, and Samuel Seabury. The first two eventually fled to England, while Seabury, a man of considerable talent, became the first bishop of the Episcopal Church in America.

19. [Thomas Bradbury Chandler]. *A Friendly Address to all Reasonable Americans, on the Subject of our Political Confusions . . . .*  
New-York: 1774.

This pamphlet, sometimes attributed to Myles Cooper, another Anglican clergyman, supported the authority of the British government and viewed any threat to the established government as an "unpardonable crime."

20. [Thomas B. Chandler]. *What Think Ye of the Congress Now? Or, an Enquiry, How Far the Americans Are Bound to Abide by, and Execute the Decisions of, the Late Congress?*  
New-York: James Rivington, 1775.



In this attack on the Continental Congress, the author tried to persuade the colonists not to support the Congress. He raised the question of balanced government: how can it exist in the colonies if two of the elements, aristocracy and monarchy, are missing? He expressed the Tory conviction that the colonies would be overwhelmingly defeated in a war with the Mother Country. And if not, there would surely be a civil war afterwards because of intercolonial rivalries.

21. [Samuel Seabury]. *The Congress Canvassed: Or, an Examination into the Conduct of the Delegates, at their Grand Convention, Held in Philadelphia September 1, 1774.* [n.p.] 1774.

Between November 1774 and January 1775, Seabury, an Anglican clergyman writing as "A Westchester Farmer," produced four pamphlets attacking the Continental Congress. In this one he warned ". . . your liberties and properties are now at the mercy of a body of men unchecked, uncontroled [sic] by the civil power . . . you are no longer your own masters . . ."

In addition to his pamphleteering, he also frequently rode through his Westchester County, New York parish, encouraging people to oppose the Continental Congress.

22. Daniel Leonard. *Massachusettensis: Or a Series of Letters . . . .*

Boston Printed: London Reprinted, J. Mathews, 1776.

Using the pseudonym "Massachusettensis," Leonard, a Harvard graduate and Boston lawyer, wrote a series of 17 weekly letters printed in the *Massachusetts Gazette* between December 1774 and April 1775. Defending the Tory position, he argued that rebellion in general was heinous, and that of the American Whigs particularly so because England had committed no injustice. These letters prompted replies from John Adams ("Novanglus") in a rival newspaper, the *Boston Gazette*.

23. [Anonymous]. *A Letter from an Officer at New-York to a Friend in London.* London: W. Nicoll, 1777.

The officer, who could determine no justification for rebellion, reported that the colonists, especially the army, were in bad straits. He begged his friend, "if you are a real friend to liberty . . . pray for the success of our arms, that the people may enjoy that blessing from the power and wisdom of our government."

24. [Joseph Galloway]. *Letters to a Nobleman, on the Conduct of the War in the Middle Colonies.*



London: G. Wilkie, 1780.

Fourth edition.

Galloway accused William Howe of gambling and neglecting his duties.

25. [Joseph Galloway]. *A Reply to the Observations of Lieut. Gen. Sir William Howe, on a Pamphlet Entitled Letters to a Nobleman . . . .*

London: G. Wilkie, 1781.

Second edition.

A continuation of his disagreement with William Howe.

26. Joseph Galloway. *The Examination of Joseph Galloway, Esq; Late Speaker of the House of Assembly of Pennsylvania. Before the House of Commons, in a Committee on the American Papers. With Explanatory Notes.*

London: J. Wilkie, 1779.

A member of the Pennsylvania Assembly for 20 years, Galloway conceded Parliament's abuses of power, but rejected the Whigs' manner of protest. After the Declaration of Independence, he tried to remain neutral but finally fled behind British lines. When the British evacuated Philadelphia in 1778, Galloway emigrated to England where he became spokesman for the American Loyalists.

In his appearance before Commons, he testified that he had left behind property worth over £40,000.

27. [Joseph Galloway]. *Cool Thoughts on the Consequences to Great Britain of American Independence . . . .*

London: J. Wilkie, 1780.

To the end of the war, Galloway continued to work for reconciliation.

28. Abbé Raynal. *Révolution De L'Amérique.*

Londres, 1781.

A leading figure of the French Enlightenment and a prolific correspondent, Raynal exchanged ideas with men of letters in England and America. In this pamphlet he expressed the frequently-voiced contention that America offered the best hope for the preservation of liberty. He also warned the new nation to be constantly on guard because liberty could be easily subverted.

29. Abbé Raynal. *The Revolution of America.*

London: Lockyer Davis, 1781.

English edition in translation.

30. Abbé Raynal. *The Revolution of America*.  
Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1782.  
American edition in translation.

31. Thomas Hutchinson and Andrew Oliver. *Copy of Letters sent to Great Britain . . . .*  
Boston: Edes and Gill, 1773.

In 1768-69 Hutchinson, royal governor of Massachusetts-Bay, sent these letters to the Ministry. First printed in the *Boston Gazette* in 1773, they were used to discredit Hutchinson and make him appear to be a conspirator who was out to subvert provincial government in Massachusetts.

John Adams described these letters as "profoundly dark and secret"; examples of Hutchinson's "machiavellian dissimulation." They were reprinted in nearly all the colonial newspapers and were generally accepted as proof of what the colonists already believed to be true, namely, that a conspiracy existed to overthrow the colonial governments and subvert liberty.

Copies of the letters were distributed in yet another way: Samuel Adams sent them to committees of correspondence in various colonies.

32. [John Dickinson]. *Letters from a Farmer, in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies*.  
Philadelphia Printed; London Re-printed, J. Almon, 1774.

Considered one of the best pamphlets of the Revolutionary period, these letters first appeared in colonial newspapers in 1767 and 1768, then in pamphlet form in numerous editions.

While he admitted Parliament's imperial function to regulate trade, he denied it had any right to levy taxes on the colonies—internal or external; that distinction is irrelevant.

33. Mercy Otis Warren. *Poems, Dramatic and Miscellaneous*.  
Boston, 1790.

This volume contains several poems of the Revolutionary period, including "A Political Reverie."

Revolutionary propagandists used literary pieces—poems and plays—much less frequently than essays and broadsides. Warren's most famous play was *The Group*, a satire on the Tory leaders in Massachusetts. Although probably not performed, it appeared in the *Boston Gazette* and later as a pamphlet.

34. Ms. Royal Navy List, 1776.

35. Mss. Rolls of German mercenary regiments, 1778-1780.
36. Ms. Military Instructions by Francis Wm. Baron of Steuben, Major and Inspector General of the Army of the United States of America for the better Regulation of the said Army. 1778.
37. ALs. Samuel Huntington, President of the Continental Congress, Philadelphia, May 11, 1780.  
To Gov. of Virginia [Jefferson]  
Transmitting a copy of an act of the Congress.
38. ALs. John Jay, President of the Continental Congress, Philadelphia, 25 May 1779.  
To Gov. Henry [Virginia]  
Transmitting copies of act of Congress regarding prisoners.
39. ALs. Thomas Jefferson, Paris, June 16 [1786].  
To Col. Smith [?]  
Asking to be advised about his indebtedness on account of certain purchases.  
Signer.
40. ALs. Henry Laurens, President of the Continental Congress, York Town, 8 May 1778.  
To Gov. Henry [Virginia]  
Transmitting copies of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*.
41. ALs. Richard Henry Lee  
New York, Nov. 8, 1785.  
To Gov. Henry [Virginia]  
Regarding payment of the funeral expenses of Mr. Hardy [?] by the Congress.  
Signer.
42. ADs. Thomas McKean.  
Philadelphia, 2 Sept. 1778.  
Bail bond for Thomas Clark, merchant, under suspicion of treason.  
Signer.
43. ALs. Thomas Mifflin, Annapolis, May 6, 1784.  
To The Gov. of Virginia  
Transmitting certain acts of the Congress.



44. ALs. George Washington, Newburgh, New York, 18 June 1783.  
To Lieut. Col. Smith  
Personal matters.
45. ALs. John W. Wendell, Schenectady, New York, 22 April 1782.  
To Wm. Duer & Co.  
Requesting provisions for the Army.
46. ALs. George Clinton, Governor of New York, Poughkeepsie, 2 May 1778.  
To Henry Glen, Esq.  
On sending drafts of men from the New York militia.
47. ALs. Benjamin Franklin, Philadelphia, June 7, 1764.  
To William Strahan (publisher and bookseller) in London.  
Personal note.  
Signer.
48. ADs. John Hancock, Governor of Massachusetts, Boston, 5 July 1782.  
Warrant to pay Hon. Nathaniel Gorham, Esq. £7/15/8 for attending sessions.  
Signer.
49. ADs. John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress (n.p., n.d.)  
Commission to Isaac Poincarré as Ensign in First Regt. of N.Y. forces.  
Signer.
50. ALs. Elias Boudinot, President of the Continental Congress, Philadelphia, 8 Feb. 1783.  
To the Gov. of Virginia (Benjamin Harrison)  
Transmitting copies of a treaty between the United Netherlands and the USA.
51. ALs. John Hanson, member of the Continental Congress, Philadelphia, 12 Dec. 1781.  
To Gov. of Virginia (Benjamin Harrison) Urging him to fill troop commitments.
52. ALs. John Adams, Second President of the United States. Quincy [Mass.], July 5, 1813.  
Transmitting documents to Matthew Carey, Philadelphia publisher.  
Signer.

53. Adam Smith. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*.  
London, W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1776.  
First edition.  
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Robert B. Honeyman.
54. Benjamin Franklin. *Mémoires de la Vie Privée de Benjamin Franklin* . . .  
Paris, Buisson, 1791. 2 vols.  
First edition, first issue.  
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Robert B. Honeyman.
55. Lawrence Henry Gipson. *The British Empire Before the American Revolution*.  
15 vols. Vol. X, "The Triumphant Empire: Thunder-Clouds Gather  
in the West, 1763-1766". New York, Knopf, 1961.  
Shown also is a portion of typescript and proofs of Chapter XII,  
"The Enactment of the Stamp Act."  
This volume won the Pulitzer Prize for History in 1962.

A 45  
1777

I N C O N G R E S S.

The DELEGATES of the UNITED COLONIES of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Counties of New-Castle, Kent, and Suffex and Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, and South-Carolina, to *Jesse Poincaré* gentleman

WE reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Patriotism, Valour, Conduct and Fidelity, DO by these Presents, constitute and appoint you to be *Ensign of the* Company of the first Regiment of the New York Forces

in the Army of the United Colonies, raised for the Defence of *American Liberty*, and for repelling every hostile Invasion thereof. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of an *Ensign* by doing and performing all Manner of Things thereunto belonging. And we do strictly charge and require all Officers and Soldiers under your Command, to be obedient to your Orders as *Ensign* And you are to observe and follow such Orders and Directions from Time to Time, as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of the United Colonies, or Committee of Congress, for that Purpose appointed, or Commander in Chief for the Time being of the Army of the United Colonies, or any other your superior Officer, according to the Rules and Discipline of War, in Pursuance of the Trust reposed in you. This Commission to continue in Force until revoked by this or a future Congress. *Dated the*

By Order of the Congress,  
*John Hancock* PRESIDENT.

*Attest. Chas. Watson junr*

(Item 49 in the exhibition)





A. Battery of ten 18 Pounds.  
 B. Four Blockhouses with four  
 9 Pounds each.  
 C. Cheveaux de Frize.

