

DICK AND BEN'S LAST CHANCE

I am Charles Thompson, Secretary to the Continental Congress, reporting to you on the activity of an important Committee.

Narrator: By the summer of 1776, the American Revolution had been raging over a year.

The Continental Congress had appointed George Washington as commander-in-chief of the Colonial Army. The British Army had occupied Staten Island, ready to seize New York City.

Narrator: In July, Admiral Richard Lord Howe, head of the Royal Navy in the North Atlantic, was elevated to commander of all British forces in America. His brother, General William Howe, was in charge of the ground troops and landed 9,000 troops on Staten Island on July 3, 1776, one day after the unanimous vote of the colonies for the Declaration of Independence. Admiral Lord Howe added his fleet of British ships from Halifax, which arrived off New York at the end of June. In the following six weeks came more British warships and transports up the Narrows between Staten Island and Long Island. In all, the anticipated battle for New York consisted of a British offense of 300 ships and an estimated 32,000 fully equipped and highly trained British, Scottish and German (Hessian) soldiers against an American Army of rag tag poorly equipped volunteer soldiers, most of whom had never fought a battle.

Narrator: On September 11, 1776, a committee from the Continental Congress, composed of Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge, met on Staten Island with Admiral Howe in a last ditch effort to achieve peace. Little is known or written of this meeting. Here is our imaginary dialogue between Franklin, Adams, and Howe at the

meeting and, before the meeting, some incidents leading up to the meeting. Throughout this dialogue we have sprinkled a few actual quotes gleaned from various sources.

It is with this background that we begin a reenactment of the last peace effort made by Admiral Richard Lord Howe by a letter to Benjamin Franklin sent from Sandy Hook, New Jersey to Franklin's home in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania also on July 3, 1776.

Rutledge: I am Edward Rutledge, a delegate to the Continental Congress from the colony of South Carolina. I believe that at the age of 26, I am the youngest delegate. I don't believe John Adams liked me at first which isn't too surprising, considering my youth and representation of South Carolina, a more conservative Colony than Massachusetts and a slave-holding Colony. However, that has all changed since I signed the Declaration of Independence and had made the motion to postpone the final voting from July 1 to the following day, so that I might persuade my fellow delegates from South Carolina of the importance of unanimity in declaring for independence. South Carolina joined the majority, as did Delaware and Pennsylvania for different reasons, with New York abstaining and no negative votes from any of the thirteen colonies.

My observations of the other two members of our committee, John Adams and Benjamin Franklin, are that they are as different as night and day. Both are patriots. Both are persuasive. But their styles are so different. Their names will forever be honored if we prevail in this revolution.

Franklin: You, of course, know me. If Rutledge is the youngest delegate to the Continental Congress, I am the oldest. I reached my three score and ten in January. I might add that this letter from my friend, Admiral Richard Lord Howe, is not the first peace proposal of which I am aware. The first proposal, which was all British, involved Admiral Howe and predated any colonial shooting, but was after the tea party in Boston and the British naval blockades. It began in Admiral Howe's sister's home in London in December of 1774. We played chess together, Carolina^E Howe and I, at her invitation. Admiral Howe met me at his sister's house and may have initiated the idea. He arranged for me to negotiate a peace proposal with Lord Chatham, a whig and a friend of Admiral Lord Howe. It became Chatham's proposal, which Chatham presented to the House of Lords on February 1, 1775. I was present, but the Chatham proposal was dead on arrival. It was ridiculed by the House of Lords, as was I even though I spoke not a word. Seven weeks later, I ended my 10 years of residence in Great Britain by leaving in March of 1775 with my grandson, arriving in Philadelphia on May 5th, not knowing that shots had been fired and lives lost in Massachusetts at Lexington and Concord in mid-April. The day after my arrival, I was selected as a delegate for Pennsylvania to the 2nd Continental Congress.

Adams: I am the talkative one from Massachusetts. You won't believe it, but the second peace proposal came from the Second Continental Congress, of which I was then a delegate and the most oral for independence. I named this proposal as the "Olive Branch Petition." It was signed in July 1775 – after Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill. It was the work of John Dickinson, the respected Pennsylvanian, who believed that the colonies could be self-governed and yet still be a part of a Confederation, although still a part of the

British Empire, much like the Chatham proposal which Franklin primarily wrote. Even I voted for it, much to everyone's surprise, fully believing that it would be rejected, as it was by George III. The King even refused to see the person who carried the petition to England, William Penn's grandson, Richard.

Following is how it happened that the three of us met with Admiral Howe in Staten Island on September 11, 1776 to act upon Admiral Howe's proposal for a peaceful solution to our differences.

Howe: (have envelope in hand) I have this letter that I wish to post to my friend, Benjamin Franklin, but I don't know his address in Philadelphia. Perhaps I don't need a street address, however, since he is probably better known than any other person in the colonies. I probably should have sent it to the Continental Congress since they will have to approve it, but my country does not recognize the Continental Congress as a legislative body. Besides, I will need my friend Franklin's persuasive powers if these proposals can be agreed upon for a peaceful solution rather than with unnecessary loss of life for their volunteer army which, God willing, we will destroy when we are ready to attack New York.

I am sorry that this letter of mine will arrive after their Declaration of Independence has been signed if, indeed, this has happened. I have written authority to meet most of the demands of the Continental Congress but not "Independence."

I sincerely believe that warfare is not the answer to our differences, even if the battle for New York will be as one-sided as I am confident it will be when the rest of our ships and soldiers arrive.

Here is what I wrote to the Hon. Benjamin Franklin:

“My worthy friend, Benjamin,

I have been commissioned to try to negotiate reconciliation with the American colonies and have a new set of pre-authorized proposals to accomplish a mutually acceptable reconciliation.

I have been authorized to offer a truce, pardons, and rewards among other things.

I have hopes of being serviceable in promoting the establishment of lasting peace and union with the colonies.

Awaiting your response, I am

Admiral Richard Lord Howe”

Franklin: I eventually received Admiral Howe’s letter which I first read to the Congress. I was given permission to reply. On July 30, 1776, I wrote a letter to be delivered to Admiral Richard Lord Howe at his Headquarters on Staten Island, New York. After my salutation, I acknowledged receipt of the letters “your Lordship forwarded to me and beg you to accept my thanks,” following which I followed John Adam’s advice not to “sugar coat” my response. I wrote:

“Directing pardons to be offered to the colonies, who are the very parties injured, expresses indeed that opinion of our ignorance, baseness and insensibility which your uninformed and proud nation has long been pleased to entertain of us; but it can have no other effect than that of increasing our resentments. It is impossible we should think of submission to a government that has with the most wanton barbarity and cruelty burnt our defenseless towns in the midst of winter, excited the savages to massacre our peaceful farmers, and our slaves to murder their masters, and is even

now bringing foreign mercenaries to deluge our settlements with blood.”

I then watered down the fury by writing a softer paragraph:

“Long did I endeavor, with unfeigned and unwearied zeal, to preserve from breaking that fine and noble china vase, the British empire; for I knew that, being once broken, the separate parts could not retain even their share of the strength or value that existed in the whole. Your Lordship may possibly remember the tears of joy that wet my cheek when, at your good sister’s in London, you once gave me expectations that a reconciliation might soon take place.”

Howe: I was moved by Benjamin’s letter, but our superior military forces moved from Staten Island across the Narrows to Southwest Long Island, uncontested, on August 22 and attacked, five days later, a portion of Washington’s army on Southwest Long Island at Brooklyn Heights with heavy losses to Washington’s army. Except for a brilliant escape by Washington two nights later on August 29, in a cold and rainy night with heavy fog and Northerly winds which kept our Navy off of the East River, we could have trapped him and ended the war. Undiscovered by us, over 9,000 or 10,000 colonial troops with baggage and equipment and help from all kinds of small boats, moved across East River to Manhattan to join other forces. It was divine intervention for General Washington to have that kind of weather on an August night. Had it not happened to the complete surprise of our Redcoats, the Revolution might have ended then and there.

Adams: The word of the escape from Long Island by Washington did not reach Philadelphia until August 31. On September 3, a paroled captured Colonial officer, General John Sullivan, appeared at the Continental Congress to deliver Lord Howe’s request for a conference before “a decisive blow was struck.” I told Ben Franklin how

much better it would have been had a musket ball at Long Island gone through Sullivan's head. I thought Sullivan was a decoy sent by Howe to fool Congress into renouncing independence. I was opposed to the meeting, convinced that Howe was up to Machiavellian maneuvers. However, our Congress voted to send a committee of three and unanimously voted me to be one of them, probably to make sure that you, Benjamin, would not let your friendship with Howe tarnish our declared independence. My presence at this meeting with Admiral Lord Howe was to see that as little evil might come of it as possible. We were to meet Admiral Howe on the 11th of September on Staten Island. The journey from Philadelphia to Staten Island took two days. The roads were crowded, a result of the captured New York City. Franklin and Rutledge were traveling together by coach. I went on horseback. At New Brunswick, the inn was so crowded that Franklin and I had to share the same bed in a tiny room with one small window that was open. As we went to bed, I closed the window against the night air.

Franklin: Oh, don't shut the window, John. We shall be suffocated. "People often catch cold from one another when shut up together in small, close rooms."

Adams: Please keep the window closed, Benjamin. "I have a cold and am afraid of the evening air."

Franklin: "Come, open the window and come to bed ... I believe you are not acquainted with my theory of colds."

Adams: I reopened the window and leaped into bed with Franklin, still expounding “upon air and cold and respiration and perspiration” ... til I soon fell asleep and left him and his philosophy together.

Rutledge: At Staten Island, Admiral Howe greeted the three of us on September 11, 1776.

Howe: My dear Benjamin, how good it is to see you again. It seems yesterday that you visited me and my family in England in 1774. My dear sister, Caroline, still speaks of the pleasant evenings she spent with you playing chess. She told me before leaving England that I should give you her very best regards. I think she enjoyed your naughty flirtations as much as she enjoyed the games of chess.

Franklin: Yes, indeed, m’lord. I also have fond memories of those pleasant days spent in the mother country and particularly with your lovely family. I do not think Parliament could have selected another person in the entire British Empire to seek peace with the American Colonies. I wish we could be meeting under more pleasant circumstances.

Howe: Indeed! I do too most certainly hope for peace between His Majesty’s American subjects and the mother country. I believe you are accompanied here by Mr. John Adams and young Mr. Edward Rutledge. I have not hitherto met you other two gentlemen, but Mr. Adams, I hold the people of Massachusetts in esteem “above all.” They have erected a statue of my older brother, who lost his life defending Massachusetts in the French and

Indian War, as you probably know. "If America should fail, I should feel and lament it like the loss of a brother."

Franklin: "My Lord, we will do our utmost endeavors to save your Lordship that mortification."

Adams: You are aware that the Continental Congress has adopted a Declaration of Independence.

Howe: Yes, Mr. Adams, that has "changed the ground." "Is there no way of ^etrading back this step of independency?" You must understand that my situation now is vastly different from the situation when you, Benjamin, last visited our family. I am now sailing under strict orders as an Officer of His Majesty's Navy.

Franklin: We would seek peace so that all of these Thirteen Colonies may, in some manner, resume our allegiance to His Majesty as loyal subjects. Perhaps we could pick up where we left off when you, your sister, and I conceived a possible peace plan.

Howe: Your "patriots," with their thundering about "liberty" and "equality," overlook the concessions Parliament has made to you. Your politicians have misled your people.

Adams: No political leaders have been able to persuade a "large people" for long "to think themselves wrong, injured, and oppressed unless they really were."

Howe: I must tell you, gentlemen, at the outset, that my orders specifically forbid me to negotiate with the insurrectionists in these colonies unless and until all American colonists lay down their arms. I am authorized to agree to pardons against those who have taken up arms against His Majesty's government, but not without a firm agreement to cease resistance in all respects throughout these colonies.

Franklin: Yes, m'lord, we have already been aware of your orders.

Howe: How have you been already aware of my orders from Parliament?

Franklin: Spies, m'lord. I am sure you are aware that we have spies everywhere in these colonies and in the mother country, just as you have spies throughout these colonies. We also are aware and deeply appreciative of your refusal to accept this assignment as Commander of the North Atlantic Fleet of His Majesty's Navy without a promise by Parliament that, if peace can be achieved, you and your brother will be named as Commissioners' or Administrators' for the peace process.

Howe: Yes. You are all aware that I have long been sympathetic to the petitions of these colonies regarding their issues with His Majesty's government. A scant year ago I hoped that you and I could sail together to these thirteen colonies to negotiate peace. But, it is now my duty to follow my orders as an Officer of His Majesty's Navy and have lost any such sympathies in view of the traitorous acts of insurrection and murderous attacks on

His Majesty's Army. I call on you and your so-called Continental Congress to remember how much His Majesty's government has done in support of these colonies. I would hope that these discussions could lead to a "reunion upon terms honorable and advantageous to the colonies as well as to Great Britain."

Adams: I do not discount in any way the efforts of your family, including the late lamented George, and the efforts of your brother, General William Howe, in supporting and defending these colonies. Our hope is that, at this late hour, your remarkable skills as a member of the Parliament and as His Majesty's foremost seaman, you can lead us to peace. I cannot depart from the idea of independency. Meanwhile, you have inflicted additional injuries on our long suffering colonists with your blockade of our main port cities, not to mention the devastating and piratical acts of your evil Lord Dunaway in the blockade he has personally imposed in the Chesapeake Bay solely to punish us and to enrich himself by seizing the innocent ships of trade of our colonies. I initially opposed this meeting but finally decided to come so that as little evil might come as possible.

Howe: Benjamin, your colleague, "Mr. Adams is a decided character indeed. I recall that you yourself have said that Adams is someone who is always an honest man, often a wise one, but sometimes on some things absolutely out of his mind." Your traitorous brethren in Virginia have forced Lord Dunaway from his office of royal governor of Virginia and take up residence in one of my ships of war. He has every right to enrich himself while in a blockade at the mouth of Chesapeake Bay.

//

Franklin: Your army and navy are already spread too thin. You cannot hope to subdue these colonists simply by blockading our largest cities. The entire east coast of North America is in flames with the fire of revolution. Look at Georgia. They also have forcibly removed your royal governor there. And every tiny bay and outlet harbors blockade runners willing to chance a run to the West Indies for supplies and arms.

Howe: My dear Benjamin, you have yet to see the full impact of our powerful navy's blockade of your ports. I cannot account for Lord Dunaway, but I can tell you that we will strangle your Atlantic Trade and hang all blockade-runners. Moreover, the situation of His Majesty's Army under the command of my brother, William, will soon enough take all of your major cities, despite the slight setback that we suffered at Boston a fortnight ago. We launched from Staten Island our successful invasion of Long Island and New York at a severe cost of lives to your colonial troops. We will soon strangle all international trade of these colonies. You have no money, no credit, and no hope of victory against the world's most powerful army and navy. Your puny army, even under the command of George Washington, the clever Indian fighter, cannot hope to stand up against us.

Franklin: Well, Sir, in the face of such strong words, may I make a request that you grant me permission to sail across the Atlantic to visit Parliament under a letter of truce so that I may present our sufferings directly to Parliament, in the hope of restoring peace. I know His Majesty's government is familiar with me and knows that I am a man of my word and will approach with sincere promises to reach a compromise for peace.

Howe: As your particular friend, dear Benjamin, I would strongly urge you to forsake such a hopeless move. The Parliament and the Crown are totally united in their resolve to quash this rebellion. You would find nothing but scorn and hostility from Parliament if you would dare to seek some type of compromise in this situation. Moreover, the crown heads of Europe will certainly oppose your ill-fated rebellion. As a matter of fact, His Majesty has found it necessary to recruit mercenaries from Hesse to supplement our redcoats.

Adams: The Hessians will not weaken our resolve. As Richard Price said, “The minds of men are becoming more enlightened, and the silly despots of the world are likely to be forced to respect human rights.”

Howe: Benjamin, Parliament has a long memory and many members still resent what they consider to be your involvement in a land grab across the mountains in territory never intended for the American Colonies. Some members of Parliament believe that the seeds of this revolution were sown by the covetness of colonial leaders for the land west of the mountains. Still others strongly believe that the colonies have never paid their fair share of the huge cost of the French and Indian War, whereby the mother country used all its resources to block the French and Indians from the territory west of the mountains.

Franklin: If I were to visit Parliament, I would suggest that they consider some type of new arrangement with the Thirteen Colonies similar to the arrangement that was made in 1707 with Scotland and in 1774 more recently with His Majesty’s dominion in Canada. The Scots were given the right to elect members of the English Parliament and to retain

their own laws, as well as to retain their own Presbyterian religion. In our case, we are not asking for any religious concessions but merely some voice in Parliament regarding taxation of our colonies and also the freedom of trade instead of the monopoly enjoyed by the mother country over all of our exports, particularly tobacco and cotton.

Howe: You are asking too much. If Parliament were to grant such enormous concessions to you, think what effect it would have on our other colonies.

Franklin: We are not asking for all the concessions made by Parliament to Canada nor to Scotland, but only for some right of self determination. I guarantee you, m'lord, that we would never ask for the concessions given to Canada and Scotland but only with regard to taxation and transatlantic trade. Otherwise, I warrant every man and woman in these Thirteen Colonies would strongly prefer to remain the loyal subjects of His Majesty. I personally am certain that some type of commonwealth could be arranged between the Thirteen Colonies and the mother country to the good providence of all.

Howe: Parliament does not see your protests to be so clothed in innocence. Your so-called patriots sound so bellicose that many think your land grab west of the mountains presage a goal of establishing a continental empire of sorts.

Franklin: As for the false charges of "land grab" west of the mountains, my only involvement was to extend His Majesty's dominion over these properties. I would remind Parliament that many colonists shed their blood in defense of His Majesty's colonies in

that French and Indian War and that General George Washington himself was a vital participant.

Howe: I would not diminish in any way your sincere hope for a peaceful settlement, but you cannot guarantee His Majesty's government against the duplicity of France. We are fully aware that France is considering the shipment of arms and supplies to the colonies. We are also fully aware of the Jews' involvement in financing this trade for arms for the colonies through France and other countries. We will shortly send a fleet to the Dutch West Indian island of St. Eustatius and other places in the Atlantic where this illegal and treasonous trade is carried on. Lord North of the British Admiralty is well aware of the plans of your so-called Continental Congress to create a navy and issue letters of marque to attack His Majesty's fleets throughout the world. We will continue our superiority on all the seven seas and will attack any country that presumes to grant aid to your colonies.

Adams: Admiral, you have just described the very situation we colonists would find most helpful; that is, a world war in which all civilized countries of the world would oppose Great Britain. It is of common knowledge that Lord North has allowed the British Navy to deteriorate and that your old ships are rotten. Our New England Colonists know how to build better, faster, and more deadly ships than the antiquated British Navy. Go home to Parliament and tell them that the world will eradicate "idolatry to monarchs, and servility to" aristocratic rule.

Howe: I do not care to hear anymore of this insolence! Wait until those self-appointed

aristocrats in Philadelphia see the tips of British bayonets. They will run as fast as they can from Philadelphia when my blockade commences and the British Forces continue after subduing New York City. I regret that you three have had “the trouble of coming so far to so little purpose.”

Narrator: All hope of peace was lost at Staten Island. The following month, on October 27, 1776, Franklin sailed secretly to France to arrange for support. Later Admiral Howe resigned his commission. Following is Lord Howe’s written report of the Staten Island meeting:

Narrator: I acquainted them that the King’s desire to restore the public tranquility and to render his American subjects happy in a permanent union with Great Britain had induced him to constitute commissioners upon the spot, to remove the restrictions upon trade and intercourse, to dispense the royal clemency to those who had been hurried away from their allegiance, to receive representations of grievances, and to discuss the means whereby that mutual confidence and just relation which ought to subsist between the colonies and the parent state, might be restored and preserved. I also gave them to understand that His Majesty was graciously disposed to a revision of such of his royal instructions as might have laid too much restraint upon their legislation, and to concur in a reversal of any of the plantation laws by which the colonists might have aggrieved; that the commissioners were earnest on their part to prevent the further effusion of blood, and to proceed upon all such measures as might expedite the accomplishment of the purposes of their commission; that they were willing to confer with any of His Majesty’s subjects, and to treat with delegates of the colonies, legally chosen, upon all matters relating to grievances and regulations; but that, for very obvious reasons, we could not enter into any treaty with their Congress, and much less proceed in any conference of negotiation upon the inadmissible ground of independency; a pretension which the commissioners had not, nor was it possible they ever should have, authority to acknowledge.

Narrator: That short report ended the Staten Island connection between Howe and

Franklin in 1776. We could find no evidence that Franklin and Howe ever met again after Staten Island. We did find a cordial letter Franklin wrote to Howe on August 18, 1784, regarding the return voyage of Captain Cook. Although hostilities had ceased at Yorktown in 1781, Franklin was still in France implementing the peace treaty. American warships were in no mood to treat British vessels with friendship at that time.

Captain Cook, the British explorer, desired for his vessels to cross American water on their way home. Apparently Admiral Howe wrote Franklin, requesting safe passage for Cook.

Franklin, who always supported the advancement of science, readily agreed. In his capacity as Minister Plenipotentiary of the U.S., Franklin directed all American ships to grant safe passage to Cook and treat "Captain Cook and his people with all Civility and Kindness ... as common friends to mankind."

In appreciation of Franklin's favor, the British sent him copies of all three volumes of Cook's printed report on his Voyage.

Narrator: Here is Franklin's letter of August 18, 1784 to Howe acknowledging the gift:

My Lord,

I received lately the very valuable *Voyage* of the late Captain Cook, kindly sent to me by your Lordship in consideration of my Good-will in issuing Orders towards the protection of that illustrious Discoverer from any Interruption in his Return home by American Cruisers. The Reward vastly exceeds the small Merit of the Action, which was no more than a Duty to Mankind. I am very sensible of his Majesty's Goodness in permitting this Favour to me, and I desire that my thankful acknowledgements may be accepted. With great Respect, I am, my Lord,

your Lordship's most obedient and most humble servant,

B. Franklin.

the TREATY OF PARIS IN 1783.

Narrator: But suppose Franklin and Howe had indeed met in person after ~~the war~~. Here
↑
is our imaginary dialog between the two men.

Howe: My dear Benjamin, how good it is to see you after these bitter years of hostility.

Franklin: (shaking hands) Indeed, Richard milord, I have missed you and your delightful sister, Caroline, my chess partner and political conversationalist.

Howe: She was the instigator of our meeting at Staten Island. Although the meeting was ill-fated, I regretted your failure to pursue further negotiations with me.

Franklin: My refusal, sir?

Howe: True. You promptly left for France, foreclosing any hope for future efforts at a negotiated peace.

Franklin: My dear Richard, what was left to us after you stated that there could be no negotiated settlement until all thirteen colonies laid down their arms, an impossibility? And you knew it!

Howe: Those were my orders from Parliament. My hands were tied. And you knew it!

Franklin: You were not always so slavishly devoted to the strict letter of “orders,” Richard. I recall that once you switched commands of your ships with another captain in the middle of your respective voyages. That deviation from “orders” did not subject you even to a letter of reprimand, let alone a court martial.

Howe: Ah, you know, Benjamin, that those were different circumstances. The other captain was morbidly ill and needed to return home to England for care. Furthermore, after Staten Island, I did not give up and sent you a letter seeking reestablishment of peace, but you did give up and broke off contact with me by sailing to France.

Franklin: True. And I admit that I was pestered no less than five times in France by “emissaries” seeking to discuss peace. I did not know whether they were spies, truly authorized British representatives, or agents of my personal enemies trying to set me up for charges of treason to America.

Howe: Caroline and I thought in 1774, and still to this day think, between us, you and I could have worked out a peace agreement.

Franklin: One of the problems was that you never revealed your vision of a suitable solution to the Colonial crisis. There was then and still now no record of your personal views. Your secret nature left us no opportunity for an open discussion. Neither you nor Parliament understood the mind of the Americans. Certainly Parliament was deaf to the

cries for independence of the Colonies. I still think peace could have been achieved on the basis of a dominion or commonwealth.

Howe: Thank you, my dear Franklin, for your forthright comments, but it will profit us nothing to refight the war. We should seek to move forward in peace. Your gracious gesture in granting Captain Cook's expedition safe sailing through American waters was a good step.

Franklin: Indeed, Richard, we Americans must always credit your extreme seamanship in holding off Le Comte d'Estaing for two years from aiding the Colonies. I say that history will recognize you as one of the greatest admirals in the Age of Sails. The British navy will never forget how you relieved Gibraltar. No doubt further great achievements await you.

Howe: And, Benjamin, history will never forget you as one of America's greatest Founding Fathers and foremost scientific minds. You know, Ben, this could lead to a beautiful friendship.

William J. Wood
Henry C. Ryder
George W. Geib
Stephen J. Jay
Stephen E. Towne

Indianapolis Literary Club

Dated: October 3, 2011

Howe died 1799

Franklin died 1790

DICK AND BEN'S LAST CHANCE
Indianapolis' Last Chance

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Carter, Jimmy, The Hornet Nest, Simon & Schuster
New York (2003)

Laughter, "Admiral Richard Howe," Tripod
Internet, www.franklaughter.tripod.com (2009)

"Admiral Richard Howe of the British Navy,"
Internet, www.myrevolutionarywar.com (2009)

"Richard Howe Wars and Battles 1726-1799,"
Internet, www.u-s-history.com (2009)

Dull, Jonathan, Benjamin Franklin and the American Revolution,
University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln & London (2010)

Rezneck, Samuel, Unrecognized Patriots, The Jews in the American Revolution,
Greenwood Press, Westport, CT (1975)

Wikipedia, "^{SINT} ~~Saint~~ Eustatius,"
Internet (2011) ^

Ernest M. Eller, ed., Chesapeake Bay in the American Revolution,
Tidewater Publishers, Centreville, MD (c1981)

Joel Richard Paul, Unlikely Allies,
Riverhead Books, NY (2009)

David Syrett, Admiral Lord Howe,
Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, MD (2006)

The Writings of Benjamin Franklin; ALBERT HENRY SMYTH, Vol. 7, NEW YORK AND
LONDON, MACMILLAN AND CO., 1905-07
Jared Sparks, The Electric Ben Franklin, The Life of Benjamin Franklin

Stacy Schiff, A Great Improvisation: Franklin, France, and the Birth of America, 1st ed.
Henry Holt, New York (2005)

J. Murray, Life of Howe, (1838). See Colonial Office (Public Records Office of Great
Britain),
Carnegie Institute, 1912-14 Wash. DC

David McCullough, John Adams, Simon & Schuster, New York (2001)

Walter Isaacson, Ben Franklin, An American Life (2003)

Gordon S. Wood, The Idea of America, Reflections on the Birth of the United States,
The Penguin Press (2011)