who now contend with the American co- join with us in humiliation and repent- for our sins, that have provoked God to give up to the counsels of wicked men: and join with our General Congress, in taking such measures as may convince our adversaries, that their ways are cruel and destructive to the liberty, the peace and happiness of Great-Britain and her colonies. Believe no man that dares to say, that we desire to be independent of our mother country; we honour and esteem them as our brethren, our friends, and fellow subjects, but refuse to be their servants or slaves. Listen not to them who abuse our General Congress, or our poor distressed brethren as rebellion, who are contending for American liberty, and now bear the burden and heat of the day: but above all listen not to their bloody counsels, who would excite you to draw your sword to enslave your fellow subjects in NORTH-CAROLINA, and make your province a field of blood. We conclude with hearty prayers for your temporal and everlasting welfare, and for a speedy and honourable decision of our contests with Great-Britain on constitutional principles: and beg leave to subscribe ourselves with great respect, your friends and brethren in the Lord Jesus Christ.

Signed at Philadelphia, this 15th day of July, 1775, by

FRANCIS ALISON,
JAMES SPROUT,
GEORGE DUFFIELD,
ROBERT DAVIDSON.

The TWELVE UNITED COLONIES, by their DELEGATES in CONGRESS, to the INHABITANTS of GREAT-BRITAIN.

Friends, Countrymen, and Brethren,

BY these, and every other appellation, that may designate the ties, which bind Us to each other, We entreat your serious attention to this our second attempt, to prevent their dissolution. Remembrance of former friendships; pride in the glorious achievements of our common ancestors, and affection for the heirs of their virtues, have hitherto preserved our mutual connexion; but when that friendship is violated by the greatest injuries;—when the pride of ancestry becomes our reproach, and we are no otherwise allied than as tyrants and slaves, when reduced to the melancholy alternative of renouncing your favour, or our freedom.—can we hesitate whether the choice Let the spirit of Britons determine.

In a former address we asserted our rights, and stated the injuries we had then received. We hoped, that the merits of our cause, would have roused that honest indignation, which ever flies to long for your honour, or the welfare of the empire. But we have been permitted to entertain this pleasing expectation; every day brought an accumulation of injuries, and the invention of the ministry has been constantly exercised, in adding to the calamities of our American brethren.

After the most valuable right of legislation was infringed, when the powers assumed by your parliament, in which we are not represented, and, from our local and other circumstances, cannot properly be represented, rendered our property precarious; after being denied that trial by jury which we have long been in the habit of claiming for the safety of our persons, and the preservation of our liberties; after being, in many instances, deprived of those laws, which were transmitted to us, by our common ancestors, and subjected to an arbitrary code, compiled under the auspices of Roman tyrants; after repeated threats, which encouraged our governors to shed human blood, and danger in every shape, even unknown to former times, surrounded us; when, without the form of trial, without a public accusation, whole colonies were condemned: their trade destroyed, their inhabitants imprisoned in their harbours; when foreign mercenaries were hired to imbrue their hands in the blood of Americans, by offers of impunity; when new modes of trial were instituted for the ruin of the accused, where the crime carried with it the horrors of conviction, where a despotic government was established in a neighbouring province, and its limits extended to every of our frontiers; we little imagined that any thing could be added to this black catalogue of unprovoked injuries; but we have unhappily been deceived; and the late measures of the British ministry fully convince us, that their object is the extinction of their colonies to slavery and ruin.

To confirm this assertion, let us recal our attention to the affairs of America, since our last address. Let us combat the calumnies of our enemies, and warn you of the dangers that

[illegible] deprived them of other support, drew their maintenance from the [illegible] but the depredation of our property being [illegible] to satisfy the rapacious [illegible] our governors, [illegible] and [illegible] and a British parliament, who, in better times, were the protectors of innocence and patrons of humanity, have, without distinction of age or sex, robbed thousands of food, which they were accustomed to draw from that inexhaustible source placed in their neighbourhood by the benevolent Creator.

Another act of your legislature shuts our ports and prohibits our trade with any but those states, from whom the great law of self-preservation renders it absolutely necessary we should, at present, withhold our commerce. But this act (whatever may have been its design) we consider rather as injurious to your opulence than our interest. All our commerce terminates with you: and the wealth we procure from other nations, is soon exchanged for your superfluities. Our remittances must then cease with our trade; and our refinements with our affluence. We trust, however, that laws which deprive us of every blessing, but a soil which teems with the necessaries of life, and that liberty which renders the enjoyment of them secure, will not relax our vigour in their defence.

We might here observe on the cruelty and inconsistency of those, who, while they publicly brand us with reproachful and unworthy epithets, endeavour to deprive us of the means of defence, by their interposition with foreign powers, and to deliver us to the lawless ravages of a merciless soldiery. But happily we are not without resources; and though the timid and humiliating applications of a British ministry should prevail with foreign nations, yet industry, prompted by necessity, will not leave us without the necessary supplies.

We could wish to go no farther, and, not to wound the ear of humanity, leave untold those rigorous acts of oppression which are daily exercised in the town of Boston, and we hope, that by distinguishing their deeds, and preserving the perpetrators, you would shortly vindicate the honour of the British name, and re-establish the violated laws of justice.

That once populous, flourishing, and commercial town is now garrisoned by an army, not to protect, but enslave its inhabitants. The civil government is overturned, and a military despotism erected upon its ruins.—Without law, without right, new powers are assumed unknown to the constitution.—Private property is an avowed prey. The inhabitants, while subject to the decrees of the military, are forbid to remove from the town, even for the natural refreshment of the sick, without a solicitation, a petition prepared, their effects are detained, and even those who are removed, have no alternative but poverty or slavery. The dictate of many thousand people, wisely dispersed of their effects or life, is a subject on which we would not wish to enlarge.

Yet we cannot but observe, that a British [illegible] usually acts of your legislature [illegible] destroying, by its influence, our [illegible] and [illegible], and depriving whole [illegible] of their daily bread. Nor will a regard for [illegible] prevent us from [illegible], while [illegible] daily employ, for a time which the most [illegible] cannot but pollute, cannot [illegible] nations, the vain and unnecessary [illegible] of Charlestown, a large, ancient, and once [illegible] town, which has been defended by its inhabitants, who had fled to avoid the fury of your fleets.

If you still retain a spark of compassion for which Britons have ever been distinguished, if the humanity which tempered the valour of our common ancestors, has not degenerated into cruelty, you will learn the miseries of their descendants.

To what are we to attribute this treatment? If to any settled principle of the constitution, let it be mentioned; for we learn that the government we have lost, revered it not without its defects, and that, while it gave freedom to a part, it nobly enlarged the remainder of the empire. If such a principle exists, why, for ages, has it ceased to operate? What at this time has it called into action? Can no reason be assigned for this violent deviation? Or must it be referred into the wanton exercise of arbitrary power? And shall the dominion of lawless force, totally unrestrained by the [illegible] Sirs! We must tell you, while we revere the memory of our gallant and virtuous ancestors, that we never can surrender the glorious principles, for which they fought, bled, and conquered. Admit that your fleets could destroy our towns, and ravage our harbours; these are inconsiderable objects, things of no moment, to men who [illegible] grow with the ardor of liberty. We can [illegible] retire beyond the reach of your navy, and without any sensible diminution of the necessaries of life, [illegible] which the LUXURY OF DOING GOOD.

What was the force of your arms, and was it [illegible] of the cause of justice and your country [illegible] we might avoid these rocks; but will [illegible] [illegible] Will they counteract the labours, and disgrace the victories of their ancestors? Will they forge chains for their posterity? If they descend to this unworthy task, will their swords retain their edge, their arms their accustomed vigour!——Britons can never become the instruments of oppression, till they lose the spirit of freedom, by which alone they are invincible.

Our enemies charge us with sedition; in what does it consist? in our refusal to submit to unwarrantable acts of injustice and cruelty. If so, shew us a period in your history, in which you have not been equally seditious?

We are accused of aiming at independence; but how is this accusation supported? By the allegations of your ministers, not by our actions. Abused, insulted, and contemned, what steps have we pursued to obtain redress? we have carried our dutiful petitions to the throne;—we have applied to your justice for relief, we have retrenched our luxury, and withheld our trade.

The advantages of our commerce were designed as a compensation for your protection: when you ceased to protect, for what were we to compensate?

What has been the success of our endeavours? The clemency of our sovereign is unhappily perverted; our petitions are treated with insult, our prayers answered by insults. Our application to you remains unnoticed, and leaves us to melancholy apprehension, of your wanting either the will, or the power, to allist us.

Even under these circumstances, what measures have we taken that betray a desire of independence? Have we called in the aid of those powers, who are the rivals of your grandeur? When your troops were wounded and defenceless, we take advantage of their distress, and expel them our town? Or, have we permitted them to refit, to receive new aid, and to acquire additional strength.

Let not your enemies and ours persuade you, that [illegible] moved [illegible] by fear or any other [illegible] The lives of Britons are [illegible] dear to us [illegible] are the children of our parents, [illegible] mutual benefits had knit [illegible] friendship. When hostilities were [illegible] occasion we were [illegible], though we repelled [illegible] blows, [illegible] us to [illegible] to rejoice at a victory [illegible]

[illegible] we do not to colour our actions, or [illegible] motives; we state in the simple language of truth, [illegible] we have pursued, [illegible] upon which we have acted, and our future [illegible]

When our late petition to the throne produced [illegible] injuries, and [illegible] every [illegible] [illegible] to us of [illegible] [illegible] for [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]