regulation of our external commerce for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the Mother-country, and the commercial benefits of its respected members, excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America without their consent.

It is alledged that we contribute nothing to the common defence; to this we answer that the advantages which Great-Britain receives from the monopoly of our trade, far exceeds our proportion of the expence necessary for that purpose. But should these advantages be made inadequate thereto let the restrictions on our trade be removed, and we will chearfully contribute such proportion, when constitutionally required.

It is a fundamental principal of the British constitution, that every man should have at least a representative share in the formation of those laws by which he is bound. Were it otherwise, the regulation of our internal policy by a British parliament, who are, and ever will be, unacquainted with our local circumstances, must be always inconvenient, and frequently oppretive, working our wrong, without yielding any possible advantage to you.

A plan of accommodation (as it has been absurdly called) has been proposed by your ministers to our respective assemblies. Were this proposal free from every other objection, but that which arises from the time of the offer it would not be unexceptionable. Can men deliberate with the bayonet at their breast? Can they treat with freedom while their towns are fired; when daily instances of injustice and oppression disturb the slower operations of reason.

If this proposal is really such as you should offer and we accept, why was it delayed till the nation was put to useless expence, and we were reduced to our present melancholy situation? If it holds forth nothing, why was it proposed. Unless indeed to deceive you into a belief that we were unwilling to listen to any terms of accommodation: But what is submitted to our consideration? we contend for the disposal of our property; we are told that our demand is unreasonable, that our assemblies may indeed collect our money, but that they must at the same time offer, not what your exigencies, or ours, may require; but so much as shall be deemed sufficient to satisfy the desires of a minister and enable him to provide for favorites and dependants. [A recurrence to your own treasury will convince you how little of the money already extorted from us has been applied to the relief of your burthens.] To suppose that we would thus grasp the shadow, and give up the substance, is adding insult to injuries.

We have nevertheless again presented an humble and dutiful petition to our sovereign; and to remove every imputation of obstinacy, have requested his majesty to direct some mode, by which the united applications of his faithful colonists may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation. We are willing to treat on such terms as can alone render an accommodation lasting, and we flatter ourselves, that our pacific endeavours will be attended with a removal of the troops, a repeal of those laws, of the operation of which we complain on the one part, and a dissolution of our army and commercial associates, on the other.

Yet conclude not from this that we propose to surrender our property into the hands of your ministry, or veil your parliament with a power which may terminate in our destruction. The great bulwarks of our constitution we have determined to maintain by every temperate, by every peaceable means; but your ministers (equal foes to British and American freedom) have added to their former oppressions an attempt to reduce us by the sword to a base and abject submission. On the sword therefore we are compelled to rely for protection. Should victory declare in your favour, yet men trained to arms from their infancy and animated by the love of liberty, will afford neither a cheap or easy conquest. Of this at least we are assured, that our struggle will be glorious, our success certain, since even in death we shall find that freedom which in life you forbid us to enjoy.

Let us now ask what advantages are to attend our reduction? the trade of a ruined and desolate country is always inconsiderable, its revenue trifling; the expence of subjecting and retaining it in subjection certain and inevitable. What then remains but the gratifications of an ill judged pride or the hope of rendering us subservient to designs on your liberty.

Soldiers who have sheathed their swords in the bowels of their American brethren, will not draw them with more reluctance against you. When too late you may lament the loss of that freedom, which we exhort you, while still in your power, to preserve.

On the other hand should you prove unsuccessful; should that connection, which we most ardently wish to maintain be dissolved; should your ministers exhaust your treasures, waste the blood of your countrymen in vain attempts on our liberty; do they not deliver you weak and defenceless to your natural enemies?

Since then your liberty must be the price of your victories; your ruin of your defeat: what blind fatality can urge you to a pursuit destructive of all that Britons hold dear.

If you have no regard to the connection that has for ages subsisted between us; if you have forgot the wounds we received in fighting by your side for the extention of the empire; if our commerce is an object below your consideration; if justice and humanity have lost their influence on your hearts, still motives are not wanting, to excite your indignation at the measures now pursued: your wealth, your honour, your liberty are at stake.

Notwithstanding the distress to which we are reduced, we sometimes forget our own afflictions, to anticipate and sympathize in yours. We grieve that rash and unconsiderate councils should precipitate the destruction of an empire, which has been the envy and admiration of ages. And call God to witness, that we would part with our property, endanger our lives, and sacrifice every thing but liberty to redeem you from ruin.

A cloud hangs over your heads, and ours, e'er this reaches you, it may probably have burst upon us. let us then, before the remembrance of former kindness is obliterated, once more repeat those appellations which are ever grateful in our ears. Let us entreat Heaven to avert our ruin, and the destruction which threatens our friends, brethren, and countrymen, on the other side the Atlantic.

By order of the Congress,

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

Attested by Charles Thomson, Secretary.

Philadelphia, July 8, 1775.

CAMBRIDGE, JULY 6.

The following addresses have been presented to his Excellency General Washington and the Honourable Major-General Lee.

To His Excellency GEORGE WASHINGTON, Esq; General and Commander in Chief of the CONTINENTAL ARMY,

"May it please your Excellency,

"The congress of the Massachusetts colony, impressed with every sentiment of gratitude and respect, beg leave to congratulate you on your safe arrival, and to wish you all imaginable happiness and success in the execution of the important duties of your elevated station. While we applaud that attention to the public good manifested in your appointment, we equally admire that disinterested virtue, and distinguished patriotism, which alone could call you from those enjoyments of domestic life, which a sublime and manly taste, joined with a most affluent fortune, can afford, to hazard your life, and to endure the fatigues of war, in the defence of the rights of mankind, and the good of your country.

The laudable zeal for the common cause of America, and compassion for the distresses of this colony, exhibited by the great dispatch made in your journey hither, fully justify the universal satisfaction we have, with pleasure, observed on this occasion; and are promising presages, that the great expectations, formed from your personal character and military abilities, are well founded.

We wish you may have found such regularity and discipline already established in the army, as may be agreeable to your expectation. The hurry with which it was necessarily collected and the many disadvantages, arising from a suspension of government, under which we have raised, and endeavoured to regulate the forces of this colony, have rendered it a work of time. And though in a great measure effected, the completion of so difficult, and at the same time so necessary a task, is referred to your Excellency's and, we doubt not, will be properly considered and attended to.

We would not presume to prescribe to your Excellency, but supposing you would choose to be informed of the general character of the soldiers who compose this army, beg leave to represent, that the greatest part of them have not before been in service. And although naturally brave, and of good understanding, yet, for want of experience in military life, have but little knowledge of divers things most essential to the preservation of health, and even of life. The youth in the army are not possessed of the absolute necessity of cleanliness in their dress, and lodgings continual exercise, and strict temperance, to preserve them from diseases frequently prevailing in camps; especially among those who, from their childhood, have been used to a laborious life.

We beg leave to assure you, that this congress will, at all times, be ready to attend to such requisitions as you may have occasion to make to us; and to contribute all the aid in our power, to the cause of America, and your happiness and ease, in discharge of the duties of your exalted office.

We most fervently implore Almighty GOD, that the blessings of Divine Providence may rest on you; that your head may be covered in the day of battle; that every necessary assistance may be afforded; and that you may be long continued in life and health, a blessing to mankind."

His Excellency's ANSWER.

"Gentlemen,

"Your kind congratulation on my safe arrival, demands my warmest acknowledgements and will ever be retained in grateful remembrance.

"In exchanging the enjoyments of domestic life for the duties of my present honourable, but arduous station, I only emulate the noble and public spirit of the whole province of Massachusetts Bay, which, with a firmness and patriotism without example in modern history, has sacrificed all the comforts of social and political life, in support of the rights of mankind, and welfare of our common country. My highest ambition is to be the happy instrument of vindicating those rights and to see this devoted province again restored to peace, liberty, and safety.

The short space of time which has elapsed since my arrival, does not permit me to decide upon the state of the army. The course of human affairs forbids an expectation, that troops raised under such circumstances should at once possess the order, regularity, and discipline of veterans. Whatever deficiencies there may be, which I doubt not, soon be made up by the activity and zeal of the officers, and the docility and obedience of the men. These qualities, united with their natural bravery and spirit, will afford a happy prelude of success, and put final period to those distresses which now overwhelm this once happy country.

I most sincerely thank you, Gentlemen, for your declarations of readiness at all times to assist me in the discharge of the duties of my station. They are so complicated and extended, that I shall need the assistance of every good man, and lover of his country; I therefore repose the utmost confidence in your aids. In return for your affectionate wishes to myself, permit me to say, that I earnestly implore that Divine Being, in whose hands are all human events, to make you and your constituents as distinguished in private and public happiness, as you have been by ministerial oppression, by private and public distress.

GEORGE WASHINGTON."

To the Honourable CHARLES LEE, Esquire, Major-General of the CONTINENTAL ARMY.

"SIR,

"The congress of the Massachusetts colony, professed of the fullest evidence of your attachment to the rights of mankind, and regard to the distresses which America in general, and this colony in particular, are involved in, by the impolitic, wicked and tyrannic system adopted by administration, and pursued with relentless savage fury, do with pleasure, embrace this opportunity to express the great satisfaction and gratitude they feel on your appointment as a major general in the American army.

We sincerely congratulate you on your safe arrival here, and wish you all possible happiness and success in the execution of so important a trust. We admire and respect the character of a man who, disregarding the allurements of profit and distinction his merits might procure, engages in the cause of mankind, in defence of the injured, and relief of the oppressed. From your character, from your great abilities and military experience, united with those of the commander in chief, under the smiles of providence, we flatter ourselves with the prospect of discipline and order, success and victory.

Be assured, Sir, that it will give great pleasure to be able to contribute to your happiness. May the favours and blessings of heaven attend you. May divine providence guard and protect you, conduct you in the paths of honour and virtue, grant you the reward of the brave and virtuous, the applauses of mankind, and the approbation of your own conscience, and eternal happiness hereafter."

His Honour's ANSWER.

To the Gentlemen of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts.

"Gentlemen,

"Nothing can be so flattering to me, as the good opinion and approbation of the deputies of a free and uncorrupt people. I was educated in the highest reverence for the rights of mankind, and have acquired, by a long acquaintance, a most particular regard for the people of America. You may depend therefore, Gentlemen, on my zeal and integrity.—I can promise you nothing from my abilities. God Almighty grant us success equal to the righteousness of the cause. I thank you, Gentlemen, for an address which does me so much honour, and shall labour to deserve it.

CHARLES LEE."

LONDON,

To the GOOD PEOPLE of AMERICA.

AMONG all the various emotions which have hitherto been agitated in a free country, none can exceed the pain excited between the premier of England, and the colonies of North-America, in political [illegible] a point of so high importance [illegible] liberty, and property of [illegible] except such as are [illegible] The multitude of arbitrary [illegible] fabricated by Lord North, on the anvil of passion, for the destruction, calls loudly for a firm and virtuous exertion of that noble ardour and zealous attachment to freedom, which animated the Barons of England, to