

N. B. It is recommended to the several printers through the continent, to publish the above resolves in their papers.

To the Earl of CARLISLE, Lord Viscount HOWE, Sir WILLIAM HOWE (or in his absence Sir HENRY CLINTON) WILLIAM EDEN and GEORGE JOHNSTONE.

Trusty and well beloved servants of your sacred master, in whom he is well pleased.

AS you are sent to America for the express purpose of treating with any body and any thing, you will pardon an address from one, who disdains to flatter those whom he loves.—Should you therefore deign to read this address, your chaste ears will not be offended with the language of adulation, a language you dispise.

I have seen your most elegant and most excellent letter “to his Excellency Henry Laurens, the president, and other the members of Congress.” As that body hath thought your propositions unworthy their particular regard, it may be some satisfaction to your curiosity, and tend to appease the offended spirit of negotiation, if one out of the many individuals on this great continent should speak to you the sentiments of America. Sentiments which your own good sense hath doubtless suggested, and which are repeated only to convince you that, notwithstanding the narrow ground of private information on which we stand in this distant region, still a knowledge of our own rights, an attention to our own interests, and a sacred respect for the dignity of human nature, have given us to understand the true principles which ought, and which therefore shall, sway our conduct.

You begin with the amiable expressions of humanity, the earnest desire of tranquility and peace. A better introduction to Americans could not be devised. For the sake of the latter, we once laid our liberties at the feet of your prince, and even your armies have not eradicated the former from our bosoms.

You tell us you have powers unprecedented in the annals of your history. And England, unhappy England, will remember with deep contrition, that these powers have been rendered of no avail by a conduct unprecedented in the annals of mankind. Had your royal master condescended to listen to the prayer of millions, he had not thus have sent you. Had moderation swayed what we were proud to call our *mother country*, “her full blown dignity would not have broken under her.”

You tell us that “all parties may draw some degree of consolation, and even auspicious hope, from recollection.” We wish this most sincerely for the sake of *all parties*. America, even in the moment of subjugation, would have been consoled by conscious virtue, and her hope was and is in the justice of her cause, and the justice of the almighty. These are sources of hope and of consolation, which neither time nor chance can alter or take away.

You mention “the mutual benefits and consideration of evils, that may naturally contribute to determine our resolutions.” As to the former, you know too well that we could derive no benefit from an union with you, nor will I, by deducing the reasons to evince this, cast an insult upon your understandings. As to the latter, it were to be wished you had preserved a line of conduct equal to the delicacy of your feelings. You could not but know that men, who sincerely love freedom, disdain the consideration of all evils necessary to attain it. Had not your own hearts borne testimony to this truth, you might have learnt it from the *annals of your history*. For in those annals instances of this kind at least are not *unprecedented*. But should those instances be insufficient, we pray you to read the unconquered mind of America.

That the acts of parliament you transmitted were passed *with singular unanimity*, we pretend not to doubt. You will pardon me, gentlemen, for observing, that the reasons of that unanimity are strongly marked in the report of a committee of Congress, agreed to on the 22d of April last, and referred to in a late letter from Congress to Lord Viscount Howe and Sir Henry Clinton.

You tell us you are willing “to consent to a cessation of hostilities, both by sea and land.” It is difficult for rude Americans to determine whether you are serious in this proposition, or whether you mean to jest with their simplicity. Upon a supposition, however, that you have too much a magnanimity to divert

yourself on an occasion of such importance to America, and perhaps not very trivial in the eyes of those who sent you, permit me to assure you, on the sacred word of a gentleman, that if you shall transport your troops to England, where before long your prince will certainly want their assistance, we never shall follow them thither. We are not so romantically fond of fighting, neither have we such regard for the city of London, as to commence a crusade for the possession of that holy land. Thus you may be certain that hostilities will cease by land. It would be doing singular injustice to your national character, to suppose you are desirous of a like cessation by sea. The course of the war, and the very flourishing state of your commerce, notwithstanding our weak efforts to interrupt it, clearly shew that you can exclude us from the sea. *The sea your kingdom.*

You offer “to restore free intercourse, to revive mutual affection, and renew the common benefits of naturalization.” Whenever your countrymen shall be taught wisdom by experience, and learn from past misfortunes to pursue their true interests in future, we shall readily admit every intercourse which is necessary for the purposes of commerce, and usual between different nations. To revive *mutual affection* is utterly impossible. We freely forgive you, but it is not in nature that you should forgive us. You have injured us too much. We might, on this occasion, give you some late instances of singular barbarity, committed as well by the forces of his Britannic majesty, as by those of his generous and faithful allies, the Senecas, Onandagas and Tuscaroras.—But we will not offend a courtly ear by the recital of those disgusting scenes. Besides this, it might give pain to that humanity which hath, as you observe, prompted your overtures to dwell upon the splendid victories obtained by a licentious soldiery over unarmed men in defenceless villages, their wanton devastations, their deliberate murders, or to inspect those scenes of carnage, painted by the wild excesses of savage rage. These amiable traits of national conduct cannot but revive in our bosoms that partial affection we once felt for every thing which bore the name of Englishman. As to the common benefits of naturalization, it is a matter we conceive to be of the most sovereign indifference. A few of our wealthy citizens may hereafter visit England and Rome, to see the ruins of those august temples, in which the goddess of liberty was once adored. These will hardly claim naturalization in either of those places as a *benefit*. On the other hand, such of your subjects as shall be driven by the iron hand of oppression to seek for refuge among those whom they now persecute, will certainly be admitted to the *benefits of naturalization*. We labour to rear an asylum for mankind, and regret that circumstances will not permit you, gentlemen, to contribute to a design so very agreeable to your several tempers and dispositions.

But further, your Excellencies say “we will concur to extend every freedom to trade that our respective interests can require.” Unfortunately there is a little difference in these interests, which you might not have found it very easy to reconcile, had the Congress been disposed to risque their heads by listening to terms, which I have the honour to assure you are treated with ineffable contempt by every honest whig in America. The difference I allude to is, that it is your interest to monopolize our commerce, and it is our interest to trade with all the world.—There is indeed a method of cutting this gordian knot, which perhaps no statesman is acute enough to untie. By reserving to the parliament of Great Britain the right of determining what our respective interests require, they might extend the freedom of trade, or circumscribe it, at their pleasure, for what they might call our *respective interests*. But I trust it would not be to our *mutual satisfaction*. Your “earnest desire to stop the farther effusion of blood, and the calamities of war,” will therefore lead you, on maturer reflection, to reprobate a plan teeming with discord, and which, in the space of twenty years, would produce another wild expedition across the Atlantic, and in a few years more some such commotion as that “with which his majesty hath been pleased to honour you.”

We cannot but admire the generosity of soul, which prompts you “to agree that no military force shall be kept up in the different states of North America, without the consent of the ge-