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JOHN TAYLOR TH GEORGE WASHINGTON

IOHN WELSE

Virginia, June, 17/4

E SOLD,

From the PENNSTLYANIA JOURNALL

MONG the variety of means that have been proposed for obtaining a repeal of the three Boston bills (as they are called) and the tea act, a general non-remittance is one. This proposal stands condemned by many, nerely from its supposed injustice. It may, per-laps, with some propriety, be compared to a sheep in-wolf's coat; and if so, the general disapprobation it has met with is not at all to be admired at. We are pt to judge from appearances, without sufficiently examining the nature and merits of the cause; and our rejudices frequently lead us into hasty and wrong conlusions. I hus a sheep, in a wolf's coat, however harmes and useful the animal might be, would probably, on its first appearance, be condemned and destroyed. And as we are all, from our cradles, prejudiced againft, ind taught to detell the fraudulent withholding of a lebt; therefore, whatever bears such appearance, hough, perhaps, from certain concomitant circumtances, rendered perfectly just; shall, like the sheep in the wolf's coat, he instantly condemned.

In order, however, a little to divert ourselves of this produce, let us suppose that two neighbours, A. and B. Mintance, have dealt together, and supported a good inderstanding many years; but that A. at length, takes thin his head, without any cause or provocation, to the and detain one of B.'s children, with a design to make it; that B. is at this time one hundred pounds ndebted to A. and has no way to prevail on him to reinquish his child, but by withholding payment till he loes; and then ask yourselves seriously, whether, in this ase, it would really be unjust to withhold payment; pr, rather, whether the purest laws of God and nature would not absolutely enjoin and require it? Must not he parent who would voluntarily, in such case, put the means of his child's redemption out of his power, for only the frivolous purpose, comparatively speaking, of paying a debt, be totally destitute of the generous feelngs of compassion, or utterly ignorant of the real value

But the people of Great Britain (among whom our creditors are included) are not only endeavouring to inflave our children, but inflave us also. The means we fee are already contrived, and with horrid force carying into execution. And if to obtain freedom for an ndividual a just debt ought to be withheld, surely to obtain it for, and secure it to millions, will justify an act of the same fiature. If payment in that case would have been criminal, must its now be infinitely more so in his? Where fo great and general a good is depending, o give up any part of the means requifite for obtaining t, must approach near to unpardonable.

I faid the people of Great Britain are endeavouring to inflave us: I confider their conduct in that light, The acts which have that tendency were passed by their deputies-by their fervants, and they have not fo much s remonstrated against them. Their silence is an evidence of confent. But we have further evidence : our friends in parliament, by way of complaint, openly de-clared that the people of that country approve those measures, and wish to see them carried into execution as much as the majority of that house. The minister might invent, and the parliament might enact, but it is

the people that are to support and enforce them. It is, therefore, Great Britain in her collective capacity, that we have to dispute with which seems to render the most general and powerful mode of opposition that we can possibly devise and carry into execution, consistent with the laws of God and our country, absolutely necessary. Partial measures, 'tis true, may irritate—they may distress, and even ruin many individuals both at home and here; but an arbitrary minister, with a venal parliament at his heels, will easily brave the storm of their resentment. Whereas if we adopt measures that will send distress to every part of the whole empire, our enemies must soon yield to the force of our argument. Here, I prefume, will be the time for us to remonstrate; to send the mother-country a tate of our grievances, with a boundary-line sketched at between her power and our own. Being convinced her error in supposing herself omnipotent, she may, perhaps, have an ear to hear, and a heart to yield to right reason. right reason.

Nor can I but be of opinion, that we shall stand firmer to our engagements, in a short, general, and vigorous opposition, that will dissufe its burden and loss upon us all, than in a partial lingering one, borne only by a few. To throw the whole burden of the contest on our dry-goods merchants, appears too replete with injustice to bear a vindication. If we all with to partake of the advantage, let us all be willing to pay a part of

The farmer, who insists that the dry-goods mer-chant shall cease to import, though, the measure should even deprive him of bread; and yet, through fear of the price. fome frivolous loss to himself, very wisely protest; against non-exportation; certainly merits the utmost contempt. Nor does the farmer, in this case, stand alone; the miller lays claim to public spirit; talks loudly for liberty; and also insists upon a non-importation; and in order to enforce the scheme upon the merchant, will readily agree to a general non-confumption; but no fooner is non-exportation founded in his ear, than his mighty. public spirit, like Milton's devils at their pandemonium confultation, is instantly dwarfed. My interest, sir [—I cannot part with that !—Alas! if a general non-exportation takes place, what shall I do with my mill?"

Liberty is in this good, man's opinion a goddels, and

he passionately wishes to live under the benign influence of her fmiles; and yet, rather than forego the profits of his mill for the space of a year, this goddess of his may perish, and his country be bound in ever-during chains of flavery. Oh shameful partiality!—Shameful meanness!—Such selfish souls even taint the very air they breathe in: their disorder is infectious and spreads among the people: our councils are enfeebled by the schisms they produce; and the laudable spirit of liberty

is fickened by their br. ath. We have however farmers and millers, who breathe forth fentiments of a different nature; and who well deferve to be ranked with the foremost of our pa-

Soon after William II. came to the crown of Great Britain, there appeared divisions among it the people respecting his right. he parliament empowered him to borrow money on his revenues: and the advice of his friends was, borrow what you con the more you borrow the more friends you make; interest is a stronger tye than principle. The king took their advice, and soon secured in his favour the monied part of the

The fame reason will operate in favour of non-remittance. The more we owe the British merchants, the more they will exert themselves in our behalf. In proportion to the debt, it will ever be their interest to ward off fuch measures as may tend to work our ruin, or cause us to revolt. But the moment we pay them their demands we release them from this obligation; and, in some degree, set them at liberty to unite with our enemies in working our ruin. I hey may perhaps find other customers for their goods': but the debts we owe them they can never expect to receive from any other quarter; and therefore, should we be drove to the utmost extremity, they are sure of losing the whole. Nor will this loss affect them only, for it must very sen-

fibly affect the nation in general.

It is, I know, faid, that some of these creditors are our friends; and that it would be unjust to do any thing tending to injure them. But then it is also said, and as truly, that necessity has no law. We are indeed very forry that British measures have laid us under the disagreeable necessity of using means of opp. sition injurious to British merchants, and more especially such as are really our friends. But I know of no law, either moral or divine, that requires us to love our friends better than ourselves. If the best friends we have should be unfortunately obliged to suffer with us, all that they can ask, or we can grant, consistent with the laws of nature and felf-preservation, will only be to lympathise with them in their affliction, and endeavour to obtain their relief by obtaining our own. They must have too much good sense, I presume, to think hard of us for adopting a measure so essential to our. preservation. They know, they feel that self-preservation is the first law of nature, and that it ought to be, above all others, religiously regarded. Their breaks may indeed swell with indignation against the men whose callous and corrupt hearts have compelled us to do things so injurious to them, and unpleasant to our-

Whatever the British merchants might lose, however, by a general non remittance, I am clearly of opinion they would lofe far more by a general non-importation. For although non-remittance will operate most speedily, and, with regard to influencing their conduct, probably do us most service; yet, upon a supposition that trade will again revive, and remittance be made, it must do them less damage: they will then have the satisfaction of receiving their whole original demands with interest. Whereas if a non-importation takes place, their usual profits on trade, thereby witheld, together with the loss on trade, thereby witheid, together with the losses on perishable articles, and the interest on the value of goods lying upon their hands, must be dead loss to them for ever: which will probably far exceed any loss that could possibly attend their lying out of their money. But then, if matters should be carried so far, as to prevent remittances ever being made, their loss must be prodigious: and this is what it will put them upon to prevent: and the fear of this, we may reasonably suppose, will stimulate them to exert every nerve in

When I consider the importance of what we are con-tending for, I own I cannot but think it would betray a great weakness in us to decline adopting any one salu-tary measure, either through fear of loss to our friends, er to ourselves. If every means in our power to use will no more than ensure us success, how fatal may prove the difuse of any one? Hath it not been consistent with the wisdom of whole empires, to spend great part of their wealth, and the purest of their blood, in defence of their liberty? And when their dreadful struggles have been crowned with success, have they not ever thought the enjoyment far superior to the price it cost

If it is Britain collectively that we have to contend with, then in this, as in all other national contests, the innocent must unavoidably suffer with the guilty: our friends with our foes. It is impossible for us to point our weapons against our enemies only; or indeed, in this case, to point them against the principals at all. But it is not impossible for us so to wound a lion in his foot as foon to diforder his whole body, and grievously

ficken his head. We are not now to consider what will affect individuals in Britain; but what will affect Britain in general. We ought not to regard, the fentiments and conduct of particulars there, fo as to model our measures to screen them; but we ought to attend to, and regard the sentiments of Britain collectively as one great individual:

and in like collective expacity ought we to confider our-

felves, and also to

femand of debt against us, and If then Britain we a demand of a cent nature, but superior in value, against her; with what propriety or justice can she expect payment, when she refuses to allow his our superior. expect payo rior demand Te must certainly, agreeable to the strict-est rules of the chy, and the general practice between neighbour an eneighbour, have clearly a right to with-hold payment, until she condescends to come to a settlement. When this settlement is obtained, and the demands on each fide are fully and fairly flated, and the balance struck; this balance, whether it falls in favour of her, or of us, will be the sum total that ought to be paid. But as the articles of our demand against her are inconceivably valuable, being no less than liberty, peace, and a free trade; I believe we may venture to anticipate the fettlement, and fafely conclude, that the balance will certainly prove in our favour; and that it will be by much too high for all the wealth in Britain to pay. And if this be the case, as I presume it is, then it will necessarily follow, that she can never have a balance in her favour, nor equitable demand of debt against us, until those three articles of our demand are

again restored to our possession.

As these articles, however, are seldom, if ever, met with in books of account, some people may, perhaps. affect to fneer at their being confidered as articles of charge, proper to balance the demand of dept the mother-country has against us. But whatever ideas, with regard to proper articles of charge, custom may have ri-; veted in these men's heads, I imagine the unprejudiced will conceive with me, that whatsoever is of value to mankind is, with mankind, a proper article of charge. And our lawyers will tell these gentlemen, that whoever illegally deprives another of his liberty, peace or trade, is not only liable to a charge therefor, bur to an action

And if Britain denies us the benefit of the law, for the recovery and enjoyment of those invaluable articles of our demand against her; totally retusing to liften to our plea of legal constitutional rights—of solemnly granted charter privileges—and of her faith plighted and confirmed to our forefathers; the tets us a itriking example to deny her merchants the benefit of the law, and the affiftance of our courts, for the recovery of their demands against us; even though we had no equitable right to withhold them. Such equitable right, however, I suppose really and fairly to exist: and yet am I far from holding it just, that those merchants, if innocent with regard to the malpractices which gave that right existence, should bear the loss: for their rulers, who have so wantonly and wickedly brought the mischief on them, ought, no doubt, upon the purelt principles of equity, to make them whole.

And now, before I conclude, let me just observe, that I remember to have feen, in some of our papers, a very founding protest against a resolution of a respectable sounty, in a neighbouring colony, in favour of shutting our courts against the British merchants, in order to withhold payment for a time. The proteders might possibly imagine, that such high terms of censure as they were pleased to express their disapprobation in, would awe people into a detestation of the measure, would awe people into a detestation of the measure, without considering the ground on which it was proposed. In this perhaps, they were not wholly mistaken. It frequently happens that we are milled to condemn an effect, without first comparing it with, and weighing it against the cause that produced it. To withhold a just debt, without just eause, would certainly be wrong; but then, to withhold a just debt, with just cause, would as certainly be right. I have not only endeavoured to shew that such just cause may exist, but also that it really does exist, in the case now depending between us and the mother-country, and which gave rise to the reand the mother-country, and which gave rise to the re-folve I just now mentioned. If I have been so happy as to succeed in these two points, then I presume it will: follow, that to stop payment, agreeable to the spirit and design of that resolve, will neither injure our consciences as christians, nor our credit as traders.

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A L T.O N A, July 8.

To is certain that there is an exchange on the carpet between the king of Prussia and the king of Great-Britain, in his quality of elector of Hanover. His Prussian majesty is to give his britannic majesty for the principality of Saxe-Lauenbourg, a certain district in the old Marche named Dromeling, with some ballimicks in the country of Dromeling, with some bailiwicks in the country of Halberstadt. If this exchange takes place, it may prove disagreeable to the city of Hambourg, on account of certain rights, which the said principality pretends to have on the bailiwick of Borgadorst pollessed in common by the critics of Hambourg and Lubec. These rights have been heretofore claimed by the house of Bruntwic-Hanover, but a fum of money was at that time given to stop it.

PARIS, July 11. Count de Marbeuf, has demanded of this court a reinforcement of 12000 men, in order to enable him to subjugate the malcontents of corsica, who

who every day revolt more and more.

July 18. Two pamphlets are come out here, in which it appears, that from the 16th of June, 1772. to December, 1773, out of 59 drowned persons who received the necessary help to call them to life, 457 have been faved.

AMSTERDAM, July 25. It is always with fatisfaction that we announce fresh parts of the memoirs of the

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THOMAS HYDS

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