

would send in by the first of June, and they judged as follows:

Duxbury	500	Marblehead	900
Hingham	300	Halifax	800
Falem	700	Dartmouth	200
Leominster	200	Concord	300
Harvard	500	Plynton	200
Dedham	300	Swanley	800
Taunton	700	Lancaster	400
Norton	500	Raynham	350
Mansfield	200	Danvers	8000
Sandwich	1400	Shutesbury	700
		Newbury-Port	2530
	5300		7550

"This is the best intelligence I am able to procure at this time; I will endeavour to collect further particulars and forward them to you."

"The powder mill at Andover is at work, but I cannot give you any particulars."

"I congratulate you on Boston's being once more in the hands of its proper owners. The precipitancy with which the enemy took flight, wears such indelible marks of a panic as British troops will not easily wipe off."

May 18. By a gentleman arrived here last night from New-York, we are informed, that the commissioners, with the Hessian troops, had arrived at Halifax. It was said at New-York, that the commissioners were on their way to treat with the Congress, and that the troops were to stay at Halifax.

On Monday next the hon. general assembly of this province meets here.

MONTREAL, May 10. By Col. Campbell, who arrived here early this morning from Quebec, we are informed, that two men of war, two frigates, and one tender, arrived there early on Monday the 6th instant. About eleven o'clock the enemy sailed out, to the number, as is supposed, of 1000 men. Our forces were so dispersed at different parts, that not more than 200 could be collected together at head-quarters. This small force could not resist the enemy. All our cannon, 500 muskets, and about 200 sick, unable to come off, have fallen into their hands. The retreat was made with the utmost precipitation and confusion, however Col. Campbell informs us that he imagines we have lost very few men, except the sick above mentioned.

Gen. Thomas was left Thursday evening at Dechambeau. At a council of war it was determined to retreat to the mouth of the Sorel. This day Gen. Arnold goes down there and if he can get information of the enemy's real strength, and it should be found inconsiderable, perhaps a council of war, on consideration, may think proper to march the army back to Dechambeau, which is now strengthened by Col. Gratton's, Burb's, and Sinclair's regiments. Besides the above loss is one batteau, laden with powder, supposed to contain 30 barrels, and an armed vessel, which the crew were obliged to abandon, were intercepted by one of our enemies frigates.

Published by order of the Congress,  
CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary.

SOUTH-CAROLINA.

In CONGRESS, March 26.

WHEREAS the British parliament claiming of late years a right to bind the North-American colonies by law in all cases whatsoever, have enacted statutes for raising a revenue in these colonies, and disposing of such revenue as they thought proper, without the consent, and against the will of the colonists. And whereas it appearing to them, that (they not being represented in parliament) such claim was altogether unconstitutional, and, if admitted, would at once reduce them from the rank of freemen to a state of the most abject slavery; the said colonies, therefore, severally remonstrated against the passing, and petitioned for a repeal of those acts--but in vain. And whereas the said claim being persisted in, other unconstitutional and oppressive statutes have been since enacted, by which the powers of the admiralty courts in the colonies are extended beyond their ancient limits, and jurisdiction is given to such courts in cases similar to those which in Great-Britain are triable by jury--Persons are liable to be sent to, and tried in Great-Britain, for an offence created and made capital by one of those statutes, though committed in the colonies--the harbour of Boston was blocked up--people indicted for murder in the Massachusetts-Bay may, at the will of the governor, be sent for trial to any other colony, or even to Great-Britain--the chartered constitution of government in that colony is materially altered--the English laws and a free government, to which the inhabitants of Quebec were entitled by the king's royal proclamation, are abolished, and French laws are restored; and the Roman catholic religion (although before tolerated and freely exercised there) and an absolute government are established in that province, and its limits extended through a vast tract of country, so as to border on the free protestant English settlements, with design of using a whole people, differing in religious principles from the neighbouring colonies, and subject to arbitrary power, as fit instruments to overawe and subdue the colonies. And whereas the delegates of all the colonies on this continent, from Nova-Scotia to Georgia, assembled in a general congress at Philadelphia, in a most dutiful manner, laid their complaints at the foot of the throne, and humbly implored their sovereign, that his Royal authority and interposition might be used for their relief from the grievances occasioned by those statutes, and assured his majesty, that harmony between Great-Britain and America, ardently desired by the latter, would be thereby immediately restored, and that the colonists confided in the magnanimity and justice of the king and parliament for redress of the many other grievances under which they laboured. And whereas, these complaints being wholly disregarded, statutes still more cruel than these above-mentioned, have been enacted, prohibiting the intercourse of the colonies with each other, restricting their trade, and depriving many thousands of people of the means of subsistence, by restraining them from fishing on the American coast. And whereas large fleets and armies have been sent to America, in order to enforce the execution of those laws, and to compel an absolute and implicit submission to the will of a corrupt and despotic administration, and in consequence thereof, hostilities having been commenced in the Massachusetts-Bay, by the troops under command of Gen. Gage,

whereby a number of peaceable, helpless, and unarmed people, were wantonly robbed and murdered, and there being just reason to apprehend the like hostilities would be committed in all the other colonies, the colonists were therefore driven to the necessity of taking up arms to repel force by force, and to defend themselves and their properties against lawless invasions and depredations. Nevertheless, the delegates of the said colonies, assembled in another congress at Philadelphia, anxious to procure a reconciliation with Great-Britain upon just and constitutional principles, supplicated his majesty to direct some mode by which the united applications of his faithful colonists might be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation: That in the mean time measures might be taken for preventing the further destruction of their lives; and that such statutes as immediately distressed any of the colonists might be repealed. And whereas, instead of obtaining that justice to which the colonists were and are of right entitled, the unnatural civil war into which they were just precipitated, and are involved, hath been prosecuted with unremitting violence; and the governors and others bearing the royal commission in the colonies having broken the most solemn promises and engagements, and violated every obligation of honour, justice and humanity, have caused the persons of divers good people to be seized and imprisoned, and their properties to be forcibly taken and detained, or destroyed, without any crime or forfeiture--excited domestic insurrections--proclaimed freedom to servants and slaves--enticed or stolen them from, and armed them against their masters--instigated and encouraged the Indian nations to war against the colonies--dispensed with the law of the land, and substituted law martial in its stead--killed many of the colonists--burned several towns and threatened to burn the rest, and daily endeavour, by a conduct which has sullied the British arms, and would disgrace even savage nations, to effect the ruin and destruction of the colonies.

(To be continued.)

WILLIAMSBURG, May 10.

Last Monday forty-five members of the house of burgesses met at the Capitol, pursuant to their last adjournment; but it being their opinion, that the people could not now be legally represented according to the ancient constitution, which has been subverted by the king, lords, and commons of Great-Britain, and consequently dissolved, they unanimously dissolved themselves accordingly.

The same day the general convention of delegates from the counties and corporations in this colony met at the Capitol, when the hon. Edmund Pendleton, Esq; being elected president, addressed himself to the convention in the following manner:

GENTLEMEN,  
BE pleased to accept my sincere thanks for the honour done me in your election to this high and important office, which I esteem the more, as it affords a public testimony that my former endeavours for the proper discharge of that trust have not been unacceptable to my country. I beg leave to assure you of my unremitting attention to the arduous duties of my appointment, which I will endeavour to execute with the utmost impartiality; and conscious of my want of abilities, I shall rely with confidence on your candour to make the most favourable interpretation of all my actions.

We are now met in general convention, according to the ordinance for our election, at a time truly critical, when subjects of the most important and interesting nature require our serious attention.

The administration of justice, and almost all the powers of government, have now been suspended for near two years. It will become us to reflect whether we can longer sustain the great struggle we are making in this situation; and the case of criminals confined and not tried, and others who may be apprehended pursuant to our laws, deserves particular notice.

Our military and naval arrangements, as well as the funds for supporting them, will call for our revision; and the ordinance prescribing a mode of punishment for the enemies of America in this colony being very defective, will require amendment.

There are some articles more immediately necessary for our people, particularly salt, which it may be wise to encourage the production and manufacture of, either by increased bounties, or erecting public works, as shall be judged most effectual to that end.

Several resolutions of congress, and letters from our delegates on these and other subjects, I am directed by the committee of safety to lay before you, together with several petitions they have received, on which it was not within their powers to determine.

In the discussion of these, and all other subjects which may come under our consideration, permit me to recommend calmness, unanimity, and diligence, as the most likely means of bringing them to a happy and prosperous issue.

Col. John Willoughby, of Norfolk county, with his son, and between 60 and 70 negroes, have gone on board lord Dunmore's fleet. This old gentleman, some months ago, acted as lieutenant of his county under a commission from lord Dunmore; but pleaded in his justification, that he had been compelled to receive it, and to take the oath prescribed by his lordship. Some witnesses appearing in the old man's favour, the last convention were pleased to restore him to the former good opinion of his countrymen; and now, in requital for such kindness, has voluntarily, and without any compulsion, gone over to our enemies, thereby marking himself a vile apostate, and black traitor.

His majesty's sloop Nautilus, of 18 guns, is arrived in Hampton-road.

Last Wednesday a considerable sum of money was brought to town from Philadelphia, for the payment of the continental troops of this colony; under the escort of Capt. West, lieutenant Tylton, and ensign Dover, of the Pennsylvania forces, with a party of their regiment.

From the VIRGINIA GAZETTE.

IN my last I endeavoured to shew, that a constitutional independence, founded on the ancient charters, and original contracts of the colonies, and warranted by the laws of nature, ought to have been the object of our wishes from the beginning of the dispute: I mean such an independence as would have given us a total exemp-

tion from parliamentary government, under the allegiance of the crown of England. I will now proceed to shew why we ought still to have in view this great object of a constitutional independence, and that the necessity of a total separation from Britain does not yet arise.

Those who cry out incessantly for an immediate subversion of our ancient political system would do well to consider the subject in all its points of view, and look forward into the probable consequences. They will find, from a thorough knowledge of the history of mankind, that the British constitution, when conducted on its pure and true principles, is the most perfect form of government which ever yet has been invented by the wit of man. Every writer on politics agrees in this point; all nations acknowledge the truth of the assertion. This beautiful system of legislation, which so equally tempers and combines the different forms of democracy, aristocracy, and monarchy, secures a sufficient degree of liberty to the people, while it curbs the ambitious strides of their rulers. It is free from those numerous evils which arise out of either of the other forms, and ought for ever to be the object of a wise people. We should remember, that the primary object of the dispute was a restoration of this constitution. And, when reduced to the dire necessity of taking up arms in defence of our invaded rights, it is our duty to avoid fulfilling so fair a cause by an unjustifiable subversion of the whole system, with the determined purpose of never sheathing the sword till we have recovered our rights. We should deem the re-establishment of our original, or constitutional independency, a sufficient fruit of our victory. Let us revolve in our minds all the benefits which we have derived from our original country: She hath ever been to us an outwork of defence against the ambitious and potent nations of Europe. She hath served as a guide and a governor, to prevent and heal those civil dissensions which mutual jealousy and emulation are too apt to excite in colonies growing up in each other's neighbourhood. To the influence of her excellent constitution we are indebted for that peace and prosperity which we have formerly enjoyed; and while we continue to live in the full possession of our rights, under the gentle rule of the crown of England, we must go on progressively in that boundless career (of which there is no other instance in history) until the seat of empire shall be transferred from Britain to America.

Such is the prospect on one side. Let us now see what the opposite view will present us. A public declaration of absolute independence will exclude us for ever from terms with Great-Britain, and either create us a perpetual enemy, who will have it in her power to check our prosperity, or reduce us to the most abject state of slavery. The events of war are uncertain; and, however much we may be elated with our present successes, every wise politician will keep within his own grasp the means of promoting a continuance of success, or of securing the best terms on a reverse of fortune. The people of England have manifested an early inclination to do us justice, while we contend for our constitutional liberties, and the ministry have found it difficult to recruit their armies; but the moment a declaration of independency comes out every man in England will become our enemy. Numbers in America, too, who have been foremost in their opposition to unconstitutional oppressions, will conscientiously stand forth against the idea of innovation. Already the evil has begun. Pennsylvania and the Jerseys have declared for a constitutional connexion, the two Carolinas for a total separation. What the event will be let those reflect that have thrown the deadly cause of disunion among us. Why say any thing about it? If we are victorious, we shall have it in our power to command our own terms; but if the battle goes against us, what terms can we then expect, or where can the evil end?

I will venture to go further. Were we this moment triumphant in all the success of victory, I should still think it for the interest and happiness of America to enjoy the benefits and advantage of a free trade, and a constitutional independency, under the allegiance of the British crown. A system of absolute independence would burst asunder the bands of religion, of oaths, of laws, of language, of blood, of interest, of commerce; of all those habitudes, in fine, which hold us united among ourselves, under the influence of the common parent. Who sees not that such a rending to pieces must reach the entrails, the heart, the very life of the colonies? Should they have the good fortune to escape the fatal extremity of civil wars, will it be an easy matter for them to agree upon a new form of government? Is it probable that they will establish a form on the same salutary principles as the old one; or is it practicable? If they should incline to do so, who among us has pretensions to the throne? But if (as is most probable) democracies, or aristocracies, should be the modes, who does not feel himself a considerable loser by the change? Was every colony to become a separate and distinct state, what endless divisions among them! Should such a number of little commonwealths, where the diversity of laws, the inequality of riches, the variety of possessions, must sow in secret the seeds of opposition in interests, be disposed to form a condescended union; how adjust the rank which each should hold in it, and the influence which each should possess, in proportion to their respective risks and importance? Jealousy, and a hundred other passions, which so early divided the states of Greece, would spread discord through a multitude of colonies, rather associated by resentment and indignation against Britain, which are but transitory and galling ties, than by the sober and well weighed principles of a natural and permanent union. Their confederacy will continue no longer than the necessity of opposing the common enemy. When that necessity ceases, the turbulent spirit of conquest will break loose; the strong will over-run the weak, and they will mourn for the peaceful influence of the parent country. All these considerations seem to evince that an eternal divorce from Britain would be a great and grievous misfortune to these colonies.

But (say the friends of innovation) it is both unnatural and inconvenient for the sovereign of America to reside at three thousand miles distance. This I look upon to be one of our greatest blessings. A king at a distance can never have that personal influence, which we find to be the cause of every subversion of the rights of the people; and, although some inconveniences may arise from his distant situation, the good by far overbalances the evil. Others have asked, how can we again be reconciled to a people who hath declared us rebels; or acknowledge allegiance to a king who has violated the rights of the subject, and broke through the barriers of the constitution? I answer, that I care but little for their declarations; for as long as we have

the power of retaliation to treat us as rebels; the people of George III, to oppose his unjust laws, to preserve the constitution, are intoxicated with the people to watch over the vested with supreme power in monarchs; I am told your people of England will receive us on their knees. And while the crown of England, let me tell you, that a national rights to a free and inalienable resistance over these colonies. With much more necessity and our country to separate for ever. Fine tell us, that a glance of the crown of hope will not lend us a bad an opinion of all in the assistance of an alliance with us, by enabling them to carry on the war for our independence, and not be troubled with French had for our production. Alas! I fear out of which we shall repair. The very probable. While British blocks up every French and Spaniards not seen her an over? And while she and Holland, is it not rest of the united world suppose France and us; yet I affirm that it, nor our interest. Aute independency. and to the new, and alone possess more for Britain. This vast extension in Europe, demand of all her own come a measure of equality to seize those lands, the mediocrity of her independent position preparations for invasion would reach the European enemy, the field Her thunder would where it was least expected by distant states. T which forces were sent they could be succoured by treaty, with from falling again into feebled hand had del states would halt to offer them no conditional government; or the English provinces fastens them so than then will prevent the capitulating, by their courts, or by open America, which can labouring rival, by give I will go further, I may appear, that alt will not assist in bringing their true interests constitutional independence under the allegiance of it is true, derives especially in the new world of her northern colonies to attack at all times, the continent of other nations their commerce. Be crown a bath, in the which may run course which may happen which may annihilate restitutions. France gain from a total le they will receive from crown of England. lose. This reasoning spect to Spain, but are so insignificant to continent, and the vastly overbalance to we be serious in our France? That nat empire, and only into execution. S citizens as to furnish give laws to the who the power of France Britain, what shall the British force not more probable wearied with their the colonies; between erful motive combi politics--the rights England, and the gift of the people, until fire shall be transfe

ANNA IN CO.

WHEREAS good order of the such as possible; that sundry officers failed to take upon