

where the primary ground for interference in continental warfare, the real and substantial cause of that interference has been the gratification of the Sovereign in promoting his ambition, and in cherishing his predilection for his patrimonial property in Germany. The best and most impartial manner of viewing this subject, is to consider the effects arising from the attachment of our Princes to continental alliances. These effects are to be chiefly found in the long and black catalogue of taxes which have been declared, even by the persons who proposed them, to be almost insupportable. Of the immense quantity of taxation with which the country is now overwhelmed, we may truly affirm, we should not have a fourth part to pay had it not been for our continental pursuits. And if even trade were, as it has been falsely pretended, the ground of warfare, can it be denied, that every new duty and impost are additional clogs and impediments to the progress and improvement of manufactures? Is it not possible so heavily to load our commodities and manufactures with taxation, as to render them unmarketable? These questions will, we fear, be too fairly resolved in the course of a few years, should we even be so happy as to obtain any thing like an honourable peace. We shall not however, hesitate repeating, that our commerce has not been the real cause of the interference of Great-Britain in the differences and hostilities of the Continent; but in the first instance, the mad ambition of WILLIAM to be the dictator of Europe, and in the next, the predilection of the House of Hanover for its patrimonial property in Germany. No other proof is necessary to shew the latter than the late declaration of war issued by his MAJESTY against Prussia, which makes the seizure of the ELECTORATE of HANOVER the primary cause of hostilities, and considers the exclusion of the BRITISH TRADE from the Prussian rivers and ports, but as a secondary reason.

But to whatever causes may be ascribed the excessive weight of our taxation, we have not, at this perilous crisis, so much to look to what is past, as to provide, by the united wisdom and patriotism of all ranks of men, and by the mutual sacrifice of petty prejudices and passions, for our national security and independence. We have no friend, no support, no ally in the world, but our own courage and heroism: the whole prayer in our behalf; the tyrant would fling it before it reached the air. But if the difficulties of the times are unexampled, let the energies to meet them be equally vigorous; let us reflect that our existence as a free people is at stake: yet there be no paltering for gain and office among our leaders; for if the predominance of a Party, instead of the preservation of the whole; if petty interests, and not the general weal; if the triumph of factions, rather than the honour of the country, is to be sought for, the game is already lost, and wretched indeed are the people who are under the guidance of such Statesmen. But other objects and other aims, we trust, incite the ambition, and stimulate the zeal of those who govern, and those who legislate for us in the present perilous times. The dangers that assail them from without, have been considered; the difficulties that surround them within, are scarcely less numerous or less formidable. The duties of their station imperiously call upon them for immediate execution: it must be theirs to search the records of the army and navy through, for bravery, skill, and enterprize, and call them into action; to pry into the bureaux of office, for industry, talent, and fidelity, and give them employment; to brush aside the obtrusive impertinence of family pretension, which renders service only to grasp at place; to dispossess incompetence, whatever be its rank or station; to cherish every patriotic principle, to rouse every latent energy, and to let people know, from their speeches, both in and out of parliament, the infinite difference between the "high and palmy state" of a free, glorious, and independent nation, and that of an abject herd of slaves, crouching to the will of a foreign Usurper: between the mild sway of an hereditary and limited Monarchy, and the remorseless tyranny of upstart ambition; and, above all, it must be their aim to increase this contrast, as much as possible, by a rigid economy in the public expenditure, by the resumption of improvident grants, by heightening our comforts, and alleviating our burthens. The resources of the country are under their directions; its cause is in their hands: if it fails there, posterity will not have one curse to spare for the tyrant who subdues us; they must be all reserved, were they millions, for the Statesmen who betray us.

AUGUST 1. POLITICAL REVIEW.

Notwithstanding Government have received dispatches from Adm. BERKELEY, relative to the action fought off the American coast between his MAJESTY'S ship *Leopard* and the American frigate *Chesapeake* (not the *Confederation*), it appears, that his MAJESTY'S Ministers are not yet in possession of the circumstances of the case. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, in the House of Commons on Monday, expressed a hope that there would be no necessity to make any communication to Parliament upon the subject, and that if, upon receiving the necessary information, it should appear that there was any thing improper or unjustifiable in the conduct of the Officer concerned, there certainly would be every wish on the part of his MAJESTY'S Ministers to make the fullest reparation that the nature of the case would admit of.—From this it should appear, as if the affair alluded to was not of that serious description which the first accounts of it led the public to suppose, and that there is a prospect of the misunderstanding in which it originated admitting of an amicable explanation. Happy shall we be to find the prospect prove not visionary. If, consistently with our national honour, a war with America can be avoided, no description of persons, whether Britons or Americans, will in that case be more rejoiced than us.—Our honour, however, we will not, upon any conditions, permit to be compromised. We might deplore a war with a country, in which, though we have many undisguised enemies, we have also many honest friends; but we should still further deplore the fate of our country, were its rights tamely permitted to be violated, or its flag to be insulted by any power upon earth.

Of the dispute we have fairly stated all the particulars

which have reached us. Whether it is capable of accommodation, or likely to terminate in a rupture with the United States, will, we think, much depend upon the spirit in which the principle which has given rise to it, the right of search, was discussed and understood in the late negotiations with that power. It is unquestionable, that for several years, the United States (we speak more of the people than the Government), have shewn a degree of captiousness and irritability in all their dealings with this country, which has created considerable difficulty in several successive Administrations to pacify and soothe. A long train of negotiations has, it appears, produced no final arrangement; and while politicians are engaged in untying the Gordian knot, the commanders of two ships of the respective countries have cut it. The Americans, we fear, would gladly avail themselves of their kindred with us, so far as to claim parental indulgence, long after they have cast off parental authority. However it may be, it is certain that the efforts of the two Governments, towards a general and extensive conciliation, have been universally impeded by the clamorous jealousies of the people of that country. The Articles of the Treaty which has been recently sent back from America, are unknown to us; but it was negotiated in this country by an Administration, which was by no means unfavorable to American prosperity, or disdainful of American independence. Was Mr. Fox, was Lord HOWICK, was Lord HOLLAND, likely to enforce hard conditions, or impose rigorous treatment on those whom we have been accustomed to call our Trans-Atlantic Brethren? And yet it was by these men that the negotiation was managed. If they were niggardly in their concessions, we think the present men in power will not be found more yielding. What the terms may be which the Americans expect, we cannot say; if they are fair and equitable, or even if they are nearly fair and equitable, we hope that the action, which has taken place off New-York will not finally compromise the peace between the two countries; we hope, it will turn out to have been neither conditionally, nor absolutely, sanctioned by the Government of either. But we trust too, that America will not be suffered to wring from our necessity, what she has no right to expect from our justice and clemency. The addition of a new enemy is certainly an evil to be deprecated; but if it does but create an additional degree of energy, it is not an over-whelming calamity. It is in a mercantile point of view, and in reference to trading interests, that that country is apt to consider all matters of national concern; yet, even on this ground, we consider that their Non-importation Act will operate more against themselves than us. As an aggressive enemy, America cannot, in its present divided state, be considered as formidable; and the necessity of a larger force on the West-India station may be in some degree compensated to this country, by its monopoly of the Colonial carrying trade, which the war, should it unfortunately take place, will give us. At all events, less important considerations, we hope, will be mutually conceded, and, if possible, peace preserved: but one title from our grand naval rights, one clause of the great maritime system of Europe, we hope will never be suffered even to admit of a question. That cause which has armed us twice, or more probably thrice, against a confederacy of the Northern Powers of Europe, will be a very sufficient justification for our defying the wrath of America, were it ten times greater than it is. If her hostility comes now, it comes doubtless at an inauspicious time; but we shall not be disposed to sacrifice national dignity to that consideration.

AUGUST 8. POLITICAL REVIEW.

The late affair of the *Leopard* and the American frigate the *Chesapeake* has according to every recent account, excited to the highest degree of irritation, the feelings of asperated to the highest degree of irritation, the feelings of the people of the United States, and it should seem that they can be gratified only by an open rupture with this country. The consequences of hostilities must be the subject of the most serious regret to both governments, but to the American people, they must be pregnant with disasters and calamities incalculably greater than any they may inflict upon us. The order of Admiral BERKELEY, given in another part of this paper to search the American frigate, appears to have been dictated with extreme caution, and to have enjoined nothing which was not fully justified by the extraordinary circumstances of the case. No recourse was had to compulsion, until all conciliatory measures had failed. The deserters from the Squadron in the *Chesapeake* were not only received on board the American frigate, but paraded through the streets of Norfolk, in sight of the British Officers, and under the protection of the Magistrates and the Officer who recruited for that very ship on board of which they were found. They were demanded by the British Consul, as well as the Captains of the ships from which they had deserted, and were refused to be given up. The search was not to be made unless the *Chesapeake* was found without the limits. The liberty of search was, moreover, to be reciprocal. The Captains of our cruisers were instructed to muster their crews, and permit the Captain of the American frigate to search for any deserters from their service. Surely if this order was literally acted upon, it could produce no violation of the national dignity of the Americans; but if the real fact was disguised, we do not wonder at the irritation produced among a head strong people, led away by a set of party agitators, ever on the watch to work upon their worst prejudices.

Should the Government of the United States enter into a war with England, we are, notwithstanding, persuaded that it will act more from compulsion, originating in the popular impulse and the phrenzy of the moment, than from any desire of its own. It must be aware that its revenues are derived chiefly from the custom duties; and that the people of the different States, divided as they are by partial and local views of prejudice, would very reluctantly submit to any plan of general interior taxation, nor is it less sensible that a simple blockade of their ports, without firing a single gun, or shedding a drop of blood, would effect all that we could wish in respect to America.—Three weeks blockade of the Delaware, the Chesapeake, and Boston harbour, would make our presumptuous rivals repent of their

rash conduct. It may be supposed by some, that they could materially injure us, by possessing the Canadas.—Upon this point we shall, for the present, content ourselves with offering a short observation.—The whole Regular army of the United States consists of only a few thousand effective men. They might, indeed, embody a Militia of five hundred thousand; one fourth of which, according to their own statement, would be armed. This force would be all powerful as an army of defence, but totally inefficient for offensive operations. Not a man of them would march a mile out of his own district without being paid, armed, and clothed by Government; to do this, it must for the causes we have already stated, exchange its independence for a French subsidy. But supposing they could put in motion 60,000 Militia, how are they to throw this army with all its impediments into Canada? They must first become masters of the navigation of St. Laurence. They must capture or destroy our armed vessels on the Lakes, to do which they have not an armed schooner. Having got to Upper Canada, they must take four strong fortified ports or forts, viz. St. Joseph's, Amherstbury, Fort George or New Niagara. It should be remembered also, that we have a brave and numerous militia in the Canadas, exclusive of the regulars.

The public has heard much of forms, and it is to be feared that we have already made sacrifices too great to them.—We trust however that Britain will not be so scrupulous and delicate about forms in enforcing her maritime rights, when her very existence depends upon the due maintenance of them. In former times, England went to war because a Dutch ship of the line refused to lower her flag to an English frigate. Our sovereignty of the ocean has since been acknowledged and confirmed. The principal enemy with whom we have to contend has taught the world that power constitutes right. He has obtained the sanction of the first Powers of the Continent to this principle; and if, at such a juncture, we give up our rights, while we have the power to maintain them, we richly deserve to lose them, and with them, our freedom and our independence.

AUGUST 17.

The arrival of a Tonningen, and another Gottenburgh Mail, late last night, has furnished us with intelligence from Hamburg, to the 8th inst. and from Copenhagen to the 5th. On the 4th, at seven in the evening, 20 sail of English men of war, of which 12 were of the line, were despatched from the latter city. Of the remainder of the fleet, a part was supposed to be still in the Cattegat, off the Isle of Anholt, and a part was reported to have entered the Baltic by the Great Belt. The appearance of this fleet seems to have excited no apprehension in the Danish capital that its visit was of a hostile nature.

By a Lisbon Mail, which arrived this morning, we learn, that a negotiation is going on between France and Spain, the object of which is a marriage between the Prince Royal of the latter country and a female relation of Bonaparte, under whom Portugal is to be immediately re-united to Spain. This idea originates, perhaps, at present in mere speculation, though not improbable.

AUGUST 19.

Government have received dispatches from the River Plate, brought by the ship *Ann*, arrived off Falmouth, having sailed from Monte Video on the 3d of June, previous to which an expedition had proceeded against Buenos Ayres, under the command of General Crauford, of the success of which little doubt was entertained.

By the Malta, Messina, and Gibraltar Mails, which arrived this morning, we learn, that Admiral Collingwood had actually sailed with a strong Squadron to the Dardanelles. What was the immediate object of his expedition, we have not been able to learn.

From the Dutch papers, which we have received to the 13th instant, it appears that Bonaparte intends to march an army into Portugal, for the avowed purpose of excluding the English from the ports of that kingdom.

There is also reason to believe, that Russia has abandoned the interests of the King of Naples, or, as he is termed in the French papers, the *Ex-King Ferdinand*; for it is stated, that that unfortunate Prince has been advised by a great power to withdraw into Minorca.

No new intelligence respecting the Baltic expedition has yet been received.—A report, that the Castle of Cronberg had fired upon us, and that we had made an attack upon it, is unfounded. The troops were expected to be debarked about the 14th or 15th, to take possession of the Danish capital. The whole force arrived about the 9th instant.

We understand the last dispatches from Admiral Gambier encouraged Government to hope that by the 18th or 19th, yesterday or this day, satisfactory arrangements might be received of the proceedings of His Majesty's fleet off Copenhagen.

AUGUST 20.

Dispatches were yesterday received from Gen. Frazer, at Alexandria, dated May 30.—He had been reinforced by two Regiments from Sicily, the 52d and another. We are happy to add, that provisions are abundant. The enemy had shewn no disposition to attack Alexandria, the fortifications of which had been considerably strengthened, but they had collected between 7000 and 8000 men near Rosetta. Our prisoners at Cairo were in general in good health, and treated with kindness. Several messages had passed between Gen. Frazer and the Pacha respecting them.

Last night we received Paris papers to the 12th and Dutch papers to the 16th, and this morning Hamburg and Altona papers to the 12th inst. They contain no intelligence of any interest. The rumours of an approaching peace with this country appear to be very generally circulated in Paris.

LIVERPOOL, AUGUST 22.

No official advices have yet been received from Admiral Gambier or the forces under his command, but some account of their movements have been received through various private channels. No impediment has offered itself to the progress of the expedition, which has proceeded regularly to the place of its destination without any interruption or delay, either from the elements or from hostile resistance.—Whatever, therefore, be the ultimate object of the attack