bition, and every ſpring to action, is clogged, emulation dies away, and the mind ſhrinks back in its own barrenneſs in the contemplation of gain.

The conſtitution and laws of this country admit of no ſuch exception. Her civil and religious liberty are founded on a broader baſis and liberal ſcale. She knows no rank, order or diſtinction. She points out no road to preferment but through the avenue of merit; and as long as her favoured children remain obedient to her ſalutary laws, they ſhall have no ſolid ground to apprehend ſuch contemplated grievances. As to popularity, it is at moſt but a bubble, and unworthy the attention of a thinking mind; it is in this, as in moſt occaſions, without juſt ground or foundation. Popularity, that noted daughter of fame *, without ſtability, firmneſs or ſtrength, than whom no fiend more ſwift; by exerting her agility ſhe grows more active, and acquires ſtrength in her progreſſive motion, and as obſtinately bent on falſehood and iniquity as reporting of truth. Whether you take the exciſe law in a conſtitutional, in a political, or in an equitable view, it is irreproachable; but let us ſuppoſe it was defective in either or all, does the conſtitution make no proviſion for its redreſs? Do the meatures adopted exculpate the inſurgents? Could the contemplated cauſe of complaint juſtify the violence of their conduct? Or can the ends ſanctify the means? By no means. The words of Vattel on this head are, "if any nation is diſſatisfied with the public adminiſtration, it may reduce and reform the government." But here is meant at leaſt the majority of the nation, and no minority of malecontents ſhall cauſe diſturbance to the government, if they do, it muſt be at their peril; and to attack the laws and government is a capital crime againſt ſociety. Sad experience has ſhewn inſurrections to be the bane of ancient republics; by it the rational faculties are ſuſpended, the paſſions are armed with blind madneſs and enthuſiaſm, and by it the mind, like a raging torrent, becomes ungovernable, and hurried into the moſt violent exceſſes. The melancholy effects of an inſurrection are general and confined to men of no order or denomination; by it the ſpirit of induſtry is damped, the ſinews of commerce relaxed, the ſpring to enterpriſe clogged, and the inergetic powers of government weakened. In viewing theſe melancholy conſequences, what man, in cool deliberation, can contemplate it and not be alarmed? What man can countenance it and call himſelf a virtuous citizen? What man can promote it but the aſſaſſin of his country? But once eſtabliſh it as a principle, that a few malecontents, too many of which are in every government, under an impreſſion that a law was grievous, were juſtified to reſiſt it by the aſſumption of arms, and adieu to all ſecurity of private property. Once eſtabliſh it as a principle, that government are to be influenced *vi & armis*, and adieu to all ſtability in adminiſtration. Once eſtabliſh it as a principle, that a minority of any kind can counteract the meaſures of a majority, and adieu to all liberty—In ſuch a ſituation, how ruinous the conſequences, how inſecure the government, how wretched the country—Such a doctrine would leave the ſtability of government to the caprice of a few, ſuffer every man to judge in his own cauſe, and deſtroy every vital principle of government.

No doubt but all men ſhould be jealous of their rights, and when actually invaded, are juſtified in making uſe of every laudable effort in oppoſition to the invaders; but nothing leſs than the cleareſt proof of the invaſion will juſtify this oppoſition, ſubject to the direction of the conſtitution. Not the caprice of a few, not the opinion of a minority, nor the unfounded allegations of licentious anarchiſts, can impeach the purity of government, or ſanction this oppoſition. Men in the diſcharge of ſo ſacred and important a truſt as the liberties and properties of their fellow-citizens, are ſupported upon a more firm baſis. Men choſen to watch our immunities and unalienable rights, juſtly claim a more exalted tribunal. Men delegated to guard and protect the commonwealth, are entitled to a more firm ground than the flimſy current of popular opinion. It is true the people are the phyſical ſtrength of every government; all power is mediately or immediately derived from them, and are juſtified in guarding it from the encroachments of government. But how? Is it by a few individuals raiſing the people to ſedition and inſurrection? Is it by the rage of enthuſiaſm? Is it in the blind chaos of licentious anarchy and confuſion? Is it in the deſtruction of all law and political order, and, like our uncivilized anceſtors in the infancy of civil ſociety, determine all common affairs in ſcenes of rage, fury and violence? Such meaſures as theſe would be truly prepoſterous, and ſo far from ſecuring the rights of a free and independent people, they ſtrike at the root of all government; they are not only unfounded in reaſon, ruinous to the peace and order of ſociety, but ſubverſive of all rational liberty. The affairs of a nation are of too much importance to be tampered with, the commonwealth too ſacred to be inſulted, and the lives and properties too dear to be ſported with by any ſuch unbounded exceſſes. Who then are to judge of our common affairs? The people at large, ſubject to the conſtitution in a repreſentative capacity. Each queſtion being coolly and diſpaſſionately canvaſſed and determined by a majority, by men delegated from amongſt and by ourſelves, by men who are preſumed to know our real intereſt, and with a ſufficient degree of zeal to ſupport them.

Should any real grievance exiſt, either from abuſe or neglect, our conſtitution not only gives a ſufficient remedy, but points out in what manner it is to be applied. It is a leading principle in political diſcuſſions, that a majority will decide each queſtion, and no number leſs than a majority can give the exiſtence of a law to any meaſure, no number leſs than a majority can deſtroy the ſame, conſequently no minority can, either in an aggregate or repreſentative capacity, upon any conſtitutional ground, create a law, or deſtroy one already created. If any part of the people think themſelves oppreſſed by the operation of a partial law, they may petition for a repeal of the ſame; if their repreſentatives abuſe their truſt, they may have them ſuperſeded in every two years. If ſufficient reaſon is ſhewn for the repeal of a law, the preſumption is much ſtronger that due attention will be paid to their prayer, and the cauſe of complaint removed, than that a majority of our government can be either ſo corrupted or biaſed as to proſtitute all virtue, principle and honour, in the continuance of a law both grievous and oppreſſive. What man of candour, who can take an impartial view of all theſe conſiderations, and not ſee that the grievance of exciſe law muſt exiſt in name, and not in fact? Who will deny that it can have any exiſtence, unleſs in the imagination of the unthinking, the licentious or depraved? Who can take a view of the ſtate of government at the time this law was paſt, her reſources, her expenditures, her impoſts, her ſituation at home and abroad, and impeach her congreſs for the adoption of meaſures abſolutely required by expediency, unqueſtionably juſtified by equity and policy, and ſolemnly ſanctified by the laws and conſtitution? and there is no doubt when theſe cauſes, which required the adoption of the exciſe law, will ceaſe, but the effects will alſo, and that coolneſs in deliberation, virtue and wiſdom, which characteriſed our government hitherto, will remove this complaint when it is expedient, and for the public good.

Before I drop my pen, permit me to annex a word more. Let us revere the laws and government; let us not liſten to thoſe kind of admonitions which alienate our minds from government; let us cultivate unanimity and philanthropy amongſt ourſelves; let us avoid diſcord †, faction and licentiouſneſs, which have been the bane of ancient commonwealths; let us revere ſtateſmen and patriots, whoſe time is devoted to the improvement of their country; let us practice induſtry, frugality, temperance, moderation, and other republican virtues; but above all, let us revere religion, and reſpect her faithful followers. Let us remember that there can be no political happineſs without liberty, that there can be no liberty without morality, and that there can be no morality without religion; and may the Almighty Ruler of the univerſe, who has raiſed you and me to independence, continue to beſtow his bleſſings upon us, and augment our felicity in a progreſſive degree of human happineſs.

A FRIEND TO GOVERNMENT.

* *Fama malum quo non aliud velocius ullum,*
Mobilitate viget viriſque acquirit eundo—

† *Nam concordia parvæ creſcunt,*
Diſcordia maximæ delabuntur—

FROM THE LOWER ELBE, *Auguſt* 5.

IT is generally underſtood, that the money which, as a part of a ſubſidy intended for Berlin, has been on board an Engliſh frigate for ſome days, was on Wedneſday laſt tranſmitted into the hands of the Pruſſian conſul.

BRUSSELS, *Auguſt* 12.

Laurent, the French repreſentative with the army of the North, has impoſed a contribution upon this town of five millions of ſpecie; but it is to be paid only by the nobles, the eccleſiaſtics, the religious houſes, and the privileged orders of this town and its bailiwicks. This contribution has not yet been paid, as the higher orders have quitted the country, but hoſtages have been taken from amongſt the magiſtrates, and ſent into France. Louvain is to pay two millions, 800,000 livres, ten thouſand pair of boots, and an indefinite quantity of beer.

Malines is to pay a million and a half, 10,000 hats, and 10,000 pair of breeches.

Antwerp is to pay ten millions, and all the revenues of the country are to be ſent to France.

The prince of Cobourg's army ſtill remains at Fouron-le-Compte, and he is determined to defend the Maeſe.

On the 4th inſtant, he had a ſkirmiſh with the French, which he obliged to fall back to Tongres, with the loſs of eighty killed and ninety priſoners.

On the ſide of Holland the enemy have made no advances, and the Engliſh army remains in its former ſituation.

On the 7th, the French were ſucceſsful at Yeſſendike; they routed the poſt of the allies there, and took all their baggage. The remainder eſcaped to Axel, where they are now in garriſon.

On the 2d, early in the morning, the French attacked and carried by aſſault Fort Iſabella, half a league from Fort Phillipine, in Dutch Flanders. Sluys ſtill holds out.

FLUSHING, *Auguſt* 15.

By a gentleman, on whoſe veracity we may rely, and who left Bruges on Monday laſt, we are informed, that the French army in Cadſand and before Sluys, amounts to 27,000 men, all well cloathed, and moſt plentifully provided with every article; but, notwithſtanding theſe advantages, nearly one half of them are ſick and unfit for ſervice.

The hoſpitals at Ghent, Bruges, and Oſtend, contain 9000 men, who were all well and in good health before the commencement of the ſiege.

Saturday, Auguſt 16.

The diſorder is epidemical in the army, and is a virulent putrid dyſentery, and carries off great numbers daily.

The French generals, ſenſible of the havock it will make in their armies, if the ſiege continues much longer, ſeem reſolved to uſe the greateſt efforts to take the town immediately.

For this purpoſe, they on Saturday laſt brought from Bruges 38 braſs 24 pounders, and began the ſame evening to puſh on the ſecond parallel.

This formidable ordnance began playing on the town on Wedneſday night, and ſtill continues. The town, however, holds out; and the brave commander, general Van der Duyn, and the handful of men which compoſes the garriſon, ſeem determined to defend it to the laſt extremity.

Sunday, Auguſt 17.

Some few days ago the Carmagnols were completely enſnared. General Van der Duyn, in the evening, ordered a large quantity of faggots and other firewood to be heaped together in three different parts of the town, not far from the warehouſes and magazines, which he ſet fire to; at the ſame time keeping up a briſk cannonade from the ramparts.

At nine in the evening, the whole horizon ſeemed in a blaze, and the fire from the town ſlackening, every one imagined it was in flames, and looked on its fall as inevitable. During the night, the fires at intervals ſeemed to burn with leſs vehemence, and one was entirely extinguiſhed. The French kept up a heavy fire all night, and towards morning fired entirely with red hot ſhot; and threw bombs and ſhells into the town from every ſide.

As day-light approached, the commandant ordered two more fires to be lighted, the gates opened, and the draw-bridges let down; ceaſing, at the ſame time, to fire from the ramparts.

The French on this advanced in great numbers to take poſſeſſion of the town, before it ſhould be reduced to a heap of aſhes; and in a moſt confuſed and diſorderly manner, croſſed the inundations where the water was fordable.

When they had advanced as near as the commandant wiſhed them to come, they were, to their unſpeakable aſtoniſhment, ſaluted with a ſhower of grape-ſhot from all the guns on the ramparts, and galled in the ſevereſt manner during their retreat. They loſt on this occaſion near 1800 men, who were either killed or drowned; and near 300 wounded were next morning brought into Bruges.

The French did not fire a ſingle ſhot during the three following days, and now proceed with the greateſt circumſpection; being pretty well convinced they will not obtain Sluys ſo eaſy as they obtained Breda laſt year.

LONDON, *Auguſt* 7.

Letters received yeſterday from Holland, mention, that M. Fagel, the greffier, or ſecretary to the States General, after paying a viſit to the prince of Cobourg, had paſſed into Bruſſels, for the purpoſe of negotiating a very particular piece of buſineſs with the French national commiſſioners at that place; that the commiſſioners told him the buſineſs was of ſuch magnitude as greatly to exceed their powers, therefore, all they could do, was to grant him a ſafe paſſport to Paris; and that Mr. Fagel has, in conſequence, proceeded to that capital to negotiate with the ruling powers of France. [Star.]

That there is ſome foundation for the ſtatement given in theſe letters, there can be little reaſon to doubt; we pretend not, however, even to gueſs what can be the nature of the intended negotiation—time will tell that. We cannot imagine that the Dutch will prefer a ſeparate peace to the protection of ſuch a glorious and ſucceſsful war as they are at preſent engaged in, even when we recollect how ſpeedily they manned the fleet, which fought the Britiſh off the Dogger-Bank, though in many months they have not been able to equip their ſhips againſt the French.

Aug. 22. The mode of recruiting, or rather kidnapping, now practiſed in various parts of the metropolis, calls moſt particularly for the intervention of the civil power.

On Friday a young man, who had been taken into a houſe in Johnſon's-court, Charing croſs, and confined, threw himſelf with his hands tied behind him, from the upper part of the houſe, and was daſhed to pieces on the pavement. A mob aſſembled, and, finding the doors of the houſe ſhut, was with great difficulty prevented from pulling down the premiſes, in order to do ſummary juſtice on the authors of this ſhocking ſcene.

A magiſtrate at length arrived, the doors were opened, and nobody was found in the houſe, but an old woman, the crimp and his aſſociates having made their eſcape, to commence the ſame buſineſs in ſome other neighbourhood.

Soon after dark the mob aſſembled again, and obſerving a man get out on the roof of the houſe, inſiſted on ſearching ſome of the adjoining houſes, in which they ſuſpected he had been allowed to conceal himſelf. Fire-arms were diſcharged from the windows of one of theſe houſes. A party of the horſe guards was ſent for, and paraded the ſtreets all night. The concourſe of people were not entirely diſperſed at twelve o'clock.

The mob again aſſembled on Saturday and yeſterday, but were not particularly riotous.

The unfortunate man is ſaid to have been a clerk in the exciſe office, to have been decoyed into the houſe, when in liquor, by a woman, robbed, and put into the hands of the crimps.

In addition to the above account, we have to add, that from marks in the ſhirt of this unfortunate young man, for a ſhirt was the only garment left him, his name is found to have been W. Howe. He had been previouſly heard from the oppoſite houſes repeatedly to beg for mercy, and when attempting his eſcape, had been warned by their inhabitants of extreme danger.

The old wretch who kept the houſe has been taken up.