

most every country in Europe have been the scenes of French rapine, insult, and cruelty. Holland, formerly the seat of freedom, commerce, industry, and affluence, presents at this moment, the sad spectacle of a country divided against itself, torn to pieces by factions, contending, not for the suffrages of the people, but for the favour of France; a country governed by the haughty mandates of a foreign power; awed by foreign arms; holding the remains of its wealth, together with the residue of its military and naval means, in constant readiness to be disposed of in the service of another nation, and that nation its ancient and implacable enemy, and now its inexorable oppressor. When the French armies entered the territories of Holland, their motto was, "War to the Palace, but peace to the Cottage." They came to deliver the people from their rulers, and from the burthens which those rulers imposed. The Dutch, like the Italians, lent an ear to these artful and perfidious declarations, believing that their cottages would be spared, and careless of the fate of the palace. But, alas! they soon found, that French rapacity, like the hail and the thunder, fell alike on the thatched roof, and the gilded dome. The palaces once seized on, the cottages soon followed; while all those who were found in the intermediate space, the merchant, the manufacturer, the farmer, and the tradesman, were sunk in one common ruin; happy, if, by the loss of their property, they had the good fortune to preserve their lives. Bonaparte is, indeed, now, not only the sovereign of the country, not only does he exercise the powers of dominion, but he is, as to every practical effect, the master and the owner of all the property, and of all the people in Holland. These miserable beings possess nothing of their own; they can acquire nothing with the hope of enjoying, or bequeathing it; they can make no provision for the weakness of disease, the feebleness of old age, or the helplessness of infancy; they are, the mere political drudges of a hard-hearted tyrant, who suffers them to live, only while their labours administer to his projects of ambition, and who, when his purposes demand it, puts an end at once to their toils and their existence.

In Switzerland, where high rank and great riches were unknown, where men were nearer upon an equality than in any other country in the world; in a country having no commerce, scarcely any manufactures, and possessing few of the sources of wealth and distinction: a country of shepherds and labourers; a country which might be truly said to contain a nation of poor men; in such a country to cry "war to the Palaces" seemed useless and absurd. Yet did the French find a pretext for war with this poor and harmless race, and for invading and laying waste their territory. The Swiss from their anxiety to preserve peace, consented to every sacrifice demanded of them by France, they exposed themselves to the hostility of other nations, by sending away the ambassadors of those nations; they broke off their connection with some of their most powerful allies; they banished the loyal subjects of their ancient protector the King of France, men whom the ties of gratitude and the laws of hospitality bound them to cherish; and when they had thus exhausted the source of concession, when they could grant no more, because France could find nothing more to demand; when they had humbled themselves in the dust, and degraded the character of their country in the eyes of all Europe; when they had thus done and suffered, rather than see their country the scene of war, then did the French invade their territory, then did these restless disturbers of the world march an army into the heart of Switzerland, in order to compel the people to change the nature and the form of their government, and to commit it to the hands of traitors, who had been chosen by France, and by the assistance of whose treachery the French invasion had been effected.

After having by means of an armistice, joined to the most solemn promise of respect for persons and property, lulled the people into a state of imaginary security, the armistice was broken, and the French pushed on their forces, when those of the Swiss were dispersed. Resistance on the part of the latter, whose numbers did not amount to a tenth of those of their flagitious enemy, now became hopeless; and though the little army was brave, though the people were faithful and active, though the last battle was long, obstinate and bloody; though the Swiss achieved wonders, and though the women fought by the sides of their husbands, inciting them to victory or death, all was in vain; hundreds and thousands perished by the sabres of the French, and while the earth was strewed with their dead bodies and while the flames ascended from the once happy dwellings of this valiant and innocent people, the hard-earned and long-preserved liberties of Switzerland expired.

Germany, which closes this awful lesson, was invaded by the French in 1796 and 1798. These invasions were attended with crimes too atrocious to be credited, were they not proved by indisputable evidence, and did they not accord with the general practice of the inhuman wretches by whom they were committed. In adverting to these detestable acts of oppression and cruelty, we must recollect, that they were perpetrated upon a people, who had made no resistance of any sort against the invaders, and who in every instance had entered into an agreement with the French Generals, to pay them great sums of money, in order to preserve their country from plunder. In consequence of the ransom, thus rung from the people, the invaders declared, by public proclamation, that the persons and property of the inhabitants should be strictly respected; and that their rights, usages, laws, and religion should remain inviolate and undisturbed. On these assurances, thus solemnly made, the credulous people all implicitly relied while some of the poorer classes regarded the French, not as enemies, but as their deliverers from taxes and labour. No sooner, however, had the invasion taken place, no sooner had the French become masters of the country, than they spread themselves over it like beasts of prey, devouring and destroying every thing before them. They spared neither cities nor towns, neither villages nor hamlets, nor solitary houses; from the church to the cell, from the castle to the cottage; no state of life, however lofty or however humble, escaped their rapacious assaults; no sanctuary excited their veneration; no grandeur their respect; no misery their forbearance or their pity. After having plundered the houses of the gentry, the clergy, and the tradesmen; after having pillaged the

shops, warehouses, and manufactories, they proceeded to the farm houses, and cottages; they rifled the pockets and chests of the inhabitants, cut open their beds, tore up the floors of their rooms, dug up their cellars, searched the newly made graves, and broke open the coffins in hopes of finding secreted treasure. They sometimes threatened people with immediate death, sometimes put them to the torture, sometimes lacerated and crippled them, in order to wring from them a discovery of their little pittance of ready money. The deepest and most apparent poverty was no protection against their rapacity; grey hairs and limping infancy; the sick, the dying, women in child-bed, were alike exposed to the most barbarous treatment; dragged from their beds, kicked, wounded, and frequently killed, under pretence that they were the keepers of concealed wealth. The teams and flocks, cattle of every kind, the marauders drove off, cut to pieces on the spot, or left in a state of mutilation; corn, hay, and straw, they wasted or burnt; they demolished the household furniture, destroyed the utensils of the dairies, the barns, and the stables; tore down the gates, levelled the fences. In many places they stripped the clothes from the backs of the people, set their liquor flowing in the cellar, burnt their provisions to ashes. The churches, whether Romish or Protestant, they rendered a scene of indiscriminate robbery, of sacrilege and blasphemy too shocking to describe. Towards women of all ages and all conditions, they were guilty of brutality never before heard of. Neither extreme youth nor extreme age; neither weakness nor deformity; nor the most loathsome disease: neither the pangs of labour, nor the agonies of death could restrain them; cries, tears, supplications were of no avail; and where fathers, husbands, or brothers interfered, murder seldom failed to close the horrible scene. To spread nakedness and hunger, to introduce misery and disease amongst all ranks, seems to have been their uniform desire; but the lower orders of the people, the artisans and the labourers, were the objects of their direst malignity; against them was directed the sharpest bayonets; for their bodies the choicest torment, for their minds the keenest anguish was reserved; from one end of the country to the other, we trace the merciless ruffians through a scene of conflagration and blood; frequently we see them butchering whole families, and retiring by the light of their blazing habitations; but amongst the poor alone, do we find them deferring the murder of the parents for the purpose of compelling them to hear their children shriek amidst the flames!

Such are the barbarities which have been inflicted on other nations. The recollection of them will never be effaced; the melancholy story will be handed down from generation to generation, to the everlasting infamy of the republicans of France and as an awful warning to all those nations whom they may hereafter attempt to invade. We are one of those nations; we are the people whom they are now preparing to invade: awful, indeed, is the warning, and if we despicit, tremendous will be the judgment. The same generals, the same commissaries, the same officers, the same soldiers, the very same rapacious and sanguinary host, that now hold Holland and Switzerland in chains, that desolated Egypt, Italy and Germany, are, at this moment, preparing to make England, Ireland, and Scotland the scenes of their atrocities. For some time past, they have had little opportunity to plunder: Peace, for a while suspended their devastations, and now, like gaunt and hungry wolves, they are looking towards the rich pastures of Britain: Already we hear their threatening howl; and if, like sheep, we stand bleating for mercy, neither our innocence nor our timidity will save us from being torn to pieces and devoured. The robberies, the barbarities, the brutalities they have committed in other countries, though, at the thought of them, the heart sinks and the blood runs cold, will be mere trifles to what they will commit here, if we suffer them to triumph over us. The Swiss and the Suabians were never objects of their envy; they were never the rivals of Frenchmen, either on the land or on the sea; they had never disconcerted or checked their ambitious projects, never humbled their pride, never defeated either their armies or their fleets.

We have been and we have done all this: They have long entertained against us a hatred engendered by the mixture of envy and of fear; and they are now about to make a great and desperate effort to gratify this furious, this unquenchable, this deadly hatred. What, then, can we expect at their hands? What but torments, even surpassing those which they have inflicted on other nations. They remained but three months in Germany; here they would remain for ever; there, their extortions, and their atrocities were for want of time, confined to a part of the people; here they would be universal: No sort, no part, no particle of property would remain unseized; no man, woman, or child would escape violence of some kind or other. Such of our manufactories as are moveable, they would transport to France, together with the most ingenious of the manufacturers, whose wives and children would be left to starve. Our ships would follow the same course, with all the commerce and commercial means of the kingdom. Having stripped us of every thing, even to the stoutest of our sons, and the most beautiful of our daughters, over all that remained they would establish and exercise a tyranny, such as the world never before witnessed. All the estates, all the farms, all the mines, all the land and the houses, all the shops and magazines, all the remaining manufactories, and the work-shops, of every kind and description, from the greatest to the smallest; all these they would bring over Frenchmen to possess; making us their servants and their labourers. To prevent us from uniting and rising against them, they would crowd every town and village with their fatal soldiers, who would devour all the best part of the produce of the earth, leaving us not half a sufficiency of bread. They would, besides, introduce their own bloody laws, with additional severities. They would divide us into separate classes; hem us up in districts; cut off all communication between friends and relations, parents and children, which latter they would breed up in their own blasphemous principles; they would affix badges upon us, mark us in the cheek, shave our heads, split our ears, or clothe us in the habit of slaves!—And shall we submit to misery and degradation like this, rather than en-

counter the expences of war; rather than meet the honorable dangers of military combat; rather than make a generous use of the means which Providence has so bounteously placed in our hands? The sun, in his whole course round the globe, shines not on a spot so blessed as this great, and now united Kingdom: Gay and productive fields and gardens, lofty and extensive woods, innumerable flocks and herds, rich and inexhaustible mines, a mild and wholesome climate, giving health, activity, and vigour to fourteen millions of people and shall we, who are thus favoured and endowed; shall we, who are abundantly supplied with iron and steel, powder and lead; shall we, who have a fleet superior to the maritime force of all the world, and who are able to bring two millions of fighting men into the field; shall we yield up this dear and happy land, together with all the liberties and honours, to preserve which our fathers so often dyed the land and the sea with their blood; shall we, thus, at once dishonour their graves, and stamp disgrace and infamy on the brows of our children; and shall we, too, make this base and dastardly surrender to an enemy, whom, within these twelve years, our countrymen have defeated in every quarter of the world? No; we are not so miserably fallen; we cannot in so short a space of time have become so detestably degenerate: We have the strength and the will to repel the hostility; to chastise the insolence of the foe. Mighty indeed, must be our efforts, but mighty also is the need. Singly engaged against the tyrants of the earth, Britain now attracts the eyes and the hearts of mankind; growing nations look to her for deliverance; justice, liberty, and religion are inscribed on her banners; her success will be hailed with the shouts of the universe, while tears of admiration and gratitude will bedew the heads of her sons, who fall in the glorious contest.

LONDON, September 8.

PORTUGAL.

Portugal appears to have approached the crisis of her fate; her relation to the two Belligerent powers, that of a weak neutrality, affords her little protection against the savage despotism of the French Government. It is true, indeed, that France and Portugal are bound to each other by a treaty of peace, but these are not times, nor is France a nation, in which the faith of treaties is much regarded. There are circumstances, however, which still render it a matter of doubt whether the First Consul will attempt the invasion of Portugal. The Court of Spain is already too well acquainted with the French to wish them nearer neighbours, and it cannot be supposed, in the present situation of the First Consul, and whilst the people are groaning under the expences of a war, that he would wish to add another to the list of his enemies, and thus give a beginning to a confederacy among the different powers of Europe, which he has so much reason to apprehend.

Spain and the First Consul are equally unwilling that the rich American colonies of the former should be thrown into the risk of a war; they justly dread the visit of the English fleet in the parts of Peru and Mexico; the conquest of Egypt has taught them to rely little upon distance, obnoxious climate, and such fortresses as Spanish Engineers may have raised in South America. As long as Spain maintains her present neutrality, weak as it certainly is, her colonies are safe. The law of nations, according to English construction, as well as our laws of treason, requires an overt act as a cause of war; we are not accustomed to draw the sword upon suspicion, or, from local and vain interpretations of doubtful acts into acts of hostility, give commencement to an evil of so dreaded an extent.

The American Colonies are thus protected for the present, and England is under a similar disadvantage with France, that of having no object of attack. Like the First Consul we are compelled to keep up our armies and navies with the utmost prodigality of expence, to undergo all the burthens of a war without the consolation of the spoil, and to assume the attitude of hostility without striking a blow.

The union of Spain with the First Consul, in his war against England, could be of no service to the latter; on the contrary, by throwing so many rich prizes at the mercy of our fleets, it must give us what we so much wish, objects of victory, at least of attack, and something towards the payment of our expences. Bonaparte, therefore can never desire this union, except from some other advantage sufficiently great for a counterpoise. The assistance which Spain could afford him towards the conquest of Portugal, is not of this value. In the first place, he does not want such assistance, for unhappily, Portugal can afford no effectual resistance against the French arms. Nor is Portugal, that part of it at least, which the First Consul would seize, of such value to him, as to induce him to incur the risk of South America becoming the prize of England; for we may rest assured that England would thus seek a double end, that of punishing the false neutrality of Spain and counterbalancing the French acquisition by one of equivalent value.

In a word, what can be the value of Portugal to France? This value must be of two kinds, either intrinsic value in the conquest, itself, or an extrinsic one, as being so much taken from England. With regard to the former, the richer part of the dominion of the crown of Portugal, the Brazils, they are happily beyond the reach of French attack, and within that of English protection: Whether Spain will remain neutral, or to assist France in the contest of Portugal, she would equally expect a share in the spoil; and a greater share, as she would thus have endangered her own American colonies.

With such deductions, and counterbalancing advantages on the side of England, is Portugal a sufficient prize to tempt the rapacity of Bonaparte.

Its value as a conquest from England is doubtless far greater. Portugal is the mart of some of our richest merchandise, and has been long our ancient and much-loved ally; but the commercial intercourse of the kingdoms is of unequal value; to England it is a benefit, to Portugal a support. The former would soon find out another channel for her commerce; but the latter, without the trade of England, would be utterly destroyed.

Now, if Portugal fall into other hands, what inducement