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MONTHLY RETROSPECT OF POLITICS.

THE affairs of Europe are becoming daily of more interest. Negotiation and extraordinary efforts for war divide attention. "Now sits

expectation in the air." Hope and Fear vibrate through Europe, and the sage, the statesman and the warrior, however confident in powers of mind,

must confess, that a crisis so awful claims the deepest reflection, and justifies doubts which might have been spurned at in ordinary times. A cloud of rumours which idle speculation so often engenders, has lately arisen, and as quickly has disappeared. Discontents in France, revolution in St. Petersburg, an Austrian war, and the flight of Joseph Napoleon, have entertained for a day, have quieted apprehension, and increased confidence; but Truth has asserted her prerogative, and the astonished gazer is now marvelling at his own folly, since he perceives a very different actual state of things. The conference at Erfurth, where the two great potentates of the North and South of Europe are arranging their mutual interests, is become the prominent object on the Continent. Warlike preparations resound through it.

“ Now thrive the armourers, and honour’s thought
Reigns solely in the breast of every man:
They sell the pasture now, to buy the horse.”

Europe is growing altogether military. England sends forth fresh expeditions. Spain struggles for existence. A few short months will reveal the course of events. We proceed to more specific notice of the state of the several most conspicuous nations of the world.

PORTUGAL.

Of late the Convention in Portugal has been elucidated by so many new facts, and has continued to excite so much interest, that farther discussion, far from being superfluous, seems necessary. It is now very obvious, that talents which may have appeared superior in the East, amidst a timid, and enslaved race, brilliant in the disgraceful attempt on the defenceless Danes, and adequate to preside over the Irish nation, have been proved unequal to cope with that sort of genius, which rises by force of merit, and has neither been promoted for wealth, nor connections. If it be granted that the late battle of Vimeira, as the result demonstrates, was in the nature of a drawn one, the following points are clear: either the English general was rash or unskilful: rash in

advancing until reinforced, or unskilful in not selecting, and fortifying a position, where he could have had great superiority by situation, and been able to command delay or complete victory; or secondly Junot (stiled by Sir Arthur Wellesly, Duke d’Abrantes) by a happy union of audacity and foresight, saw and seized on the most advantageous moment for his attempt, and thereby defeated the views of the English: or thirdly, the ministry of England were deficient, as to sending an adequate force at first, having so acted that the several expeditions appear like respective corps, not coming up in time for action. It is to be remarked, also, in addition to this last, that a want of cavalry is pointedly noticed by Sir Arthur Wellesly, as preventative of complete success. Whether, therefore, the incapacity of Sir Arthur, the superiority of the Duke d’Abrantes, or the ill-concerted measures of the ministry; or as some may think, an union of the three, has occasioned the memorable result of the 20th of August, 1808, in Portugal, the enquiry is beneficial, for it leads to the detection of error, and unmasking of affectation. An enquiry being now expected, the public will be enabled to decide on the above points, and will be amused, if they can, on such an occasion, by observing which of the three the ministry will be disposed to admit; for one of them must have been the cause of so superior an English force effecting so little.

A consideration not so immediate, but hardly of minor importance, is the treatment the Portuguese received, and here Sir Arthur Wellesly, the confidential general, and Secretary of State for Ireland, is at issue with the ministry; for his defence can only stand on their culpability. It is not to be imagined, that he was not furnished with precise instructions, respecting his conduct towards the Portuguese. On his landing he refuses them a supply of arms. Was he furnished with them? or was he directed to withhold them? Here is total want of foresight, or total want of policy. Either alternative is condemnation. The best opportunity had occurred for a great exertion on land, during the

war against France. The English should have gone in the character of assistants, not principals, and encouraging the Portuguese to defend their native land, have *armed*, and aided them. It was an opportunity for regaining estimation on the Continent, by throwing aside the selfishness of English contest, and far from disgracing, for bringing forward in a favourable light, a weak ally making an honourable struggle against invaders. All such hopes have been frustrated. Arms were not supplied. The Portuguese troops were marked by the contumelious omission of their name in the English general's report; a convention was signed transferring property, pardoning individuals, liberating, triumphantly liberating their invaders, without consulting the Portuguese people, or without the sanction of one Portuguese name to the agreement*.

Sir Arthur Wellesly and the ministers seem to have embraced the idea, that the English ought to have the *sole* glory of recovering Portugal: the inhabitants were estimated as nothing; the country as a piece of Hindostan.

“Nullus amor populis, nec federa sunt”
 “Let there be nothing of equality between the English and Portuguese nations,” seems to have been the basis of Sir Arthur Wellesly's conduct. But what ignorance of human nature to expect cordiality from the Portuguese on such terms? Even the rights of sovereignty were exercised by Sir Arthur. Pardon to state offenders was bestowed, and the Portuguese government and people could see nothing in such transactions but exchange of masters. The fatal ef-

* Throughout it has been deemed quite superfluous to mention the names of Generals Burrard and Dalrymple. The armistice signed by Sir Arthur Wellesly was the ground-work of the Convention. When an armistice is agreed on between parties, there is a conviction that matters can be arranged without further warfare. If the convention be taken at all, as Sir Hugh Dalrymple's act, it follows that he modified the terms granted by Sir Arthur, and lessened the disgracefulness of them, as far as a person arriving after conclusion of an armistice could. In-

fects of alienating Portugal, are not yet fully felt. The whole affair will remain a standing record for posterity, proving that genius alone can, by its plastic touch, extract great results from critical circumstances, and that the names of statesman and General, are often but honorary titles.

SPAIN.

Spain continues, if she is not advancing in her attempts at emancipation, at least to maintain herself in a respectable state of defence. The French have suffered a small defeat at Bilboa; are apparently waiting for reinforcements, and have evacuated Burgos. Their army entrenched on the banks of the Ebro, with Joseph at their head, seem too strong to be attacked, and too weak, as yet, for grand, and offensive operations. In the mean time, all the formula of courts, has been fulfilled at that of Napoleon's brother; ministers have been appointed, ambassadors sent forth, and the Junta of Biscay assembled.

The Speech of the President details the good intentions of the King, and demands if there is any person disloyal. The answer is quite satisfactory, and over-flows with loyalty and zeal.

Recent accounts announce the assembling and inauguration of the central junta at Aranjuez, on the 25th of September. The Conde Florida Blanca, and twenty-six members were present. It does not appear, by what appeal to the nation, or by what sort of deliberation the central junta has been selected and sanctioned. An executive of twenty-seven persons (without prejudice to absentees) is somewhat unwieldy. The vigour of one or two great minds is wanted: if the president ad interim, the Conde Florida Blanca is not competent to act more than the part of Washington

sides, any rational mind must decide, that the confidential general of the ministry, could alone be the effective man in Portugal. It is extremely cruel, and unreasonable, to affix blame to the other generals, who found matters brought to a crisis before their arrival, for not having taken better measures; upon those previous to their arrival, the merit of the case depends.

(and of this there is great reason to doubt) Spain it is to be feared, may for a while, make efforts, but eventually must fall.

The form of the oath taken by the members of the central Junta, has this remarkable clause, "You will be loyal to, and defend our august sovereign Ferdinand VII. and his rights, and sovereignty: you will promote the preservation of our rights and privileges, our laws and usages, especially those relative to the reigning family, and those also which are particularly laid down in the same laws."

The reigning family, as they are thus stiled, have small claims on Spanish gratitude. If their restoration be the chief bond of union and attachment, the sentiment will be too weak to furnish energies for the emergency, and the objects too distant and indistinct to animate a people to conquer or to die.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The expedition under Sir David Baird, sailed on the 16th of October, consisting of about 13,000 men, in 200 sail of transports. If this force be destined for Spain, the number of English troops there will soon be very considerable. The circumstances which have drawn England forth so much at present, have placed her in a new point of view, and recal the memory of her ancient history. A little of historical investigation, may throw light on modern times if judiciously directed. England after the Norman conquest acquiring large Continental possessions, and having continual wars with the Scots, became a very military nation. Under Edward the third, they acquired distinguished glory against France.

Many peculiar circumstances concurred to this: * Edward was a Prince

* The successes which the arms of England have, in different ages, obtained over those of France, have been much owing to the favourable situation of the former kingdom. The English, happily seated in an island, could make advantage of every misfortune which attended their neighbours, and were little exposed to reprisals. They never left their own country, but when they were conducted by a king of extraordinary genius, or found their enemy divided by intestine factions, or were supported by a powerful alliance on the Continent. *Hume's Hist. Eng. Men. V.*

of consummate military skill, and joined to the greatest military ardour, the utmost prudence. This was manifested at the battle of Cressy.† At the

† He took, therefore, a prudent resolution: he chose his ground with advantage, near the village of Cressy; he disposed his army in excellent order: he determined to await in tranquillity the arrival of the enemy; and he hoped that their eagerness to engage, and to prevent his retreat, after all their past disappointments, would hurry them on to some rash, and ill-concerted action. He drew up his army on a gentle ascent, and divided them into three lines: the first was commanded by the Prince of Wales, and under him by the Earls of Warwick, and Oxford, by Harcourt, and by the Lords Chandos, Holland, and other noblemen; the Earls Arundel, and Northampton, with the Lords, Willoughby, Basset, Roos, and Sir Lewis Tuiton, were at the head of the second line: he took to himself the command of the third division, by which he purposed either to bring succour to the two first lines, or to secure a retreat in case of any misfortune, or to push his advantages against the enemy. He had likewise the precaution to throw up trenches on his flanks, in order to secure himself from the numerous bodies of the French, who might assail him from that quarter, and he placed all his baggage behind him in a wood, which he also secured by an intrenchment.

The skill, and order of this disposition, with the tranquillity in which it was made, served extremely to compose the minds of the soldiers; and the king, that he might farther inspirit them, rode through the ranks with such an air of cheerfulness, and alacrity, as conveyed the highest confidence into every beholder.

On the day of the battle, and on the ensuing, there fell by a moderate computation, 1200 French knights, 1400 gentlemen, 4000 men at arms, besides about 30,000 of inferior rank: many of the principal nobility of France, the Dukes of Lorraine, and Bourbon, the Earls of Flanders, Blois, Vademont, Aunele, were left on the field of battle. The Kings also of Bohemia, and Majorca were slain.

The action may seem no less remarkable for the small loss sustained by the English, than for the great slaughter of the French: there were killed in it only one Esquire, and three Knights, and a very few of inferior rank; a demonstration that the prudent disposition planned by Edward, and the disorderly attack made

battle of Poitiers; the black prince, who inherited the martial character of his father, and even excelled him, rescued himself, and gained a splendid victory by the same ability. † Henry the fifth, does not appear inferior to these great men in a similar situation. §

by the French, had rendered the whole rather a rout than a battle.

Hume's Hist. Eng. Edn. III.

† They came within sight at Maupertuis near Poitiers, and Edward sensible that his retreat was now become impracticable, prepared for battle with all the courage of a young hero, and with all the prudence of the oldest and most experienced commander.

The Prince of Wales had leisure, during the night, to strengthen by new entrenchments, the post which he had before so judiciously chosen; and he contrived an ambush of 300 men at arms, and as many archers, whom he put under the command of the Captal de Buche, and ordered to make a circuit, that they might fall on the flank or rear of the French army during the engagement.

Hume's Hist. Eng. Edn. III.

§ Henry then bent his march northwards, to Calais; but he was still exposed to great and imminent danger from the enemy, who had also passed the Somme, and threw themselves full in his way, with a purpose of intercepting his retreat. After he had passed the small river of Ternois at Blangé, he was surprised to observe from the heights the whole French army drawn up in the plains of Agincourt, and so posted, that it was impossible for him to proceed on his march without coming to an engagement. Nothing in appearance could be more unequal than the battle, upon which his safety, and all his fortunes now depended. The English army was little more than half the number which had disembarked at Harfleur; and they laboured under every discouragement and necessity. *The enemy was four times more numerous; was headed by the Dauphin, and all the princes of the blood; and was plentifully supplied with provisions of every kind. Henry's situation was exactly similar to that of Edward at Cressy, and that of the Black Prince at Poitiers; and the memory of these great events, inspiring the English with courage, made them hope for a like deliverance from their present difficulties. The king likewise observed the same prudent conduct which had been*

The want of means for protracted warfare, probably was the cause of these three great commanders, not pushing their advantages farther after the battles of Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. || In the three the English were greatly inferior in numbers, and yet had splendid success. In those of Cressy and Agincourt, their force amounted to about 30,000, in that of Poitiers to 12,000.

Since these times of ancient glory, many changes have taken place. France has united the distracted parts of her monarchy, England has been converted into a naval power, Scotland has long ceased to give exercise to her arms. The science of war has received new, and astonishing improvements, and military genius, in the commanders under old monarchies, is become rare.

It would be illiberal, and unreasonable, all things considered, too closely to contrast the battle of Vimicra, with

followed by these great commanders: he drew up his army on a narrow ground between two woods, which guarded each flank; and he patiently expected in that posture the attack of the enemy.

No battle was ever more fatal to France, by the number of princes and nobility slain or taken prisoners. Among the former were the constable himself, the count of Nevers, and the duke of Brabant, brothers to the duke of Burgundy, the count of Vaudemont, brother to the duke of Lorraine, the duke of Alençon, the duke of Barré, the count of Marlé. The most eminent prisoners were the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts d'Eu, Vendome and Richmonte, and marshal of Boucicaut. An archbishop of Sens also was slain in this battle. The killed are computed on the whole to have amounted to ten thousand men; and as the slaughter fell chiefly upon the cavalry, it is pretended that of these, eight thousand were gentlemen. Henry was master of fourteen thousand prisoners.

Hume's Hist. Eng. Hen. V.

|| The immediate consequences too of these three great victories were similar: instead of pushing the French with vigour, and taking advantage of their consternation, the English princes, after their victory, seem rather to have relaxed their efforts, and to have allowed the enemy leisure to recover from his losses.

Hume's Hist. Eng. Hen. V.

that of Cressy, of Poitiers, or of Agincourt. The times, the commanders, and the enemy opposed, are all different in the extreme.

The prudence and magnanimity of the three royal heroes, may have been admired. Has their example been studied? Has the enemy been duly appreciated? Has the difference of the times required more caution and more conciliation, and have they been used? Has self been lost in the grandeur of devotion for the general good? If nothing of this appears, the idea of parallel is mockery with the living, and insult with the dead. Yet where the means were so powerful; the numbers greatly in our favour; the country, the theatre of war, favourable; the enemy in difficulties; reinforcements promptly approaching; one cannot avoid noticing the difference of ancient, and modern exploits. To pay honours to the one, and cast reprehension on the other, seems but the act of justice; however kings and ministers may otherwise decide, the historian will record his facts with all the severity of censure, if he hold it merited, and posterity will not be afraid to approve his sentence. The city of London, having with unanimous accord, resolved upon an address to his Majesty, on the disastrous result of things in Portugal; it has been lately presented, and the following answer has been suggested by ministers.

"I am fully sensible of your loyalty and attachment to my person and government. I give credit to the motives which have dictated your petition and address, but I must remind you that it is inconsistent with the principles of British justice to pronounce judgment without previous investigation.

"I should have hoped that recent occurrences would have convinced you, that I am at all times ready to institute inquiries on occasions in which the character of the country, or the honour of my arms is concerned, and that the interposition of the city of London could not be necessary for inducing me to direct due inquiry to be made into a transaction which has disappointed the hopes and expectations

passing judgment, the difference is great. The one is the right of free men, the other the office of judicial characters. If however they are confounded, there is risk of men being altogether placed above censure. It is not unconstitutional to demand investigation, and it so little involves passing of judgment, that it merely leads the way to, and accelerates it, but leaves to evidence and law, the final result. Is a great public character deficient in duty and ability, does not the country call for examination, and can that call be construed into the ultimate sentence? The true principle of the British constitution is, that no man can be condemned without being heard in his own defence, and without convincing testimony against him. The laws are supreme, and no individuals, or bodies of men can contravene them. In them repose the safety, and reputation of the citizen. Prejudice is no doubt deprecated in the judge, but it is matter of reasonable doubt, whether he will have most or least of it, by knowing little or a great deal about an affair in question. Mental investigation he must make previous to his decision; and may he not be aided by the reasoning powers of others on both sides previous to drawing his final conclusion? Public censure therefore may be considered as wholesome to the state, not injurious to the individual concerned, and the privilege of the members of a free nation. If in the above reply to the city of London, "passing censure was substituted for passing judgment" (which former is certainly all that the citizens of London have been guilty of) it could not well be advanced, that *that* was contrary to the spirit of the constitution. How often is it to be remarked, that the perversion of words cannot disguise facts, or arrest reprehension? The English nation perceive nothing of the grand and warlike actions of Edward the third, or of the heroism of the Black Prince, or of the daring and successful valour of Henry the fifth. They are disappointed in hopes originally perhaps too high raised. It is natural for them to complain, it is not unconstitutional to call for enquiry, it would be a suspension of their reason-

gradation, had they not required it at the foot of the throne.

FRANCE.

The warlike preparations of the French Emperor are carried on with great and unremitting ardour. In his speech to the soldiers, he reminds them of their past glory, and directs them to a new and opening pursuit of it. His skill in human nature always leads him to avoid the odious, and catch the popular and animating. Nothing falls from him of the conquest of Spain, a brave and suffering people. He fastens on the "liberty of the seas," the expulsion of the English from the continent, and the peace of Europe, as the objects of warfare, and the legitimate causes of French exertion. The armies passing through Paris, are received with civic banquets. Golden crowns are conferred on the legions, and they are called on to merit and to defend them. Troops are daily arriving from Germany, and the stupendous machinery put in action now explains the former apparent inactivity of the French Emperor. The confederate princes of the Rhine, are required to supply their contingents. Germany also sees Bonaparte proceed to a conference at Erfurth with Alexander. The points of discussion must be of such moment as when decided, to hereafter influence much of the affairs of the world. Alexander and Napoleon have not met since the memorable meeting at Tilsit. Many and important events have followed.

The seizure of the Danish fleet, the rupture of Russia with England, the Spanish insurrection, the capture of the Russian fleet in the Tagus, and the blockade of another in Port Baltic. Had not the first, the melancholy and unwise destruction of a neutral nation's independence taken place, Russia would have been at peace with England, no conference at Erfurth would be carrying on, and Alexander would, perhaps, have been the ally of the Spanish Patriots. Yet has that transaction in its day been deemed worthy of Lord Chatham, and (vain and impossible idea!) been justified as an advantageous violation of the law of nations. Rumour speaks of meditated plans for the East. It is likely that Bonaparte, embittered by the interpo-

sition and success of the English on the Pyrenean peninsula, may press his views against Hindostan very energetically with Alexander, that also Constantine may obtain a throne, the submission or annihilation of Sweden this winter be proposed, a maritime basis for war be more strictly laid down, as well as a commercial one; that Austria may be over-awed, and Spain condemned. The result in every way must be of immense importance to Europe. The Rhenish princes, and several new potentates; the two great Emperors of the continent have to deliberate on it's future interests. Matters cannot remain long in suspense, and speculation must be soon converted into the certainty of future arrangements. Bonaparte, it is said, is to return to Bayonne, from thence to superintend the campaign in Spain. Credulity must delight in drawing the thickest bandage over her eyes, if she can expect that the Spaniards will have a complete triumph.

Their means are too disproportioned to those of their powerful antagonists; their measures have not the concert of his; their population, with the aid of English arms, is unequal, it is to be dreaded, to the weight of the continent put in action against them. It is with sorrow and dismay, that we contemplate the destruction of Spanish independence. But facts cannot be controlled by wishes; and reason, severe in her decisions, damps the ardour of hope. The French nevertheless cannot reap true glory in the subjugation of Spain; their unoffending neighbours desire to establish a new government; they carry their arms amongst this people, they spread desolation, and perhaps finally succeed: on their return, they cannot speak of their victories as honourable; their Emperor may gain more power, but he will lose in the estimation of mankind. He may take all but their honour, from the Spaniards. His true glory will be diminished; the approbation of the best part of the French nation, cannot be with him. The French Emperor ought to respect brave men fighting in the most glorious of all causes, the preservation of their country. Such efforts raised France to her present eminence, and prepared for Bonaparte the great power he enjoys;

having obtained it, to prevent another nation making similar exertions is forgetfulness of his origin, and an ungrateful disregard to the best principles of man. The French army agreeably to the capitulation of Lisbon, having embarked, a great calamity has fallen on one division at sea. The transports were dispersed by the late severe storms, and many hundreds of lives have been lost. Feelings of hostility must here yield to the sympathy which men experience, for others perishing under the awful visitations of Heaven. Brave men leaving afflicted families; for ever cut off from their native shores, and sinking amid the roar of elements, must fill us with sentiments of melancholy. National enmity here changes to pity. Whoever has wept for the warrior falling in distant lands; who has been debarred from closing his eyes, or covering his remains, he must lament such catastrophes, and losing sight of the feuds of the day, give to human nature what is due to it, and blend his own sorrow with that of the mourners, who now like them, sit solitary in mansions that those they loved shall never revisit.

HOLLAND.

Decrees of unprecedented rigour are lately reported to have been issued in Holland, against commercial intercourse with England. This species of struggle cannot be maintained by both parties without mutual privation and distress. Whether acceleration of peace, or exasperation of war be looked to, the innocent are the immediate sufferers, and industry is arrested in a mode, which does not exhibit modern times to advantage. The intercourse of nations through commerce has done much for their civilization. To prohibit it totally even in war may increase illicit trade, multiply perjury, and ruin the honest part of the commercial world, but we may hazard the conjecture that it will engender immorality, rather than be a commanding instrument in the contention of nations.

RUSSIA.

Russia prosecutes the war with Sweden, with as little effect as hitherto. Her fleet has been blocked up in Port Baltic by the English and Swedish force. The lateness of the sea-

son, and the difficulty of access appear likely to occasion its preservation. Russia, it is thought, will gain acquisition of territory from European Turkey.

This has long been a *desideratum* with her. Extension of dominion is more estimated by great despots than condensation of power, and diffusion of happiness. The vitiated mind craves new accessions, and cannot enjoy solid good in possession. It is doubtful whether Russia can, or will take an active part in the war against Spain. Her arms may more probably be directed elsewhere.

NORTH AMERICA.

North America preserves the same attitude. Feeble in her means as a naval or military power, nature has pointed out to her the only weapon for repelling aggression, which she possesses. The embargo is not taken off.* Meetings at Boston†, and elsewhere,

* Extract of a letter received by the last Packet from New York. "I have it from the best authority, that no negotiations will be entered into on the part of this government, until full satisfaction is made for the affair of the Cheapeake; and that satisfaction must be given here, and that all other negotiations for a final settlement of our differences must be made in America. Our Minister at St. James has only power to make communications, but cannot finally settle any thing."

† THE PRESIDENT'S ANSWER TO THE BOSTON PETITION.

"Sir...I beg leave to communicate through you, the inclosed Answer to the Representation which came to me under cover from you, and to add to it the assurances of my respect.

Signed, THOMAS JEFFERSON."
"Charles Buffinch, esq. for the
Select Men of Boston."

To the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, in
legal Town-Meeting assembled.

"Your representation and request were received on the 22d inst. and have been considered with the attention due to every expression of the sentiments and feelings of so respectable a body of my fellow-citizens.

"No person has seen with more concern than myself the inconveniences brought on our country in general by the circumstances of the times in which we happen to live; times to which the history of nations presents no parallel. For years we have been looking as spectators on our brethren of Europe, afflicted with

have taken place against it; and party runs high, for, and against, Mr Jefferson. There is clearly a partial interest running counter to, and much affected by this attempt of America to vindicate national dignity. In the end, internal produce will be greater. Manufacture must do much of what exter-

all those evils which necessarily follow an abandonment of the moral rules which bind men and nations together. Connected with them in friendship and commerce, we have happily so far kept aloof from their calamitous conflicts, by a steady observance of justice towards all, by much forbearance and multiplied sacrifices. At length, however, all regard to the rights of others having been thrown aside, the Belligerent Powers have beset the highway of commercial intercourse with Edicts, which, taken together, expose our commerce and mariners, under almost every destination, a prey to their fleets and armies. Each party indeed would admit our commerce with themselves, with the view of associating us in their war against the other. But we have wished war with neither. Under these circumstances, were passed the laws of which you complain, by those delegated to exercise the power of legislation for you, with every sympathy of a common interest in exercising them faithfully.

"In reviewing these measures, therefore, we should advert to the difficulties out of which a choice was of necessity to be made. To have submitted our rightful commerce to prohibitions and tributary exactions from others, would have been to surrender our independence. To resist them by arms was war, without consulting the state of things, or the choice of the nation. The alternative preferred by the Legislature, of suspending commerce, placed under such unexampled difficulties, besides saving to our citizens their property, and our mariners to their country, has the peculiar advantage of giving time to the Belligerent nations to revise a conduct as contrary to their interests, as it is to our rights.

"In the event of such peace or suspension of hostilities between the belligerent powers of Europe, or of such change in their measures affecting neutral commerce as may render that of the United States sufficiently safe, in the judgment of the President he is authorised to suspend the embargo. But no peace or suspension of hostilities, no change affecting neutral commerce is known to have taken place. The Orders of England, and the Decrees of France and Spain,

internal commerce was effecting. Patience in this case must do much; but the nation which will not give up partial profit, and ease, for maintenance of honour, cannot expect respect in the world, or be able to protect its subjects, in its relations with other states.

existing at the date of those laws, are still unrepealed, as far as we know. In Spain, indeed, a contest for the government appears to have arisen; but of its course or prospects we have no information on which prudence would undertake a hasty change in our policy, even were the authority of the Executive competent to such a decision.

"You desire that in this defect of power, Congress may be specially convened. It is unnecessary to examine the evidence, or the character of the facts which are supposed to dictate such a call; because you will be sensible, on an attention to dates, that the legal period of their meeting is as early as, in this extensive country, they could be fully convened by a special call.

"I should with great willingness have executed the wishes of the inhabitants of the town of Boston, had peace or a repeal of the obnoxious Edicts, or other changes produced the case in which alone the laws have given me that authority; and so many motives of justice and interest lead to such changes, that we ought continually to expect them. But while these Edicts remain, the Legislature alone can prescribe the course to be pursued.

THOMAS JEFFERSON."

August 26, 1808.

We also insert the President's Address to the Legislature of New-Hampshire.

"In the review, fellow-citizens, which, in your Address of the 14th of June, you have taken of the measures pursued since I have been charged with their direction, I read with great satisfaction and thankfulness the approbation you have bestowed on them; and feel it an ample reward for any services I may have been able to render.

"The present moment is certainly eventful, and one which particularly requires that the bond of confederation, connecting us as a nation, should receive all the strength which unanimity between the national Councils and the States, Legislatures can give it. The depredations committed on our vessels and property on the high seas, the violence to the persons of our citizens employed on that element, had long been the subject of remonstrance and complaint; when, instead of repara-

IRELAND.

It is painful to observe that late accounts from Tralee and Limerick, mention that partial excesses continue to be committed, and that as on the one hand misguided men inflamed by supposed injuries, which they conceive capable of remedy, are hurried on to shocking acts of violence; so on the other, that there seems some radical defect in the system of treating these unhappy men. It is libellous of the human character, to assert, that there is no cause for discontent in such cases. Men in a country like this, where the upper order possess such an ill-proportioned superiority, do not lightly venture to incur their displeasure, and cannot easily avoid castigation. The great land proprietor is a civil, and military character, whom it is very unlikely the peasantry would venture

tion, new declarations of wrong are issued, subjecting our navigation to general plunder.

"In this state of things our first duty was to withdraw our sea-faring citizens and property from abroad, and to keep at home resources so valuable at all times, and so essential, if resort must ultimately be had to force. It gave us time to make a last appeal to the reason and reputation of nations. In the mean while, I see with satisfaction that this measure of self-denial is approved and supported by the great body of our REAL citizens; that they meet with cheerfulness the temporary privations it occasions, and are preparing with spirit to provide for themselves these comforts and conveniences of life, for which it would be unwise ever more to recur to distant countries.

"How long this course may be preferable to a more serious appeal, must depend for decision on the wisdom of the Legislature, unless a return to established principles should remove the existing obstacles to a peaceable intercourse with foreign nations. In every event, Fellow-citizens, my confidence is entire that your resolution to maintain our national independence and sovereignty will be as firm as it has been forbearing; and looking back on our history, I am assured by the past, that its future pages will present nothing unworthy of the former.

"I am happy that you approve the motives of my retirement. I shall carry into it ardent prayers for the welfare of my country, and the sincerest wish for that of yourselves personally.

August 2, 1808.

"TH. JEFFERSON."

to rouse, unless they felt grievances exhausting their patience, and banishing tear by substituting despair. It has lately been stated that near Limerick on the apprehension of a military search for offenders, a beacon was lighted up; that corresponding fires through the country were seen, and that in consequence of this precaution, all attempts at seizing or discovering any persons were vain. To this the following fact may be contrasted. It lately happened in the county of Down, that the people of a townland resisted paying the hearth-money tax, upon a misconception of their own; and carried things so far, as to put the collector at defiance. In this dilemma, he applied to a magistrate for assistance, and wished for a military force. "No!" said the truly respectable magistrate, "I will not do so, but will go with you myself," he did, took the Act of Parliament in his pocket, read, and explained to them how they were liable to the tax, calmly CONVINCED THEIR UNDERSTANDINGS, and they paid what was demanded, without a murmur.

Similar benevolent investigation into the affairs of the South, would most probably be equally efficacious. It is a serious mistake in legislature to imagine, THAT PERSONAL SUFFERING CAN BE A GOOD MEDIUM OF CONVICTION. A plan of severity may perpetuate, but never eradicates disorder, unless it goes to the direful extremes of extermination, or deportation. Did each landlord, magistrate, and legislator, call a council within his own breast and ruminate on the precept "*do as thou wouldst be done unto,*" he would perhaps be slower to condemn, or having condemned he would be more merciful in his visitation on the transgressions of beings whom sometimes he appears to forget are his fellow-creatures. The strong love of native soil, is natural to man. Is it not worthy of inquiry whether the practice of Irish landlords, in often breaking that bond of affection between the tenant and paternal farm, in giving it, not to the oldest residents and family, but to the highest bidder, and the most obedient voter, is not a great grievance, and a breach of morality and justice? If cruel religious distinction stands in the way of an inhabi-

tant of the country's obtaining a small portion of it for his support, if the tormenting exaction of a tax on improvement, varying each season, and levied by a delegate, who is to gain by the bargain with his principal, limits his comforts; if he pays this in one quarter, and must also pay his own Pastor; if land is become exorbitantly dear, and manufactures are not interposed to employ superfluous hands; is it not worthy of inquiry, whether redress for the miserable would not be likely to give, what a half-state of warfare cannot, and what the statute book of Draco could not for centuries? Law, to be effectual, ought to be founded on natural justice, but legislation in Ireland has often appeared built on the expediency of the day, and not seeming to have had human nature in contemplation, has proposed to model its subject without reference to his passions, his feelings, or his infirmities. No man of even moderate understanding, if his motives are good, but will deprecate the idea of encouraging a disposition in the lower orders, to interfere by violence, and coerce government into compliance with their demands. Such practices, rob society of its first object, security; they let loose the passions of the rude, and less educated part, and make caprice the standard of action, instead of the equitable course of law, and order: but he is little endued with a philosophic or manly spirit, who will not reflect on what may have generated popular disturbance, who will not feel for the sufferings of man in the humbler, but most useful walk of life, and who will not candidly bestow the portion of blame as it is merited, whether on bad measures, as cause, or on gross violation of order, as effect. He will recollect too, that men of the class just mentioned devoting their time to labour, cannot spare much for reflection, and also that from feeling themselves despised they have no motive left for regular conduct. The greatest degree of sympathy is now manifested by all the upper ranks in England, and Ireland, for the sufferings of the people of Spain.

The Irish peasantry are equally capable of noble and generous conduct. Encouragement, and enlightening would operate much in tranquillizing them. In the North of Ireland, where

the internal trade enables the people to bear the pressure of heavy demands, and to possess some of the comforts of life, there is no interruption of the public peace. The phrenzy of religious persecution having considerably abated, industry pervades the whole, and good order makes the community respectable, and happy. The gentry of Ireland have a noble sphere for action; let them divest themselves of the haughtiness of their station, and descend to investigate the causes of the partial disturbances of the day. The study will improve their minds and soften their hearts. If Ireland remain partly uncivilized let them search for the cause, before they war with the effect, and converting themselves into fathers of extended families, let them try if the practical benevolence of the upper classes, will not prove the best antidote for the turbulence of the lower.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

Definitive Convention for the evacuation of Portugal by the French Army.

The Generals commanding in chief the British and French armies in Portugal, having determined to negotiate and conclude a treaty for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops, on the basis of the agreement entered into on the 22d inst. for a suspension of hostilities, have appointed the under mentioned officers to negotiate the same in their names, viz. On the part of the general in chief of the British army, lieutenant colonel Murray, quarter master general, and on the part of the general in chief of the French army, Monsieur Kellerman, general of division, to whom they have given authority to negotiate and conclude a convention to that effect, subject to their ratification respectively, and to that of the admiral commanding the British fleet at the entrance of the Tagus.

These two officers, after exchanging their full powers, have agreed upon the articles which follow:

Art. I. All the places and forts in the kingdom of Portugal, occupied by the French troops, shall be delivered up to the British army, in the state in which they are at the period of the signature of the present convention.

II. The French troops shall evacuate Portugal with their arms, and baggage; they shall not be considered as prisoners of war, and, on their arrival in France, they shall be at liberty to serve.