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ENUMERATION
OF THE
CONTRIBUTIONS, CONFISCATIONS,
AND
REQUISITIONS
OF THE
FRENCH NATION;
WITH
AN ACCOUNT
OF
THE COUNTRIES REVOLUTIONIZED
SINCE THE
COMMENCEMENT OF THE PRESENT WAR.

EXTRACTED FROM
OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

Translated from the German.

"Multis modis mala facinora.—Quæ quousque tandem patiemini fortissimi viri?" SALL.

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TO
THE PEOPLE
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

FELLOW-SUBJECTS,

TRUTH is irresistible in its nature, and not to be controverted by opinion when its foundation is facts. Facts therefore I submit to you.

In these you will clearly perceive what those unhappy people of Europe have undergone, who have been blinded by the glare, or driven into the flames of the republican volcano. But though we sympathize in private with the martyrs of moral error, human indignation must publicly cry out, Shame upon Europe! Shame upon those nations who crouched for concord, and have been enslaved by war! Are their swords amidst the spoiliations of rapacity?

To you, my fellow-subjects, I offer this tribute of my humble but proud homage. The enumeration of examples which follow, will, by the simple force of contrast, display the honour of your wisdom and the safety of your virtues.

But before you contemplate the picture of French fraternity, and the fallacy of its republican independence; before

THE oppressions of the Roman Government had seized mankind with mute astonishment; but Philosophy, injured in her cause, first awakened the voice of detestation; and Domitian, the Roman TYRANT or DIRECTOR, was pursued with universal vengeance, when the monster was "known by his works," on the publication of

JUNICUS RUSTICUS.

you turn your eyes to this detail of perfidious plunder and bloody oppression, I wish to call your attention to a public and solemn mockery of all national liberty, on the part of the French, toward every state which has been or may be revolutionized by that chain-bearing republic.

You will perceive this verified not only in *faët*, but by a justification of the *principle* in a document which condemns the fact. Consequently, that tyranny and slavery are co-existent with, and inseparable from French fraternity, will appear as manifestly as the demonstration of facts can enforce or the words of man explain it. But judge for yourselves.

The *Directory* ordered lately a *new revolution* to take place in the *Cisalpine republic*. The Legislature of France was displeased at this act of usurpation and unwarranted power; and amidst other murmurs the following instrument added its reproof.

Paris, 10th Vendemiaire (October 9) 1798.

“The French constitution was *given* to the Cisalpine republic. Treaties of alliance had been formed between the two governments; by the existence therefore of these solemn treaties, the *two* governments were *equally* independent.

“An occasion might doubtless occur, when the safety of France would require precautions to be taken in Italy, and when a state of war would demand reforms and *changes*; then it would be excusable in France to *MAKE*” (though both are *equally independent*) “the Cisalpine republic *SUBMIT* to a temporary *DEPRIVATION* of her *INDEPENDENCE*. In such a case France might *JUSTLY TAKE BACK* *what she has GIVEN*.”

Lucian Buonaparte to his Colleagues.

Thus the fact of tyranny is clearly recognized while it is condemned; and though the *faët* is condemned, the *principle* of tyranny is openly justified while it is *demonstratively* established. But since in the first paragraph of this paper, *independence* is recognized on the basis of *solemn treaty*; since, in the second paragraph, *every principle* of independence is *DESTROYED*, and the basis of policy is fully ascertained and precisely announced in this maxim, “*what France has given, France may take away*;” therefore this boasted independence, purchased with all that was found in morals, just in policy, or venerable in wisdom; these modern republics, reared upon the ruins of whatever was dear to man and holy in the eyes of God; this independence and these republics, cemented with blood and horrors, all tumble at the breath of a French Directory, all belong to France, if the Legislature *WILLS* it. Thus says this legislator while he rebukes the Directory—“France might *JUSTLY TAKE BACK* what” (independence) “she has given: but even then the *Directory* could have no right to make the necessary *alterations*” (which alterations are, the *deprivation* or *taking back* of independence) “without the *consent* of the Legislative Body.”

Hence therefore by this act of the Directory, in *having* overturned the government of the Cisalpine republic, in open violation of solemn treaties, which gave it *EQUAL* independence with France; and by this public justification of the *principle* or *right* of stripping governments of their independence, the *revolutionized nations* of Europe may *calculate* the *NATURE* and the *EXTENT* of their *NEW LIBERTY*.

But what is this liberty? What is the independence acquired by these revolutionized nations? Their liberty is but chains—

chains—feters steeped in blood, and embellished with a false name. But are they the lighter?

Let us now track the progress of this grand revolution in facts—in the plunder of nations—in the disposal of states and people, like fields and cattle to other masters—and in the destruction of old republics because they were not free, for the creation of new republics to become tributary and enslaved.

JUNICUS RUSTICUS.

ENUMERA-

ENUMERATION

OF THE

Contributions, Confiscations, Requisitions,

&c. &c.

FIRST CAMPAIGN.

TERRITORY OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY.

Circle of Burgundy, or Belgic Provinces, including Liege; which Districts were united with France in 1795.

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
1. MILITARY contributions to the end of 1796, as appear by an account from the Administration to the Directory	45,000,000	1,800,000
2. Requisitions of all kinds, in cattle, victuals, ammunition, &c. which were paid in assignats at par	40,000,000	1,600,000
3. Jewels, and other valuable trinkets, taken by force out of the palaces and pawn-houses, &c.	60,000,000	2,500,000
4. Forced loans	80,000,000	3,200,000
5. Patents and privileges	25,000,000	1,000,000
6. Domains of the nation and clergy, moveables and other property of the common class of emigrants, estimated at	600,000,000	25,000,000
7. Revenues of the princes, at 40 millions per annum, for 4 years	160,000,000	6,500,000
8. Ordinary established taxes		
9. Extraordinary sale of the best timber *	60,000,000	2,500,000
10. Maintenance of their great armies during four years, levied on the inhabitants		
11. Arrears of contributions, from 1794, 1795, and 1796, with those laid on in 1797	200,000,000	8,000,000
12. Contributions after the conquests in 1794	75,000,000	3,000,000

* One of the sources of royal revenue abroad was the sale of forest timber, which was felled at ordinary and fixed periods; but the French had no limitation as to quantity or time.

13. Proportion of the forced loan	—	Livres. 56,000,000	£. Sterling. 2,250,000
Second contribution of the town of Brussels	—	1,250,000	50,000

N. B. It has been calculated that the French carried away out of Belgium two thousand millions of livres, or eighty millions pounds sterling.

TERRITORY OF HIS PRUSSIAN MAJESTY.

The Dutchy of Cleves, and Country on the Borders of the Meuse.

1. Contributions and requisitions of 1794	—	1,600,000	64,000
2. Revenues of the dutchy from 1794, at 1,200,000 livres per annum, for three years	—	3,600,000	144,000
3. Supplies, till the peace in 1795	—	720,000	28,800
4. Cutting down and sale of the timber of all the royal woods	—	—	—
5. Contributions of the manufacturing town of Arefeldt	—	—	—

THE SEVEN UNITED PROVINCES, OR THE BATAVIAN REPUBLIC.

1. Contributions in ready money, or forced loans payable in the course of eight years, and the bills issued by the French	—	200,000,000	8,000,000
2. Pay and maintenance of twenty-five thousand French soldiers, for three years, at one guilder per day, at 1s. 8d. per guilder	—	—	2,281,250
N. B. The French troops in Holland live in a style of luxury unknown to those of the Batavian republic.			
3. Requisitions and supplies, according to the proclamation issued at the Hague, 17th January 1795, consisting of corn, hay, straw, shoes, boots, clothes, linen, hats, oxen, &c. furnished in three months	—	18,995,000	759,800
4. Enormous loss of the Dutch by the assignats, which they were forced to take at the rate of 10 stivers per livre, being the value at par, when every soldier received five hundred livres for a louis d'or, which, by the assistance of the Jews, caused the latter to become abominable usurers, in which their loss amounted at least to	—	400,000,000	16,000,000
5. Revenues and moveables of the Stadtholder carried to France	—	—	Immenfe.
6. Property of the English, Brabanters, and emigrants, valued at	—	100,000,000	4,000,000
7. Contributions in ready money before the peace	—	—	—
8. Ceded territory; great part of Zealand and the Dutch Netherlands	—	—	—

DIFFERENT

DIFFERENT TERRITORIES,

Comprising the Country from Holland to Alsace, between the Moselle, the Meuse, and the Rhine.

1. Sundry forced loans	—	Livres. 23,000,000	£. Sterling. 920,000
2. Aix la Chapelle, with its dependencies	—	—	—
Contributions	—	Liv. 16,000,000	—
Requisitions	—	7,000,000	—
		23,000,000	920,000
3. Dutchy of Juliers and Limburg	—	27,480,000	1,992,000
4. Electorate of Cologne	—	—	—
Contributions	—	Liv. 24,000,000	—
Requisition	—	4,720,000	—
		28,720,000	1,148,800
Whereof the inhabitants of the town paid three millions.			
5. Cologne; contribution and requisition	—	5,200,000	208,000
6. The extensive library, drawings, prints, manuscripts, &c. valued at	—	500,000	20,000
7. Maintenance of troops to December 1797	—	2,000,000	80,000
8. Saarbruck; contributions and requisitions	—	1,380,000	55,200

THE ELECTORATE OF TRIERS.

1. Contributions for Triers and Coblenz	—	4,600,000	184,000
2. Requisitions	—	1,520,000	60,800

THE PALATINATE OF THE RHINE.

From the Bailiwicks of Oggersheim and Germerheim.

1. Contributions	—	8,000,000	320,000
2. Requisitions	—	2,420,000	96,800
3. Particular imposts; Frankenthal	Liv. 160,000	—	—
Kirchberg	140,000	—	—
Simmern	192,000	—	—
Kreuznach	218,000	—	—
Bingen	280,000	—	—
Alzey	232,000	—	—
Oppenheim	220,000	—	—
Sundry Boroughs	600,000	—	—
		2,042,000	81,680

DEUX PONTS.

1. Contributions and requisitions	—	470,000	—
2. Worms and Spies	—	2,400,000	—
Bishopric of Spies	—	1,000,000	—
3. Contributions and requisitions, second time	—	200,000	—
		—	4. Bifchweiler

(10)

	Livres.	Livres.	£. Sterling.
4. Bifchweiler	25,000		
Zabern	35,000		
Dertweil, contributions	25,000		
requisitions	300,000		
		385,000	178,000

DUTCHY OF BERGEN.

1. Contributions		800,000	32,000
2. Requisitions of oats, wheat, rye, straw, oatmeal, horses, sheep, oxen, &c.		1,664,000	66,560

CIRCLE OF SUABIA.

From 1st December 1792 to 1st May following.

According to the records of the Diet of Ratisbonne the Circle of Suabia paid in contributions and requisitions

	24,228,418	969,136
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B. SECOND CAMPAIGN IN GERMANY IN 1796.

1. CONTRIBUTIONS since the peace with the Emperor, in the districts bordering on the Lhan

Whereof the territory of Laubach was hardly able to pay 14,800 liv. and the French exacted above that	900,000	36,000
2. Wetzlar, notwithstanding its neutrality, was forced to pay	16,000	620
3. General Hoche, by proclamation, made the countries situated between the Sieg, Nidda, Maine, and Rhine (except the Hessian and Prussian territories), pay	150,000	6,000
The countries between the Sieg and Roer	4,000,000	160,000
	<i>Liv.</i> 1,800,000	
Mentz	1,200,000	
Triers	3,000,000	
Cologne	160,000	
	6,160,000	246,400

4. The table of the commander in chief was served at the rate of 1,500 liv. (60l. sterling) a day, those of the brigade generals at the rate of 300 liv. (12l. sterling).

5. Requisitions of all forts and every where; General Hoche commanded that provisions and food should be furnished for the whole army, viz. sixty thousand men and horses.

6. Revenues

(11)

	Livres.	Livres.	£. Sterling.
6. Revenues of the Empire		346,900,000	13,840,000
provinces	19,230,000		
Cost of the armies till 1796	43,805,375		
Plate from the churches and sales of wood	14,600,000		
		77,635,375	3,195,215
7. Confiscated estates, provisions, and ammunition in the conquered countries.			
8. Franconia, for its neutrality in Italy, was obliged to pay within fourteen days in ready money	10,000,000		400,000
9. The city of Frankfort paid 2,000,000 liv. besides wheat, brandy, vinegar, salt, hay, straw, oats, and cattle	4,000,000		160,000
10. Other requisitions	1,000,000		40,000
Eight common-council-men and fifteen citizens were carried away as hostages: one hundred and fifty houses and warehouses destroyed, whereby three hundred families were ruined.			
11. Other requisitions	1,800,000		72,000
12. Wirtemberg paid, according to the capitulation	2,500,000		100,000
13. Bamberg	2,000,000		80,000

DUTCHY OF WIRTEMBERG.

According to the Treaty of Peace in August 1796.

1. Contributions in ready money	4,000,000	160,000
2. Requisitions of horses, corn, shoes, &c.	431,000	17,240
3. Ceded territory, viz. Montbeliard, Hericourt, Passavant, revenues, &c. and domains of the prince, &c. fold.		
4. Amongst the secret articles, it is stipulated in the second article, that the Duke is obliged to pay all his debts to his subjects become French citizens, who therefore enjoy a fixed rent in the interest. By the fourth article he is prohibited from sending his contingent to the army of the Empire in a future war. The fifth article allows the French to occupy all the strong places in his dominions in times of war.		
5. Besides that he was obliged to pay every month 200,000 liv. till the peace with Austria should be signed; therefore, from 1st Vendemiaire 1796 to April 1797, eight months	1,600,000	64,000
6. The abbeys of Kempton, Lindau, Bucha, together with the whole bench of Suabian bishops, forced to pay	7,000,000	280,000
7. They had also engaged to maintain the whole army.		

SUABIA.

By the Peace of 10th August 1797.

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
In ready money	—	—
8,400 horfes	—	—
5,000 oxen	—	—
150,000 cwt. wheat, &c.	—	—
150,000 cwt. hay	—	—
100,000 facks of oats	—	—
100,000 pairs of shoes	—	—
	19,000,000	1,104,000
	3,360,000	
	1,250,000	
	1,950,000	
	450,000	
	1,000,000	
	500,000	
	27,510,000	1,104,000

MARGRAVATE OF BADEN.

By the Peace of the 2d August 1797.

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
In ready money	—	—
1,000 horfes	—	—
500 oxen	—	—
25,000 cwt. wheat, &c.	—	—
50,000 cwt. hay	—	—
12,000 facks oats	—	—
25,000 pairs shoes	—	—
	2,000,000	129,800
	400,000	
	125,000	
	325,000	
	150,000	
	120,000	
	125,000	
	3,245,000	129,800

BAVARIA.

7th September 1796.

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
In ready money	—	—
3,300 horfes	—	—
200,000 cwt. wheat, &c.	—	—
100,000 facks oats	—	—
200,000 cwt. hay	—	—
200,000 pairs shoes	—	—
10,000 pairs boots	—	—
30,000 yards cloth for the officers	—	—
	10,000,000	678,800
	1,320,000	
	2,600,000	
	1,000,000	
	600,000	
	500,000	
	200,000	
	750,000	
	16,970,000	678,800

TERRITORY OF MILAN; OR CISALPINE REPUBLIC.

On the first Entry in 1795.

1. On the capture of Milan, the French found therein 5,000 muskets and 20,000lb. cannon powder, with large quantities of other ammunition and victuals, estimated at	2,000,000	80,000
2. First contribution, whereof one fourth was to be paid within three days	20,000,000	800,000
3. Requisition.		

Livres. £. Sterling.

3. Requisition. One person taken out of every hundred in order to form an army of 30,000 men, whereof two hundred families of the nobility were obliged to pay the whole equipment	5,000,000	200,000
4. Monthly payment of one million to the French army, from 1st Jan. 1797, fifteen months	15,000,000	600,000
5. Pay of 20,000 French foldiers, at two livres per day, for a year	14,600,000	584,000
6. Requisitions, viz. 12,000 waistcoats 10,000 pantaloons 30,000 yards of fine cloth 20,000 shirts 10,000 pairs of shoes 5,000 pairs of spatterdashies 2,000 fine hats Large quantities of wheat, oats, straw, hay, flour, oxen, &c. estimated at	41,000,000	1,640,000
7. The Cisalpine Directory have been forced to purchase the domains and estates of the Emperor in the dutchy of Mantua, for N. B. These extraordinary sums have been chiefly procured by loans, lotteries, &c.	3,000,000	120,000
8. In the pawn-houses were found seven thousand bales of silk, jewels, valuable trinkets, &c. estimated at Which the French fold by public auction.	40,000,000	1,600,000
9. Ferrara gave 1,500 oxen, with large quantities of other provisions, and paid since its union	3,000,000	120,000
10. Revenues of the soveraign, &c. (perhaps about two millions sterling per ann.)		
11. The plate of the churches, the money found in all public treasuries, pictures, antiques, statues, in short every thing valuable and that could be removed, estimated at least at	100,000,000	4,000,000
12. The merchants paid a forced loan of	600,000	24,000
13. The loan of General Berthier	1,800,000	72,000
14. Agreeable to the treaty of commerce and alliance the Cisalpine republic engaged themselves to pay yearly to France	18,000,000	720,000

Articles not estimated.

1. All the landed and other property of the clergy.
2. ————— emigrants.
3. ————— foreigners.

SARDINIA,

By the disgraceful Treaty of Peace of the 15th May 1766, after the signing of which the King shortly died of Vexation and a broken Heart.

1. The cession of Savoy, Niza, Tenda, Boglio, and the fortifications of Coni, Ceva, Fortua, Exilis,

Zura,

Livres. £. Sterling.

- Zura, Affiette, Brunette, Chateau Dauphin, Alexandria, Valenza, &c.
2. Provision and ammunition found in the fortified places, maintenance of the troops, extraordinary requisitions and contributions in all the above places.
 3. Expenses for demolishing Zura and Brunette, to be paid by his Majesty, as stipulated in the treaty.
 4. Domains and revenues of the princes, the clergy, and the emigrants, and all the property of subjects of the enemies of France, resident in Sardinia.
 5. The plate of all the churches.
 6. Contributions for, and maintenance of all the armies, before the treaty of peace.
 7. A part of Piedmont, occupied by the French, and, according to the treaty of peace, remaining subject to the requisitions.

MODENA.

12th May 1796.

Notwithstanding the treaty of peace, the Jacobins received instructions to force the Prince to pay in the succeeding month thirty millions, which so terrified this aged personage, that at the age of seventy years he took flight and embarked for Trieste.

- | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|---|---|------------|---------|
| 1. Ready money, paid within a week | — | — | 10,000,000 | 400,000 |
| 2. Twenty valuable pictures | — | — | 400,000 | 16,000 |

The 10th of July, the French took possession of Modena and Massa, notwithstanding the treaty, and they were united to the republic.

3. Landed and other property of the clergy and emigrants.
4. Revenues and plate of the churches.

REPUBLIC OF LUCCA.

1796 and 1798.

- | | | | | |
|---|---|---|-----------|---------|
| 1. Contributions and requisitions | — | — | 4,000,000 | 160,000 |
| N. B. They were threatened with the expenses attending a military execution of the above decree, in case of non-compliance. | | | | |
| 2. Forced loan | — | — | 1,000,000 | 40,000 |

NAPLES.

According to the Treaty of Peace in 1796.

- | | | | | |
|--|---|---|-----------|---------|
| 1. Two hundred and fifty horses, completely equipped, estimated at | — | — | 150,000 | 6,000 |
| 2. According to a secret article they were to pay | — | — | 7,000,000 | 280,000 |
- GENOA,

GENOA, 1796.

- | | | | | |
|--|---|---|-----------|---------|
| 1. Ready money by forced loans | — | — | 4,000,000 | 160,000 |
| 2. Requisitions of every species, during eighteen months | — | — | — | — |

TUSCANY, 1796.

- | | | | | |
|--|---|---|-----------|---------|
| 1. Forced loans in ready money | — | — | 8,000,000 | 320,000 |
| 2. Maintenance of the troops during nine months | — | — | — | — |
| 3. Considerable property of the English, and other subjects of the enemy, established at Leghorn, estimated at more than several millions of livres. | — | — | — | — |

HEREDITARY DOMINIONS OF THE EMPEROR,

Taken possession of in March 1797.

1. Enormous contributions before the signing of the preliminaries, at Trieste, Fiume, Gratz, &c.
2. Plunder from the mines in Italy; whereof a part was saved by the Imperialists before it could be transported to Trieste.
3. Maintenance of the armies during the invasion.
4. By the treaty of Leoben the Emperor engaged to maintain eighty thousand men on their return.

THE TERRITORIES OF THE POPE.

(A.) First Armistice at Bologna, 23d June 1796.

- | | | | | |
|---|---|---|------------|---------|
| 1. Ready money; whereof, with the aid of the Sixtinian treasure at the Engelsburg, five millions of scudi were paid in two terms | — | — | 21,000,000 | 840,000 |
| 2. Requisitions of all forts, estimated at | — | — | 5,000,000 | 200,000 |
| 3. One hundred of the best paintings and statues, according to the choice of the French commissaries, whereof one half was delivered; and, though above all price for connoisseurs, estimated only at twenty thousand livres each | — | — | 1,000,000 | 40,000 |
| 4. Contributions of the towns of Bologna (4), Ferrara (2) | — | — | 6,000,000 | 240,000 |
| 5. Requisitions of all forts in the months of July, August, and September, levied on the towns | — | — | 6,000,000 | 240,000 |

(B.) Peace of 18th February 1797.

- | | | | | |
|--|---|---|------------|-----------|
| 1. In ready money and diamonds | — | — | 30,000,000 | 1,200,000 |
| 2. Two hundred of the most precious pictures, statues, and manuscripts, estimated at the low rate of twenty thousand livres each | — | — | 4,000,000 | 160,000 |
| 3. For | — | — | — | — |

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
3. For murdering Basseville, through his family losses, amounting to*	300,000	12,000
4. Requisition of eight hundred saddle-horses (whereof the Pope gave four hundred out of his own stables), eight hundred draught-horses, and eight hundred oxen	800,000	32,000
5. Revenue of the Santa Casa at Loretto.	450,000	18,000
6. Fiefs, with their dependencies	3,000,000	120,000

The following articles we could not value with any accuracy, and therefore leave them, with the others not valued, to the judgment of our readers:

7. Avignon, with its revenues, the plate of the churches, and estates of the clergy.
8. Of the provinces of Bologna, Ferrara, Ancona, and Romania, with all the provisions and ammunition, fiefs, property of the clergy and the churches, estimated at one half of the Pope's revenues.
9. The treasure of Loretto was valued at one hundred and twenty millions; whereof a part fell into the hands of the French
10. Maintenance of the French troops during the invasion

(C.) Rome become free in 1798.

1. The first blessing of this beloved liberty was, that the Romans were to pay four millions of scudi, or twenty millions of livres: whereof one fifth was to be paid within twenty-four hours, half in money and half in bills; and towards which eighteen of the first houses were to contribute each twenty thousand, others ten thousand, and the third class six thousand scudi
2. Requisitions, provisions, &c.
3. Plates of all the churches, estates of the Pope and the clergy, to a very large amount.

N. B. The Grand-treasurer Haller and General Berthier would be able to give a still more accurate account.

In the beginning of April General St. Cyr ordered a contribution of 3 per cent. on the property of the laity, and 5 per cent. on that of the clergy, for the maintenance of the French troops.

Rome, April 14.

The security of the alum-mines at Rocca was purchased for the sum of one million of scudi,

* The obscure and almost unintelligible words of the original are, "Für die Ermordung Basseville an seiner familie."

and

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
and Messrs. Georgi paid one hundred and five thousand pezziduros * for the privilege to work it to the end of the term, viz. for eighteen months	5,525,000	221,000

THE FORMER REPUBLIC OF VENICE,

In 1796 and 1797.

1. Sundry forced loans, and contributions of all sorts
2. Immense preparations for defence against the republicans (which almost totally fell into the hands of the French), ammunition, provisions, &c.
3. Verona, in obedience to a proclamation, paid from May to the end of June, in contributions and requisitions
4. The rich merchants of Venice were taxed enormously, viz.

	Ducats.	
Francis Neck	110,000	
Heinzelman	50,000	
Treves	45,000	
Sarias	30,000	
Several others of less consequence	200,000	
	21,750,000	870,000
5. The municipality of Venice marked their transitory reign by forced loans and enormous requisitions on their brothers in liberty, amounting at least to
6. The contributions of every kind amounted to such quantities, that the French could not carry them away, so that they forced the Venetians to re-buy them †
7. The whole Venetian navy, well equipped, thirty-six ships (whereof twenty were of the line), carrying two thousand guns, at one thousand pounds sterling per gun
8. The whole arsenal of Venice, richly stocked
9. All the property of the public pawn banks, and money in the public treasuries
10. The island of Zante in part, as contribution

SPAIN.

1. The invaded provinces overloaded with plunder and contributions; the Spanish part of St. Do-

* Hard dollars.

† In Wirtemberg the French soldiers were so oppressed with the plunder collected on all sides, that, unable to carry the silver, they gave two hundred louis in silver for one in gold.

(18)

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
mingo ceded to the French; the maintenance of the army during one year, pillage of the cannon founderies of Regny and Orbinelle, and of the manufactories at Gratia	30,000,000	1,400,000
2. Increase of the national debt of two hundred million of dollars, so that it amounts now to four hundred and sixty millions.		

PORTUGAL.

By the treaty of peace in 1797, which was not immediately ratified, the government was to pay three millions and a half of cruzados, which they offered to discharge in diamonds, valued at one million and a half pounds sterling. Probably its neutrality will cost much more than

	37,560,000	1,500,000
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SWITZERLAND.

1. General Schauenberg levied a military contribution on the canton of Bern, the 4th April,		
6,000 cwt. wheat	10,000 pair of stockings	
3,500 — oats	10,000 shirts	
13,000 — hay	10,000 pair of shoes	
12,000 — straw	200 oxen	
12,000 — salt	Large quantities of wine,	
150 — rice	brandy, vinegar, &c. valued at	
		4,000,000 1,600,000

2. Paid in cash 2d April, and contributed by families which had the greatest influence	300,000	12,000
3. Found in the treasury at Bern	6,000,000	240,000

The arsenal of Bern contained formerly six hundred pieces of cannon, arms for twenty thousand cavalry, and eighty thousand infantry. Joseph II. said that it was too small for a great monarchy, and too great for a small republic. The French found here two hundred cannon, of large calibre, and the greatest part of the arms and ammunition above mentioned.

N. B. Le Carliere, notwithstanding the convention at Arau, ordered that all the money contained in the public treasuries should be delivered up to the French.

The canton of Bern is obliged to maintain ten thousand French infantry and one thousand cavalry. In this manner the great nation has distributed an army of one hundred thousand men to be maintained by their tributary allies, to keep them in slavery.

HAMBURG.

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HAMBURG.

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
Contribution in the year 1796	3,000,000	120,000
1798	4,000,000	160,000

BREMEN AND LUBECK

Have paid at least	3,000,000	120,000
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The French asked from the Hanse towns twelve millions on a very vague security; but the town of Hamburg, to get rid of so dangerous a loan, preferred to make a present of four millions. How the other two towns may accommodate the business, we hope soon to be informed

RECAPITULATION.

Territory of his Imperial Majesty	1,402,350,000	56,094,000
Ditto of his Prussian Majesty	5,980,000	239,200
Holland	873,745,000	34,949,800
Various territories, from Holland to Alsace; particularly the country between the Moselle, Meuse, and Rhine	145,780,000	5,831,200
Triers	6,120,000	244,800
Palatinate	12,462,000	498,480
Deux Ponts	4,455,000	178,200
Suabia	57,758,408	2,310,337
Dutchy of Bergen	2,464,000	98,560
The Empire. Second Campaign	464,061,375	18,562,455
Wirtemberg	13,031,100	521,244
Bavaria	16,970,000	678,800
Baden	3,345,000	131,800
Milan, or Cisalpine Republic	284,000,000	11,360,000
Sardinia; considerable tract of territory		
Modena	10,400,000	416,000
Lucca	5,000,000	200,000
Parma	3,850,000	154,000
Naples	150,000	6,000
Genoa	4,000,000	160,000
Tuscany	8,000,000	320,000
Imperial territory		
Venice	172,045,788	6,881,832
Spain	30,000,000	1,200,000
Portugal	36,000,000	1,440,000
Switzerland	10,300,000	412,000
Hamburg	7,000,000	280,000
Bremen and Lubeck	3,000,000	120,000

3,582,267,681 143,290,708

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ESTIMAT

ESTIMATE OF THE LOSSES SUSTAINED BY EUROPE THROUGH THE MEANS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

[The Losses of Men and the Expenses of War are not included here; as England alone has spent many Million Pounds Sterling.]

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
Total amount of requisitions and contributions, as specified	3,582,267,681	143,290,707
Loss of the Dutch by the bankruptcies of the Great Nation	1,920,000,000	76,800,000
Unvalued property; as plate of the churches, maintenance of the armies, palaces, houses, national domains, property of the emigrants in the conquered countries, fortifications, ceded territories, their regular revenues, &c. &c.	20,000,000,000	800,000,000
Enormous amount of assignats, mandats, &c. poured out amongst mankind, whereby millions of credulous people were deceived. — Fifty milliards of assignats; whereof (including what was lost by foreigners in the public funds) one-third may be taken in calculation	16,666,666,666	666,666,667
A great number of large and small American vessels, taken without a declaration of war, by piracy, which amount in number to more than one thousand; and valuing each with its cargo at only one thousand pounds, the amount is	25,000,000	1,000,000
A number of vessels taken from the other neutral powers together	100,000,000	4,000,000
N. B. We do not reckon the losses of Great Britain and Ireland in commercial vessels, as the French have lost more than their amount in ships of war.		
Total loss of Europe in money, goods, and territory	42,293,934,347	1,691,757,374

Should any one find this calculation over-rated, he will please to consider, that all the countries conquered by the French nation were the most rich, populous, industrious, and fruitful parts of the continent, and that this turbulent republic has at present the best fourth part of Europe under her command. She has so rounded and fortified herself, that she is enabled to keep all nations in a state of perpetual agitation.

Countries

Countries conquered and united, or made tributary to the French Republic.

CIRCLE OF BURGUNDY.

Consisting of the greatest part of the dutchies of Brabant, part of the dutchies of Limburg, Luxemburg, and Guelders, and part of the counties of Flanders, Hainault, and Namur; containing four hundred and seventy-one geographical miles, one hundred and thirty-nine towns, and two millions of inhabitants. The net revenue amounts to six millions of florins, about five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

They belonged formerly to the Emperor, some few small districts excepted.

CIRCLE OF WESTPHALIA.

The dutchies of Cleves, Moers, Juliers; the two former belonging to Prussia, the latter to the Elector Palatine.

The town of Liege, the Imperial towns of Cologne and Aix la Chapelle, except the bailiwicks of Altenwied, Selingen, Neuerberg, &c. on the right side of the Rhine.

The abbeyes of Stablo, Malmédi, Thorn, the counties of Limburg, Schleden, Kerpen, Lammerum, Blankenstein, Gerolstein, and Fagnales.

CIRCLE OF THE UPPER RHINE.

The Imperial town of Worms, with its territory, except Stein: the bishopric of Spire, except Bruchsal, Grombach, Rothenburg, Philippsburg.

The county of Mombeillard, with the dependencies belonging to it, which the Duke of Wirtemberg ceded to the French in 1796.

Palatinate. The principalities of Simmern, Lautern, Veldenz, and part of the county of Sponheim.

Hesse Darmstadt. The counties of Hanauichtenberg.

Deux Ponts. Part of the county of Sponheim.

Nassau Saarbruck. The counties of Saarbruck and Ottweiler.

Forests on the Rhine. The principality of Salms, the Rhine county of Grombach, the county of Stein.

Counties. Falkenstein, belonging to Austria, the counties of Leiningen, Reitzingen, Brentzenheim, Ripoltskirchen, Dachstube, Ottbruck.

CIRCLE OF THE LOWER RHINE.

The Electorate of Mentz, on the left bank of the Rhine.

Triers.

The greatest part of the Palatinate, except Heidelberg, Mannheim, Ladenburg and Bretten.

The county of Ahrenberg.

The burgravate of Reineck.

THE SEVEN UNITED PROVINCES OF HOLLAND, OR BATAVIAN REPUBLIC.

Conquered and made tributary. According to the last official reports to the Convention, they contain one million eight hundred thousand inhabitants,

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bitants, six hundred and twenty-five geographical miles, and three millions six hundred thousand pounds sterling revenue*.

SAVOY AND NICE.

Conquered and taken possession of. At least about four hundred and eighteen geographical miles, one million five hundred thousand inhabitants, and fifty thousand pounds sterling revenue.

CISALPINE REPUBLIC.

1. *Milan.*

Conquered and tributary. The former Lombardy contained two hundred and thirty-five geographical miles, one million three hundred and forty thousand inhabitants; and the net revenue amounted to three hundred thousand pounds sterling.

2. *Modena, Parma, and Piacenza.*

Conquered and united to the tributary Cisalpine republic; containing one hundred and eighty geographical miles, three hundred and thirty thousand inhabitants; and net revenue thirty thousand pounds sterling †.

FORMER REPUBLIC OF VENICE.

Conquered.—Whereof Brescia, Verona, and the terra firma to the south and west of the Adige, are united with the Cisalpine republic.

The islands of Zante, Corfu, Céphalonia, are united with France. The town of Venice, with the other parts of its states, are ceded to Austria.

These territories contain eight hundred geographical miles, two millions sixty-three thousand inhabitants; and revenue one million two hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling.

GENOA, OR LIGURIAN REPUBLIC.

Conquered and tributary.—Containing one hundred geographical miles, four hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants, and three hundred thousand pounds sterling revenue.

THE POPE'S TERRITORY, OR ROMAN REPUBLIC.

Conquered and tributary.—Whereof Bologna and Ferrara are united to the tributary Cisalpine republic. Before the war, these states contained eight hundred and sixty-four geographical miles, two millions five hundred thousand inhabitants; and revenue seven hundred and sixty-eight thousand pounds sterling.

THE SWISS OR LEMANIC REPUBLIC.

Conquered and tributary.—Whereof the bishopric of Basle and Geneva are united to France. Containing nine hundred and fifty geographical miles, two millions of inhabitants; and revenue two hundred and ninety thousand pounds sterling.

* We beg leave to differ from the author, and to state on the authorities of Pestel, Crome, and Mellebois, that the middle calculation of the population of this country amounts to two millions five hundred thousand.

† According to the authorities of Busching and others, we beg leave to state, that the size of these countries is one hundred and eighty-two geographical miles, the population five hundred and seventy thousand, and the revenues one million eight hundred thousand rix-dollars.

A
LETTER

TO A

NOBLE LORD,

ON THE

CIVIL POLICY OF THE ANCIENTS,

OR

RISE AND FALL OF REPUBLICS.

MY LORD,

AMIDST the monumental records of nations, as to their exaltation and decline, we discover the true principles of legislation. These models, so venerable in their wisdom, but awful in their fall, instruct us in what the legislators of France ought to have done, did not do, yet must do, or become victims of external vengeance and internal impolicy. Common animal force is sufficient to pull down the sublimest edifices of human grandeur. But great combinations of mind are necessary to raise up a solid monument of civil policy. The French have proved their possession of the animal requisites, but they have also proved their gross deficiency of the intellectual power. These men were ignorant of the art of government.

The legislators and founders of ancient empires proceeded upon a grand scale. They consulted the policy of nature, the policy of the passions. The one comprehends all the physical

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physical relations of countries as to size, position, and advantages. The other comprehends the moral cast of societies, that is, the manners or moral effects of natural and civil causes. Without this chart and compass for legislation, the laws become contradictory to the manners, and the spirit of the nation resists or eludes the law. And hence ensues what is the greatest vice of government, men live no longer under the empire of the laws.

When the form of civil government changes, the laws must change also. Rome when monarchical, and without laws suited to monarchy, became submissive to the caprice, and bent under the tyranny of the emperors. Lacedæmon, on the contrary, being consulted as to its genius and manners by Lycurgus, was elevated by his laws; though these laws would at this day degrade nations. For policy and purity must be consonant. This is demonstrated under Agis. When the manners of the Lacedæmonians had changed, he weakly wished to re-establish the laws of Lycurgus. But that which had suited and exalted the state before, now inflamed and made it revolt; and Agis was condemned by the senate. Hence, therefore, it is manifest, that not only the policy of nature, but of the passions, is absolutely necessary to guide the formation of laws. For even virtue, which made it doubtful whether Lycurgus was a god or a man, made Agis criminal unto death. It lost its efficacy when it lost the aid of the policy of the passions; and its operations became destructive when no longer harmonizing with the change of Lacedæmonian manners.

Whether laws be made for ourselves, or conquered states; whether they be forced upon nations, as they were by Lycurgus on the Spartans with all the apparel of usurpation; or whether they be demanded by nations, as they were by the Athenians from Solon; still these principles hold universally and

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and unalterably. The manners of nations must be the polar star of lawgivers. By the austerity of Lacedæmon, Lycurgus was guided; Solon by the polished softness of Athens. And in consequence of this bias of the passions, Solon did not give to the Athenian state the best laws, but, as he said himself, according to Plutarch, he gave the best that Athenians could receive.

If then, by this touchstone, the system of French legislation, toward themselves or conquered nations, be tried, will a single ray of the wisdom of Solon or Lycurgus appear?

Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.—VIRG.

A blind contradiction to all that is wise in principle, found in practice, or great and established in example.

According to Aristotle, Solon was regarded as a wise legislator. And why? Because he destroyed the immoderate * power of a small number of citizens and the servitude of the people. But on the contrary, this is the very form and pressure of the French system. The Directory of five is

* See the act of usurpation on the part of the Directory, as stated by L. Buonaparte, page 4. The wisdom of Solon was highly conspicuous in having mixed with such art the different forms of government. The separate bearing, the combined countercheck, and the mutual support of the three estates, like the Tripod of old, exalt him as one inspired by a Deity. His plan offered to our fathers the sublime idea of the British constitution; but it is in the nature of Britons to improve profoundly upon the wisdom of others. Therefore as the *ancient oligarchy* became his *Areopagus*, it formed our *monarchical* branch: an institution not only better calculated by its *unity* for the *energies* of *executive* activity, and against the *multiplied* † clashings of *self* with the interests of *society*, but also stronger in its similitude to *parental* nature, and higher in the authority of antiquity—*reges, nam in terris nomen imperii id primum fuit*. Sal. Catil. The *aristocracy* was his *senate*, and forms our *Peers*: the *democracy* was his *assembly* of the people, and forms our *Commons*.

† Οὐκ ἀσάθον πολυκοιρανίη. εἰς κοίρανός ἐσσι.
Ἐἰς βασιλεὺς. HOMER.

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absolute

absolute in France and absolute in Italy, witness the Cisalpine republic: absolute in Brabant, witness the annual plunder of estates, and the levies *now* ordered: absolute in Holland, witness its various and capricious changes of governors and governments.

If we look to the state of Athens at another period, we shall find that the circumstances under Pericles, and those under the Directory, seem in some measure to present us with a parallel. Pericles paid those members of the people, who assisted at the *assembly* to make laws; but established his *own advancement* upon the *ruin* of those laws. Is it otherwise at Paris*? He destroyed the manners, already corrupt, by *fêtes*, spectacles, and pleasures. Is it otherwise at Paris? He led on the citizens to a forgetfulness and sacrifice of their solid and dearest duties, for the vain glory and reputation of being the first people. Is it not so at Paris? Enormous sums were levied † and lavished, of which the application could

* Consult L. Buonaparte's charges against the Directory, and the exiles from Cayenne.

† The *accumulation of debt* in France is at present infinitely beyond the rapid strides of prodigality or ambition in the most corrupt period of the monarchy. It may be answered, that the *requisite* expenses are greater. The fact is otherwise. For what is the expense of their navy, today, compared with other times? What is the expense of their army, which is quartered upon and supported by other nations? But suppose the expenses were greater, what have been their resources to meet those expenses, and prevent the accumulation of debt? What have been their plunders, from Italy, from Holland, from Brabant, from Germany, from Spain, from Switzerland, from Malta? What too their annual tributes? What the amount of the crown and church lands? What the amount of the nobles' estates? What the amount of their annual taxes within, which, notwithstanding all the supplies of rapacious plunder, are beyond what crushed the monarchy of France? Since then the debt increases so rapidly, and the taxes are so great, who has devoured the plunder? Oh abused nation, will ye always be children!! your chiefs within make opportunities for the plunderers without, and those without reward with impunity the plunderers within.—Such is the system!

not be justified:—"It were better," said Alcibiades, "not to render any account of them." This folly was an oracle to Pericles, whose spirit has reached to Paris. The grand butt of government became the dissipation of the people, from the consideration of domestic ills. Is it not so at Paris? War and conquests abroad, pleasures and intemperance at home, were their means; and their hope succeeded. But the consequence? Let France look to it.

That the first principles of legislation are the principles of life to states, appears from the efficacy of their adoption, and the fatality of their rejection. They are the steps from lowness to exaltation; the means of invigoration in decline; the shield against death. For, that governments, like sublunary substances, bear in themselves the inseparable seeds of death, is a proposition from which I beg leave to dissent. Material bodies and moral combinations are widely different*. The action of existence must necessarily wear out the one, whereas the action of existence may improve and invigorate the other. The organs of life in the animal system become debilitated and will not admit of renovation; but the principles of life in the governmental system are laws, and these are capable of invigoration and amelioration. And herein consists the use of the policy of the passions; that by the wise harmony of laws with manners, vigour and virtue may be diffused through society. These truths are demonstrated by the rise and fall of the ancient republics. And this doctrine of legislation is at this moment corroborated by the case of France.

* On this ground I must beg leave not to go so far as the philosophy of Condorcet would lead us on the *perfectibility* of the human species. In applying his principle to our *organic* system, he says, "La mort ne ferait plus que l'effet, ou d'accidens extraordinaires, ou de la destruction de plus en plus lente des forces vitales, &c." *L'Esprit Humain, 10^e Époque.*

On the revolution, this nation did not form their laws upon their manners, according to the first principles of legislation, but undertook to form their manners to the laws which they were about to introduce. Whereas, the wise state physician will, according to the disorder of the passions, combine and prescribe his remedy of the laws. But when, for the purpose of introducing a *new* medicine, an habit of old disease is infected with the virulence of fresh disorder, it is a practice beyond quackery: we must hand it over with the barber's basin to the head of Quixotism. And in the sound and sober combinations of objects, means, and consequences, what difference is there between the enthusiast of the woful countenance and those of the merry mien? We find that amidst all their new laws, their passions have, after most violent agitations, settled upon their ancient centre—not of gravity. But as we cannot wade through this abyfs of their laws, nor fix nor follow their meteor principles, let us touch upon the summit of things, which will show the inefficacy of their policy through the progress of events.

The morals of France had been undermined by monstrous and successive groups of the passions. These passions hollowed out an abyfs under the altar and the throne, in which both were finally engulfed. The monarchy being thus annihilated, a general cry set in against all the distinctive marks of elevation. Even the polished manners of refinement implied crime in the eye of revolutionary rage. The leaders remarked this: and grossness became a pivot to popularity. The philosophers remarked this: a prominent feature, said they, in the character of some ancient republics was grossness;—the characteristic too, by which we censured, in the time of our mistaken monarchy, the manners of the English—for it run with the vulgarity of repetition through every street—was grossness. But grossness is undistinguishing equality, it is the
antidote

antidote and enemy to soft and luxurious superiority: let us all be gross. The legislator heard this; and being taught by the leader and the philosopher that grossness would form a contrast to the high who had fallen, and an assimilation to the low who were rising, he immediately joined in the cry, holding forth that what was the *mode* in Sparta, and imputed to be *à l'Angloise*, must be the *vis vitæ* of liberty, and would, under French improvement, give immortality to the republic. With these sentiments to qualify the brutality of vulgar republican rage, the whole mass of men was transformed into a crew of monsters.

From the physical susceptibilities of the French, and the moral bias of their nature, this sentiment of grossness soon widened into the most hideous degeneracy of atrocity. It was first roused by the stimulus of hatred to the established orders—it was then accelerated by an impetus of violence, which pervaded at that crisis all the thoughts and actions of men;—it was invigorated by the hopes of avarice; spurred on by the energy of ambition; and maintained its duration till novelty lost its spring, and crime was glutted with its horrors.

The last stage of excess, however, became the first one toward a change, and the characteristic manners of the nation have gradually found their level again. So that we behold, amidst all the new laws formed upon new principles, the Directorial Parisian fluttering about the throne of old passions, as gay and complimentary as any monarchical marquis. But is there any example, from the day of creation to this moment, of a nation, long rooted in its manners, becoming pure from having been corrupt? I know of none. How sublime then would have been the achievement (for it is within the compass of moral effects), by a wise legislation, harmonizing with the passions, to have gradually changed
and

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and exalted the whole moral system of France ! But since the moral nature of men constitutes the moral nature of states—for as men are composed of passions, so must societies, which are composed of men—consequently as men become victims to those passions, so must states, when the legislator has not spread his laws between societies and their manners. This the French have not done ; their moral system is an incongruous mass. They have added but new virulence to their old passions. It is, however, the spontaneous nature of the passions to grow in malignancy ; and their shade deepens as it diffuses itself from one to many. Thus what was egotism in the individual, (and where upon the face of the globe was this odious characteristic more glaring than in France ?) starts into insolence and pride in nations. Personal pride too swells out into national ambition ; and ambition being a passion of a double nature, which is composed of pride, and the desire of possession as the marks or instrument of power, we may contemplate its effects in an image of France to-day—a bloody colossus, brandishing in one hand the huge sword of vain glory, holding in the other the vast sack of spoliation, and trampling upon thrones and altars.

But since such is the alarming result of the policy of this republic, what is to follow ? From the foregoing facts of plunder and oppression—*chi compra terra, compra guerra*—and from the gross violation of all the solid principles of legislation, considered externally and internally, we are warranted, upon the grounds of equity and incontrovertible experience, to say, *that France must undergo a change*. Her policy is inconsistent with the honour or security of other states : it is wholly incompatible with her own existence : her moral system leaves her *supreme* but in *folly*, and the madness of her ambition must terminate in *equality*, with *ruined Athens*. That republic would have enslaved all the other states of Greece.

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To that republic then let France look, and tremble : let her look to ancient Rome. But a nation condemned to eternal infancy, can never emulate Roman grandeur. Britain possesses her vigour, France has her vices. Rome was the robber of states ;

“ Omne sacrum rapiente dextra.” HOR.

But where is now that ancient Rome ? the theatre of all grandeur ; the town of all nations ! She beheld Europe, Africa, and Asia enchained to the car of her triumph : she carried on the wings of her victorious eagles her thunder so far, that the nation passed as unknown upon the globe, which had not been vanquished or surmounted by the Romans. This Rome had risen upon the *ruins* of an hundred realms—but by *its ruin* an hundred realms enriched themselves with spoils. And at present what remains of it ?

The picture of fallen states offers an instructive lesson to nations, at this moment. But there is something peculiarly striking and worthy of observation in the fall of Athens.

“ In Athens,” says Plutarch, “ there were men not to be surpassed in the world : but its bad citizens were not to be equalled in impiety, perfidiousness, and cruelty, by any age or country.” Plutarch was an historian, not a prophet : he spoke of things that had been, not of men that would be.

Athens was renowned for the polish of its manners and the splendour of its military character. The important battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea, had given new lustre to its glory, and new power to its consequence. Its citizens, therefore, aspired to a superiority above the other states of Greece. Proud in their power, and haughty in their success, they grew arrogant in their demands, and claimed supremacy. They hurled the brand of discord and war amongst nations, to light themselves to aggrandizement upon

the

the ruins of their fall. For, notwithstanding their confused democracy within, the success of their arms without had forced the other states of Greece into subjection. It had awed them into a confederacy. *These conquerors went on to the borders of Egypt*, having at that moment, according to Aristophanes, a thousand cities under their dominion. But their arrogance abroad, and intemperance at home, sealed the instrument of their fate. The abused states united.

The destruction of that people was resolved on, which claimed paramount power over the rest. A *single pique* was widened into universal war, and the arms of all nations were turned against Athens. After twenty-eight years of bloodshed, it fell into ruin. Thirty tyrants started up to oppress her within, and she groaned under the weight of her own calamities. These monsters, with power in their hands, exhibited but deeds of blood, and designs of horror. All those who had possessed themselves of estates were put to death without form of justice. And, without pique or grudge, those were sacrificed for their riches, who had sacrificed others for the same. Their transports of cruelty and covetousness were so boundless, that they turned even upon themselves, and spared not Theramenes, one of their own number. Again, however, Athens raised its dying head for a moment under Philip; but it fell under the final hand of the Romans. May this picture not prove a prophecy!

Humanity must renounce all sentiments of sound policy, were it to admit the "*Delenda est Carthago.*" It was the death-warrant of Rome. But as the government of France is an empoisoned source, as her system, physical and moral, is death to her own and other states, something salutary must be done. The subjects of the universe expect, and have a right to expect it from their governors. There is but one voice and one arm at this moment throughout Asia, Africa, America,

America, and Europe, to repel this robber of universal peace. Will not governors then avail themselves of this honest and indignant zeal of their subjects? Will they not give them that security which is their due, and use that power which they offer? Will the states of Europe, in particular, which groan under plunder and oppression, be abandoned by the chiefs of other nations with a brutal stupidity to their pending fate? Impossible! The eyes of men, we trust, are at length opened to the unprincipled and desolating system of France. Her sting is power: she is mad after power. She must be confined far within her own walls of brass, which reach from ocean to ocean, and the chains of fortification be used against herself. If the constituted authorities of Europe be honest to their subjects, or wise to themselves, such is their power at this moment, that they have but to say,—Let it be done,—and it will be done. Physical force, and moral power, is the nearest approach for man to Omnipotence.

And, in imitation of divine beneficence, this doctrine goes to save and not to destroy states. When Lyfander opposed Agis from utterly ruining Athens, he urged that one of the eyes of Greece should not be plucked out. But by this counsel he did more than save Athens; he saved Sparta. Nay, what is infinitely less than the destruction of a state, the fall of a single man, which is often the wish of hostility against a nation, may bring ruin upon the rivals of his nation. The wisdom and courage of Epaminondas had animated and directed the Theban power to stop the headlong ambition of Athens. But the death of Epaminondas proved no less fatal to these Athenians than to the Thebans. When there was none whose virtues they could emulate, or whose power they could fear, they lorded it without a rival, and laughed in luxury: they glutted in idleness, and befottered themselves

with

with debauch, until Rome cut the thread, and closed the scene. Thus England has been at once the scourge and salvation of France. Without the alarm of her power, and the awe of her virtues, France had been drowned in security, or torn and destroyed by intestine commotions. She sees not far, when with the voice of immoral rage and infantine bombast, she menaces extermination. As sure as the laws of Nature, the restitution would be equal, and contrary. So true is it, that sound policy is found justice.

By this maxim then, which is eternal, let the legislators of France square their policy. They must be aware, that though there be passions which lead to grand effects, yet they are grand like the influence of comets*. Those passions are not to be fomented, which render people formidable without and not virtuous within. They give a glaring and passing prosperity; but to their moments of intoxication succeeds an eternal lethargy. These are the passions which blind the spirit, but do not animate the soul: they were the passions of the Saracens, and the followers of Odin. There are passions, too, which lead to riches, conquests, and hardy enterprises, but not to civil virtue; which is true human felicity: such was the passion of cupidity which led the Celts from the North, and conducted the Spaniards into the New World. There are passions, which arm people against people, produce prodigies of intrepidity, create warriors and martyrs, but not citizens. Such are the passions generated by the rivalry of nations. But the wisdom of the laws is to combine with the form of government against the destructive influence of the passions. And, while they harmonize with their key, they will, by imperceptible modifications, vary and direct them, until their principle of activity becomes as salutary in force and tendency

* See *Filangieri* on Legislation, Neapolitan edition, 1784, vol. vii, c. 41, &c.

as it was destructive. I shall exemplify this. The love of power is the spring of activity in all governments. It exists, with a baneful tendency to itself and other states, in France. But this love of power may be so directed as to awaken the love of country. For they are both a modification of the love of ourselves. And this love of ourselves can be no where more strongly addressed than through the wisdom of the laws; which, combining with the form of government, will so exactly determine the powers and exercise of authority, that no individual will have lost of his natural condition, but each will have before him exaltation in the social condition. The wisdom of such laws and government therefore will produce, expand, and fortify the love of country: And the love of power will constantly invigorate and maintain this love of country. But the imperfection of the laws and government will as uniformly weaken, counteract, and destroy it. The history of Egypt, Persia, Greece, and Rome; the annals of Britain, and all nations renowned for their virtues, or for that happiness which flows from them, is an incontrovertible proof of those truths.

Such unerring evidence of facts should teach the numerous hosts of self-called philosophers in France, that sound policy is sound morality, right reason, and true philosophy. They should therefore, in conformity with these august monitors, impress upon their nation, that without universal justice all public power is sapless, and no authority can be of long duration. The greatest power* should, in truth, be the greatest bridle, and the first law of authority be duty. But authority* beyond law, or power without bounds, awakens a melancholy and awful reflection. Surely France at least ought to tremble at the doctrine which she has broached, of

* Senec. Eurip. Plin. Pan. Tacit.

“ *Libet si licet.* ” Will it be eternally true, that the slave stript of his chains pants, to rivet them on another ?

Thank God ! the moral system of Britain admits not this baneful principle, of “ *Libet si licet,* ” in public, or even in private. The throne stands above the cottage to protect it ; but its basis is too sound to fall upon or crush it. It looks down benignantly upon it, like a tutelary guardian from above. Yes, my Lord, Britain knows not, and never may she know, this deadly harbinger of revolution, except as a frightful admonition from our opposite neighbours.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JUNICUS RUSTICUS.

THE END.

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