

jected to any of those inconveniences : they are already on the battle ground ; they are accustomed to the climate ; they are an hundred against one. The inequality is obvious. The use of arms, military science, are on the side of the soldier who comes from Europe : yes ; but only for a time. All these tactics belonged in the same manner to the English against the United States. On which side did victory range herself ? The American Spaniards will grow warlike as the Anglo-Americans did ; they are the weakest to day ; to-morrow they will be strongest. To vanquish they have only to fly ; to obtain the victory, it is sufficient merely to avoid the combat, to substitute a national war for a regular one, to be constantly around their enemies and never before them, to harass them, exhaust them, and to effect that by fatigue which they cannot accomplish by force. In this place it is not a calculation of military force which we are to make, but that of human force. War is generally spoken of agreeably to the science itself and that species of honor which is required upon a small extent of ground, in a kind of tournament, by presenting yourself before the enemy, following all the rules of the art, and those things of course which have been established with respect to these sorts of fighting, in place of regarding the war in its object, the destruction of the enemy. And it is under this latter aspect that it will be considered in that which will be waged against the troops of Spain. Their enemies will not attack them in front, but in detail : they will be for harassing, for fatiguing, and finally for ruining, their enemies : they will do in America that which the Spaniards did in Spain against the French, and the troops of Ferdinand will do in his colony as those of Napoleon did in his kingdom. The example is there : it will be followed. It will be prescribed and imitated by those very men themselves, who suffered so much by it in Spain ; for how can it be doubted that a throng of those military Frenchmen and strangers will rush towards that field of glory or of torture, open to their turbulence, to their love of riches, to their desire of celebrity, to their horror at that inactivity to which the general allurement to quietness, adopted in Europe condemns them for a long time, to the desire of escaping from a kind of abasement and indigence, become almost the general inheritance of the military order, in place of that which but very lately regarded as the road to distinction and fortune ?

Spanish America will be guided in her combats by the ancient chiefs of the French and German soldiers. Those who have fought on the plains of Castile will encounter each other again on those of Paraguay, of Mexico, and of New Grenada. The companion of Dumourier, Miranda, opened the career ; thousands of others will crowd the same path ; the Englishman Brown * with the

*NOTE.—Is not Brown an American? Translator.

vessels of Buenos Ayres, has alarmed the coasts of Peru ; the former conductor of a handful of Frenchmen in Ireland, Humbert, has organized the battalions of Mexico. Who will venture to doubt, that a long succession of men, urged by the same motives, will not hasten to same countries towards the same conflicts, towards the same glory, towards the same fortune, towards the same relief, from a want of employment that torments them, of a wretchedness which degrades them, of a calm which leaves them too much of a void, towards the same satisfaction which justifies to generous hearts the propriety of an ambition, that associates itself with a great people, combats for their liberty, and for that of an entire world ; an enterprise the most grand and the most seducing that was ever undertaken ? The days of the first discovery of America are, as to her, renewed for Europe : a new world is discovered to her. If, at the first epoch, the Spaniards only hastened thither, it was because every one had, at that time, colonies enough ; that the route to America was but little known, & navigation but little pursued in the greatest part of Europe ; but at this time, when the road to America is frequented as much as that from Paris to London ; at this day, when the sea is inhabited like the land, with thousands of Europeans flocking to America to defend her, as the Spaniards flocked at the epoch of her conquest to despoil her, Spanish America will see Pizarros and Almagras proceeding from all parts of Europe ; she has already had her Lineirs, twice the avenger and preserver of Buenos Ayres ; and she will find others in all those Europeans who seek for glory and fortune, which they can no longer find in Europe. To speak with boldness, the altars of these two divinities have been thrown down ; or at least very much undervalued, in this part of the world ; but they will be raised again in America, in those colossal proportions which only belong to great revolutions, and in countries where every thing is still to be done. Spain, confined to her own particular means, very inferior to those of America, will, besides, have to contend against the most daring and adventurous men of every country ; and it is known that they include all that is considered the most dangerous on the face of the earth. Spain, carrying on war with detachments against the whole population of America, somewhat concentrated, would, it is very likely, by the aid of her superior tactics, obtain, in the first instance, some success, as the English did in their American war. Yet, it is in the nature of all wars to have a counterpoise of success ; but the inequality and the inconveniences of such a war are too visible not to operate against Spain in a manner the most unfavorable. Her reverses, which she could not prevent, would serve to inflame the courage of her enemies ; they would reduce her partizans to silence ; they

would prove discouraging to her soldiers : she would finish by not sending any more, from the fear of furnishing in their persons recruits for her adversaries. What attractions could she offer to them which would be an equivalent to motives for defection with which her enemies would be enabled to dazzle their eyes ? The gold and silver of their mines, the lands with which they would endow them, the wives which they might allow them to choose, are their means of speaking to the senses, and of fixing friendships by all the sentiments which carry men towards the desire of a better condition and towards the hand which can offer it to them ! Yes, in reviewing the whole of these considerations, in observing that it is with the campaign of Moscow before their eyes, as well as that of the war which was made against herself, and that Spain would have to encounter in America nothing less than a war which unites in the highest possible degree all the inconveniences which distinguished those two unfortunate expeditions, it is difficult to conceive how Spain could pursue the course she has done towards America. Will the lessons of experience be forever thrown away upon man ? But there is still more ; Spain has not even the means of continuing the war against America, and, on her part, the longer America fights the more she will acquire the means of resistance. The reason of this is plain.

America has become the support, and in some sort the nurse, of Spain, as, in the case of a family, the child, having become great and rich, supports the old age of its parents. Whence come the riches of Spain ; do they flow as tributes, as particular revenues, which, in turn, feed the public treasury ? Is it not from America ? This latter sends every year to the royal exchequer at Madrid the sum of 50,000,000 of Francs (about 12,000,000 of dollars,) and to Cadiz, more than 150 millions of francs (about 30,000,000 of dollars,) on account of general commerce, or as the income of particular persons. These revenues, conveyed to and expended in Spain, swell still more the public treasury, by imposts either direct or indirect ; for in Spain, as every where else, all that is consumed includes an impost. Now these resources are dried up, and their drying up completes the distress in which Spain finds herself by the events which she has experienced. At all other times this loss would have been apparent to her : why should she not be made sensible of it at present ? With what means, then, will Spain continue this war ? Will it be with the forced loans which she has imposed upon her commercial cities ? But this resource will not go a great way, and woe to the finances which are supplied by such means ! Spain which has not been obliged to provide for her own internal expences (*) much less to contribute to the expences of an American war ; with America to aid her, then she had a deficit : What will she do without

America, engaged against America ? It is therefore very probable that her expeditions of troops will go on diminishing, until she will not be able to transport thither a single man. Even allowing her the means which are denied to her, how will she adapt equipments to her various necessities, incalculable at a great distance on such a theatre of action and which, at the moment of their arrival, will no longer respond to the object which ought to effect ? To be always prepared, and not to lose the fruits of her first expences, Spain ought continually to hold in the first in America, the second in the sea, and the third in Spain, always under sail, to give succour in every quarter where it might be required. The extent of Spanish colonies require, also, forts proportioned to the vastness of this prodigious country : Spain must have five armies to keep in subjection the five great divisions of Paraguay, Mexico, Peru, Terra Firma, and New Granada, to say nothing of Chili, Brazil, and Porto Rico. It is accordingly, by hundreds and thousands of men as by hundreds and millions of money, that Spain will have to reckon. She depopulates herself by her first conquest of America : she will finish by the second the work of the first, without a like compensation ; for her colonies, whilst on the contrary, the latter will deprive her of them.

(*) It is known that the ordinary revenue of Spain, which is about 240,000,000 of francs (about 48,000,000 of dollars) has not been sufficient for the peace expenses of the country, even uniting to it the revenue of America, carried to Spain, and which is reckoned at 60,000,000 of francs (about 12,000,000 of dollars,) the debt has been successively raised to 700,000,000 of francs (about 140,000,000 of dollars,) which is a much greater proportion than that of France relative to her revenue. — Note of the author.

To be continued.

The ship *Messenger* has arrived at Salem in 36 days from Antwerp — She brings the following information :

A piratical schooner under Cathagenian colours, had been committing depredations in the North Sea, and plundered several Dutch vessels one a brig belonging to Antwerp, and had even taken the clothes from the captain's back.

Two thousand Hollanders (Quakers) were expected at Antwerp in a few days from the country to embark for America (Pennsylvania.)

Russian ship *Valerlandsleib*, Cazewinkel, was to sail from Antwerp for Philadelphia, with 350 passengers, (Quakers) the day before the *Messenger* sailed.

True American