

The Courier.

No. 466.

FRIDAY, September 12, 1794.

[Vol. X.]

CIVIL DEPARTMENT.

Fort St. George, November 11th, 1785.

IT has been resolved, that all Advertisements which appear under the OFFICIAL SIGNATURE of either of the SECRETARIES of this GOVERNMENT, or of any other Officers of Government, properly authorized to publish them in the MADRAS COURIER, are meant, and must be deemed to convey official and sufficient Notification of the Board's Orders and Resolutions, in the same manner as if they were particularly specified to any Servants of the Company, or others, to whom such Orders and Resolutions have a Reference.

ROBERT CLERK, Secretary.

GOVERNMENT ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following extract of a General Letter from the Honourable the Court of Directors, dated 22d April, 1794, is published for the information and guidance of their Servants upon this establishment.

By order of the Hon. the President in Council.
J. WEBBE, Ad. Secy.
Fort St. George: 6th September, 1794.

EXTRACT of a General Letter from England, dated 23d April, 1794.

Para. VI. By the act passed in the last Session of Parliament for the renewal of the Company's exclusive Trade, "Sec. 70," no Person who shall have held any Civil or Military Station, whatever, in India, in the service of the Company under the rank of a Member of Council, or Commander in Chief of the Forces, and who having departed from India, by leave of the Governor General in Council, or Governor in Council shall not return to India, within the space of five years next after such departure, shall be entitled to any rank or restoration of office, or be capable of again serving in India, either in the European or Native Corps of Troops, or in the Civil line, of the Company's Service, except in the cases therein mentioned; you will therefore be particularly careful to advise of the time of their departure from India, as well as of the permission you may in future grant to any of our Civil or Military Servants, to return to England, in order that the directions in the said act may be duly observed.

(A true Extract.) J. WEBBE, Ad. Sec.

GOVERNMENT ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Extract of a Letter from the Honourable the Court of Directors, dated 15th February, 1794, is published for general information.

By order of the Hon. the President in Council.
J. WEBBE, Ad. Sec.
Fort St. George: 6th September, 1794.

EXTRACT of a General Letter from England, dated 19th February, 1794.

Para. II. We have resolved that the Tonnage of Indigo, brought home in the Company's Ships arrived last Season, and which shall hereafter arrive, be reckoned by Measurement, this Resolution is to be published at your Presidency, for information of all Persons concerned in the Exportation of Indigo from thence.

(True Extract.) J. WEBBE, Ad. Sec.

ADVERTISEMENT.

NOTICE is hereby given, that the Honourable the Court of Directors have resolved that the Tonnage of Indigo brought home in the Company's Ships arrived last Season, and also, what shall hereafter arrive, be reckoned by Measurement.

By Order of the President and Members of the Board of Trade.

T. CHASE, Secretary.
Fort St. George: 8th September, 1794.

ADVERTISEMENT.

Zephth Stephen, Sister and next of Kin of Gregorio Miguel, deceased, by her Attorneys Anna Seth Avett, and Avett Seth,

versus
Sarad Coja Maul,
AND

Anna Seth Avett, Administratrix of Seth Avett, deceased,

versus
Sarad Coja Maul,

NOTICE is hereby given, that on Thursday the 18th instant, will be sold by Order, on the Premises, between 4 and 6 in the afternoon, a large Upper-roomed House and Ground, situated in Mootal Petrah, in Armenian Street, adjoining to the House of Coja Jacob Petrum, measuring 4 grounds and 1948 square feet or thereabouts—Conditions of sale as usual.

ALSO

On the next day between 10 and 12 in the forenoon, for ready money only on the Premises, the Household Furniture, &c. &c. of the above named Defendant, being his property, but have been seized by order of the Honourable the Mayor's Court.

(Signed) JOSEPH GREENHILL, Sheriff.
Fort St. George, 8th September, 1794.

ADVERTISEMENT.

NOTICE is hereby given, that an Application was this Day made before the King's Ordinary in the Hon. Mayor's Court of Madras, for Letters of Administration with the Will annexed, to the Estate and Effects of Francis Huddle deceased, late Widow and Relief of James Huddle deceased, to be granted to Ignacia Holmer, as Daughter to the said deceased.

G. PASLEY, Proctor.
Town Hall: 2d Sept. 1794.

ADVERTISEMENT.

NOTICE is hereby Given, that an Application was this Day made before the King's Ordinary, in the Hon. the Mayor's Court for Letters of Administration to the Estate and Effects of Joseph Anthony Banigore Deceased, to be Granted to Anne Banigore as Widow and Relief to the said Deceased.

J. S. HALL, PROCTOR.
Fort St. George: 2d Sept. 1794.

ADVERTISEMENT.

NOTICE is hereby given, that an Application was this Day made, before the King's Ordinary in the Hon. the Mayor's Court, for Letters of Administration, to the Estate and Effects of H. W. M. Swain, Deceased, to be granted to Alexander Stewart, as a Bond Creditor to the said deceased.

G. P. COOK, Proctor.
Fort St. George: 3d September, 1794.

ADVERTISEMENT.

NOTICE is hereby given, that an Application was this Day made before the King's Ordinary, in the Hon. the Mayor's Court, for Letters of Administration to the Estate and Effects of Adam Turnbull Deceased, to be Granted to Mrs. Marianne Hall, and Thomas Stephens, as Administratrix and Administratrix of John Hall Deceased, who was a Creditor of the said Adam Turnbull.

HALL AND CHALMER, PROCTORS.
Fort St. George: Aug. 26th 1794.

ADVERTISEMENT.

LIEUTENANT Darley, Administrator to the Estate of the late Assistant Surgeon Beydon, requests that those Gentlemen, who have not yet settled their accounts, will be pleased to grant him Bill on their Agents at Madras, for the amount of what they owe to the Estate, on or before the 1st of November next. It is also requested that all who have demands on the Estate will be pleased to send them directed to Lieut. Darley at Tiniricottah, by the above mentioned time, as none will be attended to after that period.

Madras, 8th September, 1794.

TO THE SUBSCRIBERS TO LIEUT.

COLEBROOKE'S VIEWS,

IN THE MYSORE COUNTRY.

NOTICE is hereby given that the Views are ready for delivery at Mr. Cockburn's Rooms in the Fort.

Those Subscribers who paid the full Subscription will be pleased to send Lieut. Colebrooke's receipt or that of his Agents and an authority to their Agents, to grant a receipt for the Views.

The Subscribers who have paid only half Subscription will be pleased to send the receipt of Lieut. Colebrooke or his Agents. An order for the payment of the other half, and an authority to their Agents to grant a receipt for the Views. Fort St. George: 3th September, 1794.

MR. JAMES AMOS,

Late of FORT ST. GEORGE in the EAST INDIES, has Opened an Office in Cannon Street, Bishopsgate, LONDON,

Where he purposes to Conduct Negotiations of Exchange with India and Agency business in General.

GOVERNMENT and India Stock, India Bonds, Navy and Victualling bills, Exchange bills, Annuities on Government Securities, Shares in Trading Companies, Navigable Canals &c. bought and Sold on Commission.

Loans on Mortgage Security Negotiated.

BROWN AND ASHTON.

CONTINUE to sell their highly approved FRENCH CLARET at seven Star Pagas per Dozen, and they have the pleasure to assure the Settlement, that they have found it to give general satisfaction.

TONTINE.

AT a Meeting of the Subscribers held this Day, the following Gentlemen were chosen to be the Committee for six Months, viz. from the 1st of September 1794, to the 1st of March 1795.

W. C. JACKSON, Esq.
J. BRODIE, Esq.
W. HART, Esq.
J. HAMILTON, Esq.
G. CHALMER, Esq.
J. HUNTER, Secretary

Madras Sept. 8th, 1794.

EUROPE INVESTMENT.

TO BE SOLD BY RETAIL.

THE Capital and well Afforded Investment of Captain John Gale, Commanding the Airly Cattle, Indianman, is now landing, and will be exposed for Sale, under the direction of Mr. Gordon the Purser.

N. B. Timely notice of the day, on which the Sale will commence and the particulars of the Investment, will be given in a Hand-Bill.

TO BE LET.

A HOUSE Ground Stabling, and other Godowns and Conveniences Next Door to the Paymasters at Trichinopoly, for further Particulars enquire of Mr. Samuel Chaplin, at Mr. Melvins Merchant, Fort St. George: or of Mrs. Chanlin, Trichinopoly.

Trichinopoly, 11th September, 1794.

MESSRS. BROWN AND ASHTON,

HAVE the Pleasure to inform the Ladies and Gentlemen of the Settlement, that they have lately received from the American Ship Arethusa, some very Superb Sets of QUEEN'S WARE, which are now for Sale at their Shop, next Door to the Mayor's Court, Fort St. George.

THE TABLE SETS

Contain Turcens with Covers and Dishes, Dishes of all Sizes, Curry Dishes and Covers, Sauce Turcens and Covers, Table, Soup, and Breakfast Plates, Sauce Boats, Salad Dishes &c.

THE DESERT SETS

Contain Fruit Baskets, and Plates of various Shapes and Sizes.

THE TEA SETS

Contain every thing necessary for Breakfast, or Tea.

The whole forming the most sumptuous and elegant Sets that were ever brought to India.

ALSO
A quantity of Black Hats and Bands, at the following reduced Prices—viz.

Common Sort, - - - 24 Pagodas each,
Fine Sort, - - - 24 Pagodas each,
Superfine Sort, - - 3 Pagodas each,

FOR SALE ON COMMISSION.

FIVE Shroud Hawfers of 8 and 8½ Inch. Sixteen Coils of 2½ Inch, Rope and Rat-line Stuff.

ALSO

About twenty-eight Candles of Nails, of different sizes.

Enquire of Messrs. Brown, and Ashton, Court Street.

MR. WATERS.

BEGS leave to acquaint the Settlement, that he has just received a small supply of real Genuine FRENCH CLARET, which he is selling at his Godown in Court House Street, at seven Star Pagodas per dozen.

He also continues to sell his Gin at the following rates.

CASES of 15 BOTTLES at Star Pagas 3½,
Ditto of 12 Ditto at Ditto 5,

EXCELLENT BRANDY in Casks at Star Pagodas 1 per Gallon.

RUM in Ditto at Fanams 38 per Ditto.

N. B. Mr. Waters has a few Dozens of excellent VIN de GRAVE remaining, which he is selling at five and a half Star Pagodas per Dozen.

To be Sold

BY MESSRS. SHARP AND HEEFKE,

BY PRIVATE CONTRACT,

AT THEIR ROOMS.

SOME very fine old Madeira in Pipes, warranted of the first Quality—Europe Cordage, consisting of Cables, Hawfers and small Cordage just landed, and Ships Blocks of all sizes, a Quantity of very excellent Gin, brought from Europe to Bombay by Captain Ngily, about one thousand four hundred Pairs of Bombay Shoes, made up for the Army, a large Quantity of Bilcuit, and some remarkable fine Mocca Coffee just arrived, not less than 2000 to be Sold.

SALES BY AUCTION.

To be sold by Public Auction,

BY R. HENDERSON;

AT HIS ROOMS,

Near the Wallajah Gate,

On Saturday next the 13th Instant,

AT 11 O'CLOCK IN THE FORENOON,

THE undermentioned Articles, viz.

FOUR Pair of elegant Pier Glasses, in barbed Gold Frames, about three Feet six, by two Feet two; seven new Watches, imported on the Rockingham; a very fine-toned Harpsichord, by Kirkman; a new fine Row of Keys; a beautiful hand Organ, complete with four Barrels; a large Europe Silver Waiter, a Quantity of Glass, consisting of engraved Wine and Claret Glasses, to match Wine and Water Glasses, Jelly Glasses, a Quantity of Brandy in Bottles, a large Assortment of fine Dacca Mullins and Handkerchiefs, fit for the Europe Market—and a great variety of other Articles.

ALSO,

The same Day will be Sold a strong Bay Mare and Bandy, the Mare is fifteen Hands high, free from vice, a remarkable fast Trotter and warranted found.

FOR SALE ON COMMISSION.

BY R. HENDERSON.

A QUANTITY of Arnee Mullins, Ganjah Flowered Mullins, Mullawar Mullins, all proper for the Europe Market, and will be Sold reasonable.

To be sold by Auction,

BY MESSRS. SHARP and HEEFKE,

AT THEIR ROOMS;

On Monday next the 15th Instant,

AT 11 O'CLOCK IN THE FORENOON.

The following Articles, viz.

A SEA COAT complete with Drawers, Chiniz, Bedding and Pillows, and a complete Teakwood Chest for holding Linen in a Cabin—a very excellent Bengal Bandy, little worn of the wear—fourteen Sea Coats complete, with Chiniz Bedding—eighty-seven Hammocks, with Bedding and Pillows—two Hundred and seventy pieces of fourteen Punjum Cloth—eighty-seven Pieces of Cunneys—and sixteen Bolts of Canvas.

And at the same Time will be Sold,

An excellent Aitcheen Horse—a very excellent Horse and Bandy, the property of an officer deceased—and a few Dozens of remarkable fine French Claret.

To be sold by public Auction.

BY SHARP AND HEEFKE,

AT THEIR ROOMS

On Monday next the 15th Instant,

AT 11 O'CLOCK IN THE FORENOON,

THE undermentioned Articles of SILVER PLATE, viz.

Five large Waiters or Salvers,
Two do. Wash-hand Basins,
Two do. Water Pots,
Three Fifth Plates,
One do. Knife,
Four large Table Circles,
Eighteen Candlesticks,
One pair of Snuffers,
One Coffee Urn,
Eight Salt Spoons,
One Tobacco Box,
Four Bottle Stands,
One Cruet Stand,
One Sugar Pot and Stand,
One Funnel,
Eighteen Rings for Curtains,
Three Screws,
One Tea Pot,
One Milk Pot,
Two Tea Funnels,
Three Pepper Boxes,
Two Mustard Pots,
Two do. Spoons,
One Nutmeg Grater,
One Marrow Spoon,
Six Silver Mounted Cocks,
Twenty-six Buttons,
One Fork Stand,
Two Quispidors,
Two Small Candlesticks,
One Waiter,
One Bread Basket,
Two Caskets,
One Corkscrew,
Twelve Tea Spoons,

AND
Two Silver Mounted Rose Water Bottles.

MUNRO and Co.

TAYLORS HATMAKERS &c.

CONTINUE to carry on the above Business as usually, at their House in North Street.

They have for Sale on Commission. Remarkable fine Madeira, warranted six years in the Settlement, also an assortment of excellent French Claret, Ale, Porter, Bombay Onions &c.

N. B. in consequence of the Europe ships arriving, they hope those Gentlemen indebted to them will have the goodness to Order immediate Payment of their Bills.

THE COURIER.

MADRAS.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1794.

A NOTIFICATION of the following tenor has been in public circulation since Wednesday the Ninth Instant.

LORD HOBART will be ready at the Fort House, on Friday morning (this morning) at nine o'clock, to receive those SERVANTS of the CIVIL ESTABLISHMENT and other EUROPEAN INHABITANTS, who may wish to be introduced to his Lordship—

Yesterday anchored in the Roads his Majesty's Ship, the *Suffolk*, COMMODORE RAINIER.

Under convoy of the *Suffolk*, arrived the long expected India Fleet, consisting of the following Ships:

Manfrin, Lloyd,	Hawkesbury, Price,
Melville Castle, Hal-	Dutton, Sampson,
dane,	Asia, Foulkes,
Carnatic, Jackson,	Camden, Dance,
Bulbridge, Maitland,	Dublin, Smith,
Queen, Craig,	AND
Goddard, Money,	Harriott, Packet,

PASSENGERS FROM EUROPE.

CARNATIC. — EDWARD SAUNDERS, Esq. of Council, Madras — Mr. Sherwin, Writer — Mr. R. Gillon, Mr. J. Gibson, and Mr. Smith, Cadet.

GENERAL GODDARD. — Colonel Fullarton, and Mr. MacDowall, for Bengal, Capt. MacRae, 76th Regiment, Mr. Sealey, Writer, on the Bencoolen Establishment.

DUTTON. — Colonel George Harris, 76th Regiment. — Mrs. Harris, Mrs. Wilkinfon, Miss Wilkinfon — Lieut. Burke, 52d Regiment. — Mr. Vernon, Cadet, and Mr. John Lane.

QUEEN. — Mr. Franckes.

MELVILLE CASTLE. — Mr. Edward Darvall, Mr. J. Hay, Free Mariner, and Mr. Traherne, Cadet.

BUSBRIDGE. — Captain Morrison, Mr. Hunter, Assistant Surgeon, Ensign Fraser, Mr. Macrelie, Cadet.

ASIA. — Mr. Darvall, Writer, Bengal — Mr. E. W. Collins, Mr. Aikill, Cadets of the Madras Establishment.

CAMDEN. — Miss Smith, Mr. G. Webb, Writer, Madras — Mr. W. Years, Mr. H. Wilson, Mr. W. Richards, Cadets of the Bengal Establishment.

ESSEX. — Mr. Woodford, Writer, Bengal — Mr. Chapland, Cadet, Mr. Parrien, and Mr. Baillie, Free Merchants.

To the List of Passengers on the *Boddam*, published in our Courier Extraordinary, we have to add the name of Capt. Macaulay.

HOME DESPATCH. — It may not be held superfluous in us to apprise Gentlemen, stationed at our Garrisons, and who may not have early access to the *Bengal Printer*, that the *Nancy Packet* was lying off Calcutta, at so late a date as the 27th ultimo. That she had at that time one Packet of letters on board, and expected a further despatch; which, it was supposed, would be ready before the close of the month. On the receipt of the after Packet, the *NANCY* was under orders to sail.

In Domestic Information, except such as relates to the new arrangements and arrivals, in an humble attempt at the satisfaction of public curiosity with respect to European Intelligence, we are afraid, that we have been in some degree negligent.

From the large importation by the fleet, an abatement in the price of European articles in the Madras Market, should seem but a natural consequence. ENGLISH CLARET is now selling at ten Pagodas per dozen.

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE.

G. O. By Government 7th September.

The Right Honorable LORD HOBART having arrived from England on the Company's Ship *Boddam*, and taken charge of this Presidency, and its dependencies — all Officers and Soldiers under the said Presidency, are hereby ordered and required to obey His LORDSHIP, as PRESIDENT in COUNCIL, and GOVERNOR OF FORT ST. GEORGE, accordingly.

Captain BEATSON having requested permission to resign the Office of TOWN MAJOR OF FORT ST. GEORGE, in consequence of his intention to return to Europe — The RIGHT HON. the PRESIDENT in COUNCIL has been pleased to accept the same.

Captain ALEXANDER ALLAN of the Guides, to be Town Major of Fort St. George. MAJOR MARCUS BEESFORD, to be *Adjutant* of the 8th Infantry to be *Superintendant* of the Camp, and EDWARD HALE ADDRESSLY Esq. to be *Private Secretary*, to the RIGHT HONORABLE LORD HOBART.

In the Courier Extraordinary and the preceding Paper, we endeavoured to place before OUR READERS as ample a selection from the English Prints, as time and circumstance would allow; and we proceed to add to the intelligence, previously communicated, such further Extracts, as appear to us, from their intrinsic importance and interest to demand an early notice. The length of the debate on COUNTY SUBSCRIPTIONS, which occupies so large a space in our present Paper, must, and we hope, will apologize for the deficiency in miscellaneous paragraphs.

In the bill introduced into Parliament, for the purpose of preventing any remittances to France, the following penalties have been adopted in the Committee.

Every person remitting money to the ruling powers of France, or to any person residing in France, from the 1st of January, is to be attainted of *High Treason*.

Every person supplying goods, wares, or merchandise, under the same circumstances, is to suffer the penalties of a *premiure*.

Every person accepting a bill of exchange draught, &c. is to forfeit double the amount, and the claim shall retain its force, notwithstanding that the same bill or draught may have been cancelled.

When Lt. COL. GREY was introduced to his Majesty on the 3th of April, he presented his Majesty with the Banners of Fort Bourbon, and a stand of Colours which Sir C. Grey took at *Martinique*. — The Inscription on the two principal standards were, *La Martinique Reconquise au nom de la Republique Francaise, Prix de la Valeur Republicaine*. Numbered 22 and 37.

The Standard of Fort Bourbon had twelve cannon shot through it from the British Batteries.

The King ordered the Standards to be put up in St. Pauls Church.

In the Star of the 1st of May, is the following Paragraph —

CAPT. MURRAY, who brought over the short despatches of the DUKE of YORK's victory on the 26th ultimo, in passing along the Frontier was informed that the French, by a rapid movement, had taken possession of Courtray, but whether with a view to plunder, or to establish themselves in the Post, he could not learn. General Clairfayt was on his march with six Battalions to dislodge them.

We learn that PRINCE EDWARD, who reached the Island of *Martinique* on the 4th of March, was in action a few Days afterwards, and behaved with that spirit and gallantry which so strongly characterize his illustrious Family. His ROYAL HIGHNESS's conduct is spoken of in terms of the highest admiration by the whole Army. On the 24th his Royal Highness took possession of the first Gate of Fort Bourbon on the Capitulation.

SIR CHARLES GREY found the Island of *Martinique* very much laid in waste — Several rich Plantations had been set on fire after his landing; but still much remained behind. There was, it is said, in Fort Royal Harbour 95 or 96 Vessels; and the whole Prizes taken in Fort Royal and St. Pierre are supposed to exceed in value one Million Sterling.

It was reported, and believed in the British Fleet and Army at *Martinique*, that the whole of St. Domingo, must be in possession of the British Forces, as *Captain White-lock*, the Commanding Officer, had written to Sir Charles Grey, that if he could send him 2,000 Men, he would ensure the reduction of the French part of the Island.

The Friends of the MARQUIS TOWNSEND, and they are every where, will find a sensible satisfaction in the perusal of the following Extract — There are some, who may chance to be unacquainted with the many Virtues of the Noble and Patriotic MARQUIS, who yet may derive a lively gratification in contemplating the loyal Spirit of the Irish, so forcibly manifested therein — And there are others, even in this remote Climate, who may draw, from the Extract, a favorable and felicitous conclusion.

THE FRIENDS OF MARQUIS TOWNSEND.

On Tuesday the 11th of March according to the annual custom, (this being the 24th year), dined in HARRINGTON'S Great Room, in Grafton-street, Dublin. The LORD MAYOR, as usual, took the head of the Table; Mr. LERS, supported by the High Sheriffs sat at the foot. There were present, The Archbishop of Cashell;

The Earls of Shannon, Roden, Clonmel, Mountmorris, and Ely; Viscounts Allen, Ranelagh, Sunderland and Jocelyn; Lords Mountjoy, Carleton, Concurry, Donoughmore, and Loftus; The Bishop of Clonfert; The Right Hon. Sir John Blaquiere; Mr. Beersford; The Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Mason.

The High Sheriff of the County of Dublin; Sirs Thomas Leighton, Boyle Roche, John Hasler, and Alexander Schomberg, Barons; Aldermen Warren, Reed, Emerson, Fleming, &c. &c.; Mr. William Cope, with other distinguished Members of the Common Council; Messrs. Neville, Tydd, Burgh, Mark Beresford, Tighe, Jephson, &c. of the House of Commons; Dean Bond; Colonels King, Sankey, Prendergast and Smyth;

With a number of other Gentlemen, whose names we have not been fortunate enough to obtain.

An Excellent Dinner being over,

1. The King, and God bless him! was drank standing, with three times three.
2. the QUEEN and ROYAL FAMILY — Three times three.
3. The PRINCE OF WALES — Three times three.
4. The DUKE of YORK, and his Army, with Success to the Allies, and Confusion to the French — Nine Cheers.
5. The Marquis Townshend, and Prosperity to the House of Rainham — with reiterated Cheers.
6. The Marchioness Townshend — with nine Cheers (standing.)
7. Lady Elizabeth Loftus.
8. Lady Ann Townshend.
9. Lady Charlotte Townshend.
10. The Earl of Leicester.
11. Lord John Townshend, and all the other Branches of that most beloved and illustrious Family.
12. The Earl of Westminster and Prosperity to Ireland — Three Cheers.
13. Lord Hobart, the Friend of Truth and Honour, with Prosperity and Happiness to him in every situation in Life, and that we may again see him in Ireland.

The evening concluded with a number of loyal and constitutional Toasts.

Colonel Mark Wood late of Bengal, has been elected Member of Parliament for Milborne-Port, in the Room of R. Johnson, Esq. who has accepted the Chiltern Honours.

The LATONA, of 38 guns; commanded by Captain Thornborough, being lately on a cruise in the Channel, fell in with three French men of War, an 84, a 74, and a large frigate; the whole of which superior force, were engaged by Captain Thornborough, who by his professional superiority, kept on their quarters, and by an unceasing and well directed fire, nearly silenced the two line of battle ships; and chasing the frigate, which made sail in order to get away, obliged her to cut her gunwales, in order to effect her escape from the LATONA.

Captain Thornborough on his return from his cruise to Portsmouth, fell in with, and captured the Conventional frigate, *La Blonde*. The thanks of the Lords of the Admiralty were publicly given to Captain Thornborough for his gallantry on this occasion, and which is scarcely to be paralleled in the Naval annals of England.

TRIAL OF WARREN HASTINGS.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 9.

Mr. Plumer having mentioned to the Court that he meant to ask a few questions of Marquis Cornwallis, his Lordship was sworn by the Lord Chancellor.

Mr. Plumer then proceeded to the examination, and asked a variety of questions, the substance of the answers to which were as follows: — He said, that he had visited the distant Provinces which had been under the Government of Mr. Hastings, and that he had never heard of any violence, bloodshed, cruelty, or oppression during the administration of that Gentleman; and that during the six years he (Lord Cornwallis) was in India, the Government never had heard of any personal complaint against Mr. Hastings, although it was known he was on his trial in England. That the character Mr. Hastings bore in India for the thirteen years he resided there, was, that the provinces and the people in general respected him much — that the Chiefs and Zemindars were generally liable to a tributary tax, and the proceedings upon the manner of payment it was difficult to describe. That the charge of hostility on the part of the Begums during the war with Cheyt Syng was well founded, so far as he could learn by general report, (here Mr. Burkes objection was over-ruled by the Court) and universal credit was given to that report. — That he did not know whether any Part of the money was restored; that during the 13 years Rebellion of Cheyt Syng the Begums were compelled to give the Nabob money and he never heard that the Begums were reduced to great distress, nor did he believe they were. — Nor did he hear that the British character had ever suffered in India in respect to the measures pursued against Cheyt Syng, nor that the provinces under the British Government had ever suffered more than those under the native Government. And being asked, whether upon the whole, he found any just cause to impeach the character of Mr. Hastings, he answered NEVER.

CROSS EXAMINATION

Mr. Burke said he should put a few questions, which he did; and his Lordship's replies will show what the questions were.

He said he had read the charges against Mr. Hastings, in the *Impeachment*, but not with any great degree of attention.

He knew of no private sum or sums of money taken by Mr. Hastings nor any thing of *four lacks of Rupees*, taken by Mr. Hastings from the Rajah Kellera. He never heard of it nor made enquiries about any such matters. He conversed with no Zemindars on the subject of Mr. Hastings's Government; all he heard was from public report; that he never did call upon the Zemindars at Bengal for tribute. He was not sure he said but during the war in the Carnatic, the Governor of Madras might have made a request of some aid. He never made any pointed enquiries about the disposition of the natives of the provinces: nor brought from India any copies of letters he wrote home nor could he take upon himself to recollect what despatches he sent five years ago, about the decline of agriculture and internal commerce, the letters would speak for themselves. [Here Mr. Burke read several extracts which mentioned, that the inhabitants were advancing hastily to poverty and wretchedness.]

He said he knew *Jonathan Duncan* very well; that his character was unimpeachable, that he sent him to the province of Benares, and placed implicit credit on the reports he made. Being asked if he knew Mr. Kirkpatrick, and what his representation from Mr. Kirkpatrick was, no evidence — he was not sworn, nor was there any document from him. It was however admitted to ask a question on the subject, to which Marquis Cornwallis replied, "he could not take upon him to say whether the representation was well or ill founded." He said he entertained the highest opinion of Sir *John Shore*.

Lord Walsingham, Lord Coventry, and Lord Stanhope asked a few questions.

Lord Harcourt desired to know, if from what the noble Lord had heard in India he had not reason to suppose Mr. Hastings had done most essential service during his Government there? — He said *most certainly*.

Lord Stanhope asked if the noble Lord knew any thing of the Ground of the coalition respecting the Mahratta war.

The Marquis said he supposed the noble Lord knew as much or more of a coalition than he did.

In the present, as in the preceding Session of PARLIAMENT, the MINISTER, according to PARLIAMENTARY REPORTS, received by the late arrivals, appears to have carried all his measures with a steady and commanding Majority.

The leading objects of Ministerial adoption the perturbed spirit of Opposition could not suffer to escape without resistance—a Resistance, which, in the reduced and mutilated state of the Party, happily discovered more of perverse Inclination, than of Efficiency and Power. On the Motions—respecting COUNTY SUBSCRIPTIONS—FRENCH CORPS—and the PRUSSIAN SUBSIDY—the OPPOSITION, in the existing Session exposed their violence and their weakness—the former in their SPEECHES—the latter in their DIVISIONS. The PARLIAMENTARY REPORTS on the above interesting Topics, as they serve to illumine the Political Body of the Times, it is in the intention of the EDITOR to publish, as occasion offers—He commences with the Debate on the COUNTY SUBSCRIPTIONS.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FRIDAY, MARCH 28.

COUNTY SUBSCRIPTIONS.

MR. SHERIDAN was sorry to have occasion for prefacing his motion, by soliciting peculiar attention from the House, without which, he feared, that it would be impossible for him to be heard; his propositions, on the other hand, would be such, as he hoped, would require only to be heard to be approved. Yet he would avow them, though plain, to be some of the most important, ever submitted to Parliament; so important, that he had once hoped to be spared the necessity of bringing the great principle of them to decision at this time, which was, perhaps, not very well suited to cool deliberation, and in which the Right Hon. Gentleman might certainly have prevented them from being discussed. It was in his power, without abandoning any of the proper objects of his measure, to have given him an opportunity of withholding the present motion; but he appeared to omit no opportunity, in the ostentation and plenitude of his power, of accomplishing even those measures, which, in one mode, would not have been opposed, by means the most harsh, ungracious and new. It was thus upon the question of landing foreign troops, the necessity and propriety of which, on a late occasion, would probably have been admitted by every man in the House. He, however, law in this an admirable opportunity for establishing a precedent, and disdained the Bill of Indemnity, which the House would have granted.

MR. SHERIDAN said, that he had hoped to have found the necessity for the present discussion removed, not only by the abandonment of the plan for County Meetings, but by the delivery of a message, which should desire the House to authorize the proposed Subscriptions. Every intimation of this sort had been avoided in the Message. He would otherwise, though he did not think Subscription the most effectual mode of raising an army, have gladly moved for a Bill to legalize such Subscriptions, or for a Committee to consider of the mode of granting more effectual supply. The question now to be decided, was simply, whether the people can give and the Crown receive supplies, without the intervention of Parliament? This was the question, and by what mode those supplies were granted—and whether they were asked or not was not material to it. He should consider the subject in three points of view.

1st.—Whether such supplies were contrary to the principles of the Constitution?

2d.—Whether, if not contrary to the original principles of the Constitution, they were supported by the usage of Parliament?

3d.—Whether they were not insufficient to the end proposed, and better to be declined?

In arguing the first question, he would lay it down as a principle, that though the denial of the right to take money from individuals, without their consent, was a security for private property, the security of public liberty required, that this money should not be taken, even with the consent of individuals, unless that consent was ratified by Parliament. Suppose, for a minute, that the contrary was legal, would it be contended, that, if Parliament refused money, individuals might grant it? Every man would reply—certainly not;—yet there was no difference between the two questions, nor any principle in the Constitution, which denied the latter, if it admitted the former position. He did not wish to revive the topics, which created so much heat in 1784; but, at that time, when it was generally known, that the House had been upon the point of refusing the supplies, application might have been made, had the maxim now brought forward existed, to the people, from that House; and the application might have been made under all the advantages of the rumour, so industriously excited, of a Coalition Faction, intended to dominate over the Crown. That the House had been upon the point of such a refusal was pretty generally known, and what had so lately been might happen again. If such circumstances were to occur, could it

be said, that an appeal of this sort would be lawful? The India Company, in the former instance, would doubtless have subscribed to the amount of the malt tax; but if the people had then been induced to give the supplies by Subscription, they would actually have subscribed, as if against the enemy of the Throne, in opposition to several of the most distinguished persons, a noble and learned Lord, for instance, who now held offices under it.

He should not be surprised to hear it argued, in support of the raising supplies by Subscription, that the House was not a true representation of the people; but, whenever might be his opinions upon that subject, till a Reform was legally made, he should consider to be a true representation, as to all questions, relative to its functions. This argument would totally delude the Constitution, for it was necessary to its safety, that no money should be obtained but through the House of Commons, and this principle was the ancient security for the existence of Parliament. There was nothing to unsavour like as a House of Commons upon true principles, whose business it was to speak plainly, and to avow its Watchfulness of the public money. As to the extent to which such subscriptions might be carried, he must observe, that there could scarcely be any such thing as a voluntary gift, which was asked by Ministers. When their influence was considered—when the danger which those, who refused, might incur of being marked, was estimated,—it would appear that very few gifts, so bestowed, could properly be called voluntary. One instance of this new mode of raising supplies was related of a meeting, held in the county of Dundee, in a letter just received by a noble Lord, whose name he was unwilling to mention. This letter informed his Lordship, that the meeting had resolved to raise two volunteer troops of cavalry of fifty men each, the expense of which should be defrayed by the Heritors, in proportion to their rent; but, having no power to tax those who were absent, the meeting had resolved to circulate papers amongst the absent Heritors, that all might have opportunities of affording proofs of their loyalty. The letter was signed "ROBERT HAY." Here was pretty strong intimation, that those who did not subscribe, would be branded with disloyalty. The persons at the meeting had resolved to pay into the hands of the Collector of the Land Tax eight months' assessment. It would be said, perhaps, that Parliament might direct the application of this money, but there was no law to require that it should be used in this way; so, with respect to the landing foreign troops, it was said, that the Minister should give information of it to Parliament, but there was no law to require that, if the landing itself was legal.

Upon the second point, Mr. Sheridan contended, that all the proceedings of Parliament were against the legality of the subscriptions. The petition of right, which put an end to benevolences, it might be argued, related only to those of a compulsory nature; but it was against those only that it could require security from the Crown. It could not notice or provide against the usurpations of private meetings upon Parliament; but so much did he think the privileges of Parliament invaded by the present practice, that what he had been thought to say lightly on a former day was his serious opinion, namely, that their Serjeant should be sent to bring to their bar the Chairmen of the meetings for such subscriptions. Mr. O. St. John, who in the year 1615, had been indicted in the Star Chamber for a paper, written against Benevolences, had quoted the Statute of Richard III, which enacted, that the subject should not be charged with benevolences, and had argued, that it was contrary to reason, that individuals should oppose their wisdom to the wisdom of Parliament, seeing that they could not know the King's wants, nor the amount of them, so that more or less might be granted than was enough. Mr. St. John was fined 500*l.* and ordered to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure.

LORD BACON, who supported the prosecution, said, that the benevolence in question was a pure benevolence, such as the people, in their good will, might give, not such as the Duke of Buckingham had defined "What the King, in his good will, may take." His Honourable Friend (Mr. Fox) had used at the Star Chamber the arguments of Mr. St. John, and he did not doubt, that if the Star Chamber still existed in England, his friend would be fined as Mr. St. John was; but the Statute of Car. 12. had entirely rescinded such benevolences, and, of course, such prosecutions. The Act of 1662, which had permitted a benevolence upon a particular occasion, even limited the sums to be given, and declared, that it should not be drawn into example. The next law upon the subject was the Bill of Rights. The practice of granting additional bounties to seamen and soldiers, whether strictly constitutional, or not, was entirely distinct from the present case, for money, in the instance, was granted to bodies, already recognised by Parliament. The case in 1743 was an extraordinary one. The next instances were those in 1756 and 1773, in which latter year, the Parliament was not sitting, the subscriptions; and of such importance was that circumstance thought, that Ministers were accused of purposely adjourning Parliament, though then there had been no requisition from them, the measure having originated with individuals. An Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Burke) had then, in the strongest manner, reprobated such subscriptions, and a learned Lord, with many

other conspicuous characters, had done the same in the Upper House; so that, if the measure was to be sheltered by authority very little could be found. There was even an attempt made in Parliament to disband the corps then raised. The letter in 1784, which had been indifferently called the democratic letter, and was advised by the Duke of Richmond, recommended the putting arms into the hands of the people, but had required no money, and was, therefore, no example.

MR. SHERIDAN now proceeded to his third point, and contended, that the measure of obtaining subscriptions was not suitable, or sufficient to the end proposed. Ministers had, indeed in some degree retreated, and appeared willing to make a compromise between their plan and the Constitution; but the first issuing of their proposals had completed the measure, as to their share in it. There could certainly never be a better time than the present for trying the dispositions of the people, for, as the expenses of the ensuing campaign would probably be about thirty-five millions, the amount of the voluntary subscriptions might be compared with that sum, and so the opinion of the people might be taken upon the war, which had been so amply described to them by the Right Honourable Gentleman not only as a war for their own country and constitution, but as a war for Europe for society, for good, order for property, and for many other valuable objects.—The subscriptions would certainly prove their opinions, and, if they subscribed only one pound each for their country, one for Europe, one for society, one for good order, and so on, a very large sum might undoubtedly be raised. Seriously, however, he thought the measure one of the most frivolous and obnoxious, that could have been chosen.—How could a subscription be called voluntary, at the head of which was the Lord Lieutenant of a country? How many persons would appear in it, on account of their own situations—how many on account of those of their relatives—how many, who like ink-sellers, might be ruined by the frown of a Minister—how many, left their loyalty should be suspected? The Right Honourable Gentleman wished to prevent contentions discussions out of Parliament as to the war;—was it a good mode to call such meetings, which, if referred to after another successful campaign, might induce persons to shelter their unwillingness to part with money under assertions, that their opinions were changed? Subscription was the most unequal mode of taxation, for, as each person's mode of living would be held to regulate the sum to be subscribed, who expended the whole of their income, would be held to contribute inconvenient sums, while those, who lived more frugally would pay but a share, disproportionate to their means. On a former occasion, indeed, a Bishop had contrived a dilemma for making all contribute largely. "Those whose splendour," said he, "must pay, because it is equal to that they have abundance, and those, who are frugal, because they must have become rich by saving." The Right Honourable Gentleman, while he was so much disposed to censure the French, was for ever mimicking their practice. The country was full of spies and informers. Extreme punishments were approved. In a confidence, that the loyalty of the people might be safely relied upon, and that the old mode of increasing the public force would have been as much more effectual as it was more constitutional than the present, he would move the following Resolution.

"That it is a dangerous and unconstitutional measure for the Executive Government to solicit any money, as a private aid, loan, or benevolence, for public purposes, without the consent of Parliament."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL said, that the present was an abstract question, and that, as such, he would give the same opinion upon it as he had given a few days before on another abstract question that had come before this House, namely, the landing of Hessian Troops in the kingdom. On a question of that kind, he contended, that the House ought not to take any decision, or come to any determination. When he had first heard it mentioned in that House, that voluntary subscriptions were illegal, he was very much surprised, and therefore thought proper to forbear giving his opinion until he had made a full enquiry into the laws and precedents of the country. Having so satisfied himself, he would not hesitate to declare, that the measure then under consideration was strictly conformable to the uniform practice of former periods. And when he recollected, that the practice had been sanctioned by the opinions of some of the greatest Lawyers and Statesmen that ever this country produced, such as Lord Hardwicke, the late Lord Chatham, Lord Camden, the late Lord Althorpe, &c. he was astonished to hear such opposite sentiments come from Gentlemen on the other side of the House: he was even to mistake the whole history of the country, until he had again examined and satisfied himself as to the fallacy of that doctrine, which Gentlemen were desirous to maintain.

The facts before the House were these, that papers had been sent to the several counties, soliciting subscriptions for the support of Volunteer Companies. These papers he had no knowledge of previous to their being sent, but he certainly should have advised the measure, had it been communicated to him, because it clearly appeared to him to be agreeable to the doctrines of all the lawyers and politicians of this country; and in referring to the several periods at which similar acts had been done, he would

begin with the latest. In the 1784, when a Right Hon. Gentleman proposed him (Mr. Fox) took a principal lead in the direction of affairs, and when Lord Camden and a Noble Marquis were in the Cabinet along with him, a measure similar to the present had taken place, when they supported the country in danger; and consequently the Right Hon. Gentleman must have advised the measure. Lord Shelburne at that time sent a circular letter to Sheffield, Newcastle, and other great towns of the kingdom, in which honours were expressed by his Majesty that they would give proofs of their attachment to their King and country; and that, therefore, in order to prevent any dangerous designs of the enemy, and to obtain an advantageous and lasting peace, they arm in considerable numbers. It was recommended to the Magistrates of those towns to take that letter into consideration, which was looked upon as an appeal to the zeal and loyalty of the people. It was dated the 11th of May, 1784. The towns were requested to furnish men in proportion to the number of their inhabitants, and no pay was to be given to them by Parliament. It was desired that the officers might be chosen from the Gentlemen of the town; and, as these were to receive no pay from Parliament, their voluntary services were equivalent to voluntary contribution, because they were to give that which was equal to money. It was moreover stated, in the same circular letter, that the widows of any of the officers who should be killed in battle were to have a pension for life.

In consequence of this letter, the citizens at Sheffield did open a fund for a voluntary subscription. The Mayor of Yarmouth, to whom a letter had been sent, returned for answer, that the people were very ready to subscribe, but were not able; that half their ships had been taken, and that they had already given 600*l.* for the defence of their port. The Mayor of Dorchester made an offer of men. The Mayor of Leeds did the same, and wanted to have an Act passed for taxing that town. Sunderland could not give men, but offered money. The Mayor of Carlisle had formed a Committee, in which resolutions were passed, that each member would subscribe a certain sum. In the country and towns of Yorkshire, upwards of 2070 men were raised. In Cambridge money was given, as the men, being added chiefly to a recede studious life, could not be said to prefer the *arma toga*. In Suffolk they subscribed. Scotland sent word it was too poor. Nothing in all these cases was done by Parliament, except settling pensions on the widows of the Officers. From all these cases directly in point, he would infer, that if such measures were taken at that time, how more necessary was it for us to do the same at the present period, when we were fighting for our *hearts* and our *altars*?

The next precedent he would refer to was that of the year 1778, when there were meetings of merchants to support Great Britain against the rebellious Colonies of North America. These raised subscriptions, to be applied to such uses as his Majesty should think fit. But if Lord Althorpe and Lord Camden did oppose that measure at that time, it might be asked, why did they support that of 1784, because this latter one was different from that of 1778 as it was from the present? If that was a dangerous measure, it was a danger that our ancestors had been incurring for centuries past, and which had been constantly practised since the Revolution. He thanked Gentlemen for meeting him so fully on this point, which he was prepared to defend; and to do that still more effectually, he would go from the authority of those great men he had named, to the authority of Parliament itself.

In the House of Commons, a Bill had been introduced by Mr. Wilkes, to declare voluntary subscriptions illegal; and in the House of Lords, certain resolutions to the same effect were moved for, both of which were negatived. This circumstance was sufficient to show the opinion that Parliament had always entertained on that subject.

In the year 1750, many places throughout the kingdom had determined to raise money to procure seamen; between which and the raising of volunteer corps, he saw no difference. Lord Camden did not then say that this was a measure to reward seamen for their services. If the Crown was not allowed to make use of its prerogative, from an apprehension of its being abused, the worst consequences might follow. The King and the people should not be contracted: the King was the Father of his people, and his prerogative was always exerted for their good.

He would next call the attention of the House to the period of the rebellion in 1745. Lord Hardwicke's words were at that time sufficient to show what had been done by the exertions of the people. The rebels, said he, soon saw the support his Majesty had met with; merchants and men of rank crowded in with liberal subscriptions. What motive had that great man to say so, and to declare, at the same time, that what had been done was legal, in order to have it handed down as a precedent to posterity?

After having stated all the above, he would, in the last place, come to the period of the Revolution, and the Petition of Rights. This was merely a recital of a statute passed in the reign of Richard III. it was chiefly intended to prevent the King from raising forced benevolences. There was a curious anecdote that happened at that time, stated by Lord Coke.—The King had sent to a widow for a subscription, who gave 20*l.* the King then sent for and kissed this widow, who gave 20*l.* more.—The benevolences petitioned against at that period were very different from voluntary subscriptions, which Lord Coke,

though the framer of the Petition of Right, declared to be legal. The statute *de tallagio non concedendo* *quod nata bene*, only said that there should be no forced benevolences, but did not say there should be no voluntary contribution.

At the present period why were the Nobility and Gentry permitted to raise regiments at their own expence? Why had the East-India Company been permitted, during last war, to fit out three ships for the service of his Majesty? And why should a Noble Lord (Loxdale) be permitted at the present time to fit out one ship? Why were Corporations permitted to subscribe? By law any man could bequeath property to the king, or to the public.

He did not wish that the House should come to any determination on the present subject, particularly at a time when Ministers were arming for the defence of the country; he did not wish that they should rashly condemn the measures which their ancestors had constantly pursued; and for these reasons "he should move the previous question."

MR. POWIS seconded the previous question, and spoke against the original motion.

MR. FOX said, that he had seldom attended with more curiosity any debate, than what had taken place on that day; and that curiosity was particularly excited by some personal circumstances relative to himself. He had been particularly anxious to know upon what Hon. Member was to devolve the task of charging him on the present question, and he was therefore anxious to see who it was who could stand up and "throw the first stone." It was impossible to suppose that a Right Honourable Gentleman opposite him could tax him with political inconsistency. Was it then to be performed by a young Member on the same side with that Honourable Gentleman? When he considered these things, he recollected an anecdote of an English Gentleman in Paris, who spoke bad French, and having some occasion for the chamber-maid where he lodged, he called for a *pucelle*, a virgin, upon which a female child, seven years old, was brought him. He certainly did expect that the charge against him would have come from some young Member, as the child had been brought to the Englishman in Paris. How great then must his surprise have been to find it made by the Learned Gentleman who spoke last? The Learned Gentleman came immediately to the period of his attack in the year 1782, and went at once on the board principle, that he who gave money's worth gave money. In 1782, not a single subscription was entered into in consequence of the letters sent, nor were men to have been raised in the manner as proposed at present. It was only intended, that, in order to render the country less helpless, the people of the several towns should voluntarily take up arms, and occasionally learn the use of them; but that they should not thereby be prevented from following their several trades and occupations. Now the charge against him was, that, when in the Cabinet, he had supported the raising of troops by subscription. It was no such thing; he was of opinion, at that time, that it was illegal; and in that opinion he was supported by eleven Members of the Cabinet, among whom was that noble and excellent character Lord Rockingham, whose worst enemies could never charge him with verbiage. Even against the measures then proposed, there was one objection made, that it went to arm the people, and put them on the same footing as the Volunteers of Ireland, a circumstance much condemned at that time, although the institution was afterwards found to be attended with very beneficial effects. Surely he and his friends could not be so absurd, as in the first act of their Administration, to do that which in the year 1798 they so much disapproved of. But that last mentioned measure was not similar to the present.

The Learned Gentleman asked why fault was found with the East India Company for giving three ships? Why not with a Noble Lord, for given one, although he believed that ship was not in the list of the Royal Navy? His answer was, that he did not approve of those things.

But why was not a disapprobation expressed at the East India Company's donation by Gentlemen opposite him, who were then in Administration? He did agree with Lord Ashburton, in 1778, that voluntary subscriptions were illegal; and if he afterwards agreed to a measure bearing some resemblance to what he before condemned, those great and learned men then in the Cabinet were able to shake the opinion of an unlearned man like him. But there was a difference between permitting an irregularity, and expressing approbation of it. Here Mr. Fox read over most of the Acts of his Administration, which had any allusion to the present question.

As to the donations given in the year 1756, they were no more than what were given last year to the troops in Flanders. As to the events of the year 1745, no man could endure that there should be quoted as precedents, unless his understanding was quibbled away with legal distinctions. The authority of Lord Hardwicke he paid great attention to; but his opinion was delivered on a particular occasion, and in a time of great danger and necessity, after he had sat on the trial of the Rebel Lords. Before the Statute of Richard III. benevolences were taken, and it was there expressly stated, that "a man shall not give what he listeth;" he should

not make voluntary gifts, because the example would be a kind of compulsion to others? Was it innocent, in Parliament to sanction such things? Should voluntary gifts be once established, might not the King support an army without a Parliament?—But were the present voluntary gifts?—No, they were worse; they were solicited. The Secretary of State, in the name of the King, wrote letters to the Lord Lieutenants of the Counties, desiring them to take the matter into consideration. Was not that a request from the King? The only relation between the King and his subjects was, that he was to command, and they were to obey. When the King requests from his subjects individually, he puts himself in a situation which lowers his dignity.—Was it to be supposed, that when an individual, placed at such an immense distance above all others, asked a request of any of them, that they could refuse him? In applications of that kind, were we not men constrained? And was it not probable that Ministers might advise his Majesty to mark those who should refuse his request? That request, then, he maintained to be nothing less than a command.

But it had been said, that this would not be a tax on the poor, because men were not required to pay, who could not afford it. That he would deny. The interests of the rich and the poor were not to be separated. There was never a tax laid on the rich, that was not felt by the poor. It had been for this year past said in France, that all persons were to give up their luxuries and superfluities; that if a man had been accustomed to two dishes a day, he should give up one. That was a grievance upon poor persons, who might have been fed from the rich man's table before. To introduce, therefore, a system of begging, was to place men in the disagreeable alternative of refusing, or doing that which they would not wish to do.

Let Ministers attribute what malice they pleased to those who detested the war; let them, if they pleased, say that the French, upon landing in Kent, would go to attack Walmer Castle, and pass by the mansion of one of their friends;—that in marching through Sussex, they would attack Goodwood, and leave Arundel Castle behind them. Let them attribute any motives to him and his friends, he trusted they would all ways be found ready to defend their country in actual danger, as they were then defending the Constitution. The present impolitic measure had a tendency to awaken those mutual jealousies and animosities which were said to arise from a dangerous democratic spirit throughout the country. It had a tendency to discover what the political sentiments of men were; because, if a man should refuse to subscribe, it would be said that he was disaffected to the Constitution. And besides the impolicy of the measure, was not its utility evident? He was persuaded that not much more than 300,000*l.* could be raised by it. Mr. Fox then made some allusions to the secession of so many gentlemen, who had voted with him in that glorious minority near the conclusion of the American war. He was the day before at a Meeting of the County of Surrey, at Kingston, where he heard the Lord Lieutenant say that there would be a majority of that House against him.

His Honourable Friend had mentioned, that he would support a Bill to enable his Majesty to receive subscriptions. He was of a different opinion. He would oppose any such Bill, or any clause introduced into a Bill to that effect, as a bad prospective measure; because no individual whatever had a right to give. Even if the House of Lords should pass a vote, that they would subscribe each and individually, the Commons should consider that an infringement on their privileges, and not suffer it to take place. An adherence hitherto of that House to its privileges, was the circumstance that preserved our Constitution so long, and made the British Government so different from all the Gothic Governments of Europe.

Mr. Fox observed, that no unwillingness to vote supplies to his Majesty could be imputed to the House of Commons. When they had already voted between thirty and forty millions for the service of the current year, they certainly might have now been trusted to provide for maintaining any troops that might have been necessary for the defence of the country. The voluntary subscriptions could not there be justified on the ground of necessity.

MR. WYNDHAM admitted that the Hon. Mover of the resolution had put the case fairly and strongly, but he had undertaken to prove more than he had been able to make out. His statements had been too hard for his facts, and if there was a person who doubted, concerning the legality of voluntary contributions, before he heard the Hon. Gentleman's speech, he must have been convinced that they were legal and constitutional, after he had heard it. He would not make any objection to the general doctrine, that the power of the purse was the proper control which the House of Commons had over the Crown; but this principle, like all others, was liable to exceptions. If taken in its full extent, then every farthing of money, given in any manner whatever to the King, except by that House, was dangerous, inasmuch as it tended to render him independent. The Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) had supposed a case where the

House of Commons should be very unpopular, as in 1784, and the people ready to support the Crown by subscriptions; and finding that they must be proportionably dangerous in every lesser case. However this mode of arguing from greater to lesser cases, might be good in matters of science, law, or even morality, he thought it completely inapplicable to matters of political wisdom.

"De majoribus minores non curat lex."

The proposition which was now brought before the House, was one of these that could neither be universally affirmed or universally denied. But the Hon. Gentleman knew no medium. He went upon the modern refinement of applying every thing to a general abstract principle. Though this was a question of political wisdom, and therefore not subject to the strictness of positive law, yet the Hon. Gentleman had argued it as a legal question. His opinion upon the subject was, that when the people do not cry out against subscriptions, no danger can be apprehended from them. When they did express their fears, then it would be evident that the contributions had become compulsory, and it would then be time enough to make declarations against the legality of them. He disliked abstract declarations, unless there was danger; but could any man in his senses now fear that what was doing in this country had any tendency to revive those compulsory benevolences and forced loans, which the people had long ago exclaimed against, which had been destroyed, and almost forgotten; the very seeds of which had been lost, never to sprout up again? No man could entertain such an apprehension.—The Hon. Gentleman had formerly been of opinion (in 1784) that the constitutional control of the House of Commons was not in its power of refusing supplies. He now argued, that the subscriptions tended to destroy a control, which, according to him, did not exist. It had been reported of himself, in a commercial city (that which he had the honor to represent) and probably there, because it was the place in which the report was most likely to hurt him, that he had said, speaking of commerce and the Constitution, "Perish our Commerce, and let our Constitutional liberties be preserved."—He had never expressed this sentiment, nor did he wish ever to be obliged to make an election between our Commerce and our Constitution.—A Right Honourable Gentleman had said, that not one word had been said about subscriptions in the act which sanctioned the levy of the troops.—Really this was an observation that he would have expected only from a Lawyer, and a Lawyer of no great eminence; not from the Right Honourable Gentleman. If the troops were granted, was it not implied in the grant, that the means of establishing and supporting them would be also granted? The troops could not be raised without money. When a Bill passed for raising so many troops, it was necessarily implied in it that a competent sum should be provided to maintain them. In affairs of commerce, if a merchant directed his agent to procure him certain commodities, without saying any thing about money, it would be understood that the principal was to make good the sum which the agent might expend.

From these considerations it would appear the subscriptions had, or very soon would have, the sanction of Parliament; and as he did not believe there was any possibility of reviving the exploded doctrine of compulsory contributions, he did not think the present subscriptions required any Parliamentary Declaration, and he would therefore vote for the previous question. The Right Hon. Gentleman, Mr. Fox, had alluded to his conduct in the subscriptions during the American war.—He did not allow this to be fair and candid way of reasoning, to *lay out* for the votes of Gentlemen, by reproaching, or threatening to reproach them, with inconsistency without considering at all the merits of the case.

Valuable as political consistency was to his character, he would not, if he had been inconsistent, sacrifice truth to it. He would always act according to his last consideration of things, whatever opinions he might have formerly given. Least of all was he delirious to be consistent in persevering in error. But at present he did not feel himself under any difficulty, nor apprehend that he could be convicted of inconsistency. He certainly had opposed the subscriptions for carrying on the American war, because he thought it unjust, and because he wished that America might not be overpowered by this country. His love of his country, great as it was, had yielded to justice. He was a trait that the war might have become popular by the subscription, and that troops would have been raised to oppress the Americans. He wished to throw every possible obstacle and impediment in the way of that war, and for that purpose only he had opposed the subscriptions. The arguments of the illegality, such as they were, used to night, were then going, and perhaps he might have taken them up, as he was right in making every objection, good or bad, to a measure which he disapproved. He would admit, that if the Right Hon. Gentleman felt, concerning the present French war, as he had felt upon the American war; if he thought France had justice on her side, and that the cause of human nature was in danger, then he (Mr.

Wyndham) confessed, that the present opposition to the voluntary subscriptions was just, on principle. He was not certain that he had stated any thing farther than doubts of their legality. The Hon. Gentlemen, who had lately, as they thought, supported the privileges of the people, arrogated to themselves the titles of the only champions and defenders of the Constitution, because they opposed the Royal prerogative. They defined all those who loved the Constitution to fly into their arms. There was a good old Spanish proverb, which was not inapplicable, "Take care of me against my friends, and I'll take care of myself against my enemies." Yet these Gentlemen, the redoubtable champions of the Constitution, who seemed to feel pain, if the winds of heaven blew roughly upon it, were always ready to lop off its limbs, and supply their place with wooden legs and patent springs, and to deliver up the object of their affection to the savage knife of every frantic reformer. If they were permitted to lorn and reform as they often proposed, the old friends of the Constitution would not know it again. The constant opposing of prerogative was not a sufficient characteristic to mark a patriot; it was at best but an equivocal claim to patriotism.

In his opinion, the prerogative was necessary to be defended for the preservation of the liberties of the people, as much as for any other purpose. It was not a favorable circumstance to the Hon. Gentleman that they were always joined in their constitutional exertions by a set of men, whose wild and frantic ideas of democracy, if brought into practice, would accomplish universal destruction. The Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) had not relied much on the strength of his proposition, or he would not have gone to such a variety of topics to prove it. If subscriptions were clearly unconstitutional, where was the use of taking up so much to prove their dangerous tendency, considered abstractedly? The objection that persons who did not subscribe would be looked upon as disloyal, had little weight. Many would not contribute, though they were much attached to the Constitution; they might love their money better than the cause; a circumstance not inconsistent with a considerable share of loyalty.

In what company were the Hon. Gentlemen in their motion this night? In the year 1745, Sir Hyde Cotton and others, who were known to favour the views of the French and the Pretender, had held precisely the same opinions of subscriptions. They too, after the King's troops were defeated, and when there had been a general alarm in London, and in all the kingdom, affected to ridicule the danger. The other party were the *Alarmists* of those days.—Sir Hyde Cotton and his friends ridiculed them for their fears.—The Hon. Gentleman again expressed his abhorrence of abstract declarations, when there was no real danger of abuse of power.

MR. FOX said a few words concerning the subscriptions in 1782.

SIR JAMES SANDERSON called the attention of the House to the subscriptions in 1759. The City of London, always loyal yet always jealous of the Royal Prerogative, had contributed to the public defence, and they had received a letter of thanks from Mr. Pitt, who had then so prosperously directed the affairs of the country.

MR. SHERIDAN begged the attention of the House for a few minutes. He took notice of the motives that an Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Wyndham) had imputed to himself, and those who acted with him. There was a time when he would have heard that Honourable Gentleman's speech with regret; but now he was not at all surprised at it. He had asserted his right of changing principles and connections, with great eloquence. The command of words, which he possessed, had often enabled him to make himself obscure, with a most curious facility. Now, he had spoken out fairly and manfully; he had concealed nothing. With regard to his observations on the Constitution, perhaps it could find as good a refuge with himself and his Hon. Friends as with the Honourable Gentleman and his Friends. Did he recollect the epithets he had often applied to his present Right Honourable Friend? What he had said of his manner of coming into power? That he would unmask this pretended patriot, strip him of his ornamental impudence, and exhibit him to the ridicule and derision of the world in his filthy dowls. Certainly that Right Honourable Gentleman was as well entitled to pangyvie now, as at the time when those expressions had been applied to him.

MR. SHERIDAN here made some severe remarks on the insinuations which he supposed Mr. Wyndham had intended, when he compared the conduct of Sir Hyde Cotton, in the rebellion of 1745, to the conduct of the Gentlemen with whom he (Sheridan) now acted. Did the Honourable Gentleman mean to represent him as a favourer of the French? (A loud cry from the Ministerial side of hear! hear!) Was he to understand by this cheer, that he had rightly understood the insinuations of the Hon. Gentleman? (The cry of hear! hear! was repeated.) If there was any Gentleman in the House, who thought that he was acting from

(Continued in the Supplement.)

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