

The Courier.

N^o. 468.

FRIDAY, September 26, 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 shall 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 in any Servants of the Embassy, 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 23d 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, Act. Secretary.
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, whatsoever, 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 advance 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, Act. Sec.

GOVERNMENT ADVERTISEMENT.

The following Extract of a Letter from the Honourable the Court of Directors, dated 19th February, 1794, is published for general information.

By order of the Hon. the President in Council.
J. WEBBE, Act. 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, Act. Sec.

ADVERTISEMENT.

NOTICE is hereby given, that on Monday the 20th Instant at 11 o'Clock in the Forenoon, the Honourable Company's Copper and Iron will be Sold by Public Sale at the Seagate.

The Articles to be paid for, and taken away within fourteen Days after the Sale, in default of which they will be re-fold, and should any Lots arrive, the original Purchasers are to be held answerable for the same.

The Purchaser to deposit one Star Pagoda in the Hands of the Import Warehousekeeper as earnest Money to bind the Bargain.

By Order of the President and Members of the Board of Trade.
W. WEBB, Imp. W. K.
Fort St. George: 16th September, 1794.

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.

NOTICE is hereby given that an application was this day made before the King's Ordinary in the Honourable the Mayor's Court for Letters of Administration to the Estate and Effects of Goverdanna Dofs, Gredhara Dofs, Deceased, to be granted to Pooroosamma Dofs, as Son and Heir, to the said Deceased.

G. P. COOK, Proctor.
Fort St. George: 17th Sept. 1794.

ADVERTISEMENT.

NOTICE is hereby given, that an application was this day made before the King's Ordinary, in the Honourable the Mayor's Court, for Letters of Administration to the Estate and Effects of Vullupah Soonda Gierderdof, deceased, to be granted to Batakilina Dofs Gierderdof, as Son and Heir to the said Deceased.

J. S. HALL, Proctor.

Fort St. George: Sept. 16, 1794.

ADVERTISEMENT.

NOTICE is hereby given, that Application was this Day made before the King's Ordinary, in the Honourable the Mayor's Court at Madraspatnam, for Letters of Administration of the Goods, Chattles, and Credits of James Mayo, deceased, with the Will annexed, to be granted to Mr. Thomas Parry, as the Substituted Attorney of Messrs. Hamilton and Aberdeen, who are the Attorneys of Charles Mayo, residuary Legatee named in the said last Will and Testament.

J. WHITE, Proctor.

Fort St. George, 23d September, 1794.

ADVERTISEMENT.

NOTICE is hereby given, that an application was this day made before the King's Ordinary in the Honourable the Mayor's Court at Madraspatnam, for Letters of Administration of the Goods, Chattles, and credits of George Stewart, late of Madras, Mariner, deceased, intestate, to be granted to the Hon. Lewiston Granville Keith Murray, as the late Constituted Attorney and friend of the said Deceased.

JOHN WHITE, Proctor

Fort St. George, September 16th, 1794.

ADVERTISEMENT.

WRIGHT and HURST have the pleasure to acquaint their Friends and the Public there is now landing for them a variety of Europe Articles, being the Investments of the undermentioned Gentlemen.

CAPTAIN JONES of the BODDAM,
CAPTAIN DANCE, of the LORD CAMDEN,
CAPTAIN LAMBIE of the MELVILLE CASTLE.

W. & H. expect the whole will be on shore on Tuesday next.

Fort St. George: 19th Sept. 1794.

BOLD and REIRDON.

MOST respectfully inform their friends and the public that they have now for sale Investments of Europe Articles Purchased of Mr. Reav, Chief Officer of the Dublin, consisting of English Claret—Port Wine—Hock—Remarkable fine strong and small Pale Ale in Casks—Porter in ditto—Europe bottled Ale—Hams—Cheese—Pickles, &c. &c.—fine Bloom Raisins—Almonds—Hats—and Stationary—Italian Plated weather Sliding Shades—large Lamps mounted complete—Wall Shades complete, &c. &c.

Fort St. George: 26th Sept. 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 Agent. 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: 5th September, 1794.

TO BE SOLD BY PRIVATE SALE.

A BULL Bitch, and five other Pups by a Newfoundland Dog, also two capital New-fondling Dogs—to be seen at a Godown facing the East end of the Church.

N. B. The Bitch is now with Pups by a fine Newfoundland Dog.

ADVERTISEMENT.

LETTERS of Administration to the Estate and Effects of the late Lieut. H. W. M. Swain, having been granted to Alex. Stewart, of Fort St. George, all persons indebted to the Estate are requested to make immediate payment to him, and those having claims thereon, to state the same for liquidation.

SALES BY AUCTION.

To be Sold by Public Auction

BY MESSRS. SHARP AND HEEFKE,
AT THEIR ROOMS

To-morrow, Saturday the 27th Instant,

AT 11 O'CLOCK IN THE FORENOON.

The undermentioned Articles—

BEING the Property of a Gentleman returning to Europe, viz.
An Elegant small Table Clock,
A Manila Horse, that goes remarkably well, with a Saddle, Bridle and Whips,
A very Excellent Bandy,
A Pair of Silver Shoe Buckles,
A Pair of Pillows and a Fuzee,
A Camp Table,
A Gold Watch,

AND

A Sword
The same Day will be Sold a few Leaguers of remarkable fine Batavia Arrack.

Fort St. George: 25th September, 1794.

To be Sold by Public Outcry

BY MESSRS. SHARP AND HEEFKE,
AT THEIR ROOMS,

On Wednesday the 1st of October,

AT 11 O'CLOCK IN THE FORENOON,

THE Dutch Keelb Sorg, built in January last, burthen about 100 Tons, and now lying in the Roads of Madras.

A List of her Stores to be seen at Messrs. Sharp and Heefke's Rooms, two Days previous to the Day of Sale.

Fort St. George: 25th September, 1794.

To be Sold by Private Contract,

BY MESSRS. SHARP AND HEEFKE.

ENGLISH Claret from the first Houses in London—old Madeira Wine—Brandy, Rum, and best Holland's Gin—Batavia and Columbo Arrack—Europe Cordage, and Tar.

Fort St. George: 25th September, 1794.

ADVERTISEMENT.

TO be seen at Messrs. Sharp and Heefke's Rooms, a variety of Bengal Furniture, consisting of Couches, Chairs, Shade Stands, and Card Tables, and Bengal Table Linen

ALSO

Some fine Bengal Hooka Snakes.
Timely Notice will be given, the ensuing Week.

To be sold by Public Auction,

BY R. HENDERSON;

AT HIS ROOMS,

Near the Wallajah Gate,

On Saturday the 27th September.

THE remainder of the Investment brought out on the Lord Hawkebury consisting of Silk and Cotton Hosiery—Prints—Plate—fine Cambric—Long Handkerchiefs—Shawls, &c.

Likewise a collection of Books, the Library of a Gentleman returning to Europe, amongst which are Chambers's Dictionary 5 vols.—an Elegant Folio Edition of the Bible with Plates, Johnsons and Stevens's Shakespear—Boyers Dictionary—Plutarch's Lives—Voltaire's Letters—and some valuable Medical Books.

ALSO

A handsome Europe built Bandy, lately brought out, and ten Casks prime Bengal Beef.

TO BE SOLD

BY PUBLIC AUCTION,

ON MONDAY the 6th of October next,

A House and Garden at Warriore, near Trichinopoly, the property of the late Lieut. OBEIRNE.—The sale to commence on the Premises at Warriore, at 10 o'Clock forenoon, for further particulars apply to Messrs. Tulloh Jervis and Brodie, Attorneys to the Administrators.

Fort St. George: 25th Sept. 1794.

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.

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.

THE COURIER.

MADRAS.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1794.

YESTERDAY morning arrived the NANCY PACKET from Bengal; she is not charged, as far as we can learn, with any particular intelligence from that presidency.

On the same day anchored in the Roads, the *Chichester*, CAPTAIN BLAKE, from Bombay:—PASSENGERS—GENERAL CARNAC, and LIEUT. COLONEL HARTLEY; the former for Bengal, and the latter for Europe, on one of the Indiamen of the season.

It is reported, and generally credited, that three of the Indiamen, lately arrived, will be despatched within a few days for Europe:—the Ships named, as under orders for this immediate service, are the *Phoenix*, the *Amelia*, and the *Enbridge*.

LORD and LADY HOBART had their first PUBLIC NIGHT on Wednesday—the Company was splendid and numerous. The mode of Entertainment, besides the charms of novelty, had in it that sure attendant on true Elegance, Ease; and led to free and liberal Interchange, wherein Office forgets its Rights and its Advantages—

—“to mingle with Society.”

The first SUBSCRIPTION BALL of the Gentlemen of the 1st battalion of Artillery, was held at the Race Stand on Wednesday—and was distinguished for harmony, gaiety, and conviviality.

In the severe storm on Wednesday, the Lightning struck the top-gallant-masts of the Bark *Leckham*, in the Roads, and shivered them to pieces.

An attempt was made by several daring offenders, to break into the Mint, and the Treasury adjoining to it, in Fort Square, in the night of the 24th instant, but were happily and timely discovered by a Centinel, who gave an immediate alarm. The Persons who had meditated this robbery, it would seem, were well acquainted with the place; and had, previous to the discovery of their felonious intent, forced a large padlock from the staple of the principal door of the Mint. None of the offenders are yet apprehended; but strict enquiry has been made after them, and there is little doubt but they will be secured.

In justice to a Gentleman, of whose character we have received the following voluntary, and very flattering testimony, we have great pleasure in the insertion of the under-written particulars, contradictory of a report, which, if not feebly impeached, might have had an injurious operation and effect on the honest views of an Individual, in his professional Pursuits.

“It having been represented to Mr. BURNS, late Chief-Officer of the *Penang*, *Cable*, by some of his Friends, since his return on the French Cartel Ship, lately arrived from the Isle of France—that certain reports, detrimental to his Character, had been circulated, in his absence, through the medium of the Public Prints in various parts of India—insinuating that he had assisted the Enemy in Piloting their Vessels, after the unfortunate Capture of the *Penang*, on the Malay Coast, and containing Comments on his Character, of a very prejudicial nature and tendency.

“We feel it, therefore, a duty incumbent on us, to remove any unfounded suspicions which might be entertained against the Honor of a worthy man, to declare in the most unequivocal terms, that Mr. BURNS, since his Capture, has conducted himself by true British Principles, and that his behaviour, on all occasions, has been that of an honest and upright Englishman, and altogether without blemish—

“That so far from assisting and abetting the Enemy, and partaking in their employ; as it has been falsely represented; that he has long experienced, with us the under-written, one common treatment; severe and cruel in the extreme, and which the En

"gliff Prif next at the Ifland, we are forry to add, I have been uniformly fubjected to." The reports, circulated to the prejudice of Mr. Burns, we are fatisfied, could not have originated but in malice, or mifrepresentation."

JOHN BEAUMONT, Prifoner with Mr. Burns on board the *Pillager*, from the 14th February, Com. of the Ship *Wallajah*.

ABRAHAM SKINNER, fhip *Refo*. JAMES GRAHAM, fhip *Refo*. GEORGE RICHMOND, Commander, fhip *Refo*.

JAMES TAIT, Snow *Flora*. RICHARD BATTER, fhip *Pigor*. GEORGE ANDERSON, *Citede Geneva*. JAMES FAGAN, Snow *Caffiare*. FRANCIS LYNCH, Commander *Pennant-Caffe*.

ARTHUR MOTE, fhip *Pigor*. GENESTE NORMAN, fhip *Achille*. W. BILLINGSLEY, *Princede Royal*.

The following circumftances attending the purchafe, feizure, and lofs of the Portugefe fhip, *Fenex St. Joza*, formerly the *Ceres*, are communicated to us under the fignature of two Englifh Gentlemen, Paffengers on the *St. Joza* from the Ifle of France, where they had been detained fome time prifoners.

The *Ceres* having been captured by the Demooric, French Privateer, on the *Coaft of Pedier*, was afterwards difpatched to the *Mauritius*, where fhe was purchafed at public outcry, by a Portugefe Merchant refiding at Macoa, for the fum of *fifty-four thoufand livres*. No freight being to be produced for her at the *Mauritius*, at the time of the purchafe, the Captain took on board two French, and three Englifh Gentlemen, as Paffengers to *Mahé*, on the *Coaft of Malabar*, where he arrived on the 6th of April.

Shortly after the arrival of the Ship at *Mahé*, a report became prevalent that fhe was French property, and an Englifh Officer, with five Artillery Men, were fent from the fhore, to take poffeffion of her, and convey her to Bombay, for the neceffary enquiry and examination.

The *St. Joza* accordingly, was put under orders to fail to Bombay, efcoorted by the Bombay frigate, but having experienced repaired violent gales of wind, and having, at one time, feven feet water in the hold, notwithstanding every exertion, it was found neceffary to run her on fhore, as the only remaining hope of preferving the lives of the crew.

Orders being received to ftand in for the fhore, and being carried into effect; on the 6th of May, the fhip ftruck on the beach, about nine miles to the fouthward of *Onore*, where fhe was totally lof. We are forry to add to the above particulars, that *Lieut. Maclean*, of the Bombay eftablifhment, the *Supra Cargo* and thirteen of the crew, were unfortunately drowned, in endeavouring to reach the fhore.

Much praife is given to *Lieut. Heath*, a paffenger on board the *Ceres*, for his exertions throughout the whole of this difaftrous voyage, and for his affiftance in the prefervation of the crew, in the moment of their utmoft peril.

We learn from Calcutta that the Governor General in Council has iffued a Proclamation to put a flop to the difgraceful and barbarous praftice that has lately been difcovered, of felling native fervants, engaged for the voyage by perfons leaving India for Europe, immediately on their arrival at the Cape or *St. Helena*, for Slaves.

We cannot doubt, but that the known humanity of the Gentlemen prefiding at thofe fettlements will induce them to enquire into the cafes of the unhappy wretches who remain; which will lead to the difcovery of the perfons offending, and bring them to the punifhment they fo juftly merit.

Nothing can excite greater aftonifhment or indignation, than the confideration that a being can exift, who after having acquired his utmoft wifdom, efcape from all the dangers that threaten the Indian adventurer, and returning to enjoy the ill-deferved wealth in his native country, can feel his breath againft the feelings of humanity, and calmly devote an unfufpecting fellow-creature to Slavery, in a foreign land.

For the above Information, refpecting the proclamation and the paragraphs immediately fucceeding to it, we are obliged to the CALCUTA CHRONICLE.

ARRIVALS.

September 18, Ship *Bagler*, Jolly, *Vizagapatam*—Ship *Perfection*, Houden, *Calcutta*—*Big Catharine*, *Macdonald*, *Calcutta*—20. Ship *Recovery*, *Greenway*, *Bombay*—*Snow Dezorpe*, *Lette*, *Colambo*—Ship *Phenix*, *Dufour*, *Mauritius*—Ship *Mary*, *Turnbull*, *Collingapatam*—Ship *Phenix*, *Fleming*, *Mafulipatam*—21. Ship *William Pitt*, *Kifon*, *Calcutta*—22. Ship *Laurel*, *Faggo*, *Bombay*—*Snow Catharine*, *Wheden*, *Mafulipatam*—23. Ship *Ramfay*, *Samways*, *Bombay*—*Grab*, *Adventure*, *Godfrey*, *Carringa*—24. Ship *Nancy*, *Paterfon*, *Calcutta*—Ship *Chichefter*, *Blake*, *Bombay*.

DEPARTURS.

September 17, Ship *Eliza*, *Hodges*, *Calcutta*—Ship *Benares*, *Alcock*, *Northward*—*Snow Sophia Maria*, *Holland*, *Bimlipatam*—18. Ship *Yarmouth*, *Thomfon*, *Southward* and *Ceylon*—Ship *Windfor*, *Calender* *Calcutta*—19. Ship *Two Brothers*, *Kyng*, *Pegue*—21. Ship *Fort William*, *Forbes*, *Point de Gaule*—28. H. C. Ship *Boddam*, *Jones*, *China*—H. C. Ship *Lord Macartney*, *Hay*, *Do.*—Ship *Bangalore*, *Frayer*, *Penang* and *Eastward*—Ship *Recovery*, *Greenway*, *Calcutta*—Ship *Glasgow*, *Athur*, *Pondicherry*—14. Ship *Rofilla*, *Smart*, *Calcutta*—Ship *Favourite*, *Mears*, *Mafulipatam*.

DEATHS.

Lately, *ROBERT MONRO*, *Esq* Senior Merchant. On his paffage from the *Cape of Good Hope*, *LIEUT. B. W. HEALEY*, of the *Bengal Eftablifhment*. On his paffage to Europe, *JAMES IRWIN*, *Esq*, formerly Surgeon to His Majesty's 15th *Dragoons*.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, APRIL 17.

FRENCH CORPS BILL.

ON the Order of the Day, for the third reading of the French Corps Bill, being read, and.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER having moved that this Bill do pafs.

Mr. HARRISON declared his difapprobation of the prefent meafure, which he thought tended to invelt His Majesty's Minifters with an undue and unconfitutional degree of authority, to prolong the prefent conteft, and to fubvert the whole fyftem of modern and civilized warfare.

Mr. FOX then rofe, and faid, that he felt himfelf called upon to deliver his fentiments at this laft ftage of the prefent proceeding, not fo much with the hope of perfuading the Majority of the Houfe to entertain opinions upon the fubject, contrary to what they had manifefted upon former occafions, as becaufe he found himfelf obliged to make the moft public and explicit declaration of his ideas upon it. That the Bill would produce much praftical mifchief, had already, in his apprehenfion, been fufficiently demonftrated—though perhaps, it would be more difficult to judge of its abftract principles, as the Gentleman who fupported it had confined themfelves to anfwering the objections which had been brought againft it, without thinking it neceffary to urge a fingle pofitive argument in its favour; and any thing like reafoning which had been employed in its behalf, only ferved more ftroingly to convince him of the impolicy of the plan, and the abfurd and dreadful confequences which would refult from carrying it into effect. From the only confiftent train of arguing which had been adopted by the favourers of the Bill, he was led to the unavoidable conclufion, that our property, liberty and lives, were expofed to the fame hazard, and muft be protected by the fame means, with thofe of the French Emigrants—a fentiment which however it might deceive or alarm the Country or Administration at this moment, could never leave a firm and durable impreffion of its truth upon the mind of any well-informed individual in the Nation or the Government. This remark, however, and the applaufe which it had received from Gentlemen oppofite, ferved to convince him, that the real grounds and the obvious pretexts for the War were different, and that, while Administration declared it was only concerned to repel fpecific acts of aggression, it was really aiming at the deftrudtion of the exifting Government of an independent People. This, indeed, was the only method by which any degree of confufion could be preferved between the arguments of the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. BURKE) to whom he alluded, and the conduct of thofe whom he now honoured with his countenance and fupport.

Whatever might be the views of His Majesty's Servants, he hoped the Houfe would remember, that when he promifed them his fupport in the carrying on of the calamitous

conteft into which we were plunged, it was a fupport by the moft liberal grants of Fleets, Armies and Money, and not to be underftood as comprehending an affurance that he fhould give his aid to meafures which were direftly contrary to the very principles on which Miniftry pretended to have proceeded. Immediately previous to the commencement of hoftilities, the Houfe had been told, that the obnoxious Decree of Fraternity, the opening of the Scheldt, and the attack upon the States of Holland, were the grounds of hoftility; and thefe, he admitted, were fufficient grounds of complaint, which, however, in his apprehenfion, might have been removed by another mode of negotiation as effectually as by War. Reluctantly, however, as Miniftry had entered into a Treaty, yet even then it had been admitted, that there was no fliff objection to concluding a Peace with the exifting Government of France, provided we had any fecurity that the would adhere to her fupulations. After this ftatement of facts, which had been brought forward in the courfe of laft year, it would appear that by this Bill the object of the War was completely changed; and, as it was juftifiable only to repel aggression, now that it feemed to be changed into an attack upon an independent State, it would no longer meet with his approbation. Independent, however, of this general objection, this Bill went the length of pledging ourfelves to fupport the caufe of thefe individual Emigrants, which he certainly could not go the length of doing. None was more ready to commiffionate their diftrefs, to fympathize with their mifery, than he was. Though there were many parts of their conduct which he could not help difapproving, yet he was well convinced that their opinions ought to have been tolerated, as on mutual toleration depended by far the greateft part both of our virtue and happinefs. Nay more—fome of them were the objects of the greateft refpect, as they had acted in the ftrict conformity to principles they believed to be true; but, becaufe he could fympathize with their diftrefs, becaufe he could mourn over their mifortunes, becaufe he could refpect their characters, did it follow as a neceffary inference that he fhould vote that this Nation fhould undertake the general defence of their rights, or the reftrudtion of their privileges and fortunes?

Having thus difpofed of the queftion as far as related to thefe Emigrants individually, it would be next requifite to confider it as it affected the general progreff and circumftances of the War. Since we were now unfortunately involved in War, there were two objects to be confidered in the next place: the firft was, to bring the conteft to as fpeedy a termination as poffible; and the fecond, to prevent as much as poffible the effufion of blood during its progreff.—This Bill had a direft tendency to prevent thefe falutary objects, and on thefe accounts muft likewife encounter his oppofition. If the objects of the War had been merely the repelling or the punifhing of the individual acts of aggression complained of, he was ready to admit that in this point of view the laft Campaign might be deemed a fucceffful one, as the events which had happened in the courfe of it would probably have induced France to atone for her mifconduct and fue for the reftrudtion of tranquillity. In all contefts for National Honour, Territorial or Colonial Poffeffions, or Commercial Emoluments, good or bad fuccefs generally dictated the terms of pacification, and afcertained the moment when it was to be required. The confideration of thefe circumftances had induced LOUIS XIV. to accede to the terms of the Peace of Utrecht; his fucceffor LOUIS XV. to accede to the Treaty of Paris; and this Country to fubmit to the conditions of Peace which were agreed to in the year 1783; and if the prefent conteft with France was of a nature fimilar to any of thofe he had mentioned, he might be led to fuppofe that the fame effect would arife on this occafion.—But could it be reafonably imagined, that the liberation of Holland, the capture of Valenciennes, Quefnoy and Condé, or the conquest of the whole of the French Weft India Iflands, as well as that of Martinico, would have the flight tendency to produce the overthrow of the exifting Government of France? We might, perhaps, be told, that it might probably have fome fuch influence, by diminihing the confidence the Nation reposed in its prefent Rulers, and thus accelerate their own deftrudtion, as well as the overthrow of the pernicious fyftem of policy they had embraced. But even this argument went on the fuppofition, that it was no part of our intention to deftroy the independence of the French People, and their undoubted right to legiflate for themfelves; nor as any rate, could it poffes much weight at all; for experience muft convince us, that the men who, either from fear or affection, had fo patiently endured the many internal calamities which the conduct of the Convention had brought upon them, would as length be induced to alter their opinions and their praftice, by the lofs of their Eaft or Weft India Poffeffions, or the capture of a few Fortreffes on their Frontier. Thefe remote objects would make but a flight impreffion on their underftandings or paffions, when the more dreadful horrors of their internal fiteuation feemed to have no degree of operation in working any alteration in their principles of adtion; and thus, from the refult of the whole matter, it would be evident, that if we were fincere in the avowal that particular acts of aggression were the caufes of hoftility, we might attain our purpofe without adopting this meafure, in confequence of our paft exertions; and that if our real defigns was to overturn the exifting Government

of France, we were as remote from our purpofe as ever, and this Bill would not bring us any nearer to it. By the provifions of it, we had come under a virtual agreement, and had pledged our National Honour, to reftore the former Government of France, and, in fo doing, to attempt the conquest of that Country—a more abfurd and chimerical fcheme than which, had, in his opinion, never entered the human intellect.

An Hon. Gentleman (Mr. JENKINSON) had, on the Debate of the Conduct of the War, affirmed, that the moft proper way of terminating the conteft, and eradicating thofe Jacobical principles he fo much detefted, would be, by firft attacking the Frontier Towns of France, and, after their capture, marching direftly to Paris. To the theoretical excellence of this plan he had no objection to make; but did the Honourable Gentleman duly eliminate the difficulties with which its execution would be attended?—had he calculated the time it would confume to obtain poffeffion of thofe Towns which conftituted what had been fo properly, and emphatically denominated the Iron Frontier of France? And, without attempting to depreciate either Aultrian or Pruffian, much lefs Britifh valour, could any one be juftified, from paft experience, in forming a mean opinion of French military proweff? On this fubject, the opinion of the KING of PRUSSIA might probably be deemed of fome confequence; and in his recent Manifefto to the Germanic Body, he had borne the moft ample teftimony to the skill and courage of the Nation with which we were engaged, had reprefented in the moft glowing colours the terrors of their formidable military, and had declared that even Germany rifing in a mafs would be inefficient to check the progreffs of thefe bands of ferocious and felf-deluded enthufiafts. When thefe reflections crowded upon us, did it not become the Houfe to pause before it brought the Nation under engagements to a certain body of men which it was next to impoffible we could fulfil, and which we fhould difgrace ourfelves by violating or neglecting? Such was the effect which this plan would have on the conclufion of the War, and its influence during its continuance would be as pernicious. In common with every friend to Mankind, he muft lament that the horrible maffacres which were daily perpetrating in France, and the general mifery in which the European World was involved, feemed unfortunately to have had the effect of hardening the hearts of men, and rendering them callous to thofe fcenes of calamity which would formerly have excited forrow in the moft obdurate breaft. In parting with thofe fympathetic feelings which lead us to participate in the joys or frowns of our fellow-creatures, we had relinquifhed the belt attributes of our Nature, and the ftrongeft fateguard of our Virtue, and were degenerating ourfelves from a ftate of fociety, fociety once honourably diftinguifhed by charitable Humanity, to a condition little fhort of the brutality of Savages. Such cold and selfish Stoicifm, fo contrary to the beauty of the Chriftian Syftem, and fo fubverfive of the true dignity of Man, ought to be checked in its progreff, left Europe fhould once more become barbarous, and ignorance, cruelty and darknefs once more overwhelm the World. To effeetuate this purpofe, two methods ought to be adopted—firft, to accelerate the conclufion of Peace; and, next, by a fpecified declaration of our intentions to afcertain and limit the objects of the War. In confequence of the latter plan, perhaps the mifery of France would be alleviated, and the number of the crimes committed by her Rulers diminihed; for, whatever might be the guilt he had contracted, he had certainly been put by the Allies in a condition the moft likely to impell her to the commiffion of acts of enormity, and to hurry her into deeds of violence and bloodfhed. When we contemplated the cafe of an individual, it would be found that the compaffion and benevolence of his character would be in exact proportion to the degrees in which thofe qualities were exercifed towards him in the intercourfe of focial life; and thus, in the fame manner, France, having from her Revolution been cut off from the connexion which generally fubfifts among civilized Nations, had fallen into that savage ftate which was the natural refult of her fingular fiteuation; and as an individual fo circumftanced as he had ftated, would become a Mifanthrope, fo a People in the condition of France would become the determined Enemy of every neighbouring State. To prevent her from carrying this fyftem farther, we were now to unite with thefe Emigrants, to reftore the ancient Defpotifm, or Monarchy, if Gentlemen like that term better; and, as a juftification of this meafure, we were told it was one of the mildeft and leaft oppreffive of the old Monarchies of Europe. This affertion he begged leave in the moft pointed terms to deny, as under it the Peafantry were neither fecure in their perfons or property—many acts of individual oppreffion had been committed, and the People in general were not fo happy as thofe of Germany or Italy, much lefs of Great Britain, the United Provinces or Switzerland. That reftoration muft now, however be our avowed defign, and the moft bloody means employed to bring it about; for would it not be fuppofed that thefe Emigrants might be treated as Rebels? And if, according to the *Yes* of the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. BURKE) retaliation was to take place, would not the modern Laws of Peace and War be entirely violated, and the moft awful fcenes of carnage be exhibited? We had been told, indeed, that no fuch event was likely to occur; and the influence

of what had happened at Toulon had been urged as a reason in support of this opinion. He could only say, that if such forbearance was exercised upon that occasion, many gallant Gentlemen in the Army of the PRINCE OF CONDÉ had experienced a harder and more cruel fate. And should this now happen, we were either reduced to the dilemma of suffering Officers and Soldiers in the British pay to become the victims of a barbarous Enemy, or, by exercising the privilege of retaliation, be brought at last to the shocking alternative of murdering every Prisoner in cold blood! Before such a system was allowed to prevail, we would do well to be sure we were in the right; and though he was well persuaded, that by the Law of Nations, two great bodies in a Country, contending for their most important rights, ought to treat each other's Prisoners according to the common Laws of Peace and War, yet such a maxim had never been adopted by general usage, not even by this Country in the years 1715 and 1745.

Mr. FOX then entered into a comparison of ancient and modern Wars—lamented the many peculiar circumstances of atrocity which distinguished the present contest—contended that the Country was unable to bear the expense of the measure, and that little reliance could be placed on the fidelity of those Levies; and concluded by declaring his general disapprobation of the Bill.

Mr. DUNDAS said, that as he, like the Right Hon. Gentleman, who proceeded him, had not before had an opportunity of speaking to the Question, he was happy that the Right Hon. Gentleman's opposition at that stage had furnished him with an occasion of recording his sentiments upon it. In doing this, he promised the House that he should not detain it by entering much at length into the arguments of the Right Hon. Gentleman; for the measure they were levelled at was grounded on such plain and obvious constitutional principles, as could not fail to impress the strongest conviction on every one who considered it with attention. As this consideration, therefore, was an object of the greatest importance, he begged that the House would, as a preliminary step, take into their recollection the state of the War, and the state of the Enemy:—and first, he said, it would be allowed, that Great Britain had been very tardy and cautious in engaging in it. The British Government had indeed, and so he believed had all other Governments, seen with trembling anxiety the French Revolution in its progress—in that state it was a subject of a serious observation, but not positive alarm—out soon it assumed a shape so formidable, as created an alarm in the minds of men—it assumed the shape of a Conspiracy of all the lower classes (who, destitute equally of principle and of property, had much to gain, and nothing to lose, by a general convulsion) all against property, principle and social order—a Conspiracy extending itself over a large tract of Country in the very heart of Europe, and menacing in prospect a progressive extension to other Countries. Still, however, His Majesty's Ministers were slow to go to War—The rapidly increasing prosperity of the Country, the flourishing state of her Revenues, and unbounded and daily increasing extent of her Commerce and Manufactures, induced them to pause—they hesitated with that caution which an object of such magnitude required. But at length all hesitation was put an end to, by the French declaring War against us, not in the common form, or with the usual circumstances that attended Declarations of War, but with symptoms of the most alarming nature that madness and malignity could devise, branching from a newly created Constitution, avowedly adverse to every Government, of what nature or kind soever, and built upon Desolation and Anarchy. Thus, he said, it appeared at the time of the Declaration of War, since which he was surprised to find that any man presuming to reputation for candour or common sense, could have a second opinion on the subject, however they might have thought of it previous to that period. At first, he owned that thing in France bore such an aspect as left great scope for the exercise of opinion: but it was reserved, he said, for one great and illumined mind (Mr. BURKE) alone, to have foreseen from the outset the necessary consequences of the Revolution. He had even then, in his strictures on that subject, conceived and produced a time when the tide of human opinion ran directly against him, pointed out with a discernment amounting nearly to prescience, the calamitous catastrophe likely to result from the Revolution in France—Those strictures were then said to be the phantoms of an overheated imagination; but time, which rarely fails to do justice, had proved that all his predictions, so far as they went, were verified to the last letter; and that the prophecy had fallen far short of the facts since, no one, he presumed would be hardy enough to deny. This monstrous System broke forth like a torrent in outrage against all the Kingdoms of Europe, against all Governments, against all Property, against our Allies, and, as it was openly avowed, threatened when opportunity offered to be directed against this Country also. This was precisely the situation of affairs at the time of the Declaration of War by France. The first step after this, was the banishment of all persons respectable for Rank, for Fortune, for Virtue, or for attachment to Religion—Those men, thus banished, solicited protection from our Country, fought an asylum in the beneficence and charity of the British Nation—and found it.

To those Gentlemen who would contend that the War was not a just or necessary War, he

would say nothing in addition to the conclusive and unanswerable arguments which had been so frequently used in the House, but content himself with barely stating, that those Gentlemen were inconsistent with themselves, and, however they acted, at least professed and promised to act in direct contradiction of that assertion; for though they pronounced the War unjust and unnecessary, they pledged themselves to support it—and, though they pledged themselves to support it, never failed in any one instance to oppose, in every stage, all the measures adopted by the Executive Government for its maintenance.

As to the present measure, which was so violently opposed by the Right Hon. Gentleman's Friends, and so solemnly deprecated by himself he said, it was brought in aid and support of the War, which the general suffrage of the People, and the almost unanimous concurrence of the House, had already sanctioned;—he left it to the wisdom and discernment of the House to decide, whether it was a measure which had a tendency to facilitate the accomplishment of the object of the War or not? and he would implicitly abide by that decision.

Mr. DUNDAS then proceeded to state, that the power of France was now carried on by a Faction, aided by a great body of the lowest order and most profligate of the populace; but from a reference to all their actions and to all their resources, it would appear that that power was held by the most precarious of all possible tenures; for he would put it to the House, and to the Gentlemen on the other side, whether they were warranted in saying, that the great body of the People of France were attached to the present Constitution? whether they, like their Tyrant Rulers, were inimical to the general interests of Mankind, or systematically hostile to this Country? or whether they were unanimous in their sentiments on the subject of General Policy? He would venture to say, they were not; and as a proof of the contrary, he would appeal to the immense emigration from that unhappy Country—to the unbounded butchery, massacre and slaughter, under which millions had sunk—and to the total extinction of that security of person and property which alone could bind rational men to any Government, or engage the attachment or assent of a Community. In short, he for his part, was convinced that the larger body of the French People wanted nothing but real protection and support to induce them to come forward and raise their whole force against the Convention. The natural consequence of the innumerable massacres of those Savages upon each other, mult, he said, he anticipated, distrust, rancour and jealousy; and it was not small bodies of men, but by far the larger part of the People, that must necessarily be disaffected, and hostile to such unparalleled tyranny, however they might conceal their feelings under the impulse of terror. If, then, such a Government, or rather such an Usurpation, was incompatible with the existence of other Governments, and with the hopes of lasting security, it must be allowed that the legitimate and necessary object of the War was the extinction of that Government—and what measures, he asked, were so likely to effect that end, as making use of those means which were most closely connected with that object? None. But what were those means?—Great bodies of unfortunate persons, of different ranks, were driven from their Country, stripped of their property, and reduced to the last extremity. Those men, when collected into a body, would erect the Standard of exiled Religion, oppressed Virtue and expatriated Loyalty; and to this end they called upon the British Nation to give them Arms. To such persons, who might be said to have identically the same interest as we have, who, he demanded to know, would give a refusal of such a demand? If he desired, as all wise men must do, to establish a regular Government in France by their means, it was only with the hope of thereby establishing Security in Europe, and Peace in this Country.

As to the War, he was a friend to it; and he hoped much from the measure now proposed, as the most effectual to the attainment of a solid and secure Peace. But he contended, that without first overthrowing the present system of French Politics, we could neither obtain that Peace, nor hope for that Security; for, notwithstanding the stability which the Right Hon. Gentleman conceived this Country derived from its situation, and the superior valour and loyalty of its People, to which no one was more forward than himself to subscribe; yet, insulted as we were, and much though we might boast of the bravery of our People—if a horde of sanguinary Tartars were suffered to collect in the heart of Europe, and disseminate principles of Anarchy by the Sword—if every feeling was suffered to be extinguished, and all principle and all property trampled under foot—and if the expediency of Murder was to be measured only by convenience, when all the Nations on the Continent, one after another, should have sunk beneath their arms, or submitted to their principles, he believed the Right Hon. Gentleman would hardly contend, that we could hope either for Security, Peace, or Safety. Desirable, however, though this measure might be, and hearily though he might wish for its adoption, yet he would not, he hoped, be found attentive to any substantial objections which might be raised against it. There might be perhaps other considerations offered, which, when duly weighed, might counterbalance those which he had already offered; and he called on the House to say how far the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Fox) had succeeded in his attempts to do so.

The Right Hon. Gentleman had said, or rather hinted, that many Writers, ancient and modern, had laid it down as a part of the Law of Nations, that no Power should interfere in the internal affairs of another Nation, or attempt to subvert its Government. He feared the Right Hon. Gentleman had not lately examined those Authors, or, if he did, had not at least read them with his usual attention and accuracy; for, though he himself had not, for a long time, looked into those Books, he would, upon recollection, hazard an assertion, that there was not to be found in any Author, ancient or modern, who has written on the Law of Nations, a principle of that kind: On the contrary it was laid down in many, particularly in the Right Hon. Gentleman's favourite Author (Vattel), as a maxim (and common sense pronounced it a just one), that the Government of one Country may interfere with and subvert that of another, under certain circumstances. The great leading general principle of all Nations was Self-security—To this all general principles must be subservient; and if the fact was, that the Government of France was lodged in the hands of men whom the Right Hon. Gentleman himself called *Monsters*, he wished to know what general principle could be found that forbade an attempt to wrest the Government from their hands. But exclusive of this consideration, he said it would be found, that where Authors touch upon this subject, they relate it as a matter of speculative Policy, applicable to internal discords in time of Peace; but in a state of Warfare, no man could be so ridiculous as to say that it was not lawful for a Nation to use all possible means to distress, to overcome and destroy that Government with which they were at War. And what was the present case?—We were now engaged with France in a War, in which, if the ancient Government, or any other but the present Usurpation, existed, we should not in all probability be engaged. Ministers were not to sit down in their closets, and form speculative questions whether or not they should interfere, and endeavour to overturn that Usurpation, but consider the Enemy as an Enemy, and devise means to bring them either to reason or to ruin.

The Right Honourable Gentleman, he remarked, had dwelt with much plausibility on the calamities of retaliation; he hoped the House would not suspect him of being less alive than the Right Honourable Gentleman to the feelings of Humanity, or less adverse to the horrible circumstance of War, though he refrained from discussing that subject; he refrained, not from fear or disinclination to the discussion of any topic that might necessarily arise, but from the impropriety of agitating such a subject. Generals, who for wisdom and humanity yielded to no men that have ever lived, have found it necessary in the Field of Battle to exercise retaliation; but none ever attempted to define, as certain, or reduce the exercise of it to general or defined principles. It was severe enough on them to be obliged to execute, without hurting the mind by after-speculations on it. As Right and Wisdom, so Humanity and Necessity were sometimes at variance—Humanity might call to refrain from, and Humanity might call to execute; but it was absurd and abominable to enter into a cool discussion of such a subject.

He said, he hoped that the House would acquit him of having brought those men in to this state—If he was the Conqueror of a Province, and sent the People of that Province coercively to War, he might indeed be called a Savage; but this was the case of men who were driven to the late extremity, who had lost every thing, who had no hope but in the favourable issue of the War, and who, not by compulsion, but spontaneously, were taking up Arms to get back, by the beneficence of this Country, to their rank, their property, their children, of which they had been bereft. They had called for Arms—it was theirs to consider the probable effects of retaliation; they had weighed it well, and said, "Shall we run the hazard of War, and of retaliation, and join England, who is fighting our cause, and endeavouring to restore us to our All—or shall we endeavour to spin out a wretched, dishonourable existence, in this forsaken state, and die perhaps at last of famine, Outcasts of our Country, Traitors to our King, and Apostates to our Religion by refusing our aid and support to them?" No one, said he, can presume to accuse Government of using compulsion: the Emigrants have had the whole of the prospect and the whole of the risk before their eyes—they have taken their resolution; and no one can deny the wisdom of their choice—no man of feeling or magnanimity could think of acting otherwise.

Having dispatched those points with great strength of argument and acuteness of reasoning, he proceeded next to discuss and shew the fallacy of Mr. Fox's assertion, that this measure would tend to prolong the War. To a certain extent, he said he was willing to admit, that the conquests we had made in the East and West Indies had not the same effect on the Councils of France as conquests in France itself might have; they were undertaken to secure an Indemnity at all events; yet still, he maintained, they tended to accelerate the issue of the War, for as their resources depended in some measure on their Colonial Possessions, taking those Colonies from them must, of course, diminish their power of carrying on the War, and fa-

facilitate the accomplishment of our grand object.

The question then he said, was referred to this—"Could we hope for Peace or Security without a total change in the Government of France?"—To this he would answer "Certainly not;" for even though we could keep all our conquests, and conclude a Peace on the terms of standing as we now do; yet while to govern a Country as France, so powerfully circumstanced, so furnished with internal resources arising from soil, climate, population, local situation, and extent, was suffered to exist with such a Government—a Government raised upon violence, treachery and usurpation, cemented with blood, supported by fraud, confiscation and plunder, directing its views to the accomplishment of schemes such as neither the wildness of human project, nor the wandering of distracted imagination, but the fury of the Friends, and the malice and cunning of the Enemy of Mankind alone could suggest; and carrying those schemes into execution, by converting the whole people from Husbandman, Manufacturer and Trader, into Soldiers—while such a Nation so governed, existed in the heart of Europe, vain indeed would be the hope of any Country to live in safety! On this principle, if there was no other, he thought he might venture to found his defence of the measure in question.

Mr. DUNDAS said, he recollected some strictures which had been uttered in that House in the last Session, and in the beginning of this, on Government's not affording early assistance to the Malcontents and Lowells in La Vendee. Those strictures, he would say were erroneous, though he perfectly coincided in and subscribed to the principle, that it ought to be done if possible; but how did that agree with the Gentleman's disapprobation of interfering with the internal Government of the Country? The principle however, was right, if it could have been effected—Gentlemen on the other side had insisted on it, and he admitted it; if then it was expedient to risk our National Safety and Honour in the hands of an undisciplined, unprovided, scattered Band, such as that in La Vendee, how much more wise and useful must it not be to take into our pay a strong concentrated Body of Men, disciplined, appointed and provided before they take the field, command by men, not only eminent for honour and military talent, but revered, for the victories and laurels they had won to adorn the Crown of France—fighting under the same Banners, having the same object, and animated by the same enthusiasm as those of La Vendee—not that enthusiasm of diabolical insurrection which swells the orgies of the Sans-Culottes and Jacobins, but the enthusiasm of a pure and glorious Religion, of true heroic Patriotism, and of steady and unshaken Loyalty. Such an Army, he said was not only equal to prodigies in itself, but must acquire strength and numbers as it went—An Hon. Gentleman had mentioned 500,000—he wished and would rejoice that there were so many; and though the Right Hon. Gentleman had questioned the ability of finding resources for such a number except from this Country, he conceived that a much smaller number would in a short time render aid from this Country totally unnecessary, by putting a prosperous period to the War, getting their rights and putting an end to the calamities of France.

It had been asked, why this measure had not been adopted before? To this he would answer, that the Country was not obliged to decide upon the question before; but when large bodies at Toulon, La Vendee, and others, had called on this Country, it was found expedient to comply, and prudent to employ France against France, to save her, and secure the Peace and Security of Europe.

The Right Honourable Gentleman had said, that the war against France had tended to harden the hearts of men, and render them callous to the finer feelings of Humanity; he said he would allow that that insensibility had taken place to the most horrible extent in France, and even in England in part; for that which would once have excited horror and consternation, was now heard almost with unconcern as the news of the day: in the latter, however, he persuaded himself that it was not the effect of a hardened heart, but of a feeling which made the mind turn away without examination from subjects that were so often contemplated with disgust and horror. But would the Right Hon. Gentleman say, that we should not lift an arm to smite those wretches who had occasioned that insensibility, or rather familiarity with cruelty and horrors? "It is not the War," said he, "but the Authors of the war, who have worked this strange and lamentable alteration in the human mind—The Governors of France have done it; and the Government of France bears in it the seeds of all those, and ten thousand other mischiefs. If power be thrown into the hands of a lawless illiterate mob, no bounds in Nature can intrench Mankind from the assaults of it in all the various shades of abuse; but let not Gentlemen presume to say that it is the War has occasioned them; all those outrages of society, all that disregard of religion, all that violation of property, had taken place before the War commenced."

Mr. DUNDAS finished a Speech seldom exceeded for eloquence, and never surpassed for strength and acuteness of reasoning, with some pointed remarks on what had fallen from Mr. Fox respecting MURK and PALMER, &c. and

concluded thus: "Open your Statute-books, and see what crimes those are to which the punishment of Death is annexed—Compare the crime of an unfortunate wretch who steals a cheese, with that of men who conspired to fill into the People of Great Britain a hatred for their own Government and a love for that of France. See this and reflect on the conduct and humanity of those Gentlemen who can flintly acquiesce in the punishment by death of the former, who was perhaps impelled to the theft by the clamours of a famished wife and hungry babes and yet revolt at the transportation of the latter, who had no motive to urge in palliation of their crime, no spur to prick them on, but the horrid desire to overturn the Constitution, and bury all the People in its ruins!"

Mr. BURKE acknowledged, that the whole of the Right Hon. Gentleman's (Mr. Fox) Speech formed a most admirable panegyric, a most beautiful eulogy upon Humanity. No man opposed the principal of Humanity, that had been so eloquently defined by the Right Hon. Gentleman—Who had dignified Humanity? It might thence be fairly urged against the Right Hon. Gentleman, that *antiquo fuit Humanitas*. It had been formerly asked by a fellow that was certainly not very polite in his manners, of persons who were prodigal of their praise towards HERCULES, who *blamed Hercules*? So in like manner, it might be asked of the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Fox), *what Member in that House blamed Humanity?* The mode of reasoning that was pursued by the Right Hon. Gentleman was undoubtedly, in that instant repugnant to the rules of Rhetoric, nay, diametrically opposite to the principles of Eloquence. There never was a subject upon which the Right Hon. Gentleman could exercise his eloquence, and of that he had a most uncommon share, to so very little purpose, more especially in that House, as upon the subject of Humanity; for every Member in that House, to its praise be it spoken, was thoroughly acquainted with, and uniformly acted upon the sentiments of Humanity. The Right Hon. Gentleman had therefore thrown away his breath upon the subject—but if the Right Hon. Gentleman had preached his Sermon on Humanity in the *Jacobin Club*, or in the *Club of the Cordeliers*, no man could deny that it would not be remarkably opportune and extremely necessary at the present time. To them that were so abandoned might be said, "Dicitur Justitiam mori, et non temere Divos."

Whatever chance there was that so excellent a discourse might make some impression on the minds of the Jacobins, yet he had too great an esteem for the Right Hon. Gentleman's talents, too great a reverence for his abilities, too great a regard for his humanity, too great a love for his generosity and good-nature, too great an anxiety for the safety of his person, to entertain a wish that the Right Hon. Gentleman would go in person among the Jacobins to preach his Sermon upon Humanity, and to apply it in any effectual way. No man liked Humanity in theory better than he did; but as well as he liked it in theory, he liked it in practice better. Every man that had the least acquaintance with the Right Hon. Gentleman, bore testimony of his good-nature, but the Right Hon. Gentleman's politics and rhetoric led him away from his good-nature. From this charge, Mr. BURKE said he himself could not crave an exemption. But how did the Right Hon. Gentleman apply his humanity? He certainly had expressed himself possessed, and very justly so in his opinion, of great compassion. Of this compassion it might be said, with POPE, "To leave them Providence's care."

The Right Hon. Gentleman professed, that he would not be instrumental in relieving those unhappy persons to their friends, to their relations, to their native Country, from whence they had been so cruelly and inhumanly banished; while at the same instant he avowed himself prodigal of his pity at their wretched situation.—The Right Hon. Gentleman expressed, in very pathetic terms his abhorrence and detestation of the cruel sufferings that those unfortunate victims of Anarchy underwent; while at the same instant he refused to afford them the least relief. How then did the Right Hon. Gentleman deal with the injurers and the injured? Why, he pitied the injured, and abhorred the injurers. But as he would not relieve the sufferers, to neither did he think himself justified to punish the guilty. This was a principle of Stoicism, that he defied the most rigid Stoic, nay even the great ZENO himself, to exceed. The sum was, that the Right Hon. Gentleman was possessed of compassion without a desire to relieve.—With regard to the little monosyllable *Yes*, which had been alluded to that night, as was so on a former occasion, with some degree of levity, he had only to observe, that *Yes*, in the old English, was called *Ay*—

"*Ay, ay, ay*—a word more fatal than—
"Than the eye of death-doing Coelacanth."
It was said, that all his barbarism sprang from *Yes*. It was passing strange, if he could do more mischief by the little monosyllable *Yes*, than the Gentleman in Opposition could by his *long Speeches*! When he found that his monosyllable had such an effect, it certainly was indecent and improper for him to trouble the House with *long a Speech*.

Mr. BURKE called the attention of the House to the word *Ay*—to that dagger, as it was termed—to that horrid, and dreadful, and bloody monosyllable, that was to produce so much retaliation, and which was a word that was composed of many and beautiful syllables.—Could he imagine that the Gentlemen on the opposite side would not follow any regular train? Could he suppose that they would not pursue any regular system? Though some advantages might be derived from what they might advance, yet, from the situation in which they stood, no responsibility attached upon them. What he had heard advanced that night, he heard with considerable pain. Nay, he heard the great principle of the Law of Nations repudiated. The principle of all Law was the *Lex Talionis*—If an individual sustained an injury, by the rules of society the injured was to suffer, and the injured was to be avenged. But if he were to suppose that such a system did not exist, then the *Lex Talionis* attached. He had trusted that Gentlemen would have dropped this topic. He had hoped that Gentlemen would have been persuaded that he was not devoid of humanity, and that they would have given that subject its general credit, and suffered it to pass. But he had found that was not the case. In regard therefore to that subject, he would content, that Humanity could not exist for a moment if it was not guaranteed by Justice. All the horrors, murders and massacres that deluged and destroyed the unhappy Country, France were introduced by the continual talk of Humanity; But, alas! all Europe was fatigued even to nausea with this species of Humanity! Humanity was founded on the principles of Justice on the *Lex Talionis*. The Law of Nature knew of no other principle. A celebrated Writer (Mr. LOCKE), with whom, on some points, he had not the honour to agree, but certainly did on this, stated that Man, out of civil society, had a right to revenge his own wrong. The virtue of Justice. Every man might renounce that protection that it afforded him by Government.

Mr. BURKE said, if he had the ear of his Sovereign, if he had the ears of the Combined Powers, he would boldly tell them, in his humble opinion, that it would be a scandal and a shame for them to suffer any man that joined their cause, that received their pay, and that fought under their Standard, to be sacrificed, if they could possibly prevent it. He would seriously put it to the Right Hon. Gentleman, whether it were better for those unfortunate persons that had been driven from their Country, robbed of their property, and separated from their dearest relations, to rely on the mere chance of having a Constitution established, of having a Government, of having Laws, of recovering their property, of being restored to their country and their friends, or to the other alternative? The chain of human affairs lay between two evils.

Mr. BURKE called upon the ALMIGHTY to forbid, that a system of retaliation should ensue. But it had been stated, that the adoption of the present measure would have a tendency to *inflame*—He desired any man, even as cruel as himself, to be capable of *inflaming the Jacobins*.—In France, anarchy, confusion, horror, murder, massacre, irreligion, immortality, plunder, devastation, atheism, rebellion and revolt, were at the height.—There the *Jacobins* massacred the *Cordeliers*, the *Valley the Jacobins*, the *Mountain*, in short, they were all slaughtering one another. With respect to what had been stated relative to the endeavour to introduce the system of Tyranny and retaliation in the place of civilized War, a man might observe with *Macbeth*—

"Now high-seated Tyranny reigns,
"Till every man falls by Lottery.
For the deplorable, for the lamentable situation of France, no man felt more. For himself he might be indulged to say,
"Etsu ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco."

In all evils the quantity of the evil was a consideration.—There were insurrections, there were Tumults, there were Riots, there were Revolutions in this Country, as well as in other Countries: But what degree of comparison was there in regard to the slaughter committed in France at present, and to the slaughter committed in all other countries in Europe conjointly?—With respect to what had been said by the Right Hon. Gentleman relative to the death of his relation (RADCLIFFE), he was of opinion that he ought not to have been executed: he was also of opinion that Dr. CAMERON ought not to have been cut to death.

The Right Hon. Gentleman should have recollected what had happened in 1688. The Right Hon. Gentleman should have recollected, that LOUIS XIV. took some Irish Regiments under his protection. And what was the consequence? Did those Irish Regiments suffer?—No, not one—although, after their desertion, a whole Regiment were taken in Scotland, and some of them in detached bodies were taken in Ireland. Here was an instance of the conduct of this Country. But there were several other instances to be shewn both in America and in France. He mentioned this to prove, that such was the dignity of sentiment in former times. In regard

to the conduct of LOUIS XIV. it was well known that several French Regiments had cooperated with King WILLIAM, and that LOUIS XIV. never put to death any of the men that had so regimented themselves. The case of Lord LIGONIER was also well known, he that was born a subject of France, when he was taken, was not put to death. He had adduced these instances, to show what the opinion of Europe was upon the subject. It was to be remembered, that FACT was the MORTAL DECLARATION. He put cases as they had concurred in England; he put cases as they occurred in Ireland, in Scotland and in France; and there was not the least comparison between them and the horrible murder committed of late in France. If Gentlemen were to look into Lord COKE, if they were to examine all the French Writers on the subject, he would be bound they would not find one word to justify the smallest comparison. This calculation was founded on the different periods when the several Countries were divided by civil broils, when they were distracted by discord, and oppressed by every calamity that could befall a Nation—Gentlemen should look at the Rebellions that took place in Germany: they should look at the Rebellions that shook every Country. He believed that this Country had acted with greater severity against Plotters and Conspirators than any other Nation in Europe.

The great and indisputable Symptom of Tyranny was the filling our own Country with Confiscations, and other Countries with Exiles. By taking a retrospect of all the calamities and rebellions and disturbances that he had mentioned, it would be found that not one family, much less a whole Nation, had suffered in the smallest degree in their property. He advised Gentlemen to look at the name of Lord MASSARENE.—The EMPEROR had had two Rebellions in the Netherlands, which he completely conquered; and what was the result? not one man lost his estate or his life. He would look into Sweden, where even the KING had been murdered; and there very few had been put to death.—*Taking a view of ancient History, he defied any man to shew him so much murder perpetrated in the space of one hundred years in all Europe, as had been committed of late in Paris in the short space of one week.* But it was said, that Europe provoked them to do this. When he saw persons going to suffer for crimes they had committed through the infirmity of human nature, he had real compassion for them: But when he saw persons exulting in Anarchy, in Massacre, in Blood; when he saw them reviling Religion; when he saw them contemning and despising all human institutions; when he saw them trampling under-foot all sacred ties between man and man; when he saw them unrelenting, and glorying in their infamy and in their guilt; and when he saw them bidding defiance to the Great CREATOR himself, what room was left for compassion?—who could accuse himself of the want of humanity, were he to endeavour to put a period to those unnatural and horrible crimes. A Nation, it was said, thus grown cruel and savage, would become still more brutal, were all Europe to unite, and were we to attempt to retaliate.—Let this position be analyzed; for analysis is the deadly enemy of all declamation. Now, what was the analysis? Was it a new case? Did not all Europe unite against LOUIS XIV? And did he in consequence conspire to murder his Council, to extirpate all Religion, and to methodize anarchy, confusion, massacre, and murder? No.—*Moriturus metiora*—when he found that all Europe was combined against him, he immediately relaxed the reins of his Government. In consequence of the League of Courtray, were the Nobility plundered and massacred in cold blood? was an Expedition planned against Verona? and were those that survived to get their bread by pulling down every stone in the place.

Mr. BURKE next alluded to the opinion of M. LAGUANE, who repudiated in the strongest possible terms the regular plans for massacres and murder that had been formed at Martheilles and other places. What was Humanity? Why, Humanity, on hearing of inhuman acts, excites all virtuous indignation to rise to seek to inflict adequate punishment. Murder is extremely prolific—murder succeeds murder, as long as devastation can endure it. He would ask, who had formed a Corps of 1200 men to murder all the Kings of Europe? The Human Race, by an unanimous consent, rose against the authors of this Decree—they provoked the general indignation of all Europe. When this Country was forced into the War, the found France communicated by all Mankind. But it had been said, that this was a combination of Despots against the struggles of Liberty.

Mr. BURKE called upon any one, to shew him, at any one time, where the whole race of Men had united against the struggles of Liberty. "The sentiments of Mankind," said Mr. Burke, "nay, the sentiments even of Tyrants, go along with those who are seeking relief from oppression, and who are struggling for Liberty. But why did all Europe unite against them? because all Europe saw that it was not Liberty, but Power, they were aiming at, and when they

had attained some power, they had shewn what horrible use they made of it." Next, to restore the ancient despotism in France, bad as it was it was only to restore every man to his *fig-tree* and to his *vine*—Of many good *fig-trees* and good *vines* he knew both in Normandy and Brittany. Under the ancient Government no man's *fig-tree*, or *vine*, or *chateau*, or *palace*, was violated. There were, as in Egypt, many good things and many bad things in that Government. The only instance he knew of, where the KING of FRANCE made a mean and oblique use of his power was, where an *Aluvian* question was controlled by the King and the Corporation of Bourdeaux. To some Gentlemen it might appear disorderly to mention *faisals*. At the period of life at which he had arrived, when he had no imagination nor fancy, it surely ought to be allowed him, by way of consolation, to recur the *flumps* of his memory. Gentlemen ought to recollect that MIRABEAU was refused out of the hands of justice by being thrown into the Bastille. The People of England were as well as they could be. The poor had a charitable legislation to look to; they could demand support both from persons in a middle station in life and from the rich.

Mr. BURKE said, that the day this Country shook hands with the Jacobins, that moment he sealed her own destruction—but it was said, that this was a War for the Scheldt; it might with as much propriety be called a War for a *Chamber-pot*—No; it was a War for our Religion, for our Rights, for our Liberty, for our Property, nay, for our very existence. Did they not attempt to overturn all Europe? Did they not attempt to penetrate into Holland, the Country of our Ally? Speaking politically, upon the salvation of Holland depended the salvation of this Country—our honour and dignity as a Nation went along with that salvation. The measures that had been adopted to repel such unparalleled aggressions, were wise and politic. It would be wise if the Combined Powers could break into France. A great deal had been said about the French West India Possessions: from the very moment that they commenced the War, they relinquished all idea of keeping their Islands. It was a circumstance well known at Jamaica, that the French had ruined some of the finest Colonies, and had formed a project of embodying 600,000 Blacks to over-run and lay waste all our Possessions in the West Indies. Therefore, Gentlemen would do well to consider this circumstance before they condemned the Expedition to the West Indies—an Expedition that had for its object the preservation of some of our most valuable possessions, and the restoring of our most desirable acquisitions from the *Jacobin Mass* of ferocity and servile barbarism. But it was said, that the object of the War was to destroy the men of power in France. He denied that to be the case; for there were no permanent men of power in that Country; they were here to-day, and away to-morrow; one Faction succeeded another, like *Chinese Shades*, or like *Kings in Macbeth's Glass*. But what he lamented most of all, was their nefarious discovery of the utmost resources of terror! for terror produced zeal, unanimity, nay, he could even shew that it produced courage.

Mr. BURKE concluded one of the most able, argumentative, brilliant and eloquent Speeches we ever heard, with observing, that men's minds become callous in proportion as wickedness increased in the world. When cruelty and murder succeeded with impunity, Mankind, as it were, became insensibly enamoured of the success which resulted upon vice, and produced stupid and flaring admiration.—If the power of Jacobinism was not overturned, all Europe would fall a victim to savageness, brutality and inhumanity.

Mr. FOX explained. Mr. BURKE disclaimed any idea of imputing to the Right Honourable Gentleman the intention of palliating in his own mind the atrocities that were perpetrated in France, but only pointed out what the effect of what the Right Hon. Gentleman had said, was likely to have on the minds of other People.

Mr. SHERIDAN recapitulated, and endeavoured to combat the several unanswerable arguments that had been urged by Mr. BURKE and Mr. DUNDAS.

Lord MULGRAVE fully justified what he had stated on a former occasion, with respect to the circumstance of retaliation; and after relating what he had urged on a former day relative to the Evacuation of Toulon with great force of argument, his Lordship concluded by declaring his hearty approbation of the whole of the measure.

Mr. DUNDAS explained. In reply to his Lordship, he said he had no doubt of the right of retaliation existing in certain circumstances. He did not mean to utter any explanation of that right then, but would only say, that in such case a great deal must depend upon the humanity and discretion of the Officers who received such commands.

Mr. SMITH having replied to some of the irrefragable arguments of Mr. BURKE, declared his opposition to the measure. The question, "That this Bill do pass," was then put, and carried without a division.

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