...ould be found of infinite uſe in open- ... our reſources, extending our com- ..., encouraging our agriculture, and ...ng our navigation. The effects ... ſyſtem on which we acted, and ...ould only be acted upon in this ... were in fact incalculable, and ...ped to ſee them go on with in- ...ing energy. It had given ſolidity to our permanent ſtrength, from the advantages which it rendered to our commerce and revenue. He felt alſo much ſatisfaction in noticing the increaſed proſperity of Ireland; a proſperity which he would aſſert, though it certainly could not be proved to a demonſtration, was owing to the late wiſe meaſure of an union with this country.

The revenues of Ireland, in the year ending in Auguſt laſt, had received an increaſe of no leſs than 920,000*l.* a ſum much greater, the relative means and proportions of the two countries being conſidered, than what had taken place in this part of the United Kingdom. He muſt repeat, that if the funds of this country were not equal to meet its eſtabliſhment, an effort ſhould be made to put them on a level. It was impoſſible, however, to ſpeak with any degree of certainty on this ſubject. The eſtabliſhment for the year 1803 was not to be conſidered as a permanent eſtabliſhment. It was liable to increaſe, or it was capable of diminution, according to circumſtances. If out of that eſtabliſhment a deduction could be made of one million only, a matter which he conceived to be eaſy and practicable, there was little doubt but that the revenue, flouriſhing as it was, could be made to meet the expences of the eſtabliſhment. The Right Hon. gentleman went over a part of his former ſtatements, for the purpoſe of ſhewing that with the reduction of one million, as before mentioned, our revenue would be ſufficient to maintain not only the preſent army eſtabliſhment, but even double the number of ſeamen uſually employed in time of peace. If this could not be done, other means muſt moſt aſſuredly be found. The revenues muſt be raiſed to a level with the expenditure, and he knew that he was only doing juſtice to the ſentiments of the Houſe, when he expreſſed his reliance on their concurrence upon ſuch an occaſion. Loans, as he had obſerved, were ruinous; and the experiment of Exchequer Bills, which he was ready to admit, was a ſpecies of loan, was only tried until the reſults of Peace could be perfectly aſcertained. There was one reſource to which he muſt refer—and he could aſſure the Houſe, that the reference was not raſh; and this was to a future annual ſupply of 500,000l. from India. He had lately looked with much attention into the ſtate of the Funds of the Company, and he had to expreſs his conviction that they would be able to furniſh not only that ſtipulated ſupply to the Government, but alſo to take proper meaſures at the ſame time for the extinction of their own debt. He had ſtated in the preſent inſtance nothing but matter of fact, and had not hazarded any thing like a ſpeculation. He would not at preſent enter into a diſcuſſion of the cauſes on which our preſent commercial and financial proſperity was founded. He would only ſay, that it ſprung in the firſt inſtance from the wiſdom of the ſyſtem which had been purſued—from the good ſenſe of that Houſe—and from the fortidude and firmneſs of the people. The only merit which he could claim was that of having ſtrictly followed the example of his predeceſſor with ſome degree of ſpirit and perſeverance. This was the firſt time that he had troubled the Houſe with reſpect to the feelings of ſo inconſiderable an individual as himſelf.—It had been ſaid, however, all who heard him would recollect, that he had diſplayed neither vigor nor energy, either in his adminiſtration, of the War or of the Finances. The preſumption, ſuch as it was, certainly came very ungraciouſly from that quarter. [*A loud cry of Hear! Hear! and every eye was turned on the Grenville party.*]—It had even been ſaid, that he increaſed in confidence in proportion as he loſt the confidence of the people. How far the charges were true, it was for others to determine; for himſelf he ſhould only ſay, that he made every effort to ſerve his country to the beſt of his judgement. He was aware, at the ſame time, that he was the ſervant of a juſt and generous Kingdom, which would paſs judgement upon him, from his own conduct only, and not from looſe aſſertions, ſuch as he had ſtated. Since he had been called into office by the voice of his Sovereign, he could ſolemnly declare, that he had never been actuated by any other than a ſentiment of public duty. This was the firſt time that he had troubled the Houſe reſpecting himſelf, and he ſincerely hoped that it would be the laſt. He had dwelt with much more pleaſure on the gratifying proſpects which he had held forth, of the rapid and at the ſame time, the ſolid increaſe of our commerce, our revenue, and our manufactures. We had, at preſent an army which was fully competent to provide for our ſecurity, as the 110,000 men of whom it conſiſted, we could, at any time, ſhortly raiſe to 200,000.—We had a navy more than ſufficient for every purpoſe, and if it was found neceſſary to augment it, it could be augmented to ſuch a degree as to make it ſuperior to the naval power of the world. What formed the ſoul and ſpirit of all this was, the diſpoſition, the enterprize and the loyalty of the People. when he ſpoke of their "loyalty," he was aware that there were ſome exceptions, but thoſe were too contemptible for notice;—they formed a number in a tavern, but they were nothing in the Strand. Our Nation had arrived to a height to which no other nation could attain; and what formed with him a particular ground of ſatisfaction was, that this greatneſs was not to be encreaſed for the purpoſes of ambition. This country, he truſted, would ever maintain the principles of Juſtice and of Peace—as long as Peace could be maintained with honour. It was this diſpoſition which made her the example, as ſhe was entitled to be, and the admiration of the univerſe.

Mr. Addington then put the firſt of his ſtring of Reſolutions, which was carried *nemine contradicente*. The remainder paſſed in like manner.

The other orders of the day were poſtponed, and the Houſe adjourned to Monday.

—

December 8.

Mr. Sheridan—"I muſt Sir, confeſs, that I feel myſelf pretty much in the ſituation of the right hon. gentleman who ſpoke laſt, in being unable fully to agree with any one who has yet addreſſed you, and yet reluctant to conſent myſelf with a ſilent vote on a ſubject of ſuch extreme importance. As, however, there is one thing in which we ſeem all to be agreed, namely, that we are in a criſis of extreme peril to the country; the people have a right to know the ſentiments of thoſe who are in the habit of delivering their opinions upon all queſtions of great national magnitude. In treating this ſubject I ſhall not follow, becauſe I do not approve, the example of thoſe who have made a reference to the merits, the talents, and qualities of any individual, nor advert even to the man (Mr. Fox) who has together with any perſon, been alluded to, and whom of all others I moſt reſpect, honor and revere. It will be more becoming in me now to prove to the people that none of us are contending or ſcrambling for power or emolument, but ſolely intent on the beſt means of providing for the public honor and ſecurity. I for one am not hoſtile to any frankneſs or roughneſs with which any member may chuſe to manifeſt a diſpoſition to ſpeak of the firſt conſul. My hon. friend (Mr. Whitebread) has told us that though convinced of the perfidy of that perſon, he would not follow the example of others, but abſtain from giving his opinion. I muſt leave it to the houſe to judge of that kind of abſtinence, or whether he and the other honorable member (Gen. Maitland) were of the ſame or different opinions. Some gentlemen tell us, that we have nothing to do with the preſent ſtate of France, as there was no difference between it now and in the reign of the Bourbons, except in the extent of power—the extent of power! As if that was to make no difference at all! or at leaſt but very little. I will grant that there is no great difference between our reaſons for continuing in peace now, and our concluding it in June laſt, but I maintain, that France has ſince manifeſted a diſpoſition which ought to put us more upon our guard, and particularly in the conduct it adopted towards Switzerland, where, under the pretence of yielding them protection, and ſecuring them their tranquility, free, independent, and once happy men, were firſt fraudalently entrapped, and afterwards baſely cruſhed. I am willing to ſpeak of the Firſt Conſul of France with reſpect, if I can; but it is not my fault, nor can I help it, if his conduct is ſuch that a bare recital of facts muſt appear to be invective. In the outſet, I wiſh to have it obſerved, that I am as ſtrongly ſolicitous for peace as any man can be becauſe I do not conceive war to be remedy for any of the grievances we have to complain of. Even the treatment experienced by the unfortunate people of Switzerland, though ſufficient to excite honorable and indignant feelings in the aſſembly, was not of ſuch a nature as to be neceſſarily conſidered as a cauſe of war. I would preſerve peace if poſſible—I would not willingly engage in a conteſt with France—I am aware of the bad conſequences to which it might poſſibly lead, but in caſe of any direct injury, inſult, or indignity offered to us, I would not conſent to heſitate for a ſingle moment. In approving, therefore of the vote propoſed for an increaſed eſtabliſhment, I think myſelf bound to let my conſtituents know my reaſons for ſo doing, all of which flow from my fears and apprehenſions of the power and diſpoſition of France.

To one hon. gentleman (Mr. Banks) I muſt ſay that I liſtened with much regret, not unaccompanied with aſtoniſhment, which was excited by the circumſtance that he has not that rapid flippancy which may mark the ſpeeches of other orators, ſo that it is no difficult matter to underſtand any thing he ſays; that gentleman tells us, that he will agree to vote for the increaſed eſtimate, if miniſters will aſſure him that the country is in danger. Good God! is it poſſible the hon. gentleman can doubt it; does he not ſee, does he not feel it? And what can be more palpable to thoſe who have eyes to ſee dangers, and hearts to reſiſt encroachments? Is not the danger apparent to any one who calls a glance at the map of Europe, now almoſt filled up by France?

They tell us, that with any augmentation we may make, it will ſtill be impoſſible for us to keep up with France. True; but would not the ſame argument be equally applicable if gentlemen thought proper to oppoſe an eſtabliſhment of even a thouſand men? A right honorable gentleman (Mr. Rider) has adverted to the treaties of Utrecht and Aix la Chapelle, to ſhew that no dependence ought to be placed on parliamentary pledges for carrying on war; but ſurely he need not have gone ſo far back for proofs to ſuit his purpoſe. Where we not in the laſt war engaged to reſcue the Netherlands; pledged to obtain ſecurity and indemnity, and bound not to make peace while any regicide republic was left remaining in Europe? As all theſe pledges have ſince been given up, when the right honorable gentleman goes ſo far afield to prove his poſition, we may admit his ſincerity, but cannot with the ſame readineſs admit his impartiality. We have before us the ſtate, the number, and diſcipline of the French armies, and yet they would have us make no preparations to receive them in caſe we ſhould be compelled to do ſo. To increaſe our eſtabliſhments, they ſay, would betray our apprehenſions; but to have neither fleets nor armies, would prove to France our confidence, and ſenſe of our own ſafety. What excellent reaſoning this! And we are to wait till a French force be landed—till a herald proclaims the war; and till the ſound of thoſe hoſtile trumpets ſummons us to the field! Surely gentlemen cannot forget, that we cannot have a regiment without the knowledge of France—that it is impoſſible for us to reign, having an army at Brentford—and that the military force, at leaſt of regulars, in the country, muſt be voted publicly, and provided for in this houſe, even to a ſingle company. Are we to attend to no warning, to receive no caution from the treatment of countries bordering upon France? I own that for one, if I heard of all my neighborus dwellings being robbed and pillaged, I ſhould hardly eſteem it a good reaſon for leaving my own houſe unprotected. But it is ſaid, that in the attempt to go to war with England, or to invade this country, France has nothing to gain, and every thing to loſe.

True, that ſhe has not much to loſe beyond men and blood for which they care but little, but as there is on the other hand, ſo much to be gained by ſucceſs, I do not ſee how France can well be ſuppoſed to feel any diſpoſition to ſpare us. Having already felt the force of our arms, I have little to hope from an irritated and mortified enemy, increaſed prodigiouſly in power, and particularly on the map of Europe, I find it almoſt all to be France. I cannot bring myſelf to think that the inſatiable ambition of the firſt conſul aiming at univerſal dominion, would very willingly leave the fraction that now belongs to England. His power and his inclination muſt neceſſarily and naturally be progreſſive. France is now by no means what it was under the ſceptre of the Bourbons. They had ſome regard to hereditary ſucceſſion, and the various relations connected with it; but Bonaparte is under the moral and phyſical neceſſity of coming to an agreement with his ſubjects, that he will make them *maſters of the world*, if they will but conſent to be *his ſlaves*. I cannot as an inhabitant of this country, ſit quite at my eaſe, when I ſee him convert Holland into a province, when I perceive Pruſſia under his influence, Auſtria under his controul, Spain under his feet, Portugal at his back, Turkey encompaſſed with his toils, and obſerve him taking poſitions in all quarters of the world, calculated more for the ruin of our commerce than for the extenſion of his own. That is the ſort of commercial rivalry in which he is willing to engage with us. Amongſt other things, we find him at Louiſiana for no other purpoſe but that of deſtroying the commerce of Jamaica. Theſe poſitions are like thoſe which hiſtory inform us was the caſe with regard to ſome armies, and by ſuch manœuvres we may at length be deprived of all power of reſiſtance, and compelled to yield without a blow. We have a right to think that he imagines this the ſhorteſt way to go to work with our domineering commercial manufacturing, banking country. I admit, indeed, that he might find himſelf diſappointed in the reſult, and that all this capital induſtry, enterprize, and wealth, would ſhrink, or be hidden in the bowels of the earth, when under the controul of a depoſit; but this affords us no ground for ſuppoſing that this is not the way and mode in which he means to deal with us. What are we to think of the moderation of the man who caſhiers with ſo little ceremony the king of Etruria, and ſo many other princes? Can we doubt that the deſtruction of this country is his principal dream at night, and firſt viſion in the morning—that it is his lateſt and moſt fervent prayer, whether his oriſons be addreſſed to *Jupiter* or *Mahomet*, to the Meſſiah of the Jews, or to the Goddeſs of Reaſon? We have heard indeed, that Bonaparte is a great philoſopher and a great philanthrophiſt, and I do not like him the better for it, particularly, as ſuch crying miſchiefs have already been in the effect of the pretended ſpirit of philanthropy. I cannot withhold my *admiration* at the cant of his *Weſtern Country*, and been only aſtoniſhed at ſuch jargon being ſpoken in the preſence of, and addreſſed to one of the moſt accute and intelligent men in the world (Mr. Fox.)

What folly, to ſuppoſe that ſuch phraſes would paſs current upon him! The king of Etruria had a ſmall ſhare in this new nation, but nay, as it ſhould ſeem, upon a very ſolid tenure; for there was a rod kept for him in the corner, if he did not proceed according to directions, like a little boy in a go-cart. I am not here dealing invective, unleſs I am doing ſo by barely telling the truth. The firſt conſul has ſelected a pleaſant family party, ſome of whom he treats with good manners and entertainments; but what I have to deprecate is, his making Great Britain one of the family. I ſpeak not from any particular information, but from my apprehenſions and my fears, and I therefore do not ſay to you, "Go to war;" but I extort you to aſſume a ſtrong defenſive attitude. I am not indifferent to the fitneſs of men to exerciſe power. Every country muſt depend upon its fleets, its armies and the integrity of thoſe who have the adminiſtration of the government. Upon theſe the nation muſt always reſt for its ſafety. If what I have hitherto urged may be thought agreeable to thoſe who are conſidered as men of war, I am about to adminiſter a corrective, and do not mean to deviate from the good humour that has hitherto prevailed in the debate. I was not preſent on the firſt day of the ſeſſion, but I never read any accounts with more regret than I did that of ſome of the late miniſters, who ſeems to cry out "Give us back our places." Theſe perſons are divided into claſſes—one of them thinks a ſtate of war preferable to that of peace. I honor them for their frankneſs in warning us of our danger, but when a noble lord (*Temple*) ſays "reſtore us to our places and we will not go to war;" I know not which to admire moſt in him, the ingenuouſneſs of youth or the incaution of experience.

I aſk them, would they go to war for the Helvetic Republic? They reply "No;" but they would be more *vigorous* in their *inactivity*; they would at leaſt make wry faces—they would not lie ſtock ſtill, but inſtead of laying them down, they would *hold their arms a kimbo*. Yet I do not know, that while reſtraint is put upon action, much can be got by growling. Miniſters muſt have felt the oppreſſions and encroachments of France as much as other men, and while they are reſolved not to ſubmit to inſult, they know that ſuch a determination may be made known on moderate expreſſions—Some ſay, "Let theſe incapable gentlemen go out." I aſk them why ſo? Have they made any threats to France, and if they have made any, have they afterwards retracted them! Theſe high minded men would not ſtoop to ſo low a job as that of ſigning a peace, but they afterwards come and call upon miniſters to reſign. For what? Becauſe the Doctor ſeems diſagreeable to the patient, the latter does not like the *cut of his beard*—

> "Non amore Zebide, nec poſſum dicew quare,
> "Sed hoc poſſum dicere—non amore."—

Or as the paſſage of Martial has been put in an Engliſh dreſs—

> "I do not like you, doctor Fell,
> "The reaſon why, I cannot tell;
> "But this I'm ſure I know full well—
> "I do not like you, doctor Fell."

They aſk what right miniſters have to our confidence? I aſk by what it is they have forfeited it? He did not ſee that the time they ſucceeded to the adminiſtration was the more inviting. The ſucceſs of the Baltic and Egyptian expeditions was more than doubtful, and it was only an act of chance and ſkill that gave the firſt unfavorable iſſue, and certainly the gratitude of England would not have been too much evinced on the occaſion, if even the meaneſt of the ſailors were to be crowned with laurels. In the arrangement of peace, miniſters had alſo to deal with a man who would be found to retort upon them the inſolent language of lord Grenville's letter, and call for "experience and the evidence of fact." I will be bold to ſay, that, every thing conſidered, the peace was as advantageous as could be obtained. The loan was afterwards made upon terms perhaps too favorable to the public; and in the laſt general election it was known, that never did any adminiſtration interfere leſs with the choice of the people, though one of the ex-miniſters (Mr. Dundas) was careful in the north, to take all the electioneering buſineſs upon himſelf. The right honorable gentleman (Mr. Addington) in the ſituation of ſpeaker, had certainly, and I ſpeak with great reſpect, much perſonal advantage in point of dignity and appearance over his ſucceſſor; but it was not to be expected that he ſhould carry with him into the cabinets of Europe, the qualities and language of the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons. He was not every where to have his *Triden* borne before him like his *Mace*. He was not to ſay to the exiled and diſperſed kings and princes of other countries—"Gentlemen, *take* your places," and ſay to thoſe who obtruded themſelves into their ſituations, "*Stangers muſt withdraw.*" When the French and Germans, were contending for both ſides of the Rhine, it would have been uſeleſs for him to proclaim "*the ayes go with the*"—or "ayes to the right, and noes to the left." Theſe things that could have been expected from a reaſonable man. Is Mr. Pitt to come to this houſe now, and attempt to ſupercede his own nominator? for ſome of us forget the encomiums he paſſed upon them in preference to all others, and only with a ſingle exception, I believe, in favor of my hon. friend (Mr. Fox.) The miniſters, however, have been called a nauſeous mixture; but I dare ſay the ex-miniſter thinks the contrary. I believe he is one who has no objection to a glaſs of wine; and in that I mean no reflection on him; but he muſt certainly think that the preſent miniſters are like a bottle of *tokay*, which, when drained to the laſt and grounds, by filling the bottle with white wine, has only to ſtand a little, and then 'tis as good as the former. Even after this recommendation ſome of theſe gentlemen voted the thanks of the houſe to him, inſtead of a ſtatue, which had it been erected, would be as well decorated with the Olive Branch which he defended, as by the laurels of war. I, for one, think too much of his dignity to ſuppoſe him playing ſuch a double game, as openly to ſupport and to undermine the miniſters. I have heard of great cheſs-players directing at the ſame time two games in different rooms, but it would be as much folly to be playing from one hand into the other, as it would be to attempt on a cheſs-board to check a king, as the late miniſter did his majeſty's, by holding him out to the Iriſh as the enemy of the Roman Catholicks."

He then proceeded to comment on the conduct of thoſe who continued to perſevere in the war, againſt Mr. Fox's warning voice, that it would only make France ſtrong. They would make no peace with a Jacobin Republic, but ſaid,

> "Approach me like the rugged Ruſſian Bear,
> The arm'd Rhinoceros or Hyrcanian Tiger;
> Take any ſhape but that"—

but Bonaparte has done every thing for them. Jacobiniſm was thought to be ancient, always riſing with redoubled ſtrength, but he cruſhed it at once, by giving the fraternal hug. The two parties in oppoſition, he compared to two men in the boat of a balloon, who could aſcend or deſcend with pleaſure, but neither ſteer to the right or left. Mr. Windham was following the machine with gas, while Mr. Dundas was opening the valve to be let out, and made the anchor drop upon ſome ſugar iſland. He preſented Bonaparte as an inſtrument in the hands of Providence, not only for miſchief, but for the better purpoſe of making every Engliſh and Iriſhman love his own conſtitution; and concluded his humorous and elegant ſpeech, by declaring his opinion, that this great country had no retreat in inſignificance, and if we were reluctantly compelled to a war, we ſhould purſue it with vigor and effect, or reſolve to periſh in the ſacred flame, with glory and with honor.

Poſt Office, Washington 26th Feb. 1803.

Letters for the Britiſh Packet, Queen Charlotte, from New-York to Falmouth, England Via Halifax, Nova-Scotia, will be received at this office until Saturday 5th next month.

N. B. The inland poſtage to New-York muſt be paid.

March 2.

NEW ORLEANS.

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March 2.

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