and, we can never reproach him with being an usurper, without pronouncing our own condemnation, as the "friends" of usurpation. It were curious, indeed, for us to claim the right of considering him as an usurper, and a legitimate ruler, alternately, as it may suit our purpose; yet the claim of the safe politicians amounts to nothing short of this. They may claim, but the world will not grant; and, to the reputation of cowardice they will now most assuredly add that of perfidy. Mr. Otto, too, Lord Hawkesbury's noble friend, our worthy friend Mr. Otto, has, it seems, made his seizure of emigrants, in the capital of the Elector of Bavaria. Well? Was not Mr. Otto drawn through the streets of London in triumph? Was not this mark of attachment to him applauded in the London newspapers? Was not Mr. Otto obliged to go incognito for fear of being hugged and squeezed to death? Did not the ministerial herd fawn upon him like spaniels? Did not the Mayor and Aldermen beslabber him in a manner most disgusting? And, as to emigrants, have not many of them starved to death in St. George's Fields, and did not a member of the last parliament, actually object to the granting of the remaining ones another farthing, in order that they might be famished into a compliance with the Consul's terms of re-admission? Shall we, then, be suffered undespised to let up our lamentations at the fate of these emigrants, who have fallen into the claws of our amicable friend Mr. Otto? But, did not the makers of the peace and their applauders basely desert the royalists of France? Did not the ministers omit to stipulate in behalf of the gallant remains of the royal and christian army of the west? Did they not even refuse to afford, to those who could have escaped, the means of reaching England and of existing after their arrival? In consequence of this abominable breach of national faith, was not the signing of the peace of Amiens the signal of the murder of all those who had remained faithful to their king and to their engagements with this country, twelve hundred of whom were put to death in the summer of 1802, and were weltering in their blood at the very moment that lord Hawkesbury was giving dinners upon that service of Porcelaine de Seve which he received as a mark of Bonaparte's friendship? And, is it for us, is it for the safe politicians and their followers; is it for those who made and those who applauded the peace of Amiens, now to bewail the fate of the French emigrants, now to affect an abhorrence of Bonaparte for his severity towards that unfortunate description of men? The fact is this, and a shameful fact it is, that the far greater portion of the sorrow which we hear expressed, on this account, proceeds, not from any attachment to the persons or the cause of the French royalists, but from the conviction, that this country will not be able to derive any further aid from their efforts, that they no longer afford the hope of making a diversion in our favor, that their discomfiture and their fall deprive us of the means of purchasing protection against the menaced assault of our enemy.——From the circumstance of the execution of the Duke D'Enghuien having taken place in the night, it has been concluded, that Bonaparte was afraid to execute him by day light.——This seems to have no good foundation. The trial could not have closed much before the hour when the execution is said to have taken place. The time of the execution could have little weight with the people; and, indeed, the opinion that the people of France are at all disposed to favor an act hostile to the Consul is entirely unsupported by any facts that have reached this country. The ruling passion of a Frenchman's breast is the glory of France; the desire to see his country the mistress of the world; and, the only way to sink Bonaparte in the esteem of Frenchmen is *to beat him*. We may fret and revile and stat and whine as long as we please; we may lament, with Mr. Addington and Mr. Pitt, the "apathy and degradation of the powers of the continent," and, in the fullness of our compassion, may weep over the "blindness and servility of the people of France;" but, while the French armies remain in Hanover, and while we ourselves are besieged, however lofty may be our talk, we may rest assured, that the powers of the continent and the people of France will repay our lamentations and compassion with scorn.

Mr. Drake. The under-plot, which from the correspondence to be found in the former part of this sheet, this gentleman seems to have been engaged in, may serve as a tolerable exemplification of the nature and effects of the "safe politician's" system. Mr. Drake appears to be the worthy representative of Lord Hawkesbury, of that "prudent and solid young man," to whom the foreign affairs of this country have been committed, and whom Mr. Pitt chose to describe as second to no man in England, himself and Mr. Fox excepted! The authenticity of Mr. Drake's letter is questioned by some of the ministerial writers. It will be a pleasing circumstance to find that this doubt has any foundation; but, at present, it appears to have none. Mr. Drake may soon be expected home; for the French will scarcely suffer him to remain at Munich, unless, indeed, they should think it an advantage to keep him in their neighbourhood as a Marplot.——These letters will serve strongly to corroborate the charge, which has been made against England, which will now be implicitly believed all over the continent, and which belief will facilitate the project of the French for cutting off a connexion, even of a formal diplomatic nature, between England and the states bordering upon France. It will draw round her another tier of states hostile to us; and, thus, the project of the "safe politician" will finally have no other effect, than that of sinking our country still lower in the eyes of the world, while it will make the enemy still more secure on the side of the continent, and leave him nothing to provide for but an attack upon these islands, whenever the time comes, whenever our own financial or other distresses or troubles shall render it favorable, for the making of that attack.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

House of Commons.

Monday, April 23.

Motion on the Defence of the *NATION.*

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER. "Sir, I am induced to offer myself to your notice at this moment, rather than at a more advanced period of the debate, for the purpose of combating the arguments which the hon. gentleman has argued at considerable length, in support of one of the most extraordinary motions, that, within my parliamentary experience, has ever been submitted to the consideration of this House.—I have another inducement also, arising from some incidental circumstances in the speech you have just heard, for trespassing, at this early hour upon the attention of gentlemen.—The hon. gentleman has alluded to the zeal and unanimity which at present (even he is candid enough to confess,) pervades all ranks and classes of society; but his approbation is qualified by the observation, that it is a zeal and unanimity solely to be attributed to the fear of invasion, inferring thereby, that his Majesty's ministers, neither by their measures nor their conduct, have conduced either to excite or maintain it.—The hon. gentleman has adverted to some discussions which took place at the commencement of the war; but it must be in the recollection of gentlemen, that the observations which fell from him on one of those occasions, drew forth the reprehension of the House—on another question, I had the benefit of that hon. gentleman's support. When a motion was made, the tendency of which was to contemn me and my colleagues for engaging in the war, that hon. gentleman refused to support it. By his vote on that question, he did, in the fullest and most unqualified manner, absolve and acquit us entirely from the guilt of having commenced that war—but, sir, we do not depend for our justification on the accidental approbation of that hon. gentleman, great as the effect of his approbation might be. We build it on much more solid and extended grounds, the almost unanimous vote of this House, by which it has been sanctioned and confirmed. I come now to the hon. gentleman's present motion, certainly one of the most extraordinary that has ever been brought before this House; for which there is no precedent in the parliamentary history of this country; to which there is nothing analogous in the parliamentary usages of this country, and which I am well justified in describing as a measure most uncommon and extraordinary, when coupled with the strange and singular matter that the hon. gentleman has contrived to mix with it.—The object of his motion is to appoint a committee, to revise the Acts that have been passed for the defence of the country, & to consider of and provide adequate means for the protection of it in future.—Sir, there is no man in this House who more highly values the privileges of Parliament than I do, there is no man in the House who is more ready to assert and maintain them. I know that by the constitution it is invested, and it is fitting it should be, with very great and extensive powers, and I will not deny its right to institute a committee for the purposes that are proposed. But, sir, while I admit the power of the House to do this, I think I may safely apply to the discretion of gentlemen, that they will not, by supporting the motion, countenance the establishment of a committee, which, in its proceedings and result must terminate and become, to all intents and purposes, a committee of a purely military nature. Such a committee would be rather a novel and uncommon mode of manifesting either the authority or the prudence of this House, and one to which, I am persuaded, it will not easily recur, except upon much stronger grounds than the hon. gentleman has brought forward in support of his motion of this night. There is something peculiar also in the matter of the hon. gentleman's motion. For reasons peculiar to himself, no doubt, but which the House will have little difficulty in guessing at, he has totally omitted all mention or allusion whatever to the navy, and has wholly excluded from his consideration, the four hundred thousand volunteers, composing so essential a part of our means of defence. But this peculiarity is not to be exclusively appropriated to the purport of his motion, or the various details that it is intended to embrace. He has so worded it, as to take in all descriptions of persons in this House, with all their floating and contradictory opinions; one man objecting to too great an extension of one part of our force, another lamenting any attempt at its diminution; some recommending a greater and some a lesser addition to the army, and others who differ as to that particular species of naval force we should employ; some preferring a large number of small vessels; all, all these, the hon. gentleman has found means to gratify, in their individual caprices and to include them all within the compass of this sweeping general motion, & I come now to another part of the hon. gentleman's argument, in which he has said that he did not attach much credit to the apprehension of invasion. The hon. gentleman, as I stated before, has been pleased to declare, that the unanimity arose entirely from the actual danger of the country. I know not by what dexterity of argument the hon. gentleman will be able to reconcile those two observations, that, as he says, there is no danger of invasion, and again, that our unanimity is intirely owing to it. Nor am I very solicitous on that head, when I recollect that during the last war, that hon. gentleman continually asserted, that it was the injustice of that war which prevented us from being unanimous then. During that war, I believe it cannot be imputed to that hon. gentleman that he ever came forward with any proposition to avert any danger with which the country might have been menaced, nor during the actual hostility, has he ever favoured his majesty's ministers with any project or suggestion of his, or given them any way whatever the advantage of his great talents. Indeed the hon. gentleman has said, that if Ministers had frankly communicated to him that they were really apprehensive of danger; he would have concurred in any augmentation to the public force they might have thought necessary for the public defence. But, sir, was it necessary that this should have been made the subject of particular and specific communication to him, or to any thinking man in this country? Is it possible that hon. gentleman would have shut his eyes, and closed up his enlightened mind against the active, unceasing, and immoderate ambition of France, stimulated and invited to the exertion of that ambition, and possessing the means of gratifying it, in the possession of so many hundred leagues of sea coast, extending almost from the Texel to the Adriatic? In the course of the hon. gentleman's speech, he has frequently adverted, but with a partiality which I have reason to complain of, to the declarations of ministers respecting the probable duration of the peace of Amiens. Sir, we never did pledge ourselves for the continuance of that peace. On the contrary, we always thought, and omitted no opportunity of declaring so, the best security for the continuance of peace was to impress France, and not only France, but all Europe, with a conviction that our strength, our spirit, and our means, were whole and inexhausted; and that although we were willing to adhere to the peace we had made, we were ready for war, whenever insult or aggression, on the part of any power should compel us to it. It was, sir, from these motives, that our peace establishment so greatly exceeded the peace establishment of 1792, an augmentation which brought down on us the censure of the hon. gentleman. I come now to the hon. gentleman's motion, narrowed and restricted to a degree, inconsistent with his usual candor, and unworthy of his great mind. He has directed his observations principally to the regular and militia force, omitting the navy and volunteers, and has recommended, with his accustomed zeal and perseverance, the adoption of his favorite project of adding an armed peasantry. He has chiefly relied upon two points, for the appointment of this committee, from which he affects to suppose, that so many advantages may be derived: one is, that the pernicious principle of recruiting by competition may be abolished in it, and next, that the extent of service may be altered from life to a term of years. I trust I shall be able to prove to the satisfaction of the house, that it would not be justified, that it would not be prudent nor adviseable in it, to proceed to the formation of such a committee, upon such slight and insufficient reasons as have been mentioned. My noble friend who sits near me, (lord Castlereagh,) has stated, from authentic documents, that although the recruiting for general service was not so great at present, as it was on former occasions, yet that it was as great as circumstances gave us a right to expect. When gentlemen, sir, are informed, that the persons who are entrusted with his majesty's government, were compelled to collect and take out of your population no less than 200 000 men for the purpose of recruiting your army and your navy, and that within the space of little more than twelve months they will cease to express any surprise that the recruiting service should have experienced a momentary cessation; when I declare to this house, on the part of that government, that there is at present a regular force in this country and in Ireland, composed of troops of the line and militia, of no less than 184 000, I trust it will be acknowledged that his majesty's ministers have not been remiss or improvident in making adequate preparations for the defence of the country. When gentlemen reflect upon the difficulties we had to encounter, that we had the militia to raise, that we had the army of the line to recruit, that we had the army of reserve to establish, that we had the defence act to prepare, & that we had a regular army, line and militia, of 184,000, that we have 400,000 volunteers, that we have 27,000 sea fencibles, independent of troops in other points, in garrisons and in colonies, making in the whole, a force little short of eight hundred thousand men, and greater in number by 200,000 than the greatest exertions of the enemy can bring forward. I say sir, when such difficulties and such successes are weighed against each other, I trust the House and the country will admit that we are not that incapable and incompetent description of men, the hon. Mover of the question before you endeavours to represent us. This, Sir, could be proved by documents, the most authentic and irrefragable; and though, for many reasons which will be obvious to gentlemen, I feel strong objections to the production of such information, yet I will consent to give those gentlemen, who make the want of it a ground of complaint and accusation against ministers, an account of the military and naval force of the country as it actually is, but upon the express condition that they do not ask for the distribution of it. I am persuaded, Sir, that if such an account were laid on the table, it would be the best. I will go farther, and say, it would be a decisive answer to the best argument the hon. gentleman has urged in support of his motion. The hon. gentleman has gone at considerable length into the consideration of that principle expressed in the Defence Act, that it is his Majesty's prerogative to call upon the services of all ranks of his subjects capable of bearing arms in case of invasion. Sir, in discussing that bill, that principle was frequently alluded to in debate but never opposed; for it was admitted, generally admitted, that his Majesty possessed such a prerogative in case of invasion, and the only question was, I well remember, whether he might not resort to it before invasion? The hon. gentleman affects to acquit ministers of any blame in introducing the assertion of that particular prerogative into that bill, by presuming that in their anxiety to prepare for the defence of the country, a solitary instance of recognizing it might have escaped their observation. Sir, I desire that principle may be thoroughly examined and enquired into. I desire that it be not taken, *pro admisso*, but that it may stand on its fair and general constitutional grounds. With respect to the hon. gentleman's motion, I am to look for other motives, than those he has thought prudent to avow, for proposing it. I am to seek for other reasons, for a motion peculiarly calculated to collect all the floating regiments of the house, and to create such an opposition to his Majesty's ministers as would tend to produce a change of administration. If that be the object of the hon. gentleman's motion, let him state so, broadly & unequivocally; let him produce some specific accusation; let him bring forward some direct, explicit charge; and let him take the sense of the house on it; but let him not bring it forward in this covert and underhand mode, and by a *deutor* endeavor to stigmatise, those he has not the courage to assail boldly and manfully. Let not the hon. gentleman, I say, have recourse to a paltry expedient of this nature, it is unworthy of him. If we are fairly attacked, if we are accused upon specific grounds, we are ready and willing to meet the charge, and we shall find, I trust, no difficulty in defending and justifying ourselves upon fair, open, and constitutional principles. To the motion of the hon. gentleman I feel the strongest objections, and I am bound to resist it upon every consideration of prudence and of public policy. I call upon every member of this house to look at the state of the country, and to say, whether such a committee is practicable or adviseable? To accomplish all the objects proposed by it, you must bring officers from their duty, with great inconvenience to the public service, and possibly with greater danger to the public safety; you must collect documents and information from various quarters, you must have all the records and accounts, the plans and the proposals that are possessed by, or have been submitted to the different departments, laid on that table and examined; and what is no trivial objection, made public before you can come to a right, or indeed to any conclusion, as to whether the naval and military force of the country has been properly employed and administered. I do not mean to say, that a great state necessity may not justify the appointment of such a committee; but I leave it to the wisdom of the house to determine, if any proofs of such necessity have been advanced in support of the present dangerous and extraordinary measure. It is, upon these grounds, I oppose the motion of the hon. gentlemen, and I hope that a great majority of this house will agree with me in opinion, that no sound reasons have been urged to recommend it; that no necessity has been proved to justify it; and that as it has been brought forward from motives different from what are professed, it is unworthy to be entertained or adopted by the house."

(Debate to be continued)

TREATY of PEACE,

Between the British East India Company and the Rajah of Berar.

Article 1.

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the honorable company and their allies, on the one part, and Senah Saheb Soubah Ragoojee Bhooslah, on the other.

Article 2.

Senah Saheb Soubah Ragoojeee Bhooslah, cedes to the honorable company and their allies, in perpetual sovereignty, the province of Cuttack, including the port and district of Balsore.

Article 3.

He likewise cedes to the honorable company and their allies, in perpetual sovereignty, all the territories, of which he has collected the revenues, in participation with the Soubah of the Dekken the Nizam, and those of which he may have possession, which are to the Westward of the river Wurdaugh.

Article 4.

It is agreed, that the frontiers of Senah Saheb Soubah, towards the territories of his highness the Soubah of the Dekkan, shall be formed, to the west by the river Wurdaugh, from its issue from the Injardy Hills, to its junction which the Godavery. The hills on which are the forts of Nernallah and Gawulgurh, are to be in the possession of Senah Saheb Soubah, and every thing south of those hills, and to the west of the river Wurdauh, is to belong to the British government and their allies.

Article 5.

Districts amounting to four lacks of rupees per annum contiguous to, and to the south of the forts of Nernallah and Gawnigurh are to be given over to Senah Saheb Soubah. Those districts are to be fixed upon by major general Wellesley, and delivered over to Senah Saheb Soubah at the same time with the forts.

Article 6.

Senah Saheb Soubah, for himself, his heirs and successors, entirely renounces all claims of every description on the territories of the British government and their allies ceded by the second, third and fourth articles, and on all the territories of his highness the Soubah of the Dekkan.

Article 7.

The honorable company engage that they will mediate and arbitrate according to the principles of justice, disputes of differences that may now exist or may hereafter arise, between the honorable company's allies Secunder, his heirs and successors, and Rao Pundic Purdhaun (chief of the Poonah Mahrattahs) his heirs and successors respectively, and Senah Saheb Soubah.

Article 8.

Senah Saheb Soubah engages never to take or retain in his services, any Frenchman, or the subject of any other European or American power, the government of which may be at war with the British government; or any British subject, whether European or Indian, without the consent of the British government. The honorable company engage on their part, that they will not give aid or countenance to any discontented relations, Rajas, Zemindars, or other subjects of Senah Seheb Soubah, who may fly from, or rebel against his authority.

Article 9.

In order to secure and improve the relations of amity and peace hereby established between the governments, it