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## Foreign.

### IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, MARCH 20.

Mr. WHITBREAD called the attention of the house to the subject of the congress of Vienna, and after noticing some reports that had gone abroad, requested that the noble lord in the blue ribbon, would throw some light upon the transactions of that body.

Lord CASTLEREAGH could assure the house that it was painful to him to see himself for so long a time upon their notice, as he felt he must this evening; but where affairs so complicated in their details, and so important in their result, were to be explained and justified, it was impossible for him to speak except at great length, so as to effectually prevent the dangers which might arise from such an inaccurate and perhaps imprudent display as had been made by the honorable gentleman. The question which he had to discuss was not so much whether the interests of this country had been preserved, as whether its character, and the character of the allied nations, has not been compromised. If he could shew that the sovereigns of Europe had conducted themselves with wisdom, and had broken no engagement which they undertook to fulfil, it was not for him to spare any details or reasoning which might be necessary for such demonstration. He must however, distinctly protest against the species of attack which had been made upon him in his absence. It was a system of parliamentary usage, at once novel and unconstitutional, that while great measures were still pending, any member should, from a morbid jealousy of proceedings which he could not understand, presume all sorts of profligacy and bad faith against any sovereigns on imperfect surmises, garbled statements, and illicit information.—(Hear, hear, from both sides.) He called that information illicit which was obtained from foreign agents, who stated in private what they had not thought proper to avow in their public protests. If a government was to be put on its defence, in such an unfinished state of a public negotiation, it was placed in the awkward situation, either of being compelled to omit many things material to its justification, and to defend itself on imperfect data, and consequently imperfect reasoning; or it must make premature disclosures which might be injurious to the public service. (Hear, hear.) It was unfair, under such circumstances, to call upon the house to review the conduct of an administration, or to pass a judgment on their acts. He must now beg leave to decline the cover offered to him by the honorable gentlemen, of considering him merely as one of his majesty's ministers; not individually responsible more than the rest of his colleagues. Much as he should be ashamed to assume or pretend to any pre-eminence in the cabinet, yet in the present particular instance he could not without a degradation to his own personal character, pretend that he had been nothing more than one of the number composing the administration. He had been sent to Vienna, because he was supposed to be thoroughly acquainted with the views of this country, and of the other contracting parties; and if under such circumstances he had suffered the great political machine to have stood still for a single day while he was waiting for instructions from home, he should have thought he was betraying his trust. He felt it necessary in the first instance, to state to the house what had been the result of the deliberations on the slave trade.

When he last addressed the house on this subject, he had occasion to state that the utmost that could then be obtained from France, was, a promise to abolish this hateful traffic at the end of five years. Portugal at that time had merely given a promise of gradual abolition generally; and from Spain no engagement at all had been received. He could now state, that though this trade was not at once abolished, yet all the great powers had resolved, as would appear by a paper to be laid before the house, that this traffic was of a nature so immoral, that it ought, and should be swept from the earth; and they pledged themselves to put an end to it. Spain and Portugal had been brought to abolish it in eight years—as to France, he had every reason to believe that the French government was disposed to abridge the date agreed upon, if the feelings of the people, or any favorable opportunity should render such a measure possible. The matter, however, had not been definitely settled at Congress, but it had been resolved that in what related to the slave trade, Congress should be adjourned, and that this particular question should be left to the future and deliberate discussion of agents from the different countries. The question then was simply this; taking the declarations of the allied Sovereigns, and the moral feelings of nations, have those sovereigns fairly and honorably fulfilled their engagements? He was prepared to meet the honorable gentleman on that issue, and should be able to repel the foul calumnies, which no doubt from misrepresentation the honorable member had been induced to utter against his own country as well as others.

And here he must protest against the principle maintained by the honorable gentleman, that old governments were to be revived merely because they had once existed, without any conditions annexed to their restoration. He would say that this country would not be a party to such imbecility of negotiation (hear, hear, from the opposition, and re-echoed from the other side.)—The object has been to re-create those two monarchies which for all practical purposes had been destroyed by a series of wars; he meant Austria and Prussia; they wished to see an augmented barrier against France; Switzerland re-established, and Germany so confederated as to be a bulwark against the west and the east. He must protest against the use the honorable gentleman made of an expression in a letter, about "throwing so many human souls into the scale." If annexation were justifiable, population was as just a criterion of the power of territory, as its wealth or its trade. The honorable member had assumed, that a solemn pledge was given to Genoa; that it was confirmed by the British government, and afterwards broken. He wished to disentangle the question of Genoa from that of Italy, which had likewise been mentioned; and first he would speak of Italy generally. Long ago there was a considerable feeling that Italy was anxious to throw off that French yoke, and a disposition was immediately shewn on the part of this country, to give succour to this inclination. But the expectations of its rising were never realized. The disaffection was great, but nothing of action was to be hoped, for the people no where expressed so little disgust against the armies of France. We had not therefore, falsified our assurances to Italy; she had taken no measures corresponding to our wish to serve her. The people of Italy, were therefore, solely indebted to the allies for their deliverance. When therefore after this, it was seen that the whole fate of the war depended on stirring Austria from its slumber, it was felt that every thing consistent with general morals, ought to be done to set in motion that great hinge of European policy. England felt that she could not adopt any separate policy with respect to Genoa. She had to act, not as the ally of Italy, who would take no steps towards her own independence, but of Austria, who, with other powers were then employed about the deliverance of Europe. The principle, therefore, of that treaty, and it was no secret, was this—that the Italian independence was inconsistent with the effective power of Austria.

There was no man that did not know that the northern parts of Italy would not fall to the government of any Italian. As to the supposed pledge given by this country in consequence of the proclamation of Lord W. Bentinck, he could acknowledge no such pledge.—He had read that proclamation with great attention. He was, at that time, at the head quarters of the allied powers in France, and a communication was made to him on the part of marshal Murat, then on the Throne of Naples, complaining of this proclamation. He answered the Duke de Campo Caro, who came on the part of marshal Murat, that our forces in Italy were to act in strict alliance with the Austrian government, whatever intentions our government might have entertained at a former period, and under circumstances entirely different. He then read over the proclamation, and told that person, that in his opinion the proclamation would not fairly bear that construction. When in the conclusion of the proclamation, he spoke of their returning to the good old times of Italy, was that any thing like what the honorable gentleman would understand by Italian independence! At what period were we to fix those good old times of Italy? He did not receive Lord W. Bentinck's proclamation till about the end of March. He wrote to him, however, immediately upon receiving the communication he had stated, and informed his Lordship "that there were a few words in his proclamation, upon which a construction had been put, which he was quite sure was different from what his Lordship intended." He trusted that he had now in some degree relieved this question of Genoa; from the charge of bad faith brought against his majesty's government. It must, however, be obvious to the house, that no general could, without special authority from his government, be empowered to do more than establish a provisional government in a conquered country; held by a military occupation.

1st. He had no authority to settle definitively the fate of Genoa, and nobody should suppose he had such an authority.

2dly. He was expressly prohibited from countenancing the idea of what was now called Italian independence.

3dly. He never did so.

4thly. He never could have done so.

5thly. The Genoese plenipotentiary expressly admitted that he could have no authority to that purpose.

The honorable gentleman had asked him particularly, was there any arrangement agreed to respecting Holland? He should answer, that there was, and that he would presently explain the nature of it. He had been reproached last season for not continuing the war until all the objects of this country had been obtained—he was now ready to admit, that he would have been guilty of a criminal dereliction of his duty, if he had consented to part with the securities of peace which were in our hands, unless there had been a complete understanding on those points. He was happy, however, to state to the honorable gentleman and to the house, that the French government had not departed

in the slightest degree from that understanding, (loud cries of hear, hear.) He hoped that this circumstance would impress upon the mind of the honorable gentleman, a practical feeling of the value of preserving that government which had contributed so much to restore the peace of Europe. France came to the congress, not as an enemy, but as a friendly power, deliberating, in common with the rest of the great powers, for the general good of Europe. He must now say a few words in defence of the Austrian government—as every government and power in Europe, was made a subject of charge and accusation by the honorable gentleman. There was a man in France in the revolutionary times, (Anacharsis Cloots) who called himself the ambassador or orator of the human race, (a laugh.) Now it appeared to him, that the honorable gentleman had taken an opposite plan, and had constituted himself an ambassador or orator the other way, (laughter.) He was in active opposition to the conduct of all nations, and of all governments, and he levelled the strongest attacks particularly against their sovereigns. As to all he had said about the rapacity of Austria, he should only state, that in the original formation of the alliance, it was perfectly understood that the Po and the Tessen should be the boundaries of the Austrian monarchy in Italy. To return now to Genoa. He must deny that any part of Lord William Bentinck's success was owing to the exertions of the Genoese. There was not a single hand raised up in aid of the British army. It was a dry and simple surrender of Genoa to the British arms. There was a Genoese Deputy assisting at the capitulation, and he agreed to it on the condition that Genoa should not be bombarded. It was as complete a conquest as ever was made by the arms of any country; and by the laws of war and of nations, it had a right to dispose of its conquests for the general good. As to the making war for the sake of conquests, the allied powers had distinctly disclaimed that principle. They could not be, however, so dead to the obligations that they owed to their brave subjects, as altogether to abandon their interests and just claims; neither could they so far stultify themselves, as to profess themselves incapable of altering the face of Europe from the state in which it then was, to a state that promised permanent security and repose.—France was a willing party in the arrangements; and the principle of it was to make a strong barrier between France and Italy, on the other side of Piedmont. Instead of having one road leading through the territories of Genoa, and another through the territories of Piedmont, it was thought more for the general interest of Europe, that the King of Sardinia should wield the whole defensive force of Italy in this quarter, and that his states should form the bulwark between France and Italy.

The honorable gentleman had, on a former occasion, tauntingly asked, why he went to Vienna; and why he came back before every thing had been concluded? To this he should reply, that he went to Vienna, because he had been ordered to go there; and that he had not come back before the principal points had been completely arranged, in a manner binding upon the good faith of all the powers, although the arrangement was not in a state to be laid before parliament. There was only one great point respecting continental arrangements, which was not yet definitively settled; and that was, the disposition of that part of Italy, on the south of the Po. To all these arrangements, France had been a consenting party and he conceived that France, throughout the Congress, fairly and honestly discharged its duty, both to itself and to Europe, (hear, hear.) The honorable gentleman had imputed the most base, and sordid motives to the allied powers in consequence of the territorial arrangements which had been made. But when the papers should be regularly before the House, he would find that the peace of Europe, was the great object to which the powers of Europe directed their attention. What would there be of the ancient form of Europe, if Austria and Prussia were not to resume their former place in it? By the arrangements which had been concluded, Prussia gained about 40 or 50 thousand subjects more than she had at that time, and Austria three or four hundred thousand. Austria had, however, consented to some further arrangements for Prussia, to balance this increase. With respect to the point of Saxony, he had always contended against annexation of the whole of that country to Prussia, in the strongest manner. So strongly did the feelings of ministers operate on this point, that it was only by a great sacrifice, both in regard to Holland and Hanover, that Prussia, in conjunction with Russia, could be induced to confine her claims to only a part of Saxony. Without, however, wishing to state any thing that might be painful to the venerable monarch of Saxony, he would assert that on the principle of conquest at least, never was any thing more fairly justifiable than the annexation of Saxony to Prussia.

He should now state briefly the history of Prince Reppin's proclamation. Prussia was desirous of obtaining the provisional occupation of Saxony; and to this, he, together with the Austrian Minister, gave their assent, provided the occupation was only provisional; from this consideration, that the power which looked to its future possession either in whole or in part, was most likely to use the country well. Then came the Proclamation of Prince Reppin, on delivering up the government to the Prussian authorities, which he really believed originated in one of those misconceptions to

which the best officers are liable. When the proclamation first came into his hands, he lost no time in showing it to the Prussian minister, who said that it was the first time he had seen it. Count Nesselrode, the Russian minister, made a similar declaration; and in return to an official note which he addressed to Prince Hardenberg, that minister returned an official declaration, that the proclamation was wholly unauthorized on the part of Prussia. Such were the unequivocal declarations of both these Courts. The point of Poland he should wish to reserve for future discussion. A strong feeling existed in the people, and in the government of this country in favor of the independence of Poland; and in the mean time, the country would be rejoiced to hear that Poland, at least that portion of it which went under the name of the Duchy of Warsaw, would be governed under a distinct sceptre, as Poles, and that the system of Government would be more congenial to their feelings than any they had recently enjoyed.

With respect to Holland, it was evident that nothing could be of greater importance to this country, than that France should not have a continuity of sea-coast, extended along the whole of the Netherlands. He had the satisfaction to say, that the allied powers on the Continent were not more convinced of the importance of this point to us, than to themselves, and therefore, all were agreed that the union of the Netherlands with Holland, was one of the most important improvements of the face of Europe, in modern times. He trusted it would not be supposed that any undue concessions had been made, with the view of obtaining an increase of territory to Hanover. Its people had recently proved themselves faithful supporters of Great Britain; and he would say, that there had not been a more efficient, more faithful and honest body of men in our service, than the Hanoverian Legion; they amounted to not less than 12,000 men, to which number they had always been kept up by voluntary enrolment. The increase of territory she had received, tended to consolidate her connexion with this country, by the extent of sea coast which it gave her. The noble Lord then briefly alluded to the affairs of Spain, and contended that painful and disgusting as the proceedings of one party in that country were against the other, we had no right to call that Government to account for its proceedings. He had every reason to suppose, that the Spanish government wished to cherish a friendly connexion with this country; nor was there any reason to suspect, that what was called the family compact, at least in its offensive parts, would be renewed with France. Looking then generally, at the foreign relations of the country, he thought them highly satisfactory. The honorable gentleman had asked, what line of policy this country should adopt in regard to the convulsion by which France was at present agitated. His Lordship said, he would give it as his opinion, that on the issue of the contest which now agitated her, depended the continuance of all the blessings to which this country could look forward; and that it never could be said, if Bonaparte were re-established in France, England could look forward to tranquillity. Were that man restored to France, he should be glad to know how the continent of Europe could avoid being again converted into so many armed nations, as the only security for their independence. He trusted that Providence would conduct this country and Europe, through the remainder of its difficulties. The noble lord then congratulated the house on the general adoption of representative governments in the different states of Germany; and said that with regard to the States-general of Hanover in particular, their deliberations had been conducted with a degree of moderation, talent, and prudence, that did them credit. A great deal had been done to promote the happiness of nations, and if Bonaparte was not suffered to intercept the prospects which were arising, never could Europe look forward to brighter days than those which it might now anticipate. The noble Lord sat down amidst loud and repeated cheers.

## NEW-ORLEANS.

LONDON, MARCH 2.

Despatches of which the following are copies, have been this day received by Earl Bathurst, one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, from Major General Sir John Lambert, K. C. B. commanding on the coast of Louisiana.

Camp in front of the Enemy's Lines, below N. Orleans, Jan. 10, 1815.

MY LORD—It becomes my duty to lay before your Lordship, the proceedings of the force lately employed on the coast of Louisiana, under the command of Major General the Honorable Sir E. M. Pakenham, K. B. and acting in concert with Vice Admiral the Honorable Sir A. Cochrane, K. B.

The report which I enclose from major general Keane, will put your Lordship in possession of the occurrences which took place until the arrival of major general the hon. Sir E. Pakenham to assume the command; from that period, I send an extract of the journal of Major Forest, Assistant Quarter Master General, up to the time of the joining of the troops (which sailed on the 16th of October last under my command) and which was on the 6th of January; and from that period, I shall detail, as well as I am able, the subsequent events.

I found the army in position in a flat country, with the Mississippi on its left, and a