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Foreign.

BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THURSDAY, MAY 27.

Mr. Grattan's Speech, in favor of the War against Bonaparte.

The address to the prince regent, assuring his royal highness of the cordial support of the house in any measures he may take, in conjunction with his allies, against the common enemy, Bonaparte, was debated.

Lord G. Cavendish, though he coincided in that part of the address which recommended concert and co-operation with our allies, moved an amendment, that in thus doing their object was not solely to overturn the power of the present ruler of France. Mr. Smith seconded the motion.

Mr. Grattan said, he had considered the amendment and the question, in all its bearings. In entering upon the subject, he would admit that they ought to avoid, as much as possible, the evils of war; but there was another and a greater evil to be guarded against—a peace without security and a war without allies.—(Hear, hear!) With the immediate question of peace or war they had nothing to do; that point was decided at Vienna; but the plain fact which remains for their consideration was simply this—would they contend against the ruler of France with the allies in their van, or would they wait until these powers were disbanded, and meet the clash single handed? As to the present form of government in France, and the prospect of security afforded Europe, they need only look to its composition for a refutation of any such chance. It was an effective stratagem, composed of a rapacious soldier, who do not fight to conquer, but conquer to fight. The constitution of France is war, and the object of that war is the conquest of Europe. (Hear, hear!)—What reason was there to suppose that Bonaparte would not again attempt that to which his whole life had been firmly applied? Were they blind to his character and forgetful of his deeds?—Had he not almost succeeded in his gigantic plan of seizing all Europe? He banished the sovereigns of Spain and Portugal; the former throne he gave his brother—his son became the king of Rome; he controlled the power of Prussia—and he prepared an army to take the king of England. But the great trident of Britain preserved her station, and shook his empire. The British navy saved the land. Bonaparte cried out, "Your maritime laws are tyranny;" but what he meant to say was, that this monument of our strength, and his weakness, had prevented Europe's being enslaved.—(Hear!) He then saw, that to conquer England he must attack her marine, by piercing her commerce—this he attempted in two ways; one was, to shut her out from continental intercourse by the force of his arms. The attack on her commerce was great; it affected her station exceedingly. This country, placed by nature between the New and Old continents, and formed to be the medium of communication between both, now stood between two fires. On the one side continental Europe was in a blaze, from the force of his arms; and on the other the new world, from the influence of his intrigues. Between both, this country was shaken, but she maintained her ascendancy. His ambition then led him to pierce the frozen regions of Russia. In his progress for northern rapine and desolation, he encountered Austria and Prussia. [The orator here described the Russian campaign and events which followed it, until the arrival of the allies in Paris.]

Here, he said, they did an act which in the eyes of posterity will absolve them from whatever errors they elsewhere committed. In the noble generosity of their views, they gave to fallen France liberty and life; to Bonaparte, life and Elba.—(Loud cheers.) This was an act as honorable to them, as it was undeserved by the object whom they sheltered. The one gave to France ruin and disaster, the other a king and constitution, framed upon enlarged, liberal, and unexcluding principles—a form of charter well suited to England, but not deserved by France—one far different from that which her weak, muddy philosophers, in the hey-day of their greatness tried to balance in the flimsy machine of their scattered invention—a better one than ever issued from the staring councils of their economists, when they endeavored to establish that system which had method in its madness, and madness in its method; who, in their political worship bowed to the goddess of liberty, until her incantations converted her into the goddess of fury—who set their political machine in motion at one moment with the breath of liberty, at another with the storm of anarchy, until its wheels at length took fire from the force of its own velocity. (Loud and continued cheers.) The events to which he (Mr. G.) had referred, at the walls of Paris, remodelled the fragments of this incongruous system, and caused them to subside into a form of government not dissimilar to that of England. This system was now usurped. What was to be done? Were they to listen to a revival of a new system, or of any system from Bonaparte? Was he who broke the treaty of Fon-

tainbleau, which gave him amnesty and station, to come forward and call upon them to abide by the treaty of Paris which formed the very basis of his own exclusion? Were they sane to talk of faith and listen to such a proposition? (Hear, hear!) What was the language he held to his army? "We must establish a throne by new conquests. It is true I signed an abdication, but that was nothing without the consent of the people. Without this my convention was invalid." His ministers and court say the same—they re-echo this monstrous abandonment of principle, and yet, in the same breath, they call upon you to trust him. Will you take him now, who has violated the very principle of alliance, in preference to accepting that compact of five powers whose faith is unerringly pledged! What hesitation can there be as to the course they ought to take? Can they doubt, armed as they are, with every moral and political engine at their disposal, of their power and ability to beat down this system in France; to beat down an opponent, who is not firm in his government, and who stands wholly without claim or title for his political maintenance? Were they now to say that, with Austria's immense force, and Russia's inexhaustible one; with Prussia's strength, and England's counsels—with a force of 600,000 men ready to take the field at the onset, France could resist the attack! How could she do it? Her population of one hundred millions was now reduced to twenty-five millions; besides she had lost her fascination—her spell was gone. The career of Bonaparte had been developed to the nations of the continent in its naked colors! His hand of enfranchisement was the grasp of slavery; to every country that force of arms or influence laid at his feet—he gave a worse government than ever previously cursed them; his army, like the Roman legions under Attila, carried devastation and ruin in their train, and could now form no encampment in Europe, except within the circle of their enemies. Of all external resources they were bereft. What were their internal ones? In the first place the leader of this stratagem had no cavalry, at least nothing that bore the name of comparison in the scale; secondly, he had no money; thirdly, no credit; and fourthly, no title.—(Hear!) As to the people, if they identified themselves with his cause, where were they when the treaty of Paris was signed? Not upholding his rule, but parties to his deposition.—(Hear, hear!)—Are Frenchmen, he asked, so devoid of faith, so blind to their own interest, so neglectful of the solemn assurances they have already given, as to rise against the combined powers of Europe, in order to support a stranger on their throne? Was it from pride that they would act so? And should the allies, from delicacy to France, suffer her to insure the eternal damnation of a military despotism. (Hear!)

Gentlemen had asserted that the French nation were favorable to Bonaparte—in the sincerity of his heart he believed it to be no such thing—the sceptre was consigned to his hands by the mere act of the military. There was no reason to believe that England was not able to cope with Bonaparte, notwithstanding his resources, his army, his understanding, or his genius; for the question was not now, whether we had a right to oppose him? We are actually at war, in consequence of his breach of faith, in consequence of his having broken the treaty of Fontainebleau. This, however, was considered as nothing. "To be sure," said Bonaparte, "I saved my life by means of it, but I am no further bound by it; the entire proceeding was invalid, as done against my engagements with France; I can do nothing without the consent of my people—my council tells me so!" [Lighthearted and much applause.] Never (said Mr. Grattan, with animation) never may I live to see the day when, with all Europe in our train, England should basely truckle to the power of France. [Loud cheering.] If England should withdraw from the alliance—if she should despise her glory and forget her ancestors—if she should astonish Europe, and hesitate to oppose the common enemy of mankind—if private feelings should swerve her from her public duty, and ideas of little gains turn her from nobler objects, well may the world address her—"In vain have you already opposed the flying fortunes of Europe—in vain have you triumphed over the difficulties that enclosed you, and rose superior to surrounding obstacles; in vain have you torn the eagle from the hands of your enemy, and plucked invincibility from his standard—your conquest has been unavailing, and your triumphs nugatory, if you now take the lead in deserting the common cause of liberty, and plead your poverty to justify your disgrace." Thus Europe would address her, and this country should not consider the money to be expended, but the fortunes to be preserved; and that less must be paid for an active war, than for a peace with a war establishment; that even if her means be not eternal, they at least far exceed those of any other country in the world, and that she must long outlast the exertions of others.

[Mr. Grattan sat down amidst long continued and unanimous plaudits.]

Sir F. Burdett, Mr. Ponsonby, and Mr. Tierney supported the amendment.

Mr. Plunket and Lord Milton advocated the war. The house divided: For the amendment 92—against it 331.

PARIS, JUNE 8.

New French Legislature.—Yesterday, at four o'clock; his Majesty the Emperor went in state to the palace of Representatives, opened

the Session of the Legislature, and delivered the following Speech:

"Messieurs of the Chamber of Peers, and Messieurs of the Chamber of Representatives.—For the last three months existing circumstances and the confidence of the nation have invested me with unlimited authority. The present day will behold the fulfilment of the wish dearest to my heart. I now commence a Constitutional Monarchy.

"Mortals are too weak to insure future events; it is solely the legal institutions which determine the destinies of nations. Monarchy is necessary in France, to guarantee the liberty, the independence, and the rights of the people.

"Our Constitution and laws are scattered; one of our most important occupations, will be, to collect them into a solid body, and to bring the whole within the reach of every mind. This work will recommend the present age to the gratitude of future generations. It is my wish that France should enjoy all possible liberty. I say possible because anarchy always resolves itself into absolute Government.

"A formidable coalition of Kings threatens our independence; their armies are approaching our frontiers.

"The frigate La Melpomene has been attacked and captured in the Mediterranean, after a sanguinary action with an English ship of 74 guns. Blood has been shed in time of peace!

"Our enemies reckon on our internal divisions. They excite and foment a civil war. Assemblages have been formed, and communications are carried on with Ghent in the same manner as with Coblenz in 1792. Legislative measures are, therefore, become indispensably necessary; and I place my confidence, without reserve, in your patriotism, your wisdom, and your attachment to my person.

"The Liberty of the Press is inherent in our present Constitution; nor can any change be made in it without altering our whole political system; but it must be subject to legal restrictions, more especially in the present state of the nation. I therefore recommend this important matter to your serious consideration.

"My Ministers will inform you of the situation of our affairs.

"The finances would be in a satisfactory state, except from the increase of expence which the present circumstances render necessary; yet we might face every thing, if the receipts contained in the budget were all realizable within the year. It is to the means of arriving at this result that my Minister of Finances will direct your attention.

"It is possible that the first duty of a Prince may soon call me to the head of the armies, to fight for the country—the army and myself will do our duty.

"You, Peers and Representatives give to the nation an example of confidence, energy and patriotism; like the Senate of the great people of antiquity, swear to die rather than to survive the dishonor and degradation of France. The sacred cause of the country shall triumph!"

CHAMBER OF PEERS.

Sitting of the 5th June.

The Chamber met at two o'clock, under the presidency of the Prince Arch-Chancellor, who announced that the Emperor had appointed Count Lacedepede to perform the functions of the President during the present session, in case of the absence of the ordinary President.

A list of the Peers appointed up to this day was then read.—It is as follows:

Prince-Arch-Chancellor, President.
Prince Joseph, Prince Louis, Prince Lucien, Prince Jerome, Cardinal Fesch, Prince Eugene, Duc de Parme, Duc de Plaisance, Lieut. General Andreossi, Marechal Duc de d'Aubasson, Duc de Bassano, Comte Beauveau, Lieutenant-General Comte Brayer, General Comte Belliard, Comte Barral, Archeveque de Tours, Marechal Comte Brune, Comte Bigot, Comte Bossy, Cardinal Cambaceres, Comte Caffarelli, Conseiller d'Etat, Ct. Casabiana, Comte Claucaux, Comte Carnot, Duc de Cadore, Comte Chaptal, Comte Clary, Lt. General Comte Clausel, Comte Colehen, Comte Cornudet, Comte-Admiral Baron Colmar, Marechal Duc de Cornegiano, Lieut. General Comte Cambroue, Comte Clement de Ris, Marechal Duc de Dalmatie, Marechal Duc de Dantzic, Baron Davilliers, Duc Decres, Comte d'Anjou, Comte d'Alsac, Comte d'Aboville, Comte Dejean, Comte Dedeley d'Agier, Lt. General Comte Drouot, Lieut. General Comte Duhesme, Lieut. General Comte Duronsnel, Marechal Prince d'Essling, Marechal Prince d'Eckmuhl, Lieut. General Comte d'Erlon, Lieut. General Excellmans, Vice Admiral Comte Emerian, Comte Fallo de Beaumont, Archeveque de Bourges, Comte Fabre de l'Ande, Lieut. General Comte Friant, Lieut. General Comte Flassaut, Comte Forbin Janson, Duc de Gante, Comte Gassendi, Lt. Gen. Comte Gazan, Lt. Gen. Comte Gerard, Comte Gilbert de Voisins, Lt. Gen. Grad, Le Marechal Comte Grouchy, Marechal-Comte Jourdan, Comte Lacedepede, Marechal de Camp Comte Labedoyre, Lieut. General Comte Labedoyere, Comte Alexandre Rochefoucault, Lieut. General Comte Latour-Maubourg, Comte Lameth, Lieut. General Baron Lallemand, Lieut. General Comte Laferriere-Levesque, Comte Lavalette, Lieut. General Comte Lecourbe, Lieut. General Comte Lefebvre Desnouettes, Comte Lejeus, Lieut. General Comte Lemarrois, Lieut. General Comte de Loban, Marechal Prince de la Moskwa, Comte Montalivet, Comte Marnier, Comte Montesquieu, Grand-Chamberlain, Lt. Gen. Comte Molitor, Comte Monge, Lt. Gen. Comte Morand, Comte Mole, Comte Mollien, Comte Nicolai, Duc d'Otranto, Duc de Padoue, Lieut. General Comte Pajol, Comte Primat, Archeveque de Toulouse, Comte de Pralin, Comte Pontecoulant, Comte Perregaux, Baron Quinette, Comte Rampon, Lieut. General Comte Rapp, Lieut. Gen. Comte Reille, Comte Roederer, Duc de Rovigo, Comte Roger Ducos, Comte de Segur, Comte Sieyes, Comte de Sassy, Marechal Duc de Treviso, Comte Thibaudau, Lieut. General Baron Travot, Comte Turrene, Lieut. General Comte Valence, Lieut. General Comte de Valmy, Lieut. General Comte Vandamme, Comte de Vienne, Lieut. General Comte Ferdicres.

Prince Joseph observed, that an error had crept into the paper just read, since agreeably to the 6th article of the Additional Act to the Constitutions, purporting that the members of the Imperial Family are Peers by right—he is by right a member of the Chamber.—This observation was not disputed, and will be entered in the process verbal.

The next day after Bonaparte delivered his speech there was some agitation in the French House of Representatives as to an Address to the Emperor on a motion of Felix Espeletier to decree to Napoleon the

title of "Saviour of the Country." The motion was received with murmurs. One Member said they were not sent to flatter the Emperor, but to aid him with counsels. The Chamber passed to the Order of the Day. In the House of Peers, the address to the Emperor was read in a secret committee.—Cardinal Cambaceres and Count Decroix, are too unwell to take their seats.

NOTE.

[Lanjuinais, who is chosen President of the French House of Representatives, was formerly a member of the Jacobin Convention: He was also a member of the Senate which declared Bonaparte to have forfeited the throne; and drafted with his own pen, the decree of accusation and dethronement in April, 1814. In this decree he says of Bonaparte,

"That he violated the compact which united him to the French people, particularly in levying imposts and establishing taxes otherwise than in virtue of the law, against the express tenor of the oath which he had taken on his ascending the throne, conformable to article 53 of the act of the constitutions of the 38th Floreal, year 12.

"That he committed this attack on the rights of the people, even in adjourning without necessity, the legislative body, and causing to be suppressed as criminal, a report of that body the title of which, and its share in the national representation, he disputed:

"That he undertook series of wars in violation of article 59 of the act of the Constitutions of the 22d Frimaire, year 8, which purports that declarations of war should be proposed, debated, decreed, and promulgated in the same manner as laws:

"That he issued unconstitutionally several decrees inflicting the punishment of death; particularly the two decrees of the 5th March last, tending to cause to be considered as national; a war which would not have taken place but for the interest of his boundless ambition:

"That he violated the constitutional laws by his decrees respecting the prisoners of the State:

"That he rendered null the responsibility of Ministers, confounded all authorities, and destroyed the independence of the judicial bodies.

"Considering that the liberty of the press established and consecrated as one of the rights of the nation, has been constantly subject to the arbitrary control of the police, and at the same time he has always made use of the press to fill France and Europe with misrepresentations, false maxims, doctrines favorable to despotism, and insults on foreign governments.

"The acts and reports heard by the Senate have undergone alterations in the publication

"Considering that instead of reigning according to the terms of his oath, with a sole view to the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the French people, Napoleon completed the misfortunes of his country, by refusal to treat on conditions which the national interests required him to accept, and which did not compromise the French honor.

"By the abuse which he made of all the means entrusted to him in men and money:

"By the abandonment of the wounded without dressings, without assistance, and without subsistence:

"By various measures, the consequences of which were the ruin of the towns, the depopulation of the country, famine and contagious diseases."

LONDON, JUNE 12.

Remarks on Bonaparte's speech.—We have received Paris and Brussels papers to the 9th inst. The ceremony of opening the session of the Chamber of Peers and Representatives took place last Wednesday, according to the notice already given, and the reign of the Constitutional Monarchy, as it is called by Napoleon, had just commenced. The speech which he delivered on the occasion is admirably adapted to the character, wishes and propensities of the nation he has betrayed into perjury, and enjoined to rebellion. The sanguinary and unseparated Corsican is dwindled, from mere necessity, into a mild and constitutional sovereign. The dearest object of his heart is to guarantee forever the liberty, independence and rights of the people. There is throughout the speech a mixture of falsehood and truth, so artificially combined and softened down as to assume the appearance of impartiality and candor. The language though plain, is remarkable for the abrupt comprehensiveness for which Bonaparte has almost in every instance endeavored to distinguish his thoughts and style.—While he unequivocally admits the existence of insurrections against his government, he has the impudence to maintain, alluding to the action with the Melpomene, French frigate, that blood had been shed in peace, as if England, or any of the allied powers, were at peace with him who had violated the treaties by which that very peace had been established. He evidently labours to infuse a new spirit into the people, and implant if possible a new stimulus that may impart an extraordinary impetus and elasticity to the civil and military feeling. The speech is, however, under every consideration, less pompous and bombastic than most of his former compositions. As it was generally understood that he would set off almost immediately for the armies, to which his baggage had already been despatched, he is probably by this time on the frontiers.

There is in the proceedings of the Chamber of representatives, much, very much, that reminds us of the early days of the revolution; but the times are changed, and the people are changed with them. All the cant of the majesty of the people, and the impiety of titles has lost its charms, and melt into thin air, without producing any effect whatever.

The royalists are evidently making much progress, spreading themselves over several departments.—This policy, without weakening their force serves to distract the attention of government. It has been found necessary to despatch 3000 men to Leval, to stop the progress of the department, of Mayenne. They march with cannon, support themselves by regular requisitions, and even appoint a future period for the delivery of the necessaries they demand. It is pretended that the insurrection had subsided at La Vendee, but had gained ground in the department of Morbihan, which lies to the north west. It is admitted that they had taken the town of Joselin, after defeating the national guard of L'Orient, who are said to have fallen into an ambuscade. They have also been successful in an action at Cosse, to the south of Laval, in the department of Mayenne. The arrival of Murat, is at length ascertained: but