

dent fortune) who was attracted to Toulon by the extraordinary event of its being in our possession, to whose abilities on every occasion here, and to whose distinguished and exemplary gallantry on this occasion, the service has been infinitely indebted; and the Piedmontese chaffeurs, led by lieutenant-colonel the Chevalier de Revel advanced in two columns, supported by the Piedmontese grenadiers, under colonel the Comte de Forax, the ridge being too narrow to admit of a line.

A very heavy fire from the greatest part of the enemy's line checked our progress for a short period at somewhat less than half the way, between the ground from which we had advanced and the enemy's post. Here a continued fire was kept up between the enemy and the British Piedmontese troops under every disadvantage on our part of the most exposed and confined situation. The column of General Gravina in mean time advanced in excellent order, under cover of the hill; the two companies of Piedmontese chaffeurs, with the Neapolitan grenadiers and Spanish troops advancing with a regular progress, and well supported fire, towards the left of the enemy's line, whilst the detachment from fort Faron, under Colonel Comte de Porto, recommended their attack which they made a real one, instead of a mere diversion, as at first intended.

At this instant the advanced part of General Gravina's column having nearly gained the brow of the hill, I perceived the fet of the enemy's line begin to waver and crowd together, and ordered the British and Piedmontese under my command to rush forward, which they did with the utmost spirit and alacrity, under a heavy and galling fire of the enemy, which, however, was of very short duration, for the whole line of the enemy, with their different corps of reserve, (400 of their troops having abandoned the redoubt before the conclusion of the action) were thrown into confusion, and the rout became general; several were killed in the pursuit, but a very considerable number indeed were quite destroyed by pressing each other over the precipice in their flight. Fifty-seven of their dead were collected, without descending into the valley to which they fell from the precipice. An officer and fifty prisoners were taken, and, by accounts received from deserters, but one quarter of their original number have rejoined their forces. The most moderate calculation upon the accounts of the prisoners and deserters, states their numbers to have been from 1800, to 2000 men, all troops of the line, and the flower of La Bar's army.

Our loss has been inconsiderable, compared to the difficulty and hazard of the enterprise; I have to regret the loss of Lieutenant the Chevalier Falbar, of the Piedmontese Chaffeurs, a gallant active and intelligent young officer, who was killed at the commencement of the first attack made by my column.

The whole army heard with regret that General Gravina, in the course of his able and spirited exertions at the head of the Neapolitan grenadiers, received a wound in the leg, which obliged him to retire from the field; I am happy however, to add, that the wound is not likely to be attended with any serious consequences; his place was ably supplied by the courage and conduct of Brigadier General Chevalier Squierdo and Prince Pignatelli. The chief loss has fallen upon the column under my command, from the very exposed situation in which the attack was necessarily made, and where the British and Piedmontese justified the mutual confidence which each seemed to repose in the steady support of the other.

Indeed sir, I shall do injustice, were I to particularize any corps or any nation where all were so equally meritorious, not only in the intrepid firmness with which the whole of this brave body of men encountered the dangers of a difficult and almost desperate attempt, but for the patient fortitude with which they bore hunger, thirst and fatigue, the troops having received only a small portion of bread at the time they departed from out of the town, and being from the want of necessary supplies at Toulon without canteens, no officer or soldier had a drop of water to refresh himself with, during the space of 12 hours, in a laborious march up precipices supposed inaccessible, and over rugged rocks, exposed to the burning sun—I can only say, that the mutual esteem and applause, which the troops of the different nations so strongly manifest towards

each other, is the most honourable panegyric that can be bestowed upon them.

I have the honour to be, &c.

MULGRAVE,
Ad. Brig. Gen.

I enclose a copy of the account I received from Gov. Elphinstone of the attack made to the eastward from Fort Faron.

October 6.

Last night a reinforcement of 355 Piedmontese troops arrived from Sardinia. The second division of Neapolitan troops consisting of 2000 men is arrived in the harbour.

MULGRAVE.

La Malague, Oct. 4, 1793.
My Lord,

IN conformity to the plan fixed on for our joint operations, I went up to Fort Faron, and by shewing the head of different columns of the troops, kept the enemy constantly jealous of an immediate attack on the right, and kept up a well directed fire from three 12 pounders on the redoubt; but it was not only my opinion but that of all the officers commanding corps, that a direct attack in a work so situated and full of men was impracticable; I therefore ordered some parties of sixty men each, to be ready to climb up the hill the moment Gen. Gravina and your Lordship should advance on the top of the mountain, and a column of 200 to follow and support them, without sitting until they should arrive at the summit, and a part to turn the hill lower down on the right, to cut off or impede the retreat, and all the guns of the fort to fire about fifty yards in front of the troops, and to stop the moment I should make a signal. This plan was admirably executed, and I hope produced the best effect; Col. des Perella, colonel of the regiment of Majorca, distinguished himself much in conducting the attack, Captains Terrano of the 30th and Beresford of the 69th, had infinite merit for the intrepid manner they led their men up an almost inaccessible mountain, under a severe fire. The Commandant of the Neapolitan troops and Major Hultein of the regiment of Royal Louis were not less distinguished on this occasion, and the whole behaved with exemplary firmness. Lieutenant Alexander of the navy, and Capt. Dexter of the marines performed most material services by the well directed fire from the guns, on the enemy's troops and works.

I have the honor to be, &c.

G. K. ELPHINSTONE.

CONGRESS.

House of Representatives.

January 20.

In committee of the whole on Mr. Madison's resolutions.

Mr. Lee spoke as follows:

The importance of the resolutions under consideration, is fully manifested both by the length and solemnity of the present discussion, and the universal solicitude which pervades our fellow-citizens. I have been deeply impressed with the awfulness of the present crisis: I have felt the magnitude of the subject before us. I have listened with attention to every thing which has been offered to our consideration. I have been informed, I have been instructed, I have been delighted. My mind which hesitated, has been enabled to form its decision: And though, Sir, it may be unnecessary after this declaration, to take up any of the time of the committee, I hope I shall meet with their pardon and indulgence, for soliciting a small portion of their attention. In the present jealous and censorious times, when it seems to have become fashionable, not more to enquire into the principles of measures, than into the motives of public agents; the task of explaining the reasons of his conduct, is necessarily imposed on every public servant, who does not wish to have his motives misinterpreted. But, Sir, notwithstanding I feel the necessity of explaining myself on the present occasion, both from the consideration I have mentioned, and to exhibit to my constituents (whose virtue, industry and value in society, claim every attention, from me, to their interests,) the reasons of my conduct; I should not ask the present indulgence, if the subject had been altogether placed in those lights, in which it most forcibly strikes my mind. And under this impression, Sir, I should be unworthy of the seat I hold here, and of the confidence of my fellow-citizens, if I withheld aught, which ap-

peared to me conducive to their interests, and the general welfare. Before I proceed to a detail of the particular considerations, which I mean to bring into the view of the committee. I hope I shall be pardoned, while I attempt to establish some general abstract principles, which appear to me important, to guide us in the present discussion: And though at first view, they may seem remote from the subject, I hope the committee will patiently attend me through the process of my reasonings, to those conclusions which will naturally result.

I consider, Mr. Chairman, human life as a system of expedients, whether viewed individually or collectively. Man as an individual, is ever in the pursuit of happiness, and is particularly occupied in applying those expedients which, under existing circumstances, are most likely to produce it. These he varies according to the changes in his own mind; and the obstacles which continually occur against his plans. Every day presents some new evil to be avoided, or some new good to be obtained: He avoids the one and pursues the other, by the best means which the state of things will afford. To do this, he will vary his means, suspend or accelerate the execution of his plans, as circumstances dictate. At all times he must be the best judge of them, and of what in any existing state of this, is necessary to his happiness. Man also, is a various animal. Hence the diversity of human character and of human pursuits. Each individual takes a different route to happiness; and being the best judge in his own case, has a right to do so.

Societies being the aggregates of individuals, are animated by the same principles: And in the great family of nations, as among individuals in a state of nature, each nation is the best judge of, and has a right to pursue, according to existing circumstances, those measures which it thinks necessary to its happiness. Every nation, therefore, has the capacity and the right, to form such a government, and enact such laws at every period of its existence, as the exigencies of its situation require. Of these it is the best judge, and no other nation has a right to interfere in the case. According to this principle, we have acted in the various changes that have taken place, in our political institutions. Other nations in all former ages, have exercised, and in all future ages, will continue to exercise the same right.

As the circumstances of individuals are various, a mode of life which will produce one man's happiness, may produce another man's misery. The circumstances and dispositions of nations, are as various as the circumstances and dispositions of individuals. And as among individuals, one mode of life and one system of pursuits, will not produce every man's happiness, so neither amongst nations, will one form of government and one system of laws, suit every society. Hence the diversity of governments, which have existed in all countries, and in all ages: And hence the revolutions and changes, which have been continually made in governments and laws, as the exigencies of things required them.

From these principles, I deduce the following conclusions: First,—That every nation has the capacity and the right at every period of its existence, to provide for its happiness, according to its own knowledge of its situations and interests. Second,—That therefore, the probability is, that every nation under the existing state of things, has that government and those laws, which are best adapted to its manners, and most consonant with its circumstances.

I will exemplify these characters—We know that the government of Turkey, would not suit us:—We do not know that our government would suit the Turks. Leaving the Turks to judge for themselves, as we judge for ourselves, the presumption is, that they have a government best suited to their manners and circumstances—We know we have a government best suited to our circumstances and our manners.

I will not attempt to detail those circumstances, which have given rise to the variety of governments, which now exist, and have existed in all the former ages of the world: On this subject, volumes have been written, and volumes might be written. I only mean to establish, that every nation, in every period of its existence, is the best judge of what is necessary to its happiness, and has those political institutions most adapted to its situation.

This is a true republican doctrine. It is founded on the capacity of the people to judge for themselves. We know that we have the capacity to judge for ourselves. We shall be proud and vain indeed, if we deny to other nations the capacity to judge for themselves. We have the government best suited to us—the presumption is, that other nations, have governments best suited to them. Therefore, in discussing our relations to other nations, I do not see the propriety of introducing the nature and principles of their political institutions. On a question like the present, the only proper enquiry is, whether our intercourse with any nation, has a tendency to add to the comfort, the wealth and the strength of the society: And not whether it has a tendency to alter and improve our social institutions; of these, the society in every period of its existence will always be the most competent judge. Viewing the principles I have stated, as irrefragable, being founded on the nature of man, the universal usage of nations, and our own practice. I will now turn my attention to some of the arguments which have been urged during the discussion.—In the course of my observations, I may occasionally apply the principles which I have established. I shall not go into a detail of commercial facts. This has been fully done, by persons more competent to the task:—the committee must be fully possessed of them. I shall only consider such observations, as involve important principles.

My colleague, (Mr. Madison) who introduced the resolutions, and he has been followed in the idea by every other gentleman who has spoken in support of them, said that the present government originated from the incapacity of the confederation, and of the individual states to regulate our commerce with foreign countries, and seemed to intimate that to counteract the restrictions of G. Britain with regard to our trade was the principal inducement to its adoption. Tho' I disapprove of applying to any source but itself for the interpretation of an instrument which was intended at all times to be its own expositor. I will go back with my colleague to those scenes which preceded, and induced the establishment of the present constitution. I shall go back with pleasure, because, being then in the infancy of my political life, I was witness to those first essays to regulate our commerce which his patriotism induced him to make, and which finally terminated in the establishment of our present happy government.

I say, sir, I was witness to his exertions—not I only, Mr. Chairman, but all America, has been witness to his exertions. We all know the share he had in forming the present constitution and promoting its adoption. I know that the convention at Annapolis to regulate our trade, principally originated from him; I know, that the grand convention which formed our constitution was the consequence of this, and originated from him: And here I cannot hesitate as a member of a happy community to pay that tribute of gratitude and thanks, which my heart has always felt to the man, whose councils and exertions have been so instrumental to our happiness. (To be Continued.)

UNITED STATES.

ALEXANDRIA, (Virg.) Dec. 20.

Extract of a letter from Richmond.

During the session the governor laid before the house a letter from the secretary of the treasury, informing, that "The commissioners for settling the accounts between the United States, and individual states, having made their final report to the President, dated the 29th June, 1793, a balance of 100,879 dollars, has been reported by the commissioners, against the state of Virginia."

In order that you may have some idea upon what principles those commissioners proceeded in the apportionment of the public debt, permit me to subjoin a few remarks, made from a letter communicated to the legislature, by the commissioners of this state, lately returned from Philadelphia, and written before the secretary's above-mentioned.

"If the aggregate of the balances had been apportioned among the states, according to the quotas during the war, Virginia would have been a considerable creditor of between two and three million dollars: But at present she is debtor, tho' for a small sum, not more than an 100,000 dollars. So much has the result been dependent upon the mode of apportionment."