

men's eyes, to attempt in such circumstances to treat at all.

It was a principle maintained by the most approved writers on the Law of Nations, that no injuries of any kind whatever, were in themselves a just cause of War, until satisfaction had been demanded for them, and refused by the aggressors.

Lord Grenville's letter to M. Chauvelin, taken as he proved, admitted hostile to France, and unwilling to make any requisition that might possibly offend France. But if that letter were joined to other circumstances, to harsh language, and to the conduct of Foreign Ministers particularly Lord Auckland (of whose memorial to the States General, abusing pretended philosophers of France, Mr. Fox considered as absurd and ridiculous as any of the Decrees of the National Convention) they would form the completest demonstration of his alienation.

It had been supposed by some, that he had spoke in too free a manner of Kings and Princes. He did not think himself bound to qualify his expressions when speaking of them as when he considered the acts of our own sovereign. But he would wish to be understood to mean the Cabinet of Berlin, or of Vienna, when he arranged the measures of the King of Prussia, or the Emperor of Germany. He made use of the names of Princes, only as a phrase to express their respective governments.

The Hon. Administration then entered minutely into the conduct of Russia and Prussia, in overturning the Constitution of Poland. He laid the Courts of London and Berlin were reported to have suggested that Constitution. Indisputable documents make it clear, that the King of Prussia had approved of it and rejoiced particularly at the establishment of an Hereditary Monarchy; and the choice of the Elector of Saxony's family; yet, when the Empress of Russia invaded Poland, without the smallest reasonable pretext, his Prussian Majesty declared, that he was not at all surprised, considering the Constitution that the Poles had formed. Such was the honor of this Prussian King, and his gave his word for one form of Government, and his favor to another, that the two Republics of Poland were an excellent constitution (for even Kings are sometimes when it suits their purposes.) The King of Prussia, to restore good order and tranquility to the Poles, invades their territories and takes them, and drives them into his possession by way of liberating the inhabitants of three cities. In some respects this was similar to the conduct of the French. The difference of justice was however, on their side, they were attacked, and many of their actions proceeded from the impulse of fear, or rage, and of enthusiasm. The King of Prussia had not been attacked. His armies instead of defending the Rhine, marched toward the North, and he avenged upon Poland the insults he had received from France.

The conclusion Mr. Fox drew from all these facts and arguments, was that the House should not be led astray by an opinion that his Majesty's ministers had acted as they had done with respect to France, from a jealousy of her aggrandizement. He finished his speech, by moving five resolutions. The purport of the first was, that it was neither the honor, nor the interest of this country, to interfere in the Constitution, Government, or any of the internal affairs of France.

Mr. Burke related the ingratitude of M. Chauvelin in joining the enemies of Louis XVI.—his father had held a place, and when he did, his Majesty, by special favour, granted the place to him. But he was like the savage *Notontoc* mentioned by Rousseau, whose nature was not to be changed by kindness or civilities. To whomsoever our Ambassador should go, he would behold him surrounded with an indelible crown, brandishing their bloody blades and daggers. The only exception he made, was, the common language of Paris, whose honor and good principles he highly applauded.

Mr. Burke alluded to the insolence of the French Grenadier sent to the King of Naples. This he thought was unbecomingly to the King of England, who they would treat with as little respect if they dared. Were an English Grenadier, said the Honorable gentleman to be sent to Paris, particularly if he belonged to the King's body guard, he would be shocked at their disloyalty. He would reprove them when they took the bloody head of their King before him; to incite him to commit a crime similar to theirs. Mr. Burke concluded by opening all the Right Honorable Gentleman's resolutions.

Mr. Grey replied to Mr. Burke. He could not help expressing his astonishment at what he considered a candid and a studied misrepresentation of whatever fell from the right Hon. Gentleman. When he called to mind the talents, the knowledge, but above all, the accurate investigation which so highly distinguished the gentleman who had just spoken, he could not prevail upon himself to attribute to misapprehension these continued misstatements which marked the comments made by the one upon the other. In what other point of view could he consider what has been said upon the observations made by his right Hon. friend, on the conduct of Administration towards Poland. Instead of urging the necessity of our entering into a war, we upon account of that much injured and oppressed country, he had merely stated, that, considering the indifference with which we had looked on, during the years of aggrandizement and domestic interference on the part of Russia, the plea of resisting such a system as attempted by France was but the pretext, not the real grounds upon which Ministry had conferred in the present War. The sincerity of their professions would best appear by a consideration of their conduct upon the occasion.

With respect to the opinion that ought to be formed of the Prussian Monarch's system, that would best appear, not in an assertion without proofs, but by the examination of those documents which that monarch had submitted against himself. By these authentic means, namely, by official communications made in

his name, &c. by his authority it would appear, that upon the Revolution which took place in Poland in 1791, the French Ambassador, upon an interview claimed with the King's Powers, and communicated his master's entire approbation and acquiescence in the event which had taken place, particularly the establishment of the succession of the Crown in the family of the Elector of Saxony;—and yet, in 1793, the same Monarch adhering to the same revolution, but which had been overturned by the violent interference of the Emperor of Russia, republished in the highest degree, and made it the pretext for seizing on a part of the Polish territories. It would also become a question for consideration, how far we were implicated in this seizure of Danzig and Thorn, by Prussia, guaranteeing, as we were to the independence of those towns.

It had been observed by the Right Honorable Gentleman who spoke last, that it was a novel mode adopted, to oppose a war, at the very commencement of it; but he begged him to call to mind, he had never pursued a similar line of conduct, as in the American war—The first was, and the Hon. Gentleman, no doubt, thought for upon that occasion, there could be no difficulty charged, on him, for investigating into the causes by which a war might be induced, and a determination to support that war as long as necessity it might continue.

It was also become a practice, in order to deter those who might be inclined to find fault with the conduct of administration, and had been that night carried into effect, to impute to them the support of the French nation, in contradiction to this country, and the propagation of arguments imported from French speakers. To this, and such like charges, he should only say, that, conscious, as he was, of faithfully discharging the trust reposed in him, as a member of that house, and of participating in the sentiments and feelings of the Right Honorable Gentleman who proposed the motion, his confidence in falling under the stigma of such imputation, should prevent him from delivering his opinion; and in conformity thereto, giving his hearty assent to the present motion.

After some other observations, on what had fallen from the Right Hon. Gentleman, he alluded particularly to those proofs, which the Hon. gentleman had stated he was ready to bring forward, if called upon, but which Mr. Grey affirmed were all of them as unfounded as his assertion of the grenadier's interview with the King of Naples; which, if he had taken pains to look into the French papers, he would have discovered and confuted, merely in being the messenger of a letter addressed to that monarch—of such proofs as were boasted of, he had only to observe, that he hoped the credit of himself and his brother managers, not such as the Right Hon. Gentleman had brought forward upon the trial in Westminster Hall.

Advancing to the House of Administration, he denied there existed any real desire to enter into any Negotiation which would in the end be productive of a pacification in the present instance. In order to form a just estimate upon that occasion, he conceived it to be the fairest mode to put ourselves into the situation of the French upon the occasion, and then see how we should approve of a similar conduct. It had been laid down, that to avoid War, we should either demand or afford explanation of supposed injuries; but in the present case, the French had not even waited to be so called upon. In their anxiety to do away any grounds of suspicion on our part, they had not only written full explanations of satisfactions they had demanded, but also acted them, for the purpose of obviating whatever that might be. This explanation had not only been refused, but upon the melancholy occasion of the King's death, in order to put a stop to the possibility of further communication and cause, of the chance of serving Peace. M. Chauvelin, a gentleman who, by that event, confided fully in the rank and situation of a mere private gentleman, was ordered to withdraw out of the Kingdom. How did gentlemen suppose, that this country would have acted under similar circumstances; or if more established states were to practice this to take first those breaches of decorum to which they are so attentive, how much rather was independent Republic, hounded up by her newly gotten independence to be excused, if she were to assume more as at present so maliciously dealt on, in order to appreciate the generous universal principle, on which that nation act, let us refer our readers to the strange history now daily reiterated on the frontier, without a shadow of interest or provocation, by the disciplined armies of Prussia and Austria under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, the valiant brother of our Royal George, and in order to give some idea of the detestation and compassion of the French army, we shall relate the following anecdote, that the vicinity of which is generally acknowledged throughout Paris, and we ourselves heard it triumphantly repeated by a young French artificer, who occasionally assisted at the camp.

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not intended to bring on debate, would serve by being entered on their Journals, and to prepare his opinion to that system, and those measures which have involved us in all the calamities of war, and its consequences. Mr. Jenkinson, on the other hand, said a condition there was no main in the House, for a condition which had fairly & dispassionately attended to the details of facts, relating to the negotiation hitherto carried on between the two countries and laid open their views, but must feel the most decided conviction that Ministry had done every thing their duty or their talents could suggest, for the attainment or preservation of the blessings of peace: on the other hand it would be worth while to consider whether or not France had done her duty on the occasion. In order to establish this it would be necessary for him to follow the right Hon. Gentleman who moved, and the honorable Member who supported the motion, why some of the members in the first place were ready to admit the propriety of one principle laid down by them, namely, that in order to read a war justifiable, it was necessary that the pretensions for which war was undertaken should be justifiable; & for this reason, that the public at large might be made acquainted with the objects for which they go to war, & thus enabled to decide upon the blame or merit of those ministers by whom they may have been led astray. In the present case, Ministry had expressly done this very thing—they had grounded the necessity of hostilities upon three distinct causes—the decree of the National Assembly—the opening the Scheldt, and the principle of ambition and aggrandizement, which manifestly influenced their every proceeding. But they agreed in the propriety of this ascertaining the exact causes of a war, he by no means assented to their next proposition, that it was also for forth what would be the precise nature & extent of that preparation which would operate as a prevention of hostilities; that was a question which neither prudence nor justice required us to answer, until it was first admitted we should have satisfaction at all; or supposing a probability of a general pacification, would it be prudent, by stating every thing we required in the first instance, to preclude ourselves from those advantages which subsequent events might enable us to demand?

But to enter a little more minutely into the consideration of the three causes laid down as grounds of hostilities. In the first place, it was to be observed, that France not only declared by her decree of the 17th of November, her determination of interfering in the internal concerns of every country who might be affected by the effects of it, whenever she thought it necessary, but she declared, that she would determine her determination not only to interfere generally, but also making herself arbitrator at which difference such interference shall be decreed necessary. Gentlemen had hinted at a rule of deciding by putting ourselves in the place of the French, and considering how they ought to decide; now he begged them to apply the rule to their case and say, whether if we were to have such a declaration, would not France have good cause, or would she have lost opening the Scheldt, France declares that to be an object of no moment of itself.

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The second was to express the honest disapprobation of the neglect of Ministers in negotiating with France upon the alleged cause of the war. The third declared that government had not found such satisfaction of security they wished to receive from France. The fourth blamed Administration for their interference with regard to the injuries sustained by Poland. And fifth was, that no treaty engagement should be entered into, which should prevent this country from making a separate peace. Mr. Sheridan seconded these motions.

A late publication from London, called "The JOCKEY CLUB," which treating on the language of the QUEEN of France, introduces the following note:— "Tons who are acquainted with the actual reform of France and with the spirit and anatomy that now prevail through the whole country, will be surprised at perceiving its apparent facility, but while the momentary effects of an outraged and unjustly exasperated multitude are at present so maliciously dealt on, in order to appreciate the generous universal principle, on which that nation act, let us refer our readers to the strange history now daily reiterated on the frontier, without a shadow of interest or provocation, by the disciplined armies of Prussia and Austria under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, the valiant brother of our Royal George, and in order to give some idea of the detestation and compassion of the French army, we shall relate the following anecdote, that the vicinity of which is generally acknowledged throughout Paris, and we ourselves heard it triumphantly repeated by a young French artificer, who occasionally assisted at the camp.

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PHILADELPHIA, April 21.

The Gazette of the 21st March, contains accounts of various scenes, murders, and depredations committed by the Indians, in the South Western Territory. On the 16th February they stole