

MARYLAND GAZETTE.

T H U R S D A Y, AUGUST 4, 1803.

LONDON, May 28.

THE following is an outline of Mr. Fox's speech in the house of commons, on Tuesday (24th May) on his majesty's message:

Mr. Fox, in a speech which occupied three hours and a half in the delivery, went over the different points of complaint in detail, and contended, that upon none of them had he brought the discussion with France to that clear and unequivocal issue which could constitute a legitimate cause of war. If France had unjustly seized and confiscated British vessels, satisfaction ought to have been demanded in a firm and decided tone; and if that was refused there would then have been an undoubted act of aggression on the part of France. There was no nation more exposed to complaint, for restraints on the commerce of other countries, than Great-Britain—When we concluded the treaty of Amiens we were aware that Europe was far from being in a comfortable state; we had, however, acquiesced in that imperfect security. This was the condition of man in society. If we had always aimed at substantial and absolute security, we should have had nothing but unremitting war for the last century. The situation of Italy we knew at the time of our signing the definitive treaty. As to Piedmont, it was a mere difference of name, and it was a matter of complete insignificance whether it was called the 27th military division or the department of the Po. Adverting to the situation of Holland, filled with French troops, and to the late revolution in Switzerland, he argued, that our ministers, from all that had appeared, had never properly remonstrated on these important points, and had therefore no right to make them a part of his majesty's declaration. If they had remonstrated, it was at least probable that redress might have been obtained. If it were contended that every aggrandizement on the part of France should be a cause of jealousy on our part, this, in his opinion, would be pushing the principle too far. Every improvement in the interior of France might, in that case, be considered as offensive, and war between the two countries might be regarded as eternal. The affairs of Holland and Switzerland seemed, however, to be inferred in the declaration, only to avoid the perpetual repetition of "the first consul," and "Malta," and this was pretty evident from our omitting all mention of the Swiss in our *ultimatum*. The treatment of the Dutch by France could not be too strongly condemned; but our ministers, who did not remonstrate, had no right to complain. It formed as nearly as black a stain however on the conduct of the French government as their proceedings with respect to St. Domingo. The idea of re-establishing the French government in that island was as absurd and ruinous as its conduct to Touissant had been false and treacherous. In all these proceedings, in the affair of German indemnities, in the occupation of Parma and Piacentia, he saw no legitimate cause of quarrel on the part of England, and particularly as our ministers had failed to remonstrate at the proper seasons. With respect to the attack made by the consular government on the liberty of the press in this country, it betrayed only a gross ignorance of the forms and essence of our constitution; and if their demands had been resisted in a manly way, it could never, in his opinion, have furnished a ground for dispute. The reciprocal abuse and mutual irritation arising from this source, were certainly matters of regret; but no person could say that they offered a ground for war.—He did not profess to entertain much respect for the members of the Bourbon family, but if it was insisted pre-emptorily that one of them was to be sent out of the kingdom, he should refuse it on the point of honour, though at the expense of a war. This, however, had not been demanded. Much reliance had been placed on the language of the *Expose*, "That England could no longer contend single handed with France." This was an impertinent phrase, but, as was usual in society, it should either have been noticed at the time, or confined to utter contempt. With respect to the report of Sebastiani, of which so much had been said, it was in many respects highly indecorous. The attack upon general Stuart was indecent, but from every thing that had been heard, the character of that officer stood too high to be affected by so pitiable a calumny. He regretted that so much had been said of the verbal intercourse between lord Whitworth and Buonaparte. Conversations of such a kind were subject to different representations, but all that could be inferred from them, was this, that lord Whitworth should not have gone again to the palace of the Tuilleries until the matter was properly explained.

Alarming as the extended dominion of France was to this country and the continental powers; if we took into comparison all our acquisitions in India, it would be found that, as between us and France, the charge of aggrandizement applied to this country. But when this view of the question was taken, minis-

ters seemed to intimate the conduct of those ladies who, on their return from India, were accused of some irregularities, and whose answer always was "never upon my honour, on this side the Cape of Good Hope." He thought Malta ought to be placed under the protection of Russia, which it appeared was disposed to accept the guaranty under certain modifications. He begged the house to pause before they had plunged the country into all the horrors of war, and to recollect the situation it was in during the last five years of the preceding war. They were told not by a novice, but by a very distinguished artist, that the dangers they were then exposed to, and the burthens they then had borne, were nothing compared to what now awaited them. As they had then paid a tenth, they would now be compelled to pay a fifth, or a third of their income. He would vote for the amendment, because, while it pledged the house to support his majesty, it manifested an anxiety for the speediest possible restoration of peace.

The house then divided on the amendment. For the amendment, 67—Against it, 398. The original question was then put and carried. The house adjourned at half past four on Wednesday morning.

The circumstances which prevented the early part of the very important debate in the house of commons on Monday the 23d of May, from appearing before the public have occasioned a strong feeling of general disappointment, and will occasion a curious chasm in the parliamentary history of the country. The speech of Mr. Pitt, which is said to have outdone all his former efforts, is lost for ever. We can, however, gather from some allusions to it in the remaining part of the debate, that the eloquence of that speech was, in a very high degree, vehement, impressive, and argumentive. Among other very striking, figurative allusions, he compared Buonaparte to a torrent of volcanic lava, which, in its destructive course, blights the fairest production of nature, demolishes the most splendid cities, and lays waste every region with which it comes in contact. The reply of Mr. Fox was almost wholly argumentive, and the amendment differed so little from the address, and especially from his majesty's declaration, that it was calculated to answer little other purpose, except that of organizing and determining the new opposition, by which the future measures of government will probably be encountered.

We have the liveliest satisfaction in congratulating the public on the liberal and patriotic offer which has been made to government at the present momentous crisis, by John Bolton, Esq; of Duke-street. This gentleman has proposed to raise and cloath a regiment of volunteers, (to consist of 600 men,) his own individual expence, for the protection of this town and the neighbourhood, an offer which has been accepted by his majesty in the most gracious manner. This loyal and spirited effort in defence of our national independence, it is not doubted, will excite other gentlemen of fortune to follow so distinguished an example, not only in this neighbourhood, but in various parts of the kingdom.

May 28.

FRENCH MEMORIAL.

We this day present to our readers a most curious paper, which was presented by Talleyrand to Buonaparte in the month of December last, advising him against going to war with this country. It proves two very interesting facts.—It shews, in the first place, that Buonaparte's mind, as long ago as December last, was bent upon war, and it demonstrates to us the dangers we have escaped by the war which is now begun. It proves besides, how well acquainted Talleyrand seemed to be, not only with our national character, but with the policy which our government was likely to pursue. How unfortunate that has been, in the naval department more especially, we believe is now pretty obvious to the most unobservant of our countrymen.

Extract from a memorial presented to the chief consul, by Talleyrand, the 13th Frimaire, year 11, December 4, 1802.

Talleyrand begins by telling the first consul that the present memorial is merely a copy of one presented to the ministers of Louis XV. after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, to dissuade them from that fatal and dishonourable war to France which ended in 1762. He says, "By the ignorance of the ministers, the bribes of Austria, the intrigues of Bernis, the influence of Pompadour, and the weakness of Louis XV. those strong reasons for peace were not listened to; the consequence is known, but it is not known that this impolitic war alone prevented the total ruin of England during the following or American war, and preserved that country from being what, if we are prudent, it sooner or later must be, an invaluable

naval and military station of France, and which shall secure us the empire of the world."

Talleyrand then enters into the particulars of the many and irresistible means, France during the peace, possesses "to foment troubles, to spread discontent, to tarnish the honour, to undermine the resources, to weaken the strength, to lull asleep the public spirit, and to cool the patriotism of the inhabitants of the British empire, and by a gradual train of intrigues, insults, demands, insurrections, vexations, murmurs, alarms and bankruptcies, prepare even the warmest English patriot, to see with indifference, if not with approbation, an union with France, which will put an end to all difficulties, and procure Englishmen the same tranquillity, honour and happiness, Frenchmen enjoy under the mild but firm government of the chief consul."

"But," says he, "powerful as France is upon the continent by its conquests, by its influence, by the vigour of its government, and by the victories of its armies; in regard to England it is not in a better position of strength than in 1755, because with the knowledge of our means, and with the great abilities of our ruler, we are unable directly to injure England, our navy being more reduced, and our naval officers more ignorant than in 1755, but indirectly, and in a time of peace to lay the infallible foundation for the future subjection of England, France at no former period had so many certain and undoubted under-hand methods. A war at present may lessen, if not destroy them, but every year's continuance of peace shall preserve, augment, and fix them.

"Ought we not to wait, at least ten years, before we renew the war with England? till we are in a condition effectually to support our claims, our views and our plans? The English will do our business, if we permit them. Their religion is pleasure, and their pleasure debauchery. They have plunged themselves into an excess of luxury and intemperance. They have begun to neglect their navy, and to disband their artificers, who go to France, Spain and Holland for maintenance.

"While their individuals squander their riches, the state grows parsimonious, and begins to save in those articles on which it cannot be too profuse.

"They are even near reducing their trivial army, and their patriots speak of entrusting, what they call their liberty and property, to the valour of a militia. What a field is this for our policy? Is it our business to awaken or arouse them from their lethargy? If we do, the consequence is obvious.—We teach them to believe a real truth, "That they cannot strengthen themselves too much by sea or land." Then an army ceases to be the object of public complaint, of public dislike—and the people begin to think, that, as they must have one, it is better to have an army of English, than of Frenchmen. Then their young nobility will continue to apply themselves to the military profession, and think themselves honoured by that profession in which alone consists the defence and security of their country.

"This may be fatal to us, for the sooner we go to war, the sooner their effeminacy will wear off, and their ancient spirit and courage revive. They will not then become more wealthy, but they will get more wisdom, which is better. The military virtues and the manly exercises may become fashionable, and the nation, which now seems immersed in debauchery and corruption, may yet think seriously, and be once more, what it has often been, the terror of Europe. This is not an unnatural supposition—they easily glide from one extreme to another—it is their natural temper, and their whole history is one continued proof of it.

"The ashes of La Vendee still smoke; it requires only a spark to kindle a civil war in the bosom of our country. The returned emigrants are as yet quiet, but they have not forgotten their former principles, and the wrongs they have suffered from the revolution. Let not a new war give the Bourbons an opportunity to remind them of it. The most dangerous of the Bourbons reside in England; let not the renewal of a war permit England to use them, their names and influence, to trouble and invade France.

"We command at present all the continental powers; but we know they carry, with disgust and complaint, the fetters we have imposed. Let not a war with England give them occasion to shake them off, and to command us in their return.

"The general weakness and supineness that forever attend, immoderate wealth and luxury hide from the English the knowledge of their own strength, real power, and true interest. Suffer them not to relapse into virtue and understanding. Plunge them not too deep into difficulties, and they will never emerge from folly into real wisdom.

"We have already isolated them from the continental politics—leave them in peace—and the isolation of their trade shall soon follow. We have already made them feared, envied, and hated every where on