IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

March 11.

(Concluded.)

Lord Hawkesbury next rose. I agree, sir, said he, with the honorable gentlemen who spoke last in much of what they have advanced on the present occasion. But I chiefly rise shortly to observe on the doctrines which the honorable gentleman opposite me (Mr. Fox) has endeavored to inculcate. I perfectly acquiesce with him, indeed, on the general constitutional principle on which he seemed disposed to ground his observations; and differ with him only respecting the application which he has made of it. No doubt there is a wide difference between the prerogative of the crown, when it is exercised in negociating and concluding peace, and when it is exerted in preparations for and a declaration of war. In opening negociations for peace and in concluding them, the exercise of the prerogative of the crown is unlimited; though it be competent afterwards for parliament to canvass and consider the nature of the conditions upon which peace has been concluded, and to impeach ministers and propose their removal from office, if the terms of the treaty betray incapacity on their part. But as the question of war involves a much greater magnitude of difficulties and dangers, so should the house be placed (and in reality it so stands) in a very different posture respecting that momentous question. Most undoubtedly, sir, the honorable gentleman (Mr. Fox) is perfectly justified in asserting that the prerogative of this house in granting or withholding the supplies should be held as sacred as that of his majesty in declaring war; and though the house may not possess a negative on the act of declaring war, yet it most certainly can exert a practical negative on the continuance or the termination of a war, by granting or withholding the supplies necessary to its prosecution. This privilege of the house, sir, grows out of the nature of the constitution, and I hold it, with the honorable gentleman, as highly essential to the interests and rights of the nation.

As to the degree of information, which on points like the present, the house is entitled to call for on ministers, I must now, sir, beg leave to offer a few observations. In cases like the present, where the objects in view are not brought to a conclusion, and where measures, simply of precaution, are proposed, ministers may think it their duty not to afford more than what may justify the measure they bring forward. After the circumstances which called for that measure are brought to issue, then if the degree of information that has been afforded to the house, appear insufficient, is it not in the power of the house to move an address to his majesty, for the production of additional and more satisfactory information?

The case of war, sir, is no doubt, a case which *prima facie* would justify parliament in calling for all possible information—it is the duty, and the serious duty of parliament, to enquire into the grounds and causes of war, and cautiously to examine whether they be necessary and just. But in a case of peace, although the terms of that peace might not be looked upon as satisfactory, yet the same degree of information respecting the mode in which it was negociated, should not be insisted upon. Besides, sir, the two cases differ materially from each other. The inconveniencies that may attend the one, are much greater than what might ensue from the other. In the case of war, those inconveniencies are comparatively small. But in that of peace, after all differences and bickerings were amicably adjusted and composed, how serious might be the inconviencies that would result from exposing to parliament, all the irritating circumstances that may have attended the progress of a negociation—while no one adequate advantage or benefit could be expected from an uncalled for revealing of them? Neither, sir, am I here going so far as to say, that if peace should be the result, that no information should be afforded respecting such an event. I merely contend, that such disclosures should be allowed much to depend on circumstances, much on the nature of the arrangement concluded, and much on the prudence of ministers, respecting what might be proper for them to disclose. These few observations, I imagine, sir, were called for upon the general principle, and the nature of the doctrine which the honorable gentleman (Mr. Fox) has laid down.

The house, I trust, will now indulge me, sir, in a remark or two upon the application of it; but first I must beg leave to advert to an expression which dropt from the honorable gentleman (Mr. Fox) in the course of his observations. The expression I allude to, sir, is that in which the honorable gentleman seemed to insinuate, that by the vote given on the question now before the house, the house would be committed to approve a war. I here again am ready to repeat, that the house should not give its countenance to any war, unless it were in complete possession of the grounds on which that war was to be entered on, and thereby be enabled to judge whether it was just and necessary, or otherwise. But neither by the vote of this night, nor by that given on a former night on the question of the address, was the house by any means committed to support a war. Ministers called merely for the means of taking such precautions as prudence might suggest, while negociations were subsisting, and while preparations were making on the part of one of the powers which, on a contrary issue to that which was earnestly looked for, might be converted into means of hostile aggression. The same information was therefore not to be expected in the case of any armament, proposed under such circumstances, as if it was definitively intended for the resumption of hostilities. The honorable gentlemen, in alluding to the Russian armament, seemed inclined to assimilate it to the present case; but the comparison I do not think very just. That was a question upon which a great difference of opinion prevailed, and the honorable gentlemen's own reasoning upon it did not well apply to the present measure. Could a war between Russia and Turkey immediately affect our security? or rather, was not that armament intended to maintain the political balance of power? If that armament had no other object in view than the maintenance of the balance of power, and was embarked in for political reasons only, then perhaps I might say, let us have no war with Russia for such reasons. There have, however, been times and circumstances when a mere armament in the ports of a rival power—in the port of Brest for example—tho' there appeared no adequate reason to suppose it to be intended for hostile purposes, yet I conceive it should induce government to arm in like manner here; and how could such an armament be prepared without a message from his majesty, such as has been brought down upon the present occasion? If then, in such a case, an armament is judged advisable, how much more expedient, or rather necessary, must it be to adopt a similar precaution, when not only a large armament is fitting out in the ports of a rival nation, but even while to that circumstance is added a pending negociation of considerable importance. For even, although that armament should really be intended for its avowed purposes, yet if the negociation ended in a rupture, would the house, in such a possible case, hesitate to vote the number of seamen now proposed, even as a measure of mere precaution? In that light alone it should now be viewed, nor would the vote of this night pledge parliament to any thing farther. The subject would still be open to further inquiry and discussion when further communications should be received respecting the progress or issue of the negociation. Even my right honorable friend (the chancellor of the exchequer) has also assured the house, that no attempt should be made to commit parliament any further without his previously having laid before them every possible information upon which to form a fair and accurate judgment of the case.

Now, sir, let me assure those honorable gentlemen (Mr. Fox and Mr. Francis) that ministers do not pretend to call for any greater degree of confidence than what the spirit of the constitution usually grants to persons in their situation, a degree of confidence which is generally afforded to government to whatever hands it may be entrusted; and no greater degree of confidence has any minister a right to demand than what is founded on the opinion parliament entertains of their principles and conduct. All, sir, that I request or can expect on the present or any future occasion is, that ministers be fairly dealt with, and that the house do not prejudge their conduct, unless upon due examination and inquiry they find we have forfeited their confidence. From the first hour we entered into office, we had severe difficulties to struggle with, and our best efforts have been eagerly exerted in performing our duty to our king and country. Whatever our conduct may be, we shall always be ready to explain it, and to lay before the house every possible ground by which that conduct may be judged, in the hopes that the circumstances attending it, will be fairly considered, and that we may be permitted to stand or fall in the opinion of parliament and of the country.

As to the proposed amendment, I do not well see how the house can possibly adopt it. It was usual enough for the house to agree to the number of men proposed to be voted; but there were few instances in which a greater number was proposed. If the present question was agreed to, our naval force would consist of 60,000 men; and if hereafter it should appear that a larger number was necessary, there would be no difficulty in increasing it.

Mr. Fox in explanation said, that he was happy to have the noble lord's concurrence in the constitutional principle he had advanced. When he said that the vote of this night would make the parties to the war, he perhaps might have expressed himself more accurately by saying, that it would make them parties to the armament; and should the armament produce a war, then would not the house be indirectly, at least parties to it? It is notorious that armaments are preparing in the ports of France and Holland, but their destination is not positively known—yet it may be proper to arm in consequence; but the house was not merely told of the existence of those armaments, but they were also informed that important negociations were subsisting between the two countries; when, therefore, the discussion is coupled with the armament, the house is made a party, not only to the armament, but is also called upon to sanction the importance of the negociation with which it is connected. The honorable gentleman in support of his opinion, that more information should be given before the house agreed to the vote, quoted two motions made by an honorable friend of his (Mr. T. Grenville) at the time when the Russian armament was proposed; the tendency of those motions was, that it was the duty of parliament duly to inquire into those objects for which fresh burthens were to be imposed on the people. Did the house inquire sufficiently into the object that now called for fresh burthens on the country? if they did not, they deviated from the spirit of the constitution, which says—Do not vote away the money of the people without solid reasons to justify such a vote.

Lord Hawkesbury explained and said, that if on the mere ground of an armament on the part of a rival power, it was right to propose a portionate armament on the side of this country; surely such a measure of precaution must be doubly necessary when the armament was connected with a negociation which possibly might terminate in a rupture.

The question was then put on the resolution and carried *nem. con.*

NEW-YORK, May 3.

Late Foreign News,

Received last evening by the arrival of the ship Cotton Planter, Jefferies, in 37 days from Liverpool—London dates to the evening of the 23d March.

LONDON, March 23.

Downing-street, March 22.

By dispatches received this morning from the earl of Elgin, his majesty's ambassador extraordinary at Constantinople, dated January 15, 1803, it appears that the differences which had subsisted between the Sublime Porte and the Beys of Egypt, have been satisfactorily arranged, through the medium of his majesty's ambassador.

Our preparations have produced the effect of stopping the sailing of the Louisiana expedition, and of the Dutch squadron, under vice-admiral Hartsick. On Friday last, a courier arrived at the French ambassador's, at the Hague, with orders that the squadron for Louisiana should remain in port, and that the troops should be cantoned at Helvoet till further orders. The expedition was to have sailed to-day.

The Dutch funds continue falling.

Admiral lord Gardner arrived at Portsmouth yesterday, and is to hoist his flag to-day on board the Neptune.

Admiral lord Keith is very actively employed at Plymouth in superintending the fitting out of the ships. A great number of prime seamen have entered within these few days.

It has been rumored that in consequence of the first consul's behavior to lord Whitworth, at the audience on Sunday se'nnight, his lordship has intimated to the minister for foreign affairs, that he shall not attend the consular levees, without a proper explanation of the events of that day. His lordship acts with proper spirit. An insult to our ambassador is an insult to the British nation, and an ample apology ought to be demanded for it.

A cabinet council sat several hours yesterday upon the dispatches received from France.

"By letters from Frankfort of the 10th of March, we are informed, (says the Paris papers we received yesterday) that the English merchants in Germany, discover the utmost jealousy and uneasiness in regard to the endeavors of the French to revive their trade with that country. They view with indignation the new trading establishments in different parts. They blame France for the care with which Spain now endeavors to protect her manufactures, by prohibiting the exportation of Spanish wool. They see, with all the feelings of malicious envy, the vigorous measures taken on the Scheldt and Rhine to prevent the importation of English manufactures; the encouragement given to those who attempt a smuggling trade into England, and the declaration of Cherburg to be a free port for liquors and brandy, which is likely to produce a large exportation of these articles to the opposite coasts of England and Ireland. The establishment too of Chambers, and of a general council of commerce in France, has given much food for English envy. They are still in alarm with regard to col. Sebastiani, and they talk of the cession of the port of Tetuan, and of the fortifications of Tournehout, at the mouth of the Scheldt to France. They will suppose that a squadron of two ships of war and several transports has failed to take possession of Macoa, ceded to France by Portugal."

There is said to be now a very frequent correspondence between Berlin and Paris, relating to an approaching interview between the king of Prussia and the first consul, when the latter visits Belgium.

When the dates of the affair at the Cape of Good Hope are examined, it would appear that the present preparations for war have not been too precipitate.—From the time the dispatches were sent out to forbid the surrender, we may reckon on five months *difference* with the French government about *something or other*, independent of Malta, which appears a more recent cause of dispute.

Like master, like man. Talleyrand, as well as his sovereign, can be insolent to the ministers of those states degraded by their French connection, or weakened by French intrigues; but he was far from approving of the violence offered towards the representative of the king of the first nation upon earth: he, therefore, with all humility, entreated his master to make it up. His maxim is, that until France has a navy equal to that of Britain, the chief consul must sink his pretensions to be the modern Alexander, and content himself, with respect to England, to act a la-Philippe. His advice, however, was so ill received, that he gave in his resignation, and for twenty-four hours rumour appointed him different successors, such as Segur, Otto, Calliard, &c.; but while the public were thus busy, Bonaparte invited Talleyrand to dine with him in private, and, after some explanation, returned him his ministerial Port-feuille, and he is, at present, again the first favorite of the first consul.

Price of Stocks this day at 12 o'clock.

3 per cent. Consols 64 1-4.
Ditto. for Acc. 64 1-4 3-4.
3 per cent. reduced shut.
Omnium 13 disc.

BY THIS DAY's MAILS.

MARBLEHEAD, April 27.

Arrived, the brig Philanthropist, Dennis, Bilboa, 37 days. Prices at Bilboa, flour 7 dollars; Caraccas Cocoa high and in demand; Fish 7 dollars; Sugar dull.

SALEM, April 29.

Arrived, ship Java, Bullock, Philadelphia; schooner Good Intent, Searl, Havanna; Essex, Fabens, Baltimore; Britannia, Very, Wilmington.

BOSTON, April 30.

Late, and very interesting!

Last evening letters were received from Portsmouth, dated yesterday, announcing the arrival there of the ship Volunteer, captain Bosworth, in 35 days from Liverpool; who brings advices, that on the 23d March, in the river, he was boarded by a lieutenant of a man of war, who informed him, the *declaration of war* against France had that day been received in Liverpool from the admiralty [head quarters.] The information perfectly accords with the note received by captain Ingersol, on the eve of his departure from Bordeaux. [*Centinel.*]

May 2.

From Liverpool, March 23.

Since our last advices there has been a serious change in politics, and our government has made the most active preparations for war. The cause assigned for this measure in the king's message to the parliament is, that extensive armaments were preparing in the ports of France and Holland, destined, *as those powers declared*, for the reduction of the revolted colonies, in the success of which we are as much interested as themselves; notwithstanding this declaration, there being some material points under the discussion of the French government and our own, the issue of which was doubtful, it became prudent to put ourselves in a situation to resist any sudden attack that might be made on us by those armaments in case of the negociations breaking off. This is the substance of the only official account we have of the motives of our government, who we really think are inclined to peace, if it can be maintained with security, and we are inclined to hope that the situation we are in to repel any attack, will have a tendency to bring the present negociations to a speedy conclusion, and that peace will be more firmly established than it is at present—should the present measure end in hostility, the value of American produce will be materially altered, and we presume increased.

In consequence of the above mentioned measures, persons have been induced to speculate in cottons, and Bowed Georgias have advanced; but should the business be settled amicably, we think the stock on hand, and the quantity coming is so great, that they will soon be under 12d. per lb. whilst the scarcity of fine long stapled Sea-Island cottons will secure them from any material fall, whether the negociations terminate amicably or otherwise.

Importation of cotton from America; from 13th January to 21st December, 1802, 52,213 packages; from 22d December, 1802, to 9th March, 1803, 16,853 ditto.

The importation of ashes has been very scanty, and we think they are likely to advance, independent of political events.

The importation of naval stores has been very great, and the prices in consequence fell much below our last quotations, but they have since risen, and while the prospect of war continues, will probably maintain the present prices, and perhaps advance.

The Paris "*Journal de Commerce*" of March 21st, says, that twenty-eight English vessels, left Cancalle, in ballast, in consequence of orders received from their government, in the night between the 13th and 14th March. This news, it adds, has alarmed the public, particularly at St. Malo, where there are twenty large vessels in readiness to put to sea for Newfoundland, and other destinations.

April 30, arrived the ship Diana, captain Wilson, 36 days from Liverpool.—Sailed in co. with the ship Mac, Burdick, of Portland, for Charleston. Left a number of vessels, names not recollected. Spoke nothing.

May 1, arrived the ship President, captain Hilton, from Liverpool.

Same day, the regular trading ship Minerva, captain Barber, 47 days from London. Nothing so late as before received. Spoke, March 18, Isle of White bearing N. by W. 5 leagues, the ship Fame, of Newburyport, from Virginia, for Dunkirk. April 15, lat. 42, long. 53, brig Circle, 21 days from Norfolk.

Same day, the brig Nancy, captain Brown, 40 days from Bristol. Left the ship Lewis, captain Orr, to sail soon for this port. Spoke nothing.

Same day, the brig Union, captain Sawyer, 40 days from Tercera.

Same day, the schooner Jane, captain Meagher, 27 days from Spikestown, Barbados. Markets very low at Barbados, flour 6 1-2 dollars; pork 16.

Same day, sloop William, captain Dunbar, 28 days from Spikestown, Barbados.

Same day, brig Seaflower, Cottle, from Charleston; and Shepherdess, from Baltimore; schooner Aphia, Luce, from Richmond.

Captain Poor, of the schooner Conway, from New-York, on the 18th of December, on his outward passage, saw a brig upset—when all the people perished; on his homeward passage, in lat. 35, 10, long. 71, fell in with a brig bottom upwards, her keel was 63 feet long—she was loaded with yellow pine timber and cedar shingles.

Arrived, Federal George, Symonds, Baltimore; Ethan, Allen, do.; Hazard, Luce, Alexandria; Increase, Hall, do.

Cleared, Hannah, Smith, Alexandria; George, Worth, Baltimore; ship Northern Friends, Montgomery, Greenock; brigs Industry, Smith, West-Indies; Little Jane, Harris, do.; Massafoit, Carver, Bilboa; schooners Sally, M'Intire, Antwerp; Deborah, Baker, Halifax; John and William, Hooper, Portugal; Betsy, Larkin, Shelburne.

NEW-YORK, May 4.

Arrived yesterday, the ship Cotton Planter, in 39 days from Liverpool.

Same day, the ship Eagle, from Portsmouth, N. H.

Same day, the ship Black River, Gallup, in 40 days from Bristol.

Same day, the ship Hannah, Yeardsley, of Philadelphia, in 48 days from Cette (coast of France.)

Same day, the ship General Mercer, Moores, in 43 days from Liverpool. April 5, at half past 6 P. M. saw a wreck, supposed to be a ship or a brig, with nothing standing but her foremast and weather bow. Coming on very dark and thick, could not come near enough to learn her name. At day light next day saw nothing of her. 26th, spoke ship Carpenter, bound from Liverpool to Norfolk. Sailed in company with ship Ceres for this port.

Same day, the ship Eugene, Mansfield, from Malaga and Gibraltar, in 40 days. Spoke March 21, off Gibraltar, the frigate United States, Campbell, watching the Tripolitan cruizer, fitting out, and expecting to sail in a few days from Gibraltar under Moorish colors. March 23, saw three American frigates going into Gibraltar, supposed to be commodore Morris's squadron from the Straits. April 27, in lat. 34, 50, long. 61, 40, spoke the English ship Crawford, from Savannah for Greenock.

Same day, the ship Phillipsburg, Leffingwell, in 50 days from Liverpool.—March 17th, in lat. 64, long. 11, 30, spoke ship Eliza, from Norfolk, for Liverpool.

Same day, the brig Morning Star, Henry, in 24 days from Curracoa. Left, brig Atlantic, 45 days from Baltimore.

Same day, the brig Swan, Young, in 43 days from Lucie, (Jam.)

Same day, the brig Hannah, Waterman, in 41 days from Falmouth, Jamaica.

Same day, the brig Little John, Patterson, in 41 days from St. Vincents.

Same day, the sloop Patriot, Moignard, from Tobago; Left, Victory, Silvester, of George Town; Dorothy, of Richmond; William and Henry, of Norfolk.

Same day, the schr. Margaret, M'Kean, in 33 days from Antigua.

Same day, the English schooner Mary, Smith, in 24 days from Cape-Francois. The negroes were fighting each other.

Same day, the schooner Amphitrite, M'Daniel, in 42 days from Trinidad.—Spoke, March 19, off Trinidad, schooner Lucretia, Cutter, from Savannah, bound in, having picked up the crew of the brig Peggy from New-York, she having foundered in the Gulph.

Same day, at quarantine, the schooner Minerva, Rutherford, in 32 days from P. P. Guadaloupe. Flour was 8 to 9, beef 7 to 8, pork 15, and lumber 30 to 40 dolls.

Same day, the schooner Sally, Holden, in 34 days from St. Kitts. Spoke, April 1, ship Washington from London for Charleston.

Same day, the sloop Betsy, Dowzick, in 21 days from Charleston.

Same day, the sloop Nancy and Susan, Boardman, in 36 days from Guadaloupe.

Same day, the schooner Lucy, Lawson, in 18 days from George Town.

Same day, the brig Harlequin, Hazard, in 15 days from Savannah.

Same day, the schooner Ann, Bunce, in 43 days from St. Luce.

Same day, the brig Vereinigung, in 12 days from Charleston for Hamburg, having sprung aleak.

Same day, the brig Minerva, Harding, in 43 days from Falmouth, Jam.

Same day, the brig Little John, Patterson, in 41 days from St. Vincents.

Below, two ships and a schooner—one of the ships is supposed to be the Favorite, Mackie, from Jamaica, as she was spoken a few days since on the coast.

Same day, at the Hook, the brig Hind, Fairfield, from Alicant.

We mention with regret, that the brig Virginia, captain Daubeny, from London for this port, (mentioned to be on shore to the southward of the Hook in a former paper) is gone to pieces.

Cleared, brigs Olive Branch, Fowler, Antigua and St. Croix; Panther, Gillies, Belfast; schooners Polly, Cadwell, Charleston; Argo, Wickes, Annapolis.

PHILADELPHIA, May 5.

Arrived, ships South-Carolina, Fisher, Liverpool, 45 days; Martha, Henderson, London, 45; Felicity, Silva, Oporto, 40; Annawon, Brown, Liverpool, 35; brigs Active, York, London, 45; Charleston Packet, Hughes, Charleston, 15; Freelove, Lake, Savannah, 10; schooner Isabella, Pitts, Boston, 10; James Bayard, Cohally, North-Carolina, 10; Nancy, Endicott, Charleston, 16; Two Brothers, Griffin, ditto, 16; schooner Hannah, Loretta, Charleston, 16; Minerva, Bird, New-York, 2; sloop Mary, Swaine, St. Thomas, 30.

Cleared, ships John and Alice, Whitesides, Liverpool; William and Mary, Prince, ditto.

Arrived at the Lazaretto,

Ship Rose, Clasby, Liverpool; brig Alert, ——, Guadaloupe.

CHARLESTON, April 23.

Entered, ship Susanna, Forrester, Bal-