IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.
June 3.

MOTION FOR CENSURING MINISTERS.

[CONTINUED.]

The chancellor of the exchequer "Sir, in consequence of what has fallen from the right honorable gentleman who has just sat down, I feel it incumbent on me to trespass on the attention of the house for a short time. I can assure the house it was my anxious wish, that as large and as full an opportunity as possible might be afforded to gentlemen to express their opinions on the resolutions now the subject of discussion. Although it appears that there has been no want of ability on the part of those who supported the resolutions, yet I must say that there have been as strong and as convincing arguments brought forward on the part of those who opposed them. I should not rise at this time, but that the right honorable gentleman who last addressed you has lent the sanction and authority of his name to several important charges directed immediately against myself and which I must declare to be as false as they are unfounded. First of all, with respect to the treaty of Amiens, I beg it to be clearly understood, that I entertain at this moment the very same opinion on that subject, which I held at the time it was made. I was at that time convinced it was a wise, and a necessary measure, and I know now that it has been productive of consequences the most beneficial to this country that could have happened. If that arraigned and stigmatized treaty had never taken place, if the war had gone on without any interruption to the present moment, I am convinced I should not have had the honor of congratulating this house upon the display of loyalty and public spirit that has lately appeared in all parts of the country. I am convinced it was a wise step to have entered into that treaty; and it was wise to have endeavored to maintain it. I can aver with truth, and with a safe conscience, that throughout the late negotiations, it was the first wish of my heart, as well as that of my colleagues, that peace should be preserved, if it could be maintained consistently with the honor and character of the country. I have not learned the policy of war: I have always endeavored to avoid it; but when the necessity has arisen; and when war appears unavoidable, I hope I shall be able to meet it like an Englishman, and that the country will meet it with vigor, and a steady determination to support it. I could have wished that the sword had remained in the sheath: but now that it is drawn, I will not sheath it again until it can be done in a manner consistently with security and honor of the nation. We have been charged with making too many sacrifices for the purpose of preserving peace. I confess that we certainly did make more than ordinary allowances for the situation of France at the close of the last war, and for the conduct of the individual who was placed at the head of the government of that country: we were disposed to make every possible allowance for a person placed in a situation at once so novel and extraordinary. After having placed himself at the head of a great nation; and after a career of victories which gave a splendor to his name, and made him the object of applause and adulation among the people whom he governed, it was hardly to be expected that he would, like persons at the head of other countries, sit down quietly, and be satisfied with the acquisitions he had made. It was not to be wondered that a person who had met with such opposition from almost every other country, and with a mind irritated by the invectives that had been thrown out against him, should, after succeeding in his object, pursue the same measures which had led to that success:

On those grounds, his majesty's ministers tho't it their duty to practise a degree of forbearance with regard to the French government, and to pass over, without notice, many parts of its conduct, which they would not have done with other governments. His majesty's ministers did not feel that the person who governed France, was a man whose conduct ought to produce the same dispositions, which a similar conduct on the part of the sovereign of any other country, must naturally have given rise to. I am proud to say, sir, that to such a forbearance we are indebted to the spirit with which this kingdom is now animated. We are now convinced, and so is the British public convinced, that the war has not been sought for by us; but that it has been forced upon us. In proportion therefore to the force and extent of that feeling, we may expect that the war will be prosecuted with vigor. Let it not be said that war was delayed too long; nor on the other hand, let it be said, that it commenced too soon. We have adopted all those measures, by which we may hope to get through the contest with honor, and be ultimately successful. Having been actuated by those consideraations which I have just stated; and desirous that our cause should have every appearance of justice attached to it, we are ready to plead guilty to the charge of forbearance; but we challenge any gentleman to produce throughout the whole of the papers, the slightest proof of our having committed any one act of unbecoming concession. Having stated thus much in answer to the charge of forbearance. I will now beg leave to revert to the speech of the right honorable gentleman. He has charged ministers with having withheld from parliament many communications that ought to have been made; and with holding out expectations of peace that were not justified by the circumstances of the time. He has alluded to some expressions of mine; and I admit, has quoted them accurately. It will be recollected that my noble friend, when speaking of the peace on one occasion, had said that his reliance on the continuance of peace arose out of a conviction that it would be as much the interest of France, as of England, to preserve it. I gave it as my opinion at the time, that I saw no reason to suppose the peace would not be as lasting as any other that the country had ever entered into with France.—And that opinion was founded on the conviction of its being the interest of both countries to preserve peace. I also stated, that I could trace nothing in the feelings of the first consul of France, which was likely to induce him to be hostile to peace. I thought the efforts he was making to restore the navy of France, and to get possession of St. Domingo, were wholly incompatible with a desire to renew hostilities with this country. I never said there was no probability of the renewal of hostilities; nor do I recollect to have used the expression imputed to me, that the country was in a state of *profound* peace; in the debate on encreasing the prince's income, I believe I did not use the word "profound," and if I did, it must have escaped me.

At the time I was laying some statements before the houses, on the subject of the consolidated fund, I did say that I looked forward to a prospect of tranquility and prosperity: and observed, that the resources of the country, which were great and abundant beyond all former example, should be applied only to the objects of maintaining our rights. I will now relieve the house from the trouble of hearing any more explanations with regard to language imputed to me. If gentlemen wish to know what have been the sentiments of his majesty's ministers respecting the security and permanency of the late peace, I shall beg of them to refer to the records of parliament as the most authentic evidence of their opinion. Let them look at the speech delivered from the throne, in the wording of which we certainly gave our advice. Let them look to the address which was moved by my noble friend to his majesty, at the conclusion of the late treaty of peace. They will find that his majesty does not say, what had always been said in former speeches to parliament, "that he had reason to hope for the most friendly disposition from the states of Europe." This omission, it will be recollected, did create great anxiety in parliament. But this speech was accompanied by a comment, which spoke still more forcibly the sentiments of ministers. We moved for, and the house granted, a very large naval and military establishment. And if we had been so lulled into security as to suppose the peace was likely to be lasting and secure, we must have been the most stupid of mankind to have moved for such large armaments. Another cause of complaint is, that of our not having made any communications to parliament during the late negociations: and it has been contended, that such a communication might have the effect of preventing the renewal of war. I know very well that the house has a right to demand information even to the most unlimited extent.—But unless such was called for, I hope the king's ministers may be allowed to possess a discretionary power in keeping back such information whenever it may be tho't necessary. It has been said, that the state of Switzerland ought to have attracted the notice of his majesty's government in the month of June last. I have no hesitation in saying, that it was the wish of his majesty's government that no resistance might be made at that time on the part of Switzerland. It was to us a subject of deep regret, that a sense of the unmerited injuries suffered by that brave people, had forced them into a resistance that must overwhelm them in destruction; and on that account his majesty's government hoped that the effort would not be made: But when we found that it was made; that the Swiss had determined on resistance, and had pressed for the interposition of this country, then we caused a remonstrance to be made to the French government. That remonstrance failed of its principal object; but I am warranted in stating, that it was not wholly unsuccessful. Mr. Moore was sent to the borders of Switzerland to confer with the people of that country; but the moment the object of his mission was found to be unattainable, he ceased to act in a diplomatic character; but as to his having gone about to confer with the ministers of other countries, that is a circumstance quite new to me. I never heard it before. We have been charged with inertness in not requiring that the French troops should evacuate the Batavian republic. To that charge I have only to say, that instructions were given to lord Whitworth to remonstrate with the French government on the subject. These instructions were checked by the conduct of the Batavian government, who informed us that any interposition of that kind would neither be effectual nor beneficial.

On the 5th of November, Mr. Liston stated, that there was a probability the French troops would be withdrawn from Holland: but they were afterwards kept there on pretence of being sent to Lousiana. On the 12th we learnt that it was the wish of the Batavian government that we should not interfere on the subject of the French troops. After this check which was thrown in the way to all remonstrance on our part, I will ask whether it was fit we should run the risk of renewing the war by not evacuating the Cape-of-Good-Hope? When the order had been sent out to keep that place, it was doubtful whether it would arrive there in time, before its evacuation. We did not therefore, under all the circumstances, think it fit to rescind our first order, particularly so when it was the general opinion the Cape could not be of any great value to this country. Independent of this opinion, another important consideration rested on the minds of his majesty's servants, which was the great expence of that settlement to this country.

During the six years it had been in our possession, and, during which time we were obliged to keep a large garrison there, the expence to this country was no less than two millions sterling. I do not look upon the Cape as a place of no importance, but I never thought it of such importance, that we should forego the chance of a permanent benefit by giving it up. With respect to the island of Malta, I can assure the right honorable gentleman, that no such engagement as that which he has stated from the French papers, was ever entered into between this country and Russia, previous to the preliminary treaty of peace. No arrangement whatever had been made, except what related to the election of a grand master. I can assure the right hon. gentleman, that representations had been frequently made to France on the subject of the violence offered to our vessels in the ports of France. But no one could say, that such conduct, on the part of France, could be a justifiable ground of war. Even the disregard shewn to our representations was not a ground for war. We also remonstrated on the subject of the consuls sent from France to this country. The answer of the French government was, that these were sent for literary purposes. That very answer was a sort of apology on the part of the consular government, and a disavowal that those persons were sent here for the objects with which they have been charged with coming. All these consuls were shortly sent away from the country. It was admitted, on all hands, that every necessary and proper representation had been made on the subject of Sebastiani's report. How, therefore, will gentlemen pretend to say, that we made no representations on the unjustifiable proceedings of France? We felt the necessity, and a strong desire for peace, if it could have been preserved with honor to the country. We now wish to have the whole of our conduct fairly judged. Let gentlemen look at the documents before the house; and although they may find many instances of forbearance, they will not be able to discover that any act has ever been done on our part, which was either disgraceful or dishonorable.—It will be seen on what grounds we endeavored to preserve peace; and while there was a chance of preserving it, we felt that such a chance would be increased by withholding those papers which formed a part of the negociation; and I will put it to any gentleman in the house, whether under the same circumstances he would not have done the same thing. In laboring for the accomplishment of our object, it was material to withhold these documents connected with it. But as soon as the object appeared to us to be hopeless, we made a full disclosure of every circumstance to the house. We gave every document & every information which could throw light on the subject. We are now ready to meet enquiry; and all we ask of the house is decision. We beg the house will determine, whether we have merited the censures thrown out against us. If it think so, we are ready to acquiesce in its judgment. But if not, we beg our minds may be relieved from a state of uncertainty, and that we may know whether we possess the confidence of the house and the country. We wish to have it known whether we are not stigmatized. Let the house say aye or no. if the house pronounces an opinion in our favor, we shall feel a pride and satisfaction we never experienced before. But if it should declare that we are what some gentlemen would represent us to be, we will readily submit to the sentence; still conscious that we discharged our duty, and with the consolation of knowing that we served our country with zeal, fidelity and anxiety for its welfare."

Mr. Pitt then rose and spoke to the following effect: "With the view, sir, that I entertain of the present question, I feel a considerable difficulty to give a decided opinion, and the more especially so, after the manly appeal of the right honorable gentleman who has just sat down, to the positive decision of the house. If, sir, I was prepared to give it in the ample manner called for, I should certainly do so, according to the direction of my conscience. If, on the contrary, I was to give it according to the opinion of the right honorable gentleman who spoke last but one, and that I should be induced to address his majesty for the removal of his present ministers, I hope I should be as ready to make a sacrifice of my personal feelings as any other member of this house. If, on the other hand, I could feel as the right honorable gentleman (Mr. Addington) feels, that the declaration made by his majesty's ministers is, throughout all its bearings, so clear and decisive as to draw forth that unqualified approbation they seem to demand, I should not hesitate to deliver that sentiment with all the freedom which the peculiar nature of the case requires. If in a case of such difficulty, I could see the matter clearly as to have no doubt, I should then say, it is a title of approbation. But to that extent, sir, I cannot concur with the propositions; nor am I prepared to agree with the express negative proposal to be put on them. The reason, sir, for my present difficulty in the choice of the course I am to pursue on the present occasion, is founded in the broad and general objection I have ever entertained, to the very nature and extent of such motions. I am one of those, sir, who do not wish, without some very strong and urgent reason, to interfere with the just prerogative of the crown; and I cannot conceive a case that is more pregnant with mischievous consequences, than to adopt any measure that may render it unavoidable to displace those whom his majesty wishes to employ, and to retain in his council.

In a case of such high and weighty importance, sir, it becomes necessary to take a more extensive view of the question, than merely to confine our thoughts to the propositions themselves, and to look forward to their probable effects on the public safety and conveniency. In this statement of the case, sir, gentlemen will see that it will admit of various gradations, and of many different bearings. I beg leave to put it to the house, sir, that there may be points within the conduct of ministers with which the majority of the house may feel themselves dissatisfied; yet it behoves the house seriously and deliberately to consider, whether, at a crisis like the present, it would not be most for the public service to provide ample sources for our finances; for our national armaments, and for the various branches of our unavoidable expenditure, than to enter upon a question, the effects of which may be attended with consequences which none can foresee. To displace an administration at such a moment, is not the work of a day, or of an hour, and it is highly important for the house to reflect on the interval that it may produce, with an executive government, interrupted and deprived of its efficient means of conducting its most essential concerns. Nothing, sir, in my mind, can justify a measure of such a magnitude at such a moment, and in such a situation as the country is at present placed in, but absolute necessity, and even in that case, unless that necessity be as strong and paramount as the honorable gentleman who introduced the motion, thinks it. I would strenuously advise the house to pause before it suffers itself to entertain a measure, the result of which must be to divest his majesty of his whole administration; for certainly the next step to adopting the propositions must be to address his majesty to dismiss his ministers. But, sir, I say this is a question that does not rest with the house, but with the crown to decide; and I leave it to the house whether it would, in the case of his majesty, place him in such a predicament as that he should be induced to suppose the house wished to deprive him for a moment of the inherent right he possesses of chusing and appointing his confidential advisers; and I ask those gentlemen, whose situations and talents may render them the most likely to succeed the present ministers, supposing his majesty should be induced to part with them, whether they could accept appointments under such circumstances, without having their feelings wounded in a manner that could not fail to be very irksome and disagreeable to them. Sir, there are many considerations which weigh deeply on my mind on the present occasion—considerations for the public safety—considerations for the general and multiplied interests, which, at such a momentous crisis as the present, demand to be looked to with the most scrupulous attention, and with the most scrutinizing eye. I do feel, sir, that the situation of the right honorable gentleman who spoke last is a very irksome one, but I must sacrifice those feelings to a sense of public duty. If there be any who entertain the same feelings as myself, who do not go the whole length of the charges, but who think there are circumstances which extenuate the blame they would otherwise attach to the conduct of ministers, such must be guided by their judgment and their conscience, and cannot vote that in all its parts their conduct has been culpable. And if there are those who think the conduct of ministers has been the reverse of what I have just stated, such will unquestionably vote for the resolutions proposed. For my own part, sir, I will not at present enter into any particulars, because I sincerely deprecate all such discussions. If a certain portion of good is not to be obtained by any measure which is comparable to the mischief it may occasion, we should not lose a moment to enter upon the question and to decide it at once. But, sir, I cannot help thinking that if we were instantly to enter upon a plan enabling his majesty to carry into immediate effect those active and vigorous measures which may be necessary for the general welfare and security of the country—if we were to grant him a bill of supply for comparing the ranks of our armies and other necessary establishments—which may give the most effective energy to the operations it may be useful for us to carry on by sea and on land---these are objects by which we shall sooner convince his majesty of our love and regard for his person, and our attachment to and anxiety for the honor and dignity of his crown, and the general welfare and prosperity of the nation, than by desiring him to dismiss his ministers, and shewing a want of confidence in those to whom he has entrusted the rule and guidance of his executive government. These are the sentiments which I feel, and therefore without entering further into the motives for doing so, I shall conclude by moving "that the other orders of the day be now read."

[*Debate to be continued.*]

For Rent or Sale,

THE House, Store and Warehouse, No. 18 Calvert-street, now in the tenure of Messrs Guest, Atterbury and Co. Possession given on the 8th September next.

Also, that spacious airy House, on Market-street extended, now in the tenure of Mr. J. W Giles. Possession given on the 10th October next.

Also, a comfortable well-finished two-story brick House, on Thames-street, Fell's-Point, opposite Mr. James Piay's. Possession given immediately. PETER HOFFMAN.

July 21. m&th

BY THIS DAY's MAILS.

NEW-YORK, August 22.

The committee of health report 36 cases and 16 deaths, of the prevailing fever, for the 48 hours preceding 5 o'clock last evening. Four of the deaths at Bellevue.

By the brig Truxton, arrived yesterday, we have received Gibraltar papers to the 27th June. The English cruisers have captured and sent in there a number of Danish and Swedish vessels, on suspicion of having French property on board. The French frigate Ambuscade was sent in there by the ship Victory. The Ambuscade had taken two vessels, which were in the hands of the English. After the Ambuscade was manned with Englishmen, she captured a valuable French ship from the Isle of France, and brought her into Gibraltar.

The Intelligence of the removal of Edward Livingston, esquire, as attorney of the United States for the district of New-York, and the appointment of Nathan Sandford, esquire, is variously viewed by the public. Mr. Livingston had not the least previous notice.—There is a mistery at present in the business, which a little time will unfold.

West Florida is included in the Louisiana purchase, and not *East* Florida, as erroneously inserted in Saturday's Gazette.

Extract of a letter from Barracoa, in Cuba, dated July 25.

"Cape-Nichola-Mole is nearly evacuated. The women and children have arrived here. The garrison having received a fresh supply of provisions, will be able to hold out for some time, though they are daily attacked by the brigands, who are commanded by Clerveaux in person."

In the ship Experiment, Geary, arrived here on Saturday from Turk's-Island, came part of the crew of the brig Thomas Pinckney, wrecked on a reef between the Wed and Grand Caicos, on her passage from this port to Hispaniola. The captain, supercargo, crew, and the principal part of her cargo were preserved. The latter was saved on salvage by some wreckers, and carried to Turk's-Island.

Prices current at Liverpool.
July 4.

Ashes, pearl, 1st sort,	49 a 50s.
Pot, do.	46 a 48s.
Bees wax,	200 a 220s.
Cotton, upland,	1s. a 1s. ½d.
Sea-Island, fine,	2s. 10d. a 3s.
Good,	2s. 6d. a 2s. 9d.
New-Orleans, in bags & bales,	1s. 2d. a 1s. 5d.
Wheat,	8 a 8s. 6d. per 70lb.
Superfine flour,	32 a 33s.
Fine do.	30 a 32s.
Pitch,	10 a 13s. cwt.
Rosin,	14 a 16s.
Tar,	21 a 22s.
Turpentine,	20 a 23s.
Rice, duty paid for home consumption,	39 a 40s.
Do. not duty paid, in bond for exportation.	34 a 35s.
Staves, W. O. barrel,	12 a 19l.
hhd.	24 a 30l.
pipe,	30 a 38l.
R. O. hogshead,	7 a 10l.
Tobacco, York & James River,	3½ a 7¼
Rappahannock,	3¾ a 6¼
Potomak,	3½ a 6
Georgia,	3½ a 5½
Stemmed,	5 a 7½
Maryland, brown,	3¾ a 4½
coloury,	5 a 6
kitefoot,	6 a 8
Cocoa, West-India,	78 a 85
Carraca,	none
Coffee, fine,	132 a 138
Bourbon,	110 a 116
Java,	112 a 114
Sugar, Muscovado, brown,	34 a 39
Middling,	40 a 43
Good,	44 a 48
Fine,	52 a 55
Havanna, brown,	42 a 57
White,	59 a 67

Premiums of insurance

On American ships from this country to America,	£.2 12s. 6d. a £.3 3s. per cent.
Do. fr. America to this country,	the same
Do. on British ships,	8 guineas

REMARKS.

Our trade to the continent of Europe has some time past been almost wholly at a stand, owing to the violent conduct of France, which has afforded us reason for believing that the neutrality and independence of Hamburg would not be respected; and the stagnation is now even encreased, by intelligence that our government has declared its determination to keep the Elbe in a state of rigorous blockade, until the French shall desist from their interference with the Hanse Towns. Under such circumstances, quotations can only be considered nominal, but should the prospect become favorable for the opening of an export vent, through which we might be relieved from the heavy stocks of produce now accumulating in this country, we have little doubt that the annexed will be maintained; on the contrary, if the present state of suspence continues, there may probably be some decline, and this is further to be apprehended from the distress occasioned by an unusual scarcity of money felt very generally at this moment.

The suspension of our trade to the continent of Europe has also affected cottons unfavorably, and during last month the sales were very limited; within these few days, 7 to 800 bags of uplands middling to good qualities have been sold at 13d. per lb. which is the most considerable purchase that has been made of late; in other descriptions so little is doing, that the quotations are partly nominal. The stock is encreased about 10,000 bags, which makes it altogether large, not however greater