

# WILMINGTON GAZETTE.

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## STATE PAPERS.

[The following are the two Notes presented by M. D'OUVRIL, the Russian Charge d'Affaires at Paris, to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, referred to under the London head, in our last week's GAZETTE.]

PARIS, JULY 6-21.

"The Note which the Citizen Minister of Foreign Affairs transmitted to the undersigned Charge d'Affaires from his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, he did not fail to transmit to St. Petersburg; but the undersigned has to declare, that his court greatly disapproved his receiving a paper, which did not answer his preceding official communications, and was by no means calculated to be laid before his august sovereign. The said paper, however, is at length come under the notice of his Imperial Majesty, who saw with surprise, that its contents consisted altogether of such assertions as are not only unfounded, but also wholly unconnected with the note of the 22d. The Emperor, already moved by the calamities which oppress a great part of Europe, and by the dangers which threaten the German Empire, whose interest Russia is particularly bound to support, in conformity to her obligations, received intelligence of another recent violation of the Law of nations, which was perpetrated at Ettenheim: he, therefore, thought himself bound to invite the assembled States of the German Empire, and the German Princes, to concur with him in jointly protesting against the French government, to whom his Majesty communicated the same sentiments, in hopes that it would repair the insult offered to the German League, and allay the fears of Europe for the repetition of similar outrages.

"The French government could not avoid in return, an answer to this plain declaration from his Majesty the Emperor: but the evasive reply which was made, is offensive to Russia, to the German Empire, and to France herself; it impairs the good understanding which she declares her wish to preserve, but the effects whereof Russia has not hitherto perceived.

"We live no longer in those barbarous times when every country regarded only her immediate interest; modern policy, founded upon the law of nations, has introduced certain principles respecting the interest of the whole community of States. No State could view with indifference the event already mentioned, which gave such a dreadful blow to the independence and security of nations. By the peace of Teschen, Russia undertook to guarantee and mediate for the German Empire: in this quality his Imperial Majesty was not merely justified in raising his voice on this occasion, but was absolutely bound to do it. The French government, bearing a similar quality, takes the liberty of violating the neutrality of Germany, and to act arbitrarily on that territory. It is difficult to conceive how his Imperial Majesty should be incompetent to stand up for the German Empire, the security and independence of which he has guaranteed.

"It would be in vain to attempt to explain otherwise the conduct of Russia, whose motives are so evident, or to discover therein the influence of the enemies of France; its sole motive is the wretched condition to which the French government, by its influence, has reduced Europe. Should Russia propose to establish a Coalition, for the purpose of renewing the war on the continent, it would not at all be required to seek any unfounded cause for it. The French government has long given too much and too just cause for breaking the bands of harmony, which the Emperor has preserved merely by his moderation, and which he desired to preserve for ever. No person, and the French government least of all, can mistake the views of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, since his Imperial Majesty so explicitly declared, even before the present war, how necessary it was to labour for the consolidation of peace; to prevent new revolutions in Europe; to avoid carefully every cause for mistrust; and to let every State quietly enjoy its independence. At the same time, Russia disclaimed to the French Cabinet, how much she desired that this latter power might contribute to consolidate the present order of things; that it should, by its moderation and disinterestedness, give a hope to the other States of Europe, that every government could at least (after the unhappy war, which cost so much blood) devote itself, with safety and quiet, to the happiness of the people entrusted to it. Far from desiring to rekindle the flames of war on the continent, his Russian Majesty most ardently wishes to stifle those flames every where; but his Majesty harbours this particular wish, that the French government as it pretends to the same desire, would let those nations alone, who wish nothing more fervently than to avoid taking a part in the present troubles.

"This was the only (though unfortunately for the cause of humanity, it proved an ineffectual) wish of Russia, which never deviated from these principles; every step she took with the French government, which

she constantly referred to treaties already concluded, had no other view. Upon the same ground she proposed to act as a mediator between France and England, but was not accepted. Since the renewal of the war the French government thinks itself competent to occupy those countries, and deprive them of their commerce, which in vain appeal to their neutrality: his Imperial Majesty was thereby alarmed, not indeed on his own account, since, from the actual situation and power of his empire, his Majesty can remain a quiet spectator of those distressing scenes; but he was alarmed for the security of the other states of Europe.

"His Majesty repeatedly urged with the French government, but always ineffectually, that those countries at least should be permitted to remain neutral, whose neutrality France and Russia had guaranteed by mutual treaties; His Majesty also repeatedly disclosed his sentiments with respect to those states that are already in danger of sharing the fate of Italy, of a part of Germany, and of the other countries which France has already got in her possession. Meanwhile, the Emperor saw, in spite of all his exertions and remonstrances, the danger increasing daily; French troops, on the one side, occupying the coasts of the Adriatic—on the other, levying contributions on the Hanse Towns, and menacing Denmark; consequently, his Imperial Majesty has resolved, as the theatre of war approaches his frontier, to establish a military force which shall be adequate to put a stop to further encroachments. The fact is notorious to all Europe—the Emperor was particularly desirous that it might not remain unknown to the French government, and the mutual explanations always referred to the same objects. Never then did any government act more candidly, or for a purpose which requires less secrecy, or is subject to less false constructions, than Russia did in the present circumstances. If this conduct be not upright; if it can be considered as hostile to France, or an attack on the welfare and tranquillity of the German Empire, then there is no longer any difference existing between manifest encroachments on the one part, and that just indignation which the other part must consequently feel, between attack and defence; between the oppression and protection of the weak.

"The undersigned will not, in this place, examine, by the law of nations, the question, whether the French government be justified in persecuting in every country, those persons whom it has exiled from their own; and in prescribing to foreign powers the manner in which they shall be permitted to treat or to employ the late emigrants, whom they may have adopted for their subjects, or employed in their service? Such a tenet is at variance with every principle of justice: may, with those principles which the French nation has so solemnly proclaimed. To suppose that Russia attacks the independence of the States of Europe, because she will not permit a person in her employment abroad to be appointed somewhere else at the will of the French government, were to confound all ideas and words; or because she claims another person, who is a naturalized Russian, and has just now been delivered up by another State, without any previous trial, and contrary to every appearance of justice.

"Never did the Emperor protect conspirators; his noble and upright character is too well known to all Europe to require an elaborate contradiction of this assertion, as false as it is indecent. The French government itself is convinced of the contrary: it need only remember that the Emperor has frequently declared, that if such an accusation were proved against any Russian in his employment, he would hasten to punish him most severely for a crime which he considers as of a most heinous nature. But the cabinet of St. Cloud returns no answer to this candid communication, nor did it furnish any proof to support its retentions; it has then no right to complain its unsupported demands not being complied with. But at the present moment, when Portugal was obliged to purchase her neutrality; when Naples, to save her's, was compelled to contribute, at an enormous expense, to the maintenance of the French troops on her own territory; when all Italy, especially those republics that had been promised independence and happiness—when Switzerland and Holland were considered merely as French provinces; when one part of the German empire is occupied, while in another part French detachments execute arrests, in contempt of the sacred law of nations—a such a moment the Emperor will leave to all the states alleged, nay, to the impartial opinion of the cabinet of St. Cloud itself, the decision of the question, which of the two, Russia or France, menaces the security of Europe?—which of them acts on principles the most favourable to the independence of other states?—which interferes most in the government and internal police of other countries, and practises the most arbitrary acts against them?

"Although the sorrow which the Emperor felt at this alarming situation of affairs, was

as notorious as the opinion he entertained of it, he nevertheless held himself bound to make his declaration as explicit as possible, that it might not, with truth, be said that there was not a single government on the continent which had the courage to raise its voice in the cause of justice; and that the Russian government might not be charged with having omitted to call the attention of its Co-Estates to the dreadful consequences which must necessarily ensue from a further neglect of order, and of those principles on which their well being and their security depend. It does not appear, how it could be so easily proved in the present dispute, that Russia, by protesting against a manifest violation of the law of nations, committed beyond the limits of the French Republic, on a neutral territory of the German Empire, by a guaranteeing and mediating power, had thereby interfered in the internal affairs of France; and to interfere in which the Emperor never had the most distant idea. Every state is, indeed, competent to outlaw a person within its own limits; but no state has a right, arbitrarily, to place any person out of the protection of the law of nations; because, the latter does not depend upon the decrees of any single state, but is grounded upon the unanimous will of the Commonwealth of Sovereign States. Thus the French government could at most demand of the Princes of the German Empire, in conformity to the treaty of Luneville, that the emigrants in their states, who had not yet made the choice of a country, and against whom authentic proofs could be produced, should be removed; but the French government was by no means justified in the invasion of those States sword in hand to carry off such persons by main force.

"It will hardly be credited, that the French Cabinet could (to maintain its erroneous principle) deviate so far from every requisite decorum; and the regard due to truth, as to all alleged examples which were altogether improper to be mentioned; that it should, in an official document, recall even a father's death to the recollection of his illustrious son, in order to wound his tender feelings; and that it should (contrary to all truth and all probability) raise an accusation against another government, whom France never ceases to calumniate, merely because she is at war with it.

"France has endeavoured, in vain, to justify herself by the most extraordinary surmises and suggestions; but they cannot alter the state of the present question, nor can they be made to justify, with effect, an arbitrary act which annihilates the leading, and hitherto, undisputed principle of the law of nations.

"It is not, by any means necessary to analyze the whole contents of the note from the Citizen Minister for Foreign Affairs, in order to be convinced that it is evasive and unsatisfactory, if the object be considered, which the Emperor proposed, when he in the course of last spring, caused the notes to be delivered at Paris and at Ratisbon: it is also evident, from the said French note, that the French government rather wished to increase the Emperor's just indignation, since its only object in that note is, in an indecent manner, to avoid the important question proposed, instead of offering a candid investigation of it.

"The Emperor is, however superior to the emotions of personal resentment. He has principally at heart the well-being and tranquillity of Europe; he, therefore, does not hesitate to make a last effort for the preservation, if possible, of a friendly intercourse with France. His Majesty's sole wish is that peace may revive in Europe; that no person may assume any authority whatsoever over any other State; and that the French government do acknowledge an equality of rights for inferior States, but who are not less independent than France. Russia, it cannot be too often repeated, entertains not the least inclination for war, nor can she be benefited by it; her conduct will alone be influenced by the pressure of circumstances. She may, however, justly presume, that the French administration, such an opinion of the Russian government, such an opinion of the latter will not remain an idle or indifferent spectator of any new encroachments.

"His Majesty the Emperor of Russia is not himself influenced by fear, nor does he wish to direct its operations to the minds of others. It is his desire to preserve his former relations with France; but upon no other ground than that of perfect equality. The first condition is, that the terms mutually agreed upon shall be strictly fulfilled; and on this condition only, can the two States, after what has happened, enjoy their former relations of good will and amity.

"The undersigned has been ordered to declare, that he cannot prolong his stay at Paris, unless the following demands are previously granted:

"1. That, conformably to the 4th and 5th Articles of the Secret Convention of the 11th of October, 1801, the French government shall order its troops to evacuate the kingdom of Naples; and when that is done, that it shall engage to respect the Neutrality of that kingdom during the present and any future War.

"2. That, in conformity to the second

Article of the said Convention, the French government shall promise to establish, immediately, some principle of concert with His Imperial Majesty for regulating the basis upon which the affairs of Italy shall be finally adjusted.

"3. That it shall engage, in conformity to the 6th Article of the Convention aforesaid, and the promises so repeatedly given to Russia, to indemnify, without delay, the King of Sardinia for the losses he has sustained. Lastly,

"4. That, in virtue of the obligation of a mutual guarantee and mediation, the French government shall promise immediately to evacuate and withdraw its troops from the North of Germany; and enter into an engagement to respect, in the strictest manner, the Neutrality of the Germanic Body.

"The undersigned has to add, that he has received orders from his Government to demand a categorical answer to these four points, and avails himself of this opportunity; &c. (Signed) "P. D'OUVRIL."

"PARIS, AUG. 16-28, 1804.

"The undersigned Charge d'Affaires of His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, in answer to the Note transmitted to him by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, feels it incumbent on him to confine himself to the recapitulation of that conduct which his august Master has constantly held towards the French government, the plain exposition of which will sufficiently demonstrate the nature of the reciprocity which he has in his turn experienced from that Power.

"From the moment that his Majesty ascended the throne, he laboured with all his care to renew the good intelligence which had formerly prevailed between France and Russia. His Imperial Majesty, in anticipating the explanations which were to produce a solid and permanent understanding between the two countries, was happy in the persuasion that he would by that means effectually contribute to the general pacification of Europe, the tranquility of which had been too long disturbed by the events which occasioned the war that was terminated by the Treaty of Luneville. The readiness which his Majesty shewed to make peace with the French government, at the time it was at war with several other powers—the renewal of the former Treaty of Commerce, which was entirely to the advantage of France—the good offices of Russia in bringing about a reconciliation between the Republic and the Ottoman Porte—are all convincing proofs of the disposition of his Majesty, and of his wishes to neglect nothing on his part which could tend to consolidate that connexion which he hoped might exist for ever.

"Since that period, which, in consequence of the misfortunes which Germany experienced in the course of the war, and that many Members of the Germanic Body were put under the necessity of submitting to make sacrifices, and that it became necessary to ascertain those sacrifices, for the purpose of settling the indemnities that were to compensate for their losses, the Emperor consented to become a Joint Mediator with the French government, in the cordial hope, that the Act of Mediation would seal the tranquillity of the Continent. The completion of this salutary work allowed his Imperial Majesty to turn his attention to the engagements which France voluntarily entered into at the period of the conclusion of her peace with Russia. His Imperial Majesty, having scrupulously fulfilled those which he entered into with France, had a right to expect that the French government would also have shewn itself anxious to equal his punctuality, and to perform its own obligations. However reasonable this expectation was, it has never been realized; and the French government, so far from shewing any disposition to fulfil them, has taken no little pains, if the undersigned may use the expression, to retard their accomplishment.

"The King of Sardinia, who has been by the union of Piedmont, is still to look for that indemnity which the Cabinet of the Tuilleries had solemnly pledged itself to Russia to allow him, and which the latter has continually demanded.

"The King of Naples, who was freed for a short time from the presence of a French Army in his Kingdom, beholds it again occupying his Provinces, under a pretext, the nature of which is not known to his Neapolitan Majesty; and he is frequently placed out of the line of Independent States.—The representations of Russia, founded upon the solemn stipulation of France to consider the Kingdom of Naples a Neutral State and to enjoy all the advantages of neutrality, have been productive of no determination favourable to that power.

"The whole of Italy has been changed by the innovations which the government of the Republic has caused it to undergo since the conclusion of the peace between Russia and France, without any preliminary concert with his Imperial Majesty, although it had been agreed upon by the two powers at the