

STATE PAPER.

Circular letter of his Majesty the King, and the assembled States of Poland, addressed to the Nation, concerning the present situation of the Republic.

The declaration of the Empress of Russia, delivered by her Minister at Warsaw, and communicated to the Provinces, is known at this moment in every part of the territories of the republic. Every Polish citizen will learn from it the situation of our country, since its publication. In this declaration, the sovereignty and dignity of the republic are treated with contempt. A Diet to which the nation has delegated all its power, a Diet connected with the whole nation, by a confirmation of the confederacy, in all the Diets, and by the election of double representatives, a Diet the most important and interdicted in all its proceedings, regulations, and distinguished in the last Diets by an union and obedience to laws, hitherto unknown, that Diet, by an insupportable insult, is called a prevailing party, and declared illegal. A new meeting of a Diet is announced, the support of foreign troops, promised to ungrateful leagues; repentance and retracting the rejection of the guarantee, held forth to the States, and to all citizens firm in their duty, as the only means of avoiding hostilities. The inhabitants, by circumscribing this publication, excited to sedition and disturbances, to an insurrection against lawful authority, to the horror of a civil war, false assertions alleged to magnify the pretended injuries, in defiance of all public faith, the invasion of Russian armies, with a denounced and already effected threat, of prosecuting in their lives and fortunes, all those who will not join them against their own country.

There is no instance in the annals of mankind, of one nation, of one government, using such contemptuous language to another. The above-mentioned declaration breaks and violates all the laws of nations, addressing Poland not like a Sovereign State, but as if issuing arbitrary orders to a conquered province.

Whatever sensation this writing has occasioned to us, to the assembled States, and to the whole community, you Polish citizens, undoubtedly have it all. A few unworthy Polanders (painful reflection) hostile to their country, provoked against the Diet, for not having in its endeavours to raise the republic, conformed to their private views, went to Peterburgh, insulted the Diet and the nation, and having applied themselves to destroy that work erected with so much labour and expense, which constitutes the freedom and independency of the republic, which restores the ancient splendour of the Polish name, and recovers the rank and dignity of our nation in Europe, they have obtained the above-mentioned declaration, and have introduced a foreign army into the country. Their impious efforts coincide but too well, with the interests of Russia. It was far from agreeable to the Russian government, to see Poland shake off the odious guarantee, to find her sensible of her ancient anarchy (which reduced her to the lowest degradation, would have brought her to unavoidable destruction) establish a firm and lasting government, raise sufficient forces to defend her liberty and independency, provide an income equal to the public expenditure, in a word, become a nation well regulated at home, and respected by her neighbours. The conspiracy of those degenerate sons of their country, whom Russia calls a legal confederacy, happened conveniently to her views; and drawing from it a specious pretext, she enters forcibly our territories, and supports the conspiracy of those detested citizens, who, according to the tenor of the declaration, have solicited the assistance of the Empress, and now jointly with her armies do not fludder to attack the lives and fortunes of their brethren.

We acquaint you, therefore, respectable citizens, in our names and that of the assembled confederate States, that the present state of Poland, is that of self-defence against the Russian power; that Russia has declared war against Poland; but at the same time let us inform you, that confident of the courage and spirit of the nation, the more efforts our enemies make to destroy our government and country, the more vigorous will our measures be to repel this foreign invasion.

Worthy citizens, the fate of your dear country is now at stake! such as you shall preserve it, by your courage and virtue it will pass to your remotest posterity. You are going to fight, in defence of your country, your privileges, your freedom and your fortunes, in defence of your parents, wives and children, in short, all that is most dear to man.

We have an army raised by your zeal and assistance, supplied with every requisite, which will be your protection. There is an heroic spirit and courage, which promises to support it. Such a noble ardour in defence of the country and national liberties, as only to be found in free nations, inspires us with the most flattering hopes. We receive from all parts news the most concurring to our paternal feelings, with what eagerness, citizens of all conditions, at the call of their country, enlist and join the national army.

The love of our country pervades all individuals, and excites their generosity, in the public support. There is no class of citizens, who inflamed with a patriotic zeal, do not contribute, according to their capacity. We have a certain confidence, that the same gracious power who has inspired the whole nation

with such a noble ardour, considering the justice of our cause, and the purity of our intentions, will not refuse us his irresistible aid.

But above all, respectable citizens, seek for the safety of your country in union and firmness. We have sufficient strength to oppose our enemy but nothing can save us from the effects of division and discord. A foreign war is never so dreadful to a nation as the internal dissensions of the citizens. Has any power been able to resist anything against Poland, while all the citizens, following their King, have boldly stood forward in defence of their national laws, immunities and territory? You will soon hear, dear citizens, the voice of falsehood and deceit; you will receive writings full of treachery and fraud. Those whose blindness and obstinacy have carried them so far as to make them insensible to the horror of raising their arms against their own country, and of bringing foreign soldiers against her, will calumniate the present government, will create distrust against us and the virtuous Diet, will try to divide and separate you, knowing that they cannot resist your united strength and endeavours. Arm yourselves with fortitude and virtue, and give proof of such unanimity, such concord, in the defence of your country, in resisting perfidy and deceit, as you have demonstrated in accepting voluntarily the guarantee to maintain this happy Constitution, and to preserve the same occasion in the exercise of your patriotic sentiments, so dear to our paternal feelings. They who have brought a foreign army against your country, deserve your vengeance, and not your confidence. That army which comes for the purpose of destroying your government, prepares only the return of your former slavery instead of liberty. You have already experienced at how dear a rate Russian protection is obtained. Violently carrying off from our residence, and during Diet, Senators, Ministers and Nuncios; the contemptuous treatment of our Nobility, the violation of property, the oppression of towns, the seizure and forcible transportation of peasants and their families; and, finally, the dismembering of the republic—these are the effects of the guarantee imposed upon us by Russia. And can you expect any thing better at present from this power? As soon as Russia has seduced you, she will renew the ancient wounds of your country, she will renew all our misfortunes. The Nobility and citizens will only feel the heavier, the pressure of a newly enforced yoke, for having dared to become free and independent; the poor villagers, our labourers, and husbandmen, whom the law (benefiting all the Polish inhabitants) has received under her protection, will be driven in numbers from their fertile fields, into desert wastes; and lastly, the partition of the republic, and the final extinction of the Polish name, will be the fatal consequence of the dissolution of Polanders.

Citizens and dear countrymen, this is the advice and warning you receive from your King and father, and from the confederate States of the republic. But your virtue, the love of freedom, so natural to every Polanders, assures us that fraternal concord will unite you in the defence of your country; that, inspired with the same spirit which guides your King and father, you will assemble round him, and will make a rampart impenetrable to all the attempts of the enemy.

In the present convulsive state of the republic, you plainly perceive, that it is improper either to put an end to the Diet, or to dissolve the confederation without endangering the sovereignty and freedom of the nation. These remained, indeed, but little to accomplish; but in the moment when action is required, when we go in person to head a nation entrusted to our care, peaceful deliberations must be suspended. From this motive we, with the assembled confederate States of the republic, and ourselves obliged to terminate the present sittings, and to prorogue the Diet and confederacy to a more distant period.

The writing presented by the Prussian Minister, under the name of a declaration, does not acknowledge the present Diet, it treats it with contempt, though distinguished by a double representation and the universal will and consent of the nation, consequently it insults the will of the whole nation, who has not only delegated its power to the Diet, but by a voluntary oath, and a universal expression of thanks, has given the most solemn sanction to its proceedings. The dignity then of the supreme national authority demands the continuation of this Diet. The invasion of foreign troops cannot be reconciled with the freedom of dielines. The remembrance is but too recent of those unfortunate Diets, when the election of Nuncios was carried on under the influence of foreign arms. The nation still deplors their fatal consequences and speaks of them only with horror. To guard the republic against similar violences, it is necessary that the supreme authority should exist in this Diet, which was freely assembled, and whose salutary works received a general approbation at the last dielines (acting with equal freedom) throughout the country. Besides, the negotiations with his Serene Highness the Elector of Saxony, are not yet brought to a conclusion. The final arrangement cannot be determined, but by the supreme power of the Diet. The moment will at last arrive when heaven merciful to our prayers, will restore us peace and tranquillity, and the presence of a Diet in its full power will be necessary. And as the Russian declaration insists upon a meeting of a new Diet which being controlled by a foreign army, would only be subservient to the commands of Russia, to the preservation, integrity, laws, liberty,

and independence of the republic, require that the same Diet, a Diet truly free, should continue its care and deliberations.

You see, citizens, what is your situation, you see what measures the King and Diet undertake for the common safety. Let the defence of your country engage all your thoughts and attention, let the strictest peace and union prevail amongst you in such a critical moment as this. Follow your King, your father, your commander,—follow him whom you have raised to the throne from among yourselves, and who in his advanced age, is going with you to expose his life in the common defence of his country. Let us encourage each other by words and examples.—let us boldly encounter all dangers in support of our laws and liberty. Let us conquer all difficulties and dangers by our courage and fortitude. Let every man consider, that on the present fate of the republic, depends his own, that of his children, and his latest progeny. Thou God of armies, God of our forefathers, who seekest the innocence and the justice of our cause, who knowest the purity of our intentions, inspire the spirit of union and concord in the Polish nation; grant success to those arms whose object is not to shed blood for the sake of ambition, of unjust spoil, or dominion over others but solely to defend our national laws and liberty, which even thou allowedst to free and rational beings—to defend the country which thy Almighty power has so often protected, and which even now thou hast rescued from the brink of destruction, by the spirit of thy wisdom and councils. A faithful King and nation implore thy assistance, and will praise in hymns of gratitude thy providence and mercy.

Wishing that this our address may the sooner reach the public knowledge, We recommend to all our ordal commissioners of the Palatinates and districts, to insert this circular letter in all public records; likewise to have it read from all the pulpits, and published in all the parishes and churches four following Sundays.

Dated Warsaw, The 29th May, 1792.

MANIFESTO Extraordinary of the invincible MUSTAPHA DELI PACHA, Grand Admiral of the fleets, and commander in Chief of the combined armies of their Sublime Highnesses the Deys of Tunis and Algiers.

THEIR Sublime Highnesses the Deys of Tunis and Algiers, having confided to me the command of their combined armies and fleets, which they have caused to be raised and fitted out against Francis of Germany, I have resolved to announce to the subjects of that country, the motives that have induced these two Princes to this step, and the principles by which they are governed therein.

After having arbitrarily suppressed, by force and violence, the rights and privileges of their Sublime Highnesses and their allies, lawfully to capture whatever vessels came within their seas, and having enforcedundry improper regulations, to which the city of Trieste owes the diminution of her commercial consequence, thereby lessening the intercourse of said city with foreign nations; by which means the seizures for the benefit of their Sublime Highnesses and their allies have much lessened, to their great injury. Francis, who unlawfully holds the reins of government in the German empire, has filled up the measure of his insolence by causing the republic of Venice to arm, more effectually to prevent the passage, and other vessels of their Sublime Highnesses from peaceably navigating the Adriatic; by which means some of the good subjects of the mighty Prince, my masters, have been reduced to beggary, being prevented from following their lawful calling, and others have been considerably reduced, from the same circumstance, both in fortune and consequence.

His Sublime Highness the Dey of Tunis, united with the most mighty Prince, Dey of Algiers, by strong ties of interest and alliance, was not able to refuse joining in the expedition.

To these motives of interest is united another of equal importance, and which the two Princes have much at heart—that of causing the unlawful government and false faith, existing in that country, to cease—to put an end to the usurpation of Francis II, and confer upon his most faithful and powerful Highness Muley Molic, a descendant of his Most Excellent Majesty the Emperor of Morocco, the kingdom and power which ought only to belong to true believers; and also to build upon the ruins of Christian heresy, a Mosque to the true God, and his only prophet Mahomet.

Convinced that the sound part of the nation abhors the tyranny of the government under which they groan, and that the greater number of the inhabitants wait with impatience the moment of auxiliary aid, openly to declare themselves against their odious oppressor—the mighty Princes my masters, call upon and invite them to follow without delay the paths of reason and justice, and to embrace the true faith.—With these views the undersigned Admiral and Commander in Chief of the combined fleets and armies, declares as follows:

- 1st. That led into this war by irresistible motives, the two Courts propose to themselves no other object than the good of the empire, without intending to enrich themselves by means of their conquests.
- 2d. That they do not intend to intermeddle in the interior affairs of the empire; but mean only to deliver the people from their oppression—to place his Most Faithful Highness, Muley Molic upon the