VIENNA, March 4.

According to the Gazette of Presburgh, the Russian army in Moldavia and Wallachia consists of eighty thousand foot, thirty thousand horse, and is constantly receiving small reinforcements, of from two to three thousand men, who come from the most remote provinces of Russia. This army is in a concentrated position on the Danube; all the fortresses on which river are in their power. They are amply supplying Choczim, Ismail, Brailow, Bender and Akerman, and considerable magazines have been established at Jassy, Birlath, and Fokscanny. The Turkish garrisons in these places were all disarmed, and sent to the other side of the Danube. Numbers of recruits are raised for the Russians in Moldavia and Bessarabia. The Boyers (the land holders of Russia) at their own expense, and in proportion to their property, supply a certain number of soldiers. The most wealthy give 100; the poorest 25.

The Russians have brought upwards of 600 pieces of artillery with them, which they have stationed on the banks of the Danube. They have also taken possession of all the Turkish vessels on that river. There is not a Turkish soldier in Moldavia, Wallachia, or Bessarabia. At the approach of the Russians, they all retired to the left bank of the Danube. It is believed the grand duke Constantine will join the army in Turkey.

PARIS, March 9.

It is said that in an entertainment which H. S. H. the arch chancellor of the empire has just given, the chief of the grand Sanhedrim was placed at the table between the archbishop of Paris and the president of the consistory of the reformed religion.

The Vienna court gazette of the 18th of February, in stating the death of Passawan Oglou, seems to insinuate that he had been poisoned by the emissaries of Russia, as he was their implacable enemy, and about joining the Ottoman army against them. His decease took place the 5th of February.

The departure of the Grand Vizier with the standard of Mahomet, (for this war seems to be considered by the Musselmen as religious) will take place in the beginning of April; meanwhile the different rebel Bashaws seem to come to an accommodation with the Divan, and march their corps of troops to Adrianople, the grand rendezvous of the Turkish army. It is supposed it will amount to 120,000 men.

BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS, March 26.

Cause of the late change in Administration.

Lord Howick addressed the Speaker nearly in the following terms.—"Sir, as a motion has been made by an hon. gentleman for the adjournment of the House during that period, which, at this season of the year, is usually allowed as a relief from the fatigues of business, I trust it will not be considered improper or irrelevant in me to take the opportunity of giving the House that explanation which last night I intimated, that it was my intention to communicate. It is of the utmost importance to myself and my colleagues, that the circumstances which led to the recent change in his majesty's councils, should be fully and fairly explained. It is undoubtedly of considerable importance to the House and to the public, to receive that explanation, that they may be enabled to form a proper estimate of the character and disposition of those persons to whom the administration of the country has been lately entrusted; of the transactions which led to the dismissal of those persons, and of the probable result of the change. These considerations render important also the decision of the present question, as to the propriety of a longer or shorter adjournment of the House, from the necessity that may occur of bringing forward some measure which the late extraordinary events may shew to be expedient.—For myself, sir, every feeling, every motive by which man can be actuated, makes it of the highest importance to me, that as soon as possible I may have the opportunity of convincing the House that my behaviour in this affair has not been such as to induce them to repent the kindness which I have ever had the good fortune to receive at their hands.—Every moment's delay, while, during that moment, a doubt may be entertained by the House of the conduct of myself and my colleagues, who have heretofore enjoyed so many instances of their distinguished confidence and support, is indeed to me most painful. But anxious, sir, as I naturally am, to clear myself and those with whom I have had the honor to act, from the imputations that have been cast upon us, I feel in common with the hon. gentleman who so expressed himself yesterday evening, (Mr. Sturges Bourne) great regret at the necessity which I am under of doing so in the absence of those who, as some seem to think, ought to be present, to watch my statements, and detect my inaccuracies. In saying this, I am far from imputing to that honorable gentleman the intention of throwing out any unfair insinuations. I know well the natural partiality every one entertains for himself, and I know that partiality may bias a man, and induce him to take a view, perhaps not strictly correct, of a subject in which he is personally interested; I am, therefore, as anxious as the hon. gentleman can be, that those persons should be present at the investigation of the transactions I have alluded to; and I earnestly hope that this matter may yet be discussed on some future day, when those honorable gentlemen may assist the House in examining and sifting the details of it in every part, from the commencement to the conclusion. Sir, it is neither in my nature, nor in my habits, to shrink from the examination of my life; but I am reduced to this alternative, either to submit to have the public mind prejudiced by reports and misrepresentations, supported by partial extracts from confidential papers, or, in the absence of those who cannot now be present, to do that which justice to myself, and to my colleagues, imperiously calls upon me to do, by a fair, open, and manly exposition of every part of the late transactions, to afford the only antidote against the mischievous effects of those garbled statements and wilful misrepresentations. Under such circumstances, sir, it is impossible, in the fulfilment of my duty to myself, to my colleagues, to the House, and to the country, to suffer such a period to elapse before I make this explanation, as must necessarily intervene, ere the persons to whom I have alluded can resume their seats in Parliament. Their absence, however, will have this effect; it will induce me to confine myself as closely as possible to a dry statement of facts. I shall carefully avoid every thing that may lead to a discussion, and dwell on those points alone which are necessary for the vindication of myself and my friends. I shall cautiously abstain from entering into any argument founded on the facts which I shall relate, leaving, until after the holidays, when those gentlemen will take their places on the opposite benches, the further investigation of this business.

Having promised thus much, Sir, I shall proceed, with as much clearness as I can, to make the statement that I have promised. It is well known, Sir, that when the late Administration was formed, it contained in it many members whose opinion and principles, on what is termed the Catholic Question, had been recently manifested in that most authentic way in which the opinions and principles of public men can be manifested—by their speeches and votes in parliament. They came into administration, therefore, with a general knowledge of those principles and opinions; for certainly no expectation could have been entertained that those persons whose characters were sufficiently known, would be willing, for the sake of any considerations of emolument, to abandon principles which they had so lately and so warmly espoused. No such requisition, Sir, was in fact made to them; if it had, it would have been incumbent on them, in support of their honor, and I am sure that they would have felt it strongly to be their duty then, as now, to decline office. While I assert that the sentiments of the greater part of the Members of the Administration on this subject were well known on their coming into power, I do not pretend to deny that the difficulties which existed in the way of any further concession to the Catholics of England in Ireland were also well known. But as they came into office unfettered, and free to offer their advice on this important question, so also, I will answer for every individual of them, they came into office with a sincere desire, while they adhered to their principles, to avoid every subject that might prove repugnant to those feelings which they were bound, by every motive of duty, of affection, and of attachment, to respect.—*(Hear! hear! hear!)*—This, Sir, was the state of the case; their opinions on the Catholic question were well known; but they hoped, by a conciliatory mode of government, to keep that question at rest. For a long time no difficulty occurred; at length towards the end of last year, some circumstances took place in the West of Ireland—the most valuable, and I very much fear that I must add, the most vulnerable part of the Empire—which called upon his Majesty's Ministers for attention, and which strongly excited the anxiety that such circumstances must naturally excite. Unwilling to use that force which, but two days after the meeting of this Parliament, was strongly recommended by a person in this House, who was too impatient to wait for the operation of more lenient measures, his Majesty's Ministers hoped, and that hope was gratified to reduce the spirit of disturbance that had been manifested by a vigorous exertion of the power of the laws alone, without resorting to any intemperate proceedings.—This occurrence, however, naturally led to the consideration of some measure, which might at once give satisfaction to the people of Ireland, and strengthen the means & policy of the empire. Various were the propositions that were agitated in the Cabinet, but the one which was deemed to be the most obviously advantageous, was that, Sir, which I had the honor to recommend to the adoption of this House. It appeared to us calculated to be highly beneficial to the Empire at large, by affording the means of recruiting to the greatest possible extent, the army and navy from which so many persons are now excluded by what we conceive to be a weak and ill understood policy. It appeared to us calculated to be highly beneficial to Ireland, for the reasons which I have before stated in this house, as tending to tranquilise that country, by holding out to the gentry the prospect of rising in the military and naval services, and thus attaching them to this country, and also by affording a vent to the perhaps superabundant population of Ireland, and thus drawing from the very sources of discontent, the means of strength and union. These, sir, were the motives by which we were actuated. It is surely not necessary to repeat, and yet the base arts which are practised with so much industry may make it useful to repeat, that in this measure our object was not to invade, but to secure the establishments of the empire. If Ireland were rendered insecure, the establishments of England would be exposed to greater danger than any which could possibly result from such a boon to the Catholics.—If, under such circumstances, a successful invasion of Ireland by the enemy were to take place, I call upon those who accuse us of endangering the establishments of this country, in God's name, to consider to what hazard those establishments would then be subject. Sir, whilst this measure was under the consideration of his majesty's ministers, letters were received from the lord lieutenant of Ireland, in which his Grace stated, that a disposition had arisen among the Catholics to prosecute the claims that they had so lately and so unsuccessfully urged in the Imperial Parliament. Sir, I was the known supporter of those claims, but I could not avoid considering the prosecution of them at that moment as most impolitic. As far as my private opinion went, I did strongly recommend the discontinuance of any such attempt. The partial measure then under contemplation appeared admirably suited to induce that discontinuance, and that discontinuance was effected. Such, sir, were our inducements; the general inducements of policy and principle.—But we had also another inducement; we did hope that this limited measure would not encounter the opposition to which we well knew the general question was exposed. In reverting to the act of the Irish Parliament of 1793, we found that a pledge had been given by the highest servants of the crown, that a similar measure should be brought forward in this country. This pledge was recorded in the secretary of state's office by a dispatch from lord Hobart, in which he distinctly stated the fact. Thus becoming a question not of policy alone, but also of good faith, we did hope that the limited measure might receive that assent and approbation of which, on the more general question we therefore [illegible]dulously avoided. On these grounds the measure that I had the honor of introducing into the House, was submitted to his majesty. A detailed dispatch, which I wish it was in my power to lay on the table, was written to the lord lieut. of Ireland, stating explicitly the motives for this measure, and this detailed dispatch was sent to his majesty, accompanied by a cabinet minister. From that first proposition, his majesty certainly expressed a strong dissent: on that dissent being made known to them, the cabinet deliberated, and the result was a respectful representation to his majesty of the grounds on which they thought the measure expedient. To those representations were returned an answer, in which his majesty, with considerable reluctance unquestionably, signified his assent—certainly with reluctance, but a positive assent. Under the sanction of this assent, the dispatch was sent to the lord lieut. At a meeting of the Catholics in Ireland, Mr. Elliot, the secretary of state, informed them of the separate measure which it was intended to propose. Some discussion ensued; and to a question from Mr. O'Conner, whether every rank in the army was to be opened to the catholics, or whether they were still to be precluded from the staff, Mr. Elliot's answer was, that as the words of the dispatch implied that the catholics would be allowed to hold any commission in the army, on taking an oath of allegiance, he conceived that the staff was included. A dispatch, containing an account of this conference, was sent to his majesty's government at home; and soon after a second dispatch, in which it was stated that the subject had been referred to the consideration of a general meeting of catholics, by whom, notwithstanding the doubts that had been incidentally thrown out, it was understood that every military situation was to be rendered accessible to them. These dispatches, sir, containing these explicit statements, were sent to his majesty at Windsor, and received his most gracious perusal, but no objection whatever was then made by his majesty to the measure to which they related. However, subsequently to this period, there certainly did arise a doubt, whether the measure was distinctly understood in its fullest extent. It is only fair to say, that this doubt originated with some members of the cabinet. On its being started, I, and others of those with whom I had the honor to act, were most anxious that it should be completely removed, before the introduction of the measure into Parliament.—Sir, I have always considered that a minister in Parliament acts in a double capacity; he acts as a minister, and he acts as an individual member of Parliament. As an individual member of Parliament, he may introduce or support a measure, unconnected with government considerations. Such was the conduct of Mr. Pitt, on the propositions for reform, and for the abolition of the slave trade, the latter of which has, thank God! been at last effected, and is a measure which, if there be nothing else to distinguish the late government during the short period that it has existed, will shed on it sufficient lustre. But, sir, when a member of administration introduces any measure as a measure of government, it is most clearly his duty to be previously convinced, that he has the concurrence of the Cabinet, and the sanction of royal authority. I should, indeed, have tho't myself reprehensible in the highest degree, and deserving of all the foul reproach that has been so lavishly bestowed upon me, had I introduced the measure I did introduce without having ascertained that it had the concurrence of the cabinet, and the sanction of the King. I have before stated, that a doubt sprang up with regard to the latter; it was therefore determined that I (lord Spencer being absent on account of ill health) should write a dispatch to the lord lieut. of Ireland, inclosing those clauses of the Mutiny bill in which the proposed measure was contained, and restating, in conformity with the sentiments expressed in the dispatch which had been sent to the communication of Mr. Elliot's conference, that every commission in the army was to be open to the Catholics. This dispatch, sir, I wrote with as much clearness as was in my power to do. With the clauses it went to the King on Monday; on Tuesday it was returned from Windsor, without the slightest hint of objection the part of his majesty; and as I had been accustomed to do, on receiving the royal sanction, I immediately forwarded the dispatch to Ireland. In the mean time, sir, objections were started, merely in point of form, to the mode of proceeding in this measure by clauses in the mutiny bill, and on a reconsideration of the subject, it was thought better to introduce a separate bill. On Wednesday I attended the levee at St. James's, and had my usual audience of his majesty. After the audience, his majesty enquired what business was going forward that day in the House of Commons? I replied that the mutiny bill was to pass through one of its stages; and explained to his majesty the reasons which had induced me to embody the clauses for allowing the catholics admission into the army and navy, in a separate bill. His majesty approved of this change, & then asked me whether the bill was not the same as the Irish bill of 1793? I stated in what the difference consisted, observing that it had been fully detailed in the various dispatches previously submitted to his majesty's inspection.—Here, sir, I must acknowledge, that his majesty did express a general dislike & disapprobation of the measure; but not in such a manner as to induce me to conclude, that the reluctant assent originally given by his majesty was withdrawn, and that I was not empowered to introduce the bill. What confirmed me in my opinion was, that lord Grenville had a subsequent audience with his majesty, in which his majesty did not make a single observation on the bill. On Thursday or Friday, I do not recollect which, I introduced this bill into the House. During the whole of the week, although I had various communications with his majesty on other subjects, his majesty did not make the slightest objection to the bill, nor was any intimation on the subject received from his majesty until the Wednesday following (at which time I was precluded from attending my duty in this House by a family calamity) when his majesty stated decidedly his objection to any extension of the provisions of the Irish act of 1793—From that moment we were convinced that his majesty misunderstood the subject, or rather, I was convinced that I had misunderstood his majesty. Having unfortunately introduced the measure into the House of Commons, in the belief that I was sanctioned to do so by the king, I immediately suspended any further proceedings on the bill, demanded an audience of his majesty on the following day, and convinced him that I had been misled, and that I had misunderstood those gracious expressions, which he had used on the subject on a former occasion. From that moment too, sir, it became the most anxious consideration of ministers how to reconcile their public duty with their respect for the feelings of his majesty. We attempted to correct the bill; but the objection of his majesty was so extensive, that we found it was impossible to modify the measure, as to remove that objection, & at the same time leave it efficiently beneficial. In this situation we preferred abandoning the bill altogether. In doing this, sir, I own that I made a most painful sacrifice of all personal feelings to my sense of public duty; but this is a sacrifice, which, however painful, I trust I shall never hesitate to make.—We therefore offered to withdraw the bill, but at the same time we felt the necessity of adding something to that offer. On a former occasion a desire had been intimated, that nothing of the kind should in future be pressed; other intimations had been made of a similar nature. We therefore thought it right to reserve to ourselves the power of expressing our opinion, and of suggesting to his majesty any future measure that might seem to us expedient;—accompanied, however, with a respectful declaration, that all the members of the cabinet were most eager to contribute every thing in their power to his majesty's personal ease and comfort.—This part of our proceedings, sir, has been most shamefully misrepresented to the public. In falsely stating, that we wished to reserve to ourselves the right of pressing this subject on his majesty in future, it has been omitted to state that our only wish was to submit any measure which might seem expedient to his majesty's revision; it was omitted to state that we respectfully assured his majesty of our earnest desire to regard his personal ease and comfort.

Sir, in what situation should we have been placed, had we not retained the right of expressing our sentiments? The bill introduced by us must be withdrawn. I certainly felt, that without unnecessarily exposing his majesty's opinion, I might have assigned sufficient public reasons to withdrawing the bill on account of the general opposition which had been made to it; but, sir, was it possible, consistently with my honor, and consistently with my sense of duty to my colleagues, that I could refrain from declaring my own sentiments upon it? Besides, in withdrawing this measure, we had naturally to look to a Catholic petition, and to the pressing of the general question with more eagerness than ever on the consideration of Parliament. Was it not necessary in defence of their honor that those who had before supported this question should again state their opinion upon it? and would it have been honorable, would it have been fair, not previously to apprize his majesty of that course which we felt it to be our clear and undoubted duty to pursue? Sir, I am confident that in making this appeal to the House I cannot be unsuccessful. Let me put it in another point of view; suppose, after some discussion, that the measure had been abandoned; and suppose that on the presentation of the Catholic Petition, we had freely stated our opinion without any previous intimation to his majesty, what sort of charge would then have been brought against us, by those who accuse us for having made a candid explanation to his majesty of our sentiments? But to return, sir, to the history of this transaction. His majesty, in reply, expressed his satisfaction at the deference we had shewn him, but required us to withdraw the other part of our statement, and to give an assurance in writing not only that we would never again propose the measure in question, but also, that we would propose any measure connected with it.—Sir, as far as personal motives operated in this demand, I am convinced that they were of the purest description: for, during the short time that I have had the honor of being in his Majesty's service, I have had frequent opportunities of remarking his Majesty's gracious and benevolent affection for his people, and the anxious desire by which he is urged to promote their welfare—*(Hear, hear, hear!)* As far, therefore, sir, as his Majesty was personally concerned, I can have no doubt that in this demand he was actuated by the most honorable and conscientious motives alone. But neither myself nor colleagues being able to assent to this requisition, we stated to his Majesty the impossibility of our complying with it. The next day his majesty, in the same gracious manner that we have ever been accustomed to experience from him, informed us that he must look out for new servants.

Two days afterwards I was authorised to state this circumstance to the House, and on Tuesday last his majesty signified his pleasure that on the following day we should resign our office.—This, sir, is a statement of the whole transaction, as far as it can be stated, without a reference to the various documents that I have described. I much wish that those documents in an unmutilated state, were before the House and the public; and if his majesty will be graciously pleased to give orders to his servants to produce them, I, for one, shall be highly grateful. Those documents will bear me completely out in the assertions, first, that we did not propose the measure to his majesty, without sufficient motives for so doing; secondly, that we did not propose the measure to Parliament without sufficient reason to be satisfied, that it had his majesty's concurrence; thirdly, that when we discovered his majesty's insurmountable objection to the measure, we fulfilled our duty by conceding it; and that in adding the respectful request to allow us the liberty to state our opinions on that subject, and to propose to his majesty any future measure that we might think expedient, accompanied with the assurance of our anxiety for his majesty's personal ease and comfort; instead of improperly pressing the question on his majesty, we were simply doing that, which not to have done, would have been to have justly subjected ourselves to the reproach of every honest and honorable man. Sir, I shall be ready now, or hereafter, to enter into any further explanation that may be demanded of me. I am sure the House will have the candor to believe my declaration, that I feel not the slightest disposition to complain. I can entertain but one feeling with regard to the gracious and benevolent disposition with which his majesty is animated, and so far from endeavoring to lessen the respect and attachment that is felt for him, no man will be more ready & anxious than myself to increase it. Indeed, sir, I should be most ungrateful were these not my feelings; for during the short period that I have had the honor of being in his majesty's service, I was honored with repeated marks of his approbation; and on quitting his service, his majesty, satisfied (with the exception of this single measure) with what he was pleased to term my faithful and diligent discharge of my duty, conferred upon me the high reward of his approbation. Sir, having concluded my statement, I shall abstain from entering into any argument upon it. I will not attempt to shew how inconsistent with our honor it would have been to have given a pledge on a point, in which, above all others, it is most essential that a minister should be free. I will not at-