

A DEVELOPEMENT OF THE CAUSES OF THE DISTURBANCES BETWEEN THE AMERICAN AND FRENCH REPUBLICS.

Addressed to the Citizens of America, BY FELLOW-CITIZENS.

WHEN the letter from Mr. Jefferson to Mazzei was written, is not precisely ascertained, nor is it material in the present enquiry to be known. That it was written after the idea prevailed of the difference of sentiment between the people and government of this country; and that it is calculated to confirm that idea in France, every sentence of the letter itself proves; and therefore is the impropriety of it sufficiently ascertained, at whatever period it may have been written.

Soon after the successor of Mr. Jefferson retired from the office of state, and while the cause of his retirement was the prevailing topic of the day, a person, then high in office in Virginia, and now enjoying one of the most important appointments under the government of the United States, was heard to say, "that he" (Mr. Randolph) "never was in the confidence of," what he was pleased to stile, "the republican party," to which it is well known that person always professed to belong, as a proof of which, he asserted, that but few of the friends of France had trusted their letters to that country through the office of state, since the resignation of Mr. Jefferson, but had sent them immediately through the hands of the minister of France;—that very minister, too, who had thus infamously and falsely pretended a criminal intimacy even with that secretary, who his party thus professed themselves afraid to trust with their secrets against the government of their country.

It is to be observed, that the confession thus made of the "fear of the party to trust their letters through the department of state," after the faithful, the trusty, and the devoted friend of France, had left it, was long before the letter of Mazzei was seen, or such an accidental disclosure of the contents of their letters was expected to be made. The confession was then a thing upon which no precise charge could be fixed, as it was not known what those letters "they were afraid to trust through the department of state" contained. But having now seen a letter from the officer of that department himself, who they were willing to trust, and comparing the contents of that letter, with the confession thus made, what are the conclusions natural to be drawn? That there were letters written indeed, which were improper to be conveyed through the hands of our government, and which, therefore, could not be entrusted to that conveyance, after those had departed from office, who were not only sensible of their impropriety, but were equally interested with the authors themselves, in keeping the contents of such improper letters secret!

The letter just examined into, certainly warrants that or any other conclusion that can possibly be drawn. There is not only every thing improper in it, that can arise from the consideration of its being written by one who was assisting, in an eminent degree, in administering a government, which the letter itself holds up as infamous; not only the clearest proofs to be obtained from it, of those misrepresentations of the principles of our government, and the sentiments of the people towards it, which were calculated to bring upon us our misunderstandings with France; but the most satisfactory confirmation that there were many other letters of the same description, or perhaps worse, written immediately to France, which have not yet come to light in this country.

My God!—And is this the mighty friend to the people, who is thus accusing them of being the advocates of principles which they dare not promote in the appointment of their officers?—This the friend to American independence, who is thus secretly courting a foreign power to control us? This the immaculate head of republicanism in the great and flourishing empire of America, and the enemy to an Anglo-monarchical-aristocratic influence, who has thus travelled to the court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, of all other places upon earth, to hunt out a proper confidant to deposit his secret plans for the promotion of those principles of republicanism with? This the hero who prefers the tempestuous sea of liberty to the calm of despotism, and talks so boldly of the timid men (but whose he supposed it would never be heard of by them) who is now afraid to say whether he is author of that pretty little epistle to Mazzei or

not?—This the virtuous accuser of the officers of our government, who, while an officer himself, made that office with which he was entrusted, the acknowledged channel thro' which information was sent to our enemy, that was improper to be conveyed through the same channel after he had left it!!!

At a time when France was endeavoring to distract and divide all Europe; to set one nation up to destroy another; to stir up the people of all nations to oppose their own governments; in short, when she had shewn an evident willingness to promote her own views, at the expense of all the world besides, and for that noble purpose, had employed intriguing emissaries in every quarter of the globe, where any advantage could be gained in that way—Was it right for any of the departments of those governments, thus intrigued upon, to be made the immediate channel through which those wicked and destructive projects were to be promoted against themselves?

From the commencement of the French revolution to the present stage of it, through every step, and by all parties, there were the constant and avowed principles upon which they acted. Even while the king lived, and their pretensions were confined to a limited monarchy, they had views of distracting and disturbing Europe. Neckar in defence of the king, de Lessarts, who was minister for foreign affairs, and their minister at Vienna when the war broke out, all shew, that the disposition of the emperor, of Prussia and Austria, were pacific; and that they were all forced into the war by the system of France. And Brissot, in accusing the king in the convention of want of fidelity to the nation, confirms the same thing.

After the king's death, we have the strongest proofs from the heads of both parties, of the continuance and enlargement of the same plan. Brissot declares in one of his letters, that for the French to succeed in their revolution, it was necessary "they should fire to the four corners of Europe." Camille Desmoulins, in answer to Brissot, in support of the party of the Robespierians, though violently opposed to Brissot in every thing else, agrees with him in the same particular. "To disorganize Europe," says the Robespierian, "was one of the sublime vocations of the convention." Their actions have always corresponded with their professions; and the most artful and infamous means have ever been employed to ensure their success in those atrocious projects.

At the very time when this was their plan at home, and preparations were making for its execution throughout Europe, they carried their deception, which was a principal part of their system, so far, as to assure the Emperor, that they abhorred the idea of exciting commotions and dissensions among nations. And even when they had laid one of the most abominable schemes, which belonged to the whole system, to destroy England, they carried their dissimulation so far, as to solicit the interposition of that nation to bring about a peace with Prussia and the Emperor. The scheme was this; to establish a popular government in Holland, thereby to place their forces under their command, destroy their trade, and, to use the words of one of the members* of their own convention, "to place their assigns on the very desks of their counting-houses, there to ruin the bank of England, and bring about a revolution in the whole money system of Europe, &c."

To effect this, and at the same time to break the maritime power of that nation, which stood so much in the way of their wicked projects of "setting fire to and disorganizing all Europe," it was necessary that the United States of America, like those of Batavia, should be engaged in their service. Accordingly, Genet came here charged with instructions to use every means in his power to bring about a commercial treaty with this country, which evidently was intended to have that effect; who, agreeably to deceptions practised on several of the European nations, to complete their plan, used every artifice in his power, and not entirely without success, to kindle here a little of the disorganizing blaze with which they had "set fire to the four corners of Europe," and thereby place us too under their control.

Genet, although he had actually distributed French commissions in Charleston, and had endeavoured to engage the people of southern parts of America in the immediate service of France, when he arrived at Philadelphia, had the wretched lesson of hypocrisy and deceit (with which their whole system abounded) so well by heart, as to induce us to believe that France did not wish us to join her in the war. Nevertheless, it appears there were those in America who understood him from the first, and were apt scholars, in those compound lessons of French politics, so necessary for the completion of their plan. That there ever was, and still is, a party in America, who wished her to come into this grand disorganizing scheme for the aggrandizement of France, while they assume to themselves the credit of being her only patriots, there is no sort of doubt. And that a coalition, so important to France as the one proposed with America, for the completion of this grand disorganizing plan, was to be relinquished when she saw a party for it in this country, was not to have been expected. What she had failed in accomplishing by treaty, through Genet, she soon perceived the means of bringing about by a division among ourselves; and to this the authority of our own citizens, that we were already a divided people, gave decided weight. It is the last expedient which has

* See Chiffard's speech, made and approved of in the Convention, in which this whole scheme is explained.

† The letter from the Vice-President to Mazzei now explains to us fully what Genet meant in his reply to his letter to Governor Morris, when he intimates that the Secretary had expressed very different sentiments in that letter, from what he had always done to him in private. The letter to Mazzei, it is to be remembered, is one of his private communications; therefore, agreeable to his friend Genet, we have no right to expect to find it consistent with his public acts!

brought their plan so far on in the part of it which related to Holland.

To bring about that popular government in that deluded country, which was to place their forces under the command of France, and ruin the bank of England, the means which were employed are very striking, and serve as a strong evidence of the principle by which they have been governed in their conduct towards us. After they had driven off the Stadtholder, and overturned their government, under the pretence of giving them a free one, a convention was called for the purpose of forming a constitution, a great majority of which were in favor of a federal republic. The minority, who were for a still more loose and profligate system, because like all men of that description, extremely noisy, and formed a faction for the purpose of counteracting the will of the majority.—The French, with whose schemes of disorganization the establishment of a regular and firm government did not very well accord, were ready at once to seize upon the dissatisfaction of those factious few, to bring about a system more consonant with that spirit of disorder, which was the ground work of their plan. Accordingly, two deputies from the faction (Van Vreede and Hoofe) were dispatched to Paris, to obtain the interference of France. France did interfere, and the majority were compelled to yield.—Had the majority, thus treated, been in a situation to resist, the consequence, there is no doubt, would have been war.

The coalition of America, which came next in their maritime system, that was to disorganize Europe in its governments and banks, when seen through and rejected, did not, as I have already observed, increase their affections for us; but on the contrary, determined them, as in the case of Holland, to force us into the plan. In this they were encouraged, in the same way that they had been there, by a party which they saw in America, ready to call in the pretended principles of their cause to aid in the destruction of our government; but the geographical difference of situation between this country and the United Provinces with respect to France, rendered a different course of coercion necessary from what had been practised there. What they had been able to effect in those neighbouring countries immediately by the menaces of their armies, which had been let in from Belgium by the assistance of the ice, they could only attempt in America (remote and separate from them as she was by the sea) through the medium of her trade. They accordingly attempted, through that vulnerable part, our interest, to overturn that system of policy which they found so much in the way of their abominable and selfish plan; hoping thereby, through the willingness of a party, which they already saw among us, to come into any scheme that would destroy our government, and the dispositions of the rest to avoid war, to subdue us to their schemes.

Situated as America and France were, this was the most effectual—nay, the only possible means that France could have devised, to make us subservient to her will, and ensure our acting as her tools in the subjugation of other powers, when she had failed in the double plans of enflaming and negotiation laid in the mission of Genet. France, it is to be observed, when she began her depredations on our trade, was engaged in the most troublesome part of the war. The combined powers all then engaged against her; convulsed by her own different parties within; her navy low, and her means for raising it more so; she had little chance to compel any nation, where she could not march her armies by land, to fall into her schemes, other than by affecting their interest in whatever way she could.

America, though separated from her by the sea, which she was not situated to pass in such numbers as would endanger our independence, while the naval power of Great Britain remained entire against her, was, nevertheless, the law, extremely vulnerable in her commercial relations with that power. Just emerged from a state of slavery; the private fortunes of her citizens reduced by the long stagnation of the different branches of industry; and incumbered with a considerable public debt, incurred in supporting the war which had set her free; all her efforts were naturally bent, at the time when the French revolution began, to that single object of bettering her condition, by extending her trade; thereby encouraging her citizens to the acquirement of individual wealth, the sure means of national prosperity, credit and strength. Great Britain, the mother country, from whom she had just emancipated herself; with whom alone, almost, she had formerly traded; whose language was similar; whose wants, from a long and habitual intercourse, had become reciprocal; and above all, whose enterprising disposition had given her a commercial ascendancy in all the four quarters of the world; it was natural should gain her principal intercourse in that way. It was that intercourse which was to increase the wealth, the power and the consequence of any nation (except herself) but particularly of Great Britain, that France dreaded, and in her secret ambition most heartily envied. Any thing, therefore, which would disturb and injure our trade, which she saw must, from a thousand combining circumstances, be connected with, and tend to the aggrandizement of that nation, it was easy to be perceived, would oppress the one, and bring the other to co-operate with her in the scheme of "bankruptcy," which was to produce their final ruin.

To this scheme the conduct of some of our own citizens, at home, bore a perfect correspondence. It was that commercial connection with Great Britain, it seems, that blind prejudice against that nation in opposition to our own interest, which fills up a considerable part of those misrepresentations of the principles and sentiments of the people of this country, which first led France to act against us. "British merchants and those trading on British capitals,"

we find, close the catalogue of that contemptible few, who, it is represented to France, are opposed to all the "landholders and all that mighty mass of men of talents," who have looted themselves from their Lilliputian ties in gratitude to her.

And while those misrepresentations were thus inviting France into a war against our commerce, that war, certainly, was best calculated, of all others, to make tools of us to that nation. The government of America, being a popular government, those who misrepresented the sentiments of the people towards that government, to France, well knew themselves, that to engage America in her service, it was first necessary, in fact, to change the sentiments of the people—and that was to be no way more effectually done, than by first slapping their interest, and then convincing them that that injury had been done them by the impolicy and wickedness of their rulers. This co-operation with the French scheme we have seen for several years in this country.

Thus, my countrymen, our trade has been destroyed, our interests injured, and our government censured, to make us overturn that government, and place ourselves in the fraternal, or rather infernal, grip of France.

AMERICANUS.

Richmond, September 3, 1797.

PROVIDENCE, September 16.

At a town-council specially holden in and for the town of Providence, on Wednesday the 13th of September, 1797. State of the FEVER in PROVIDENCE. Since the report of this council, which was communicated to the public on Friday last, THREE persons have deceased.

By order, George Tillinghast, C. Clk.

At a town-council specially holden in and for the town of Providence, on Friday the 15th of September, 1797.

Whereas numerous unfounded reports have been circulated in the country, respecting the mortality of the fever prevailing in this town: To prevent the unfavourable impressions which such reports are calculated to excite in the minds of our fellow citizens in the country, this council have directed the following list, containing the whole number of the deceased, to be published. They at the same time assure the public, that no deaths have taken place since the date of their last report, and that TEN persons only are now confined with the disorder.

By order, George Tillinghast, C. Clk.

List of persons supposed to have deceased of the Yellow Fever.

Table with 3 columns: Name, Time of decease. Includes Robert Fuller, Mrs. Mitchell, Mrs. Gofs, William Tillinghast, Mary Arnold, etc.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

CADIZ, July 11.

During three nights we have seen only 3 bombs fall on the town. Our chaloupes and small armed vessels having advanced, have prevented the enemy from reaching the town. We receive assistance of those vessels from Seville and Carthage, and we shall soon have 100. The most cautious measures are taken for the sake of safety.

At Cadiz the magazines below the walls, which are bomb proof, have been converted into places of refuge for the inhabitants.—Death and immediate execution have been proclaimed against whoever shall commit robbery. The town has offered 50,000 piastres, and the merchants 100,000 as a reward to those seamen who shall act gallantly. General Massaredo has promised a thousand piastres to the crew who shall take or sink a British chaloupe.

The squadron is preparing to be in readiness to go to sea. General Massaredo has informed the commanders of vessels, that as soon as they shall have cleared the bay, he will make the signal for forming the line, which if any ship disobey, instantly the commander shall be arrested, and the second in command shall take charge of the ship; if he shall fail, the third, and so on.

The court has returned an answer by the first courier from general Massaredo, and has authorized him to act according to circumstances, with permission to him to take in Cadiz what money he wants, from the sums offered by the merchants to the king. We are assured, that the Spanish sailors appear to be much animated, two batteries being now finished and armed, and tartanes being prepared with 36 pounders and furnaces for red-hot balls. These precautions and means of defence make us easy respecting the attack of the British.

From a Paris Paper of August 5.

New addresses have been published from the army of Italy, which shew with what dreadful success the minds of all troops have been tampered with, against the Legislative Body. It appears clearly to day in the following address from the division of General Joubert:

"Royalism raises his audacious head and multiplies murders in the Departments. Priesthood fascinates the eyes, heats the heads, sharpens the poniards. The execution of a plan combined for the re-establishment of the Throne is openly followed in the Legislature. One Liberticide law is scarcely passed when another is proposed: The Directory, who are entrusted with the care of our constitution, accepted by our armies, and acknowledged by all Frenchmen, are accused without decency. Charges are

Others appear, Shunk in a robe vest'd, On the day of the Festival given to the President of the United States, by the Citizens of Boston, the Jacobins held in some dark hole their civic orgies, and there drank in many a flowing bowl, damnation to government, and curses against their country. This gave occasion to the following:

BENJAMIN'S FEAST, A PARODY.

'Twas at the slyic feast by FACTION won, From BENJAMIN her son! Aloft in awful state, The pale-fac'd hero sat, A washing-tub his throne, His brethren all were plac'd around, From garret-loft and cellars under ground, Puck'd up where e'er they could be found. The lovely FELLOWS by his side Sat like a fat BATAVIAN bride, In full-blown Jacobin pride, Happy, happy, happy pair, None but such men Obnoxious BEN, None but such men deserve thy care. The pious PEREZ sang To charm the jovial crew; The vaulted roofs re-echoing rang Around theiravage pleasure flew. The song began from FRANCE Who, mightiest power, at her advance, Vanquish'd, as pass'd by a France; The loyalty and sense they once could boast With all their ancient glory lost! For round them like a snake his coil'd And fascinated half the European world— The list'ning crowd the glorious tale admire, And fan with loud huzzas the democratic fire. With raptur'd ears BENJAMIN hears, Assumes the God, Affects to nod, And seems to shake the spheres— Sung, The praise of THOMAS then, the sweet musician Of THOMAS PAINÉ admird by old & young; THOMAS to COLUMBIA comes, Sound FACTION's trumpets, beat her drums, Flush'd with a purple grace He flows his maudlin face. Pause, & admire your chief— he comes, he comes, TOM, whom GALLIC hands have sung 'Gainst Kings and priests did FACTION's cause maintain, TOMMY's writing are a treasure, Drinking too is TOMMY's pleasure, Rich the treasure, Sweet the pleasure, Sweet is brandy after pain. South'd with the fount great BEN grew vain, Spoke pages from the works of PAINÉ; And thrice he gullion'd the great, and thrice he flew the slain. Sage PEREZ saw the madness rise, His glowing cheeks and ardent eyes; And while he heav'd and earth deliv'd, Chang'd his note, and check'd his pride; He chose a mournful muse, Soft pity to infuse, He sang poor RANDOLPH once so grac'd; By too severe a fate, Fallen, fallen, fallen, fallen, Fallen from his high estate, Dethron'd and displac'd. With discontent looks the joyless Lawyer sat, Revolving in his anguish'd soul, The various turns of fate below; His thoughts upon his disappointments roll, Sure cause of all his ills, all his woe, PEREZ beheld his alter'd friend, And wishing all his power to lend, That every care he might dismiss, Chanted the sweets of social bliss— Softly sweet in LYDIAN measures, Soon he sooth'd his soul to pleasures; Politics he laid were trouble, Public office but a bubble, Never ending, still beginning, Real happiness destroying; If fortune e'er were worth thy winning, I think, O! think it worth enjoying, Lovely FELLOWS sit beside thee; Meat and drink the French provide thee; The many read the skies with loud applause, And PEREZ' eloquence obtain'd the cause; For BEN unable to conceal his pain, Gaz'd upon NAT, So round and fat, And sigh'd and look'd, sigh'd and look'd, Sigh'd and look'd, and sigh'd again: At length with friendship's force & wine oppress'd, He brain'd the grunting giant to his breast. Now PEREZ try thy skill again, A louder yet, and yet a louder strain, Or rage will split you all asunder, For lo! I hear, I hear the federal thunder— Hark! hark! the horrid sound. Has raptur'd BEN's head, As awak'd from the dead, And amaz'd he stares around; Revenge, revenge, pale PEREZ cries— Lo! the President comes, O curse on those drums— Groan and below my boys, to confound all their Behold the soldier bands, With arms in their hands, These, these are our foes, the curs'd federal train, And foes of TOM PAINÉ, Our brother in grain; Give, give the vengeance due, Curse, curse the tyrant crew, Who may pillories raise and gallows so high, To strip our poor Jacobin throats, And rise FACTION's most melodious notes. Enrag'd at the sound the whole company rose, And BEN seiz'd a bumper and curs'd faction's foes; NAT damn'd the administration, And eke the federal nation, And wish'd they had numbers to back their words with blows. Thus once below, As godlike MILTON tells, Th' arch fiend and brother fiends in deep debate, Conven'd to show tow'rd heav'n their spite and hate, Blasphem'd the Almighty as the source of ill, Who crush'd their power, and curb'd will. To Satan, then, ye caissils, yield the prize, At least consent with him to share the crown; For he blasphem'd the God of earth & skies, You only curs'd the President and town

Thomas Armat and Son, OF PHILADELPHIA.

INFORM their customers and the public, they have removed a part of their merchandise to Wilmington; Altho, they have their store open in the city. At either place their friends can be supplied, and their orders carefully attended to. By the Cambridge, from Hull, they have received a handsome assortment of articles, suitable to the approaching season; and expect to add to it by other arrivals. Should the sickness prevail in the central part of the city, that branch of their business will be removed to Germantown. The communication by post is open and regular as usual. Sept. 18.