

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

[The following debate throws much light on the subsequent explosion of the 4th September. It appears that the volcano had been in a most violent fermentation previous to that event.]

FRANCE.

COUNCIL OF FIVE HUNDRED.

Sitting of August, 30.

Bernardi, in the name of the committee of public instruction, made a report on the celebration of the 1st Vendemiaire of the 6th year, the anniversary of the foundation of the republic. He moved, that on that day the presidents of both councils shall make a speech upon that event to fortunate and glorious. The speech of Bernardi was ordered to be printed.

DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS OF BAILLEUL TO HIS CONSTITUENTS.

Duprat.—There is fold, at the doors of the council, a pamphlet intitled "Declaration to my Constituents, and published by Bailleul, Member of the Council of Five Hundred."—I confess that I can scarcely persuade myself that one of our colleagues could proceed to such excesses. You may judge of the nature of this pamphlet by the following passages:—"I shall not address myself to a tribune from which liberty is totally banished. It is to French citizens, to the whole nation, that I speak. I shall not conceal my sentiments; I shall publish them without fear. With whatever complaisance conspirators, or some of their imbecile partisans, may proceed to the tribune, boat of their justice and their humanity, and complain of the calumnies which they say are daily uttered against the legislative body, as well as the Council of Five Hundred, it is notorious that the legislative body, and particularly the Council of Five Hundred, are held in execration by all the enlightened minds, not only of France, but of Europe. It is known, however, that there are in both Councils some honourable exceptions.

What was our situation before the first of Prairial—that is to say before the arrival of the New Thermidor—and what is it now? It is notorious, and all France will attest it, that before the first of Prairial, our situation was every day improving, and our hopes, which seemed daily to be realized, were placed upon a happiness which appeared so near to us that it could not escape. Covered with glory in the eyes of all nations, the powers most determined against us solicited peace; commerce seemed to resume its wonted activity; foreigners hailed to testify their confidence in our government, by bringing their capitals into France; the public funds had risen to a height which exceeded our most sanguine hopes; national property was eagerly purchased. Scarcely, however, had the first of Prairial, the harbinger of anti-republican and revolutionary plans, arrived, when the public funds fell almost to no value; foreigners withdrew their capitals, and trade every where languished; the tribunals in general testified the most revolting partiality; public administrators neglected their duty; the negotiations for peace assumed a languid and tedious character; the enemies of the republic displayed themselves with audacity, and dissembled not their hopes; the national property was despoiled, and its purchasers proscribed.—Public tranquillity is now every where disturbed; personal safety is endangered; and a cruel incertitude, which every day increases, has taken possession of every mind.

What name can be given to those men who have had the impudence to exult in the national tribune, revolt and assassination, and who have even given the signal for confusion and carnage? Infamous men! all who have lent their aid to establish the republic, all who have suffered for it, they have outlawed. In reviewing the accounts of their stings, does there appear a word which is not a cause of alarm to republicans? Is there a word which does not afford encouragement to royalty? Of all the laws and plans of laws, which have been proposed and suggested by these conspirators, there is not one which does not either directly attack the constitution, or tend to destroy its spirit and its force. I need not repeat what is generally known.—The conduct of the committee of finance, the recall of the emigrants of the Lower Rhine, of Toulon, and of the Western Departments, are so many violations, as manifest as criminal, of the constitutional act. The recall of the transported priests is another act, which neither accords with the spirit of the constitution, nor with the powers which it gives to the legislative body.

Had the discussion on the liberty of worship a liberty which was established before the arrival of the new third, and which nobody was disposed to attack, any other object than to operate in the Republic a great movement against the Republic and its institutions? Has it had any other effect? O shame of human kind! Let those speeches that are daily uttered, and which breathe the sentiments of the fifteenth century, be read, in which the speakers have dared to advance that all must be established which has been abolished by the nation—those speeches which have transformed the Council of Five Hundred into a Council of Bigots, and rendered them the despot of Europe.—Let those speeches be read, which paint vengeance and assassination as something very natural, and which have transformed the Council of Five Hundred into an Arena of Cannibals. Let those cries of fury be remembered which have been directed against the men who have had the courage to speak of preserving the public, of maintaining social order, and of the executing the laws for the protection of persons.—Let those writings be perused which daily preach up Counter Revolution and death to Republicans.—Let it be recollected by whom they boast to be protected and disseminated.—And every one will be convinced that Royalty, infamous Royalty, has its agents in the Legislature! The Traitors sit there!

The Republicans complain with bitterness, they are every where proscribed, under the appellation of Jacobins and Anarchists.

Some troops were put in motion. The conspirators (for criminals sometimes tremble) felt that they wanted an armed force. They irritated the Citizens against the Soldiers; and they created a force, the object of which cannot be doubted. Brave Grenadiers defended the Republicans on the 12th Vendemiaire; some Grenadiers also defended the throne on the 6th of August. Measures have been taken to diminish the former, and to reinstate the latter. This is the execution of the plan of the Agents of Royalty. The Gendarmery still offered a guarantee against the assassination of Republicans. They were dissolved, and their new formation so combined, that no Officer who has served in the Revolution can be admitted. This too is the plan of the agents of Royalty. The report of the crimes of the Conspirators at last reached our armies. Their indignation soon burst forth. It was impudently proposed to declare them criminal; but this was not yet quite convenient, and they are pardoned for this time. Brave armies! humble yourselves! you have been pardoned; but if you trespass again, you will certainly be decimated—your generous battalions

will be dissolved. Brave Soldiers! you expected to enjoy the Laurels of victory—return to your homes, and you will find that there is provided for you, contempt, infamy, and death.—Enquire of your comrades, whom honourable wounds have recalled to their families, how they have been treated.

Republicans! it is proposed to create a *Fouquier Tinville Royal* to persecute you, and a Revolutionary Tribunal to judge you.

How criminal, how horrible are the men who have prepared and inflicted the new horrors which I have described!

Brave Warriors, Republicans, Purchasers of National Domains, faithful Functionaries, good Citizens, in the name of the Functions that are entrusted to me, in the name of the duties that the Nation has imposed upon me, I declare to you—YOU ARE BETRAYED.

(Signed) "BAILLEUL, Member of the Council of Five Hundred."

It is of importance to ascertain, whether this paper really proceeds from the pen of him who is marked out as its author? It is of importance to enquire, whether a representative of the people is at liberty to diffuse so much of the poison of calumny against his colleagues, and the whole national representation? This is a manifesto against the legislative body. Who will respect you, if your members for the people an example of contempt? You owe it to your own dignity to inflict upon the writer of this pamphlet an exemplary punishment.—I move that this address, which I lay upon the table, be referred to a committee of seven, which shall be directed to propose to you the measures of police which ought to be taken against the author.

Some members—"Agreed."

The printing of Duprat's speech was moved.

Hardy.—There exists in the republic a faction which would usurp every power. Its existence was doubted when the intrepid Louvet denounced it at the tribune of the convention. Robespierre then had the majority of that assembly on his side: Bailleul then voted with Louvet.—They were both proscribed. I shall not examine whether we do not now find ourselves exactly in a similar situation. Every thing announces the existence of a royal and anarchical faction. Every thing appears to be tending to promote the view of this faction, and to overthrow the republic. I declare, for my part, that I am entirely of Bailleul's opinion.

And I also," exclaimed Tallien, Bonteboule, Jean de Brie, Pons de Verdun, and several others. "There exists in this house a royalist conspiracy."

(Murmurs.)

Tallien.—I declare it to all France—republicans cannot express their opinions freely in this tribune without being insulted.

"It is true," exclaimed a number of voices. "Let Tallien be flogged! Down with him!"

(A murmur) cried several others.

A call of order appeared in the tribune. A member who was there used the term *Brigand*.

Jean de Brie (started from his place, and pointed out a young man as the author of the insult.—Great agitation.)

Andre protested to his colleagues, that the young man had not used the word *Brigand*.

Jean de Brie—"I heard it."

Here the tumult became more violent in the tribune.

A messenger desired the members to leave the tribune.

"A black collar has got into the tribune," said several members.—"The disturbance is occasioned by him."

Bellegarde, Pons de Verdun, and some other members, were for having the person with the black collar taken into custody.

Cadroy—"Would you insult him because he wears a black collar?"

Andre de la Lozere, and Willot—"We also wear black collars."

The tumult increased. Separate altercations took place in every corner of the hall. The President put on his hat, and order was somewhat established.

Hardy continued—"I repeat it: There is no liberty of speech here; you have suffered to be proposed to you, after a perfidious and fallacious report, the establishment of a counter-revolutionary tribunal in Paris; and it is still under discussion, whether this outrage shall be given to the constitution after so many others.—You would have the sincere republican carried before a Royal Fouquier Tinville.—Yes! there exists a royalist faction in this assembly.—There are traitors amongst us!"

Andre, and Job Amy—"Name them! Name them!"

Hardy—"I shall name them when the proper period arrives—when their conspiracy is developed.—(Disfurbance.)—They would subvert the government, that they might advance themselves and their friends.

With regard to the question before us, I claim for Bailleul the liberty of publishing his sentiments in the manner he has done.—Dare you violate the liberty of the press? I do not oppose the printing of Duprat's motion. You have ordered so many dangerous and useless speeches to be printed, that the evil is beyond all remedy; but I oppose the appointment of a committee. Do you wish to know what the public will think of this committee? I will tell you, though it is not yet formed. It is, that the decision is made the moment the members assemble.—They are all of one opinion, and that opinion is well known. Fifteen hundred committees are formed of 130 members, and the sentiments of these privileged members are perfectly well understood. We know what resolutions they will propose long before they ascend the tribune, (*Violent murmurs*.) I move the order of the day."

Dumolard—"An accomplishment has been made in this tribune, of the want of liberty in this assembly. The Speaker has been heard to an end. I require no other proof of your tolerance and of your patience. It is possible that a member should speak, not only with vehemence, but with the most insulting audacity, against the majority of an assembly to which the greatest respect is due? A system of counter-revolution has been denounced to you! Yes, there exists such a system! Miserable men, whom no experience can cure, may still wish for the ancient regimen.—That some, as contemptible for their folly as their want of resources, may wish to establish the Throne, I doubt not; but that these persons should be considered as a powerful and menacing faction which we ought to dread, is what I cannot conceive. Is there not a plan to mislead us? Is it not probable that this clamour is raised to veil the real and only royalist faction we have to fear—the party of Orleans?"

"Should it not be to the manoeuvres of this party that we should attribute this continued system of calumny against the legislative body, of defamation against its members, those efforts to enflame the armies, and to stimulate them to turn their victorious arms against their country; against their fathers, their brothers, their children, who compose the national guard

of the interior? And who are the authors of these base intrigues—of these horrid plans? They are those whose sleep and repose is continually interrupted by the most horrid and bloody spectacles—by the shades of those whom they have massacred. They are those whom remorse tortures, and who have lost all hopes of pardon. They are those to whom the terrific recollection of the massacres of September will not allow repose, and who wish to bury their own troubles in an universal disorder and desolation.—They are those who have run, spreading destruction throughout all the departments, and who have caused so much blood to flow under the axe of the guillotine. They are those who, goaded with rapine, enriched by the spoils of their victims, display an insolent and shameful luxury, whilst the soldiers of the country are in the greatest want, whilst the stockholders are expiring with misery, whilst the hospitals remain without funds. They are those who have made the revolution merely subject to their speculations and ambition. They are those whose former offences excite them to new crimes. They are extremely anxious that our brave armies, whose brilliant exploits alone supported the national honour during their infamous tyranny in the interior, were partakers of their crimes, as if they were to erect, by their own force, a rampart against their own conscience, and against the general hatred. They use every means to deceive the directors, who would be the first object of their attack, because it is the constitution and the government they are anxious to overturn and destroy. They care not to assassinate them. They wish to mislead the public mind, by colouring with royalism whatever shade of difference there might exist in our opinions. Frenchmen, judge of your representatives, not by vain declamation, but by their principles of morality. Behold who are your calumniators, and who we are. Some men, misguided by their love for the public good, complain of the weakness of the legislative body.—Well! I regard this pretended weakness as its true force; it is a proof of its love for peace. Let it continue to make wise laws; and the members of the government, notwithstanding the solicitations of the wicked and malevolent who stimulate them, will support each other. And permit me since they have here furnished me with the opportunity, to justify myself from an execrable and horrid imputation. They have every where reported that I had applauded the massacre of our soldiers at Verona, and you approved this impious and abominable sentiment. They have said, that I had denounced the brave army of Italy and its illustrious general, and that you had displayed the same hatred. The motion that I made on the affairs of Italy—all those who have heard it, know it, notwithstanding the odious constructions which some persons have sought to give it.—This motion, I say, was only relative to the official correspondence, to the constitutional communication, which exists, or ought to exist, between the executive directory and the legislative body. I said at that time, and I repeat it, that war could not be declared, that a treaty could not be concluded, without your participation. Most certainly, the general of the army of Italy acted very properly in profiting of a constitutional article, when the blood of Frenchmen was made to flow, to take a just vengeance. Should I then have blamed him, I, who, as soon as his manifesto reached us, exerted my voice to the utmost in approbation of his courageous conduct, and which speech you, as it were, consecrated, by ordering it to be printed? And who more than myself and you have rendered justice to our victorious armies! How many times, on my proposing it, have you not decreed the glorious testimony? Behold, nevertheless, how they accuse us—under what vain and futile pretences they calumniate us. Representatives of the people, I have perhaps with too much warmth and vehemence repelled the injuries which they have heaped upon us, but I have not been able to restrain my indignation, and I owe you a free declaration of my sentiments, I return to the question. I agree on the liberty of opinion, to the principles adopted by Hardy; I oppose the forming of a commission; but I move, when our colleague, Bailleul, shall return, that he be summoned to this tribune, to declare if he be the author of the pamphlet which you have denounced; which I cannot believe.

Thibaudeau—"If I were aware of the existence any faction or factious persons within this assembly, I would denounce them by name at this tribune; and I hesitate not to say, that he is a coward who would act otherwise. It is not by vague accusation against the majority that the minority will recover their influence; it is not by recrimination against the minority that the majority will repel such attacks. Put an end to this discussion, by which neither the royalists, nor the partisans of Robespierre can be either punished or corrected. It is by the laws that we should judge of the legislative body; it is the nation who should judge them.—But, in speaking of a royalist conspiracy, they have accused me. I am a man, and as such, alive to every injury, and desirous of repelling them. They have spoken of a fallacious and infamous report, at the conclusion of which I had proposed the establishment of a revolutionary tribunal: however conscious I am of my innocence, I have considered myself as almost convicted of having made the horrible proposition, when I find myself accused by men so versed in the business of revolutionary tribunals.—(A laugh.) I have now only to say, that if I have permission to speak in this discussion, I hope to prove that my plans contain nothing but what is constitutional and necessary; and I declare, that if in my report, there be any thing perfidious or fallacious, it belongs to me, it is I who am responsible for it; and whatever it contains that is good or praiseworthy, is the production of the whole committee. As to what concerns Bailleul, I

that no attention can be paid to it: he denounces a royalist conspiracy through the medium of the press; one might, by the same means, denounce a contrary conspiracy; and that perhaps will not be entirely useless. If there do exist a counter-revolutionary faction, it is that which sows division amongst the first and the best friends of the revolution; it is that which divides the friends of the republic, it is that which is desirous of promoting the destruction of republicans by the hands of republicans.—Whatever party may triumph, I will be of no faction; the conqueror will not see me march under his standard. I shall be sacrificed; I know it; but I shall die without remorse; I shall only have followed the impulse of my conscience.—(Applause.)

Tallien—"I ask permission of the council to say a few words with respect to myself. [The order of the day," cried several.] It is a matter which concerns the council, that one of its members should not be continually the victim of the most foul aspersions. I am ignorant of the motives which can induce them to attack me with so much bitterness and invective. I have never, in this tribune, made use of any personal allusion against my colleagues."

Madier—"Again let me."

Tallien—"I am continually reproached with the massacres of September. Know, citizens representatives, that at that period, being secretary of the commune, having no deliberative voice in the council, I dared not denounce there that horrid butchery. If I had not been censured in the process-verbal, and sent back again to my bureau, I should have perished the victim of assassins. At that disastrous epoch, without orders, without any official character, I pursued those furious wretches who were gone to Orleans to seek new victims; I harangued them at Lanjuinau; I endeavoured to make them return; I was thrown from my horse, and in danger of losing my life. Made procurer of the commune, in the absence of Manuel, I defended Choiseul, denounced as a Moderé. I ordered the seals to be put on the papers of an infurrectional committee, of which the atrocious Marat was president. I saved the lives of Madame St. Brice and Madame de Tourzel: I went to the prisons, though under the most horrid menaces; and those who were confined there, owe to me their liberty, and perhaps their life: A member of this council was of the number of those whom I released."

Debonniers—"I attest the fact.—It is I."

Tallien—"I am accused of having revolutionized Bourdeaux. If I have not been fortunate enough to save this important commune from all the revolutionary horrors, have I not shown the greatest courage in protecting the unfortunate Perrin Granval?—Have I not been denuded as the supporter and partizan of moderation, for not having destroyed the commerce of this town? I might have committed some errors, no doubt; I might have been hurried away by the ardour of some principles; I might, in the National Convention, perhaps, have concurred in the death of some real patriots; but such was our fate, that Republicans should die by the hands of Republicans; a circumstance much to be deplored, but always attendant on great revolutions. Without doubt, I have much to expiate; and more than any other person does the remembrance of the past affect and torment me. But why do men who sat by the side of Robespierre—why do men who praised and flattered him in their writings, attribute to me the crime of an error of which they equally partook? Have we not then done enough of mischief? Is it not time that we should leave off calumniating each other, and extinguish every passion but that for the public weal? I solemnly declare, I never permitted any denunciation, any accusation that was not indispensable, and on which the safety, nay the fate of the Republic depended. Is it necessary that I should reply to what has been said of my luxury? The real fact is, I possess nothing, not a fous.—I have the misfortune to be married to a woman who has a large property; but I have nothing of my own—I have no fear of being contradicted. If it were necessary once for all, to reply to the calumnies with which I am overwhelmed, this is, I hope the last time I shall have occasion to appear in this tribune, to occupy your time in speaking of myself.

The Council closed the discussion. The order of the day was adopted, on the printing of the speech of Duprat.

FRANCKFORT, Sept. 9.

Last night arrived here the lady of gen. Hoche with her sister, and gen. Debelle the husband of the latter. Gen. Hoche himself arrived here this morning. The former favored us with printed copies of the following official dispatch which a courier brought yesterday to gen. Hoche.

Paris, 18th Fructidor (Sept. 4) in the afternoon.

"Last night the troops gave the signal for combat; the exasperated inhabitants of the suburbs were in arms. The inspectors of the hall were arrested, and secured in the temple. Not a drop of blood was spilt; 250 deputies assembled in the hall of the Odeon, and at this very moment the deliberations commenced. The grenadiers of the legislative body and the corps of veterans (invalids) are now filing off before the executive directory, and return thanks to it for having saved the republic. Carnot has made his escape during the night; Barthelmy concealed himself in his lodgings. The conspirators gnash their teeth with rage, and the republic stands triumphant."

P. BARRAS.

The general in chief of the army of Sambre and Meuse.

The republican troops expressed the most lively joy at this intelligence, and repeatedly shouted, the republic forever! long live Hoche!

VIENNA, September 6. Gen. Buonaparte was not at Udine by

the 28th of last month but he stayed in its vicinity at the castle of Passeriano, at which place the imperial plenipotentiaries have all now established their residence. The negotiations are fast drawing to a conclusion, and promise the most happy result.

The contradictory reports of peace and war must be chiefly ascribed to the stockjobbers who by this means succeeded in making the funds alternately rise and fall.

Accounts from Hungary state, that the infurrectionary army [the Hungarian militia] was to leave their camp to be disbanded; but that all the men belonging thereto were ordered to keep the rifles in readiness to march, in case of necessity, to the place to which they shall be directed. The militia of the counties situated in the vicinity of Turkey, have received orders to draw near to the Turkish frontiers, partly, it is said, as the number of the frontier troops is considerably decreased, and partly because of the dilettanti prevailing in Turkey.

Great changes are expected soon to take place in our administration. The directorium is to be suppressed, and the old system so as it was at the commencement of the reign of Joseph II. will be re-established.

September 13.

The public was several weeks ago informed that Count de Cobenzel, late ambassador of his imperial majesty at St. Petersburg, had been appointed to a post of great importance. He ordered every preparation necessary for a long journey, to be made, and engaged four cooks and a number of servants to attend him; but the place of his destination remained unknown. It is now confidently asserted that he will in a few days set off for Paris, as his majesty's minister plenipotentiary near the French republic.

September 16.

Reports were circulated this day, that the definitive treaty of peace between the Emperor and the French republic had been concluded; but this event has not yet been officially made known. It is however, expected that the matter will in less than a fortnight be settled. Yet much depends upon the issue of the negotiation at Lille, since our cabinet stands yet in connection with that of England. It is very well known that France wishes to make peace with us, and to continue the contest with England alone.

Translated for the Gazette of the U. States, From Hamburg Papers.

COPENHAGEN, September 10.

The corsairs of Tripoli, which has declared war against the king of Sweden, have already taken three Swedish ships.

Letters from Tunis of the 17th July, state that the plague has broken out there. A dragoman of the Danish consulate was among the first victims. 500 Moors have already fallen victims to the pestilence.

HAMBURGH, Sept. 23.

On the 11th September the directory proposed, in a message, that the emigrants who were shipwrecked some time ago, at Calais, should be transported to a neutral territory. The message was referred to a commission.

PARIS, September 16.

The ordinary expenses for the 6th year amount to 616 millions. Among the revenues to defray the same, are noticed, 10 millions contributions of conquered countries, 15 millions Batavian retributions, &c. The journals are in future to pay a stamp duty of 1 sol per sheet.

The former national lottery of France is again to be re-established.

HAGUE, September 19.

A kind of revolution has broken out in a part of the Texel fleet. The 2d battalion of the 7th demi-brigade, and a part of the 2d brigade has been suddenly debarked. The 1st and 3d battalions of the 7th brigade, were also turned over to the frigates and cutters. Admiral de Winter ordered the officers of these battalions, on board his ship, and offered them the alternative of proceeding to the West-Indies, or of giving up their commissions. Thereupon the officers asked whether there was any order for their going to the West-Indies, and declared that if there was, they would obey it. Upon which he shewed them the order, and directed them to explain it to the troops under their command. The colonel went immediately on board one of the ships in which were 2 companies; scarce had he begun to speak of the departure to the West-Indies, when the soldiers fixed their bayonets, and accused the colonel strongly as the leader in the whole business. In consequence both companies were immediately set at fire, and a battalion of chateaux, previously prepared, with loaded rifles, immediately disarmed them. Six of the number, who were observed the most forward and insolent, were arrested and threatened with immediate execution, which had happened to two already. It is not known what took place with the rest of these two battalions on board the other ships.

Our minister resident at Paris, Meyer mentions, that so great was the confidence entertained abroad, of the good success of a counter-revolution in Paris, that letters had been received at Frankfort, directed to the daughter of the celebrated Beccaria, in which the downfall of the French republic, towards the 5th of September, was stated as unavoidable; a piece of money was included bearing the head of Louis XVIII. with this inscription, "Louis XVIII. will pardon, when Louis XVI. shall be revenged."

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