

SECRETARY'S REPORT,  
Concluded from this day's Gazette.

ing the punishment of piracy, he demanded and received from the Minister of Marine, a commission naming him the commander of a Privateer that did not exist; with which in his pocket, he returned to London; and soon after carried the ship *Hate* and her cargo as a prize into France.

"The ship and cargo were both claimed by the American owners; and upon the unveiling of this infamous proceeding before the lower Tribunals, the judges hesitated; and finally refused to sanction the unheard of a fraud; though instead of restoring the property to its lawful owners, they on some frivolous pretence adjudged both ship and cargo to be good prize to the nation—Lately the Tribunal in the last report, upon the appeal of Haley, has reversed the judgment of the lower Court, and decreed the ship and cargo to be condemned as good prize to this Renegade.

"If a transaction more grossly corrupt and infamous has occurred in the West-Indies—I have not heard of it; and yet with this case of unequalled infamy and corruption before them, sanctioned by the highest Tribunals of the nation, the Directory expect to amuse us with a disavowal of the conduct of a few subaltern agents, in a remote part of their dominions!!!"

Besides the communications from Mr. Gerry, I have received from Fulwar Skipwith, Esq. consul General of the United States at Paris, three letters dated the 4th, 8th and 22d of August, copies of which and of the papers therein referred to, are here-with presented, excepting the decree of July 31st, which appears among the communications from Mr. Gerry. Mr. Skipwith's letter of August 22d with its inclosures, was delivered to me by Doctor Logan; I had previously received the original, which had been brought over by Mr. Woodward of Bolton.

Doctor Logan having been the bearer of the last mentioned communications from the French government, and his Embassy having not only engaged the attention of the public, but been made the subject of debate in congress, I trust it will not be deemed improper to introduce into this report some circumstances respecting it.

On the 12th of November the Doctor came to me at Trenton—he advanced with eagerness, and handed me the packet from Mr. Skipwith. On examining its contents, I told the Doctor that I already possessed the same papers. I made some remarks on the decree of the Directory of the 31st of July, to show that it was only offensive and illusory; and that it would not give any relief to the commerce of the United States. The doctor, not contending my arguments or opinion, said that more was intended to be done; but that the Directory could not accomplish it of themselves; seeing it depended on the *chanciers* which the *Legislative Councils* alone could change. I answered, that this was to be done—that as the directory, on the 18th Fructidor [Sept. 4, 1797] had garbled the two councils; and banished some and dismissed others of the best members—all who were firmly opposed to their views, and as on the new elections to supply the vacancies and the new third of the councils, the Directory sent home every new member who was not agreeable to them—every body must see that the Directory had but to declare its will and it would be obeyed. The doctor said, that the Directory was very well disposed towards the United States, and desired a reconciliation; that they would promote a revision of the laws in regard to privateering, so as to put the rights of neutral nations on a just footing; but that it would take some time to bring this about, "the people concerned in privateering having gained a very great influence in the two councils!"

Is it necessary to inquire how this "very great influence" has been obtained? are the leading members owners of privateers? Or do they receive their shares of prize-money from those who are? Do the legislative councils really act independently of the directory? Or does the same "influence" actuate both?—The printed dispatches of our envoys, under the date of October 29, 1797, state, on the information of Mr. Talleyrand's private agent X, that Merlin, one of the members, and now or late President of the Directory, was to receive no part of the *douceur* demanded of the envoys, because he was paid by the owners of privateers, and in respect to the loan then demanded, on which subject it was suggested that one of the envoys should go to America to consult the government, the envoys "asked Mr. X, if in the meantime the Directory would order the American property not yet passed into the hands of the privateersmen, to be restored? He said explicitly that they would not. The envoys asked him whether they would suspend further depredations on our commerce? He said they would not—but Mr. Talleyrand observed that on this subject we could not sustain much additional injury, because the winter season was approaching when few additional captures could be made." Here we see our envoys inquiring—not whether the two councils would suspend those depredations—but whether the Directory would do it; and Mr. Talleyrand's agent X, without intimating that the Directory wanted power, or that they could only "endeavor to provoke in the legislature, a revision of their maritime laws"—answered peremptorily, that the Directory would not suspend the depredations. The truth is, that it was an act of the Directory alone (their decree of the 2d of March 1797) which authorized and produced more extensive depredations on the commerce of

the United States than any other decree or law of the French republic. To effect a repeal of that decree, no application to the legislative councils could be necessary. They could also have repealed another of their own decrees, that of the 2d July 1796, which subjected neutral property, and particularly that of American citizens, to the discretion of their consuls and cruisers in the European seas, as well as of their privateers and agents in the West-Indies, and on which these agents have founded other numerous decrees, which have occasioned those flocking depredations and abuses there and on the coast of the United States, which the directory by their decree of the 31st of July last affect to restrain.

When the French Directory wished to enlarge the field of depredations on neutral commerce, and on the 4th January, 1798, proposed to the two councils, the project of the iniquitous law "to declare to be good prize every vessel and her cargo, to whomsoever belonging, if any part of the cargo came from England or her possessions"—there was a ready obedience. "The directory think it urgent and necessary to pass the law." The plan of a decree is reported to the Council of Five Hundred on the 11th; and "urgency" being declared, is immediately and unanimously adopted. It goes to the Council of Ancients—that Council approves the act of "urgency"; and on the 18th of January the project of the Directory becomes a law.

This law was necessary for the French government: so many American vessels had been entrapped by the Directory's decree of March 2, 1797, requiring the *role d'equipage*, that the residue were now generally provided with that paper: Some new pretext was therefore requisite for "sweeping" the people of the United States of their property; and an ordinance of one of the kings of France, made near a century past, having declared lawful prize, the vessels and their cargoes, in which were found English merchandise "belonging to enemies"—the Directory declare that the provisions of this ordinance ought to be extended, to comprehend the vessels and cargoes of friends; that is, of allied and neutral nations. The Directory knew that the United States, whose inhabitants were chiefly cultivators, required a greater supply of English manufactures than any other neutral country of equal population; and those manufactures too, were, from the course of American commerce, combined with almost all our mercantile operations, and pervaded entirely our great coasting trade. Hence it is evident that this law was chiefly aimed at them.

It will be remembered also, that this law was passed while our three envoys were at Paris, where they had passed three months unheeded by the French government, except by its indignities—and when they had in vain solicited to be heard on the just claims of our citizens, plundered and ruined under the former decrees of the republic. This time was preferred, in order to add insult to injury. The envoys had firmly resisted her demands of loans and douceurs; and when speaking of their country, dared to intimate, that it was independent: it was therefore requisite, on the French system, to "chastise," as well as to "sweep" it.

In closing this subject, it will be proper to notice an assertion of Mr. Talleyrand in a conversation with the envoys on the 2d March, 1798. In reply to some observations of his respecting the proofs of friendship required by France from the United States, Gen. Pinckney observed, that the envoys being in France was a proof of the friendly disposition of our government; and that while they were there, the French government had passed a decree for seizing neutral vessels having on board any article coming out of England; which in its operation would subject to capture all our property on the ocean. Mr. Talleyrand replied, that this was not particular to us, but was common to all neutral powers." This assertion of Mr. Talleyrand is not true. Although the decree in its terms is general, and applicable to all the neutral powers, yet in its operation, it was not designed to be, and has not been so applied—it has not touched a vessel of Prussia. The motives to this exemption are obvious: France wished not by irritating Prussia to add so powerful a nation, and one so near at hand, to the number of her enemies, while her peace with Austria remained precarious. But this exemption of Prussian vessels from the operation of a general law, merits particular notice. It demonstrates that there exists in the French Republic a dispensing power—a power above the laws—a power which can prevent their execution: and it is alike demonstrable that this sovereign controuling power can exist, and in fact does exist, in the Executive Directory. It might then, if the Directory desired it, be exercised in the exemption of American as well as Prussian vessels: But the Directory do not desire it: we have not yet been sufficiently "swept" and "chastised."

Mr. Skipwith's letter of the 4th of August inclosed the Decree of the Executive Directory already noticed, passed the 31st of July, respecting French depredations in the West Indies and on the coast of the United States. His letter of the 8th of August inclosed Mr. Talleyrand's letter to him of the 6th, respecting that decree in which it is plain that the minister supposed the world, and particularly the United States, will be amused by that illusory device, and imagine that it was intended to stop abuses, and give security to neutral commerce.

Mr. Skipwith's letter of the 22 of August covers another letter from Mr. Talleyrand, dated the 20th of August, in which he en-

clofes copies of two letters from the Minister of Marine respecting American seamen who had been imprisoned. When in July last an embargo was laid on the American merchant vessels in the ports of France, the agents of the Marine took out their crews and threw them into prison; thus hazarding the loss of the vessels, and injuring the men by confinement and the bad provisions of their jails. These seamen were ordered to be released. The other letter from the Minister of Marine required that no injury should be done to the safety and liberty of the officers and crews of American vessels found to be in order, nor to passengers and other citizens of the United States having passports and protections.

The same letter from Mr. Skipwith inclosed the copy of a Decree of the Directory passed the 16th of August, for taking off the Embargo, laid a month before on American vessels.

The Decree itself occupies but two lines: but its preamble is extended for the purpose of insulting the Government of the United States, when an act of common justice was done to some of their citizens; by insinuating that the Government was "abandoned to the passions of the British Cabinet." This, however, is but the repetition of a calumny familiar in French diplomacy, respecting other nations as well as our own. Barras, President of the Directory, in his valedictory address to Mr. Monroe, declared that "France would not abate herself by calculating the consequences of the concession of the American government; to the suggestions of her former tyrants": professing at the same time great "esteem for the American people." Mr. Adet had before charged the American Government, with a "perfidious concession to the English;" and after making his last communications to the Government, he by their immediate publication under his orders, appealed from the Government to the People of the United States. Yet Mr. Talleyrand says, that the French Government has indeed "complained of the American government; but to the Government itself;" meaning to have it understood, though carefully avoiding the expression, that it had complained to the Government alone. With the like sophistry he attempts to evade our well founded allegations, that the French Government has made reproachful and injurious distinctions between the Government and People of the United States, endeavoring to separate the latter from the former. He says "it is utterly false, notwithstanding the public and private insinuations which have been made in private writings and in solemn acts, that the French government has ever sought to detach the people of the United States from the Constitution they have given themselves." Such a charge against the French government has not, that I know, ever been made by the American government: but we have accused them, and truly, with endeavors to detach the People of the United States from the Government chosen by themselves to administer that Constitution; and this the minister does not attempt to deny. The Directory would perhaps be contented that the People should retain the forms of "the Constitution they have given themselves," and to which they are attached, provided they would elect to administer it, men devoted to France and ready to obey the intimations of her will. And because the People have not been thus obsequious, but have dared to make a different Election,—the French Government has expressed its "terrible" resentment. Mr. Barlow has assured us, in the passage already cited from his letter, that for this single act of the People of the United States, in exercising freely their right of election the Directory passed a decree "which was meant to belittle short of a declaration of war;" by which it "was determined to sweep the people of their property:" certainly in expectation that by touching their feelings in that "nerve," they would be induced, in order to save their property, to submit implicitly to the government of France. Failing in this attempt the French government made another, in the decree of the 18th of January, 1798, which, though general in its terms, I have shewn to have been levelled directly and chiefly at the commerce of the United States. And this, at the time, (as I have before remarked) when three envoys extraordinary were waiting month after month; and most respectfully soliciting to be heard, and to enter on the discussion of all the subjects of difference between the two countries; and among these, on the French depredations on our commerce. Yet Mr. Talleyrand has the confidence to assert, and to Mr. Gerry too, one of those envoys, that the French government "never refused and never will refuse to enter into discussion upon every proper subject of discussion. Does the minister mean that those depredations are not "a proper subject of discussion?" Yes, with respect to a vast proportion of them. Mr. Y. his private agent, explicitly told our Envoys, that the condemnations of vessels for want of the *role d'equipage* were not to be questioned; "that being a point on which Merlin while Minister of Justice had written a Treatise, and on which the Directory were decided."

It is fit here to recollect another and a peremptory refusal of the French government, "to enter into discussion" upon the subject of difference between France and the United States.

General Pinckney, appointed a Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to the French Republic, went to Paris in the autumn of 1796. There was at first (as in the case of the Envoys Extraordinary in 1797) a shew of receiving him; but soon the scene was changed; and he was not only refused a hearing, and after bearing a thousand indignities, ordered to leave France; but the predecessor

of Mr. Talleyrand, Charles De La Croix, in a letter to Mr. Monroe, intended to be communicated to General Pinckney, declared, (being specially charged to do so by the Directory, and Mr. De La Croix repeated the declaration to General Pinckney's Secretary) "That it will not acknowledge nor receive another Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States, until after the redress of the grievances demanded of the American government, and which the French Republic has a right to expect from it." To this resolution we have seen the Directory adhere; and we have also seen, in the demands it made to our Envoys Extraordinary, as the indispensable preliminaries to any negotiation, what it meant by a "redress of grievances," prior to the reception of a Minister from America: it consisted in a *douceur* for the pocket of the Directors and Ministers—in the purchase at par of thirty-two millions of Dutch Securities, then worth but half that sum; and in Loans as immense and indefinite as their depredations on our commerce.

The same letter from the French minister De La Croix to Mr. Monroe, affords another proof of the aim and endeavors of the French Government to separate the People from the Government of the United States. In the sentence next following the above quoted passage, Mr. De La Croix says, "I pray you to be persuaded, citizen minister, that this determination having become necessary, allows to subsist between the French Republic and the American People the affection founded upon former benefits and reciprocal interests."

If I were to allow myself to make any further reflections on the conduct of France towards the United States, it would be to illustrate the truth of Mr. Barlow's assertion, that the French Government determined to fleece us. If the French Government "listened (as Mr. Talleyrand says it does) to nothing but justice," and really desired a reconciliation, it would have proposed to his former measure of satisfaction, for the injuries it said it had received. Or if too proud to propose to us, at least it would have prescribed to itself, some limit to reprisals: or at any rate, it would not have spurned us from its presence, when we respectfully presented ourselves, sought a reconciliation, and offered to make a just satisfaction for every injury we had committed. And if (as Mr. Talleyrand asserts "the French government has not ceased to offer the exact justice it demands," it would also have permitted us to state our claims. But it would have been so easy to ascertain all the damages we had done; and their amount would have been so small; even if we agreed to pay for all English, Spanish and Dutch vessels brought by French cruisers, into our ports, while all those nations were at war with France—a few which the justice of the Federal courts, in vindication of the sovereignty of the United States, rescued from the hands of the French consuls, Agents and Privateersmen; and if to that amount we also added ten times the value of the miserable corvette *Le Cassius*, a vessel which had been unlawfully fitted out for war in the United States, but which has been the burden of every note from Adet's in 1795, to De la Croix's and Talleyrand's in 1796 and 1798, the amount of the whole, it was known, would be so small; the French government did not choose to have it ascertained: for then the injuries done by the French to the commerce of the United States must also have been examined and adjusted: and when adjusted, payment must have been made or stipulated: but in this, the French government, doubtless thought "it would find only a real disadvantage:" the amount of its own demands deducted from those of America, would hardly seem to have diminished the latter.

Such a mutual adjustment would also have been accompanied with a settlement of all questions and disputes about the construction of treaties, and all other subjects of difference: But in this also the French government, upon its own system, "would have found a real disadvantage" For it would have vastly reduced the field for privateering in the European seas; and in the West-Indies it would have been nearly annihilated: for there, for every vessel taken from the enemies of France, her cruisers have probably captured twenty belonging to the United States. But the French government by always abstaining from making specific demands of damages—by refusing to receive our ministers—by at length proposing to negotiate in a mode which it knew to be impracticable,—with the person who had no powers, and who therefore constantly refused to negotiate—and thus wholly avoiding a negotiation—it has kept open the field for complaints of wrongs and injuries, in order, by leaving them undefined to furnish pretences for unlimited depredations.—In this way "it determined to fleece us." In this way it gratified its avarice and revenge—And it hoped also to satiate its ambition. After a long series of insults unrepented, and a patient endurance of injuries aggravated in their nature and unexampled in their extent,—that government expected our final submission to its will. Our resistance has excited its surprize; and as certainly increased its resentment. With some soothing expressions, is heard the voice of wounded pride. Warmly professing its desire of reconciliation, it gives no evidence of its sincerity; but proofs in abundance demonstrate that it is not sincere. From stinging credit, and in that commanding atti-

tude requiring implicit obedience,—cowering, it renounces some of its unfounded demands. But I hope we shall remember "that the Tyger crouches before he leaps upon his prey."

TIMOTHY PICKERING.  
Department of State, }  
January 18, 1799. }

An elegant Chariot,  
With plated Harness,  
For SALE at the Merchant's Coffee House,  
On Saturday next,  
at 10 o'clock.  
FOOTMAN & CO.

MADEIRA WINE  
FOR SALE,  
At the late dwelling house of HENRY HILL, Esq.  
On Tuesday morning next, precisely at 11 o'clock.  
FOOTMAN & CO.  
Approved endorsed notes, at 60 days, will be received in payment.  
Jan 23 dtTu

SAMUEL PARKER,  
BRASS AND BELL FOUNDER,  
No. 137, MULBERRY-STREET.  
CONTINUES to carry on the Brass-foundry  
Business as usual, where his former customers  
and the public may be supplied with castings for  
machines to any pattern, rudder braces, bolts, &c.  
for Ships.  
It may be proper to add, that, as it has been reported  
he had declined the business, S. P. takes this  
means of informing the public that he is making  
arrangements to carry it on still more extensively,  
hoping thereby to comply promptly with such order  
as he may have to execute.  
All Balls, of any size, cast for churches and other  
institutions; printers rules, &c.  
Jan 23 dtTu

THE Creditors of Britton and  
Massey, who obtained judgments against  
them at March term, 1798, or any preceding  
term, are requested to meet at William  
Ogden's tavern, in Chestnut street, on  
Thursday evening next, the 24th instant, on  
business of importance.  
Jan 23 dtu

WILL BE SOLD,  
On Thursday morning next, at 10 o'clock, on  
the lot adjoining the City Tavern, be-  
tween Second and Dock Streets,  
A Quantity of Lumber,  
Among which are  
Doors and door-frames  
Window frames, shutters and sashes  
Girders, scantling and joist  
Rafters, collar beams and roofs  
Wainscoting, breast work, boards, &c.  
CONNELLY & Co. Auctioneers

Henry Zantzinger,  
SURVIVING PARTNER OF THE HOUSE OF  
Keppele & Zantzinger,  
Will dispose of all their Stock in Trade, upon  
moderate terms, consisting of the following  
articles, in packages and open,

|                            |                          |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Bread and narrow Cloths    | Sewing Silks, Twist      |
| Callimeres, Swainsdowns    | Ginghams Bengal Stripes  |
| Plains Beveretts           | Beaver Gloves and Bind-  |
| Coatings, Elastic Cloths   | ings                     |
| Flannels, Swanskins        | Coloured and Scotch      |
| Baizes                     | Therials                 |
| Ref. Blankets } in Bales   | Men's and Women's Cot.   |
| Striped do. }              | Hose                     |
| Thickets, Velvets, Cordu-  | Do. do. Silk do.         |
| duoys                      | Men's Beaver Hats        |
| Fancy Cords, Vest Coat-    | ing                      |
| ing                        | Knives                   |
| Jeans, Fustians, Nankens   | Barlow and other Pen-    |
| Cott. Bandoes Rom. il-     | knives                   |
| Linen and Cotton pock-     | Knives and Forks, Butch- |
| et Handkerchiefs           | ers Knives               |
| Pulicat and other ditto    | Sciff rs, Shears, Razors |
| Silk Hdks. Ferrets         | Ivory, horn, and other   |
| Olive, purple and chintz   | Combs                    |
| Shawls                     | Needles, Spectacles, and |
| Apron Checks }             | Spoons.                  |
| Calicoes and } in          | Trunks, Curry Combs      |
| Chintzes } Trunks          | &c. &c.                  |
| Furniture                  |                          |
| Cambles, Calmancoes,       | N. B. A large assort-    |
| Durans                     | ment of Pearl, Steel and |
| I. Spinning & other Stuffs | other Buttons.           |

Jan 23 dtu

The Creditors  
Of the late JAMES WILSON, Esq. are re-  
quested to meet at the City Tavern, at 6  
clock in the evening of Thursday next,  
the 24th inst. on business of importance.  
Jan. 22 dtu

For Savannah,  
To sail the first opening,  
The well accommodated and fast  
sailing SHIP  
SWIFT PACKET,  
PATRICK CRIBBIN, Master,  
now lying at Latimer's wharf.—For Freight  
or Passage apply to the master on board, or  
N. & J. FRAZIER,  
No. 95, South Front Street.  
January 21. dtw

40 Boxes of Fresh Citron  
Just arrived via New-York, and for Sale by  
JOHN CRAIG,  
Who has also for Sale,  
Old Madeira Wine  
of the first quality,  
India Mullins,  
coarse and fine, &c.  
A quantity of the best English large leaf  
Clover Seed.  
Jan. 21. dtw

TO BE SOLD,  
A two story Stone House,  
LATELY built, with two acres of land, on  
the Brihol road, about a mile above Frank-  
fort. The situation is high and healthy, and  
the water excellent.—For terms apply to Mr.  
John McClelland, or Mr. Richard Whitehead,  
No. 62, Vine Street.  
Jan. 21. dtw