

Gazette of the United States.

A NATIONAL PAPER, PUBLISHED WEDNESDAYS AND SATURDAYS BY JOHN FENNO, No. 34, NORTH FIFTH-STREET, PHILADELPHIA.

[No. 62 of Vol. IV.]

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 2, 1793.

[Whole No. 384.]

Foreign Affairs.

FRANCE. NATIONAL CONVENTION,

LETTER
From THOMAS PAINE to the PEOPLE
of FRANCE.

Paris, Sept. 25, 1792.
"First year of the Republic."

FELLOW CITIZENS!
I RECEIVE with affectionate gratitude the honor which the late national assembly has conferred upon me, by adopting me a citizen of France; and the additional honor of being elected by my fellow-citizens a member of the national convention. Happily impressed as I am, by those testimonies of respect shewn towards me as an individual, I feel my felicity increased by seeing the barrier broken down, that divided patriotism by spots of earth, and limited citizenship to the soil, like vegetation.

Had those honors been conferred in an hour of national tranquility, they would have afforded no other means of shewing my affection, than to have accepted and enjoyed them; but they come accompanied with circumstances that give me the honorable opportunity of commencing my citizenship in the stormy hour of difficulties. I come not to enjoy repose. Convinced that the cause of France is the cause of all mankind, and that as liberty cannot be purchased by a wish, I gladly share with you the dangers and honors necessary to success.

I am well aware, that the moment of any great change, such as that accomplished on the 10th of August, is unavoidably the moment of terror and confusion. The mind highly agitated by hope, suspicion and apprehension, continues without rest till the change be accomplished. But let us now look calmly and confidentially forward, and success is certain. It is no longer the paltry cause of kings, or of this, or of that individual, that calls France and her armies into action. It is the cause of all. It is the establishment of a new era, that shall blot despotism from the earth, and fix, on the lasting principles of peace and citizenship, the great republic of man.

It has been my fate to have borne a share in the commencement and complete establishment of one revolution, (I mean the revolution of America). The success and events of that revolution are encouraging to us. The prosperity and happiness that have since flowed to that country, have amply rewarded her for all the hardships she endured, and for all the dangers she encountered.

The principles on which that revolution began, have extended themselves to Europe; and an overruling Providence is regenerating the old world by the principles of the new. The distance of America from all the other parts of the globe, did not admit of her carrying of those principles beyond her own situation. It is to the peculiar honor of France, that she now raises the standard of liberty for all nations; and in fighting her own battles, contends for the rights of all mankind.

The same spirit of fortitude that insured success to America, will insure it to France; for it is impossible to conquer a nation determined to be free! The military circumstances that now unite themselves to France, are such as the despots of the earth know nothing of, and can form no calculation upon. They know not what it is to fight against a nation. They have only been accustomed to make war upon each

other; and they know from system and practice, how to calculate the probable success of despot against despot; and here their knowledge and their experience end.

But in a contest like the present, a new and boundless variety of circumstances arise, that derange all such customary calculations. When a whole nation acts as an army, the despot knows not the extent of the power against which he contends. New armies rise against him with the necessity of the moment. It is then that the difficulties of an invading enemy multiply, as in the former case they diminished; and he finds them at their height when he expected them to end.

The only war that has any similarity of circumstances with the present, is the late revolution-war in America. On her part, as it now is in France, it was a war of the whole nation. There it was that the enemy, by beginning to conquer, put himself in a condition of being conquered. His first victories prepared him for defeat. He advanced till he could not retreat, and found himself in the midst of a nation of armies.

Were it now to be proposed to the Austrians and Prussians to escort them into the middle of France, and there leave them to make the most of such a situation, they would see too much into the dangers of it to accept the offer; and the same dangers would attend them, could they arrive there by any other means. Where then is the military policy of their attempting to obtain, by force, that which they would refuse by choice. But to reason with despots, is throwing reason away. The best of arguments is a vigorous preparation.

Man is ever a stranger to the ways by which Providence regulates the order of things. The interference of foreign despots may serve to introduce into their own enslaved countries the principles they come to oppose. Liberty and equality are blessings too great to be the inheritance of France alone. It is honour to her to be the first champion; and she may now say to her enemies, with a mighty voice, "O! ye Austrians! ye Prussians! ye who now turn your bayonets against us; it is for you; it is for all Europe; it is for all mankind, and not for France alone, that she raises the standard of liberty and equality!"

The public cause has hitherto suffered from the contradictions contained in the constitution of the former constituent assembly. Those contradictions have served to divide the opinions of individuals at home, and to obscure the great principles of the revolution in other countries. But when those contradictions shall be removed, and the constitution be made conformable to the declaration of rights; when the bagatelles of monarchy, royalty, regency and hereditary succession, shall be exposed, with all their absurdities, a new ray of light will be thrown over the world, and the revolution will derive new strength by being universally understood.

The scene that now opens itself to France, extends far beyond the boundaries of her own dominions. Every nation is becoming her colleague, and every court is become her enemy. It is now the cause of all nations against the cause of all courts. The terrors that despotism felt, clandestinely begot a confederation of despots; and their attack upon France is produced by their fears at home.

In entering on this great scene, greater than any nation has yet been called to act in, let us say to

the agitated mind, be calm. Let us punish by instructing, rather than by revenge. Let us begin the new era by a greatness of friendship, and hail the approach of union and success. Your Fellow-Citizen,

THOMAS PAINE.

(LA CROIX, PRESIDENT.)

Letter from General Montesquieu.

Chambery, October 3.

I AM hitherto informed, by the public prints only, of the decree which pronounces my dismissal; I have officially received that which suspends its effect.

I respect, as I ought, the decrees of the people's representatives. They ought to reject the services of those who were suspected, the moment they put sufficient confidence in my accusers, to regard their assertions as proofs.

If truth could have been heard, the national convention should have known that all which was told them was a collection of impositions; they should have known that I had never petitioned nor adhered to any petition; that the statement presented by me to the legislative assembly, of the King of Sardinia's forces, is perfectly exact; that it is the executive council which had forbid the attack of Savoy; and that it was my pressing representation, the repeated communication of my plan, and my promise of success, which determined the executive council to give me the liberty to act; it should have known that the fables repeated by several journalists, on the insubriety of the camps I had chosen, were so many lies; it should have known, in short, that the most honorable confidence of my army, is a reward for all my trouble.

I have the happiness to do a service to my country and to mankind, in introducing the standard of liberty among a good people, who appear to me worthy of this great benefit. No sacrifice has poisoned this happiness. The satellites of despotism have every where fled before an army of citizens.

Savoy is as much French as the eighty three departments, and its attachment to the nation has already reflected honor on the general who first planted the tree of liberty on a foreign Bastille.

My race is run, and I can no longer hope to be useful.

A general who has been once beset by suspicion, on whom the national convention has once imprinted the seal of public mistrust, can no longer act with a necessary spirit of freedom, with that inward and communicated sentiment of intentions, always pure and loyal. Those whose intrigues have once followed me, can never forgive my having conquered Savoy, on the day they denounced me as a traitor. Every one of my operations would be crossed; every trap set by the enemy would be denounced as a treason; secrecy, the soul of success, would always hide some suspected intention.

I therefore demand, Mr. President, and I demand it presingly, from a love for my country, from attachment and gratitude to an army to whom I am much indebted, that another general be named in my place: Nothing can deface the decree of the 23d of September, and it is necessary that the citizen who commands a French army, should be not only pure, but free from suspicion.

I solicit only one favor, that I may be permitted to return home, there to enjoy my rights of a citizen, and to prove, by the obscurity of my life, that if ever I had an ambition, it was that of serving my country.

The general of the Alpine army,
MONTESQUIEU.

A debate followed on the subject of general Montesquieu's letter, in which it was proposed to rescind the original decree for the dismissal of the general, but after an animated discussion, it was adjourned till the commissioners could be heard.

A petition was then presented from the section of the temple, against the proposition of collecting an armed force round the convention, drawn in equal parts from each of the eighty-three departments.

A debate followed, in which it was hinted that the members were afraid of their situation, but this idea was universally scouted: The petition was sent to the committee to report on it in three days.

THE MINISTER AT WAR

Requested the permission of the assembly to purchase salted provisions in Hambourg, Holland, and Ireland, to the amount of three millions of livres; he observed at the same time, that this enormous sum scarce sufficed for the nourishment of the armies ten days.

Decreed.
A secretary read a second letter from the same minister, in which he demanded, if it was necessary to deliver in the accounts already presented to and passed by the national legislative assembly?

The Jacobins express a strong desire to have the ci-devant King and Queen brought to trial. The Convention seem to agree in the opinion of the Club, and one of the Departments of Paris has expressed the utmost anxiety for a speedy judgment.

Letter from the Minister at War.

October 5, 1792.

"First Year of the Republic."

"Citizen President,

Colonel Ueffermann, from the united armies of the centre, has arrived in Paris this morning; he has confirmed all the details sent me by the Generals; and adds, that they continue to harass the enemy daily. They take carriages, provisions, and have made a number of prisoners, among whom are several emigrants. (Signed) "SERVAN."

HARLEM, October 9.

The French remained at Spire, when our last intelligence came away. They had sent away 500 carriages to Landau, laden with the produce of the magazines. The Austrian magazines at Heidelberg have been sent away for fear of another such visit as that of Spire. The Prince Bishop has also left that place, and the Margrave of Baden is hourly expected to do the same. Philipburgh, which is in the Bishop of Spire's territory, is under the apprehensions of an attack, as well as the Elector's dominions, it being reported that the French had thrown bridges over the Rhine for that purpose.

LONDON, October 12.

The Senate of Venice determined against entering into the European Alliance to subdue France. The reason they assign is not the best that might or could be given, yet it is good enough—namely, that their forces would add little strength to the League, and that they are needed at home to prevent the epidemical influence of the French opinions spreading.

At Valensoles, a Citizen sent five fous to the Army, and made himself the sixth soldier of his family—A daughter ashamed to be left at home, put on the male habit, & joined the army.

Marseilles attempted to be plunged in all the infamous and sanguinary disgraces of Paris, has refilled the artifices of the Arch-deacon of Man, whose very name dishonours the page on which it is found.

Basle preserves not the armed Neutrality of Berne, but one of a less menacing nature. The French read friendship there, and most probably read correctly.

Caillard, the French Envoy to Ratisbonne, has quitted this feudal Metropolis—They turned him a passport dated September 12, and lasting only eight days. All Frenchmen are expelled thence.

Monsieur, the brother of Louis XVI. has certainly overshot himself to imagine, that his Body-guard will be accepted in the Cartel for exchanging prisoners as so many Austrians or Prussians.—He and they, it may be depended upon, will meet the treatment only of traitors taken in arms fighting against their country.

The Italians are dreadfully afraid, that the triple-coloured French will make them a visit. Rome prays, Naples arms, and calls upon the grand Master to save her, and Portugal to lend her succours. Spain is angry and appeased, menaces and dreads, yet does nothing.

A Messenger arrived at Dover, from Turin, on Monday, by way of Ostend. The report was then that the King of Sardinia had been assassinated.

There is a true and there is a false Philosophy; but as it is the case with truth and falsehood, the latter has a more extensive circulation than the former, always counteracting its salutary influence. It is to the false Philosophy of France, that this unhappy people owes its misfortunes; the stream of which, polluting whatever it approximates, may be traced to the authors of the boasted, but most pernicious Philosophic Dictionary.

A wife Member of the National Assembly, a short time before its dissolution, proposed, "that the Rights of a French Citizen should be decreed to Mr. Addison." This Son of Liberty was whispered by a friend, that Addison had been dead these fifty years.

A letter from the Commissioners at Chalons, concludes thus:

"It appears from every information, that the brothers of the ci-devant King, accompanied by Castries, formerly a Marshal of France, were at the head of the column of the Emigrants. They were known by their fury, and they endeavored by the most infamous and mean hypocrisy to introduce religion into their atrocious quarrel.

"We saw General Kellerman at Suippe, and found his army in the best possible order. Discipline prevails among the soldiers; they are full of ardor and courage, and we did not hear a single complaint either from the General or the troops, who have mutual confidence in each other.

"Provisions arrive in great abundance; and while we see the fields strewed with the carcasses of the horses of the enemy, ours are strong and vigorous."

FAYETTEVILLE, (N. C.) Dec. 18.

Letters from Newbern mention the Hon. RICHARD D. SPAIGHT, to be chosen GOVERNOR of this State.

His Excellency ALEXANDER MARTIN, Esq. our late Governor, elected SENATOR, in Congress, in place of the Hon. Samuel Johnston; the term of whose appointment expires in March next; that by the last balloting for the place for holding the next assembly Fayetteville had a large majority.