UNITED STATES.

NEW YORK, November 8.

Revolution in France.

[CONTINUED.]

I have faid in the preceding paper, that in France there is no frandard of raitor are indefinite terms, which mean any thing that the populace can be made to believe. He who can "ride in the whirlwind and direct the ftorm," —he who can guide the movements of the populace is the patriot of the day.—He who is deferted by the popu-lace, the for no fault but his integrity or an error in judgment, is instantly erushed and execuated as a traitor.

The reason of this is, there is no fixed form of government in France, the constitution has been suspended by an act of the convention, and France is now subject to what they call a Revo-lutionary Government; that is, an ar-bitrary government, a variable government, changing pro re nata and taking any form that may fuit existing circumtances. This in nature and essence is precifely the fame as the despotic governments of the East. It is the very effence of arbitrary government to have

no fixed form or principles.

On the dissolution of monarchy, the National Convention should have either National Convention should have either formed a temporary government, with some fixed principles, to conduct them thro' the revolution to the establishment of peace; as the Poles very wisely did; or they should have followed the Romans [whom they affect to imitate in other things of little consequence] and appointed a dictator for a time to be limited to one or two years, or to the duration of the war, or to the expulsion of the combined powers from their territories. The Romans had recourse to this expedient in times of great public this expedient in times of great public danger; and dreadful as the alternative may appear, it is infinitely less dreadful; than the revolutionary government the French reforted to—a government managed by feveral hundred persons with equal powers—a government necessarily producing all! ds of intrigue, faction, corruption, jealousy, crimes and murder. Of all the kinds of government ever attempted by man in Europe, Afia, Africa or America, the revolutionary government in France was the world calculated to produce any good—the best calculated to engender all manner of calamities and crimes.

A convention of 6 or 100 men, without an executive or judiciary, and without a Senate to controulits proceedngs-a fingle affembly, composed most ly of young unexperienced men, who had no fixed principles or fyttem to guide them, and many of them ambitious, afpiring and vifiouary—this affembly governed by a felect club who prepared measures the night before in the hall of the Jacobins, and bired a body of the populace to take feats in the galleries, and applaud one party and his down another—a convention acting from the impulse of the moment, without order, and often without debate-a violent, irregular, heterogeneous body-From fuch a legislature thus directed, and pressed with public danger, what fyshem what order, what wisdom could be expected? What views, what disorders, what furious factions and multifarious calamities must necessarily flow from fuch a fource?

The fault is not in the men ; it is in the government. I will venture to declare that ninety nine of all the men who have perished on the scaffold in that extenfive country, entered into the revolu-tion originally with spirit, zeal and sin-cerity; who had honest views, and were never corrupted with gold. Some of them became enemies to the revolution afterwards, because it was conducted with too much violence and carried too far—but the greatest part of them were never enemies to the revolution or to the nation—they were only obliged to take fides with contending factions, an those who happened to be with the unsuccessful faction in opinion, suffered the fate of their leaders.

Nor were the leaders of parties bad men, tyrants, traitors and confpirators against the nation. Most of them were pursuing what they deemed the best measures for the public good. Probably very few of them would have suffered, had there been a constitution and fixed laws to have controlled the wills of the violent factions. La Fayette, Dumourier, Brissot, Danton and Robespierre, under fixed rules of proceedure and a settled constitution of government, would have been as fafe at this moment, and their rsons as inviolable, as Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox in the commons of England,

or as Mr. Madison and Mr. Smith, in or as Mr. Madison and Mr. Smith, in the Legislature of the United States.

Mult of the fallen Revolutionists in France have been victims, not to what our laws would make treason or crimes; not to any corruption of their hearts, but to faction. There being no law to theck control and filence the violent parties in the convention, and it being impossible to carry measures into effect with two or more factions, almost equal exitting in the convention at the same xitting in the convention at the fame time; it was necessary, after such facti-ous had arisen, to take violent steps, and one party to saorisse the other. But uch factions never can exist where contitution and law are supreme. They grow only in a state without fixed prin-ciples of order and subordination; or if they arise under good government, they are immediately suppressed in a regular ray, by the force of law.

Thus in our Congress, the principles opposition are as fixed, and almost as

violent as ever they were in the convention of France; and one party has command of what is called the populace; that is, a body of med, many of the refpectable good citizens in private life; and many of them a class of transfent people, tiplers and unprincipled nien, who are found and easily collected for riotons runnofes in all large towns. riotous purposes, in all large towns = Had these people more strength; and were they not overawed by the laws of the country or perhaps had fome violent measures irritated them more at the moment, it is more than probable that the lives of some of our most eminent patriotic republicans, and from fup porters of our government, would laft winter have fallen a facrifice to the fury of this populace. Their property most certainly would not have been fafe. Yet there is neither treason, nor crimes, nor corruption to warrant any violence. A mere difference of opinion, zealoufly and warmly maintained, is the only thing that makes one party oppose, perhaps hate the other.

These remarks show the nature of the revolutionary government in France. It is composed of violent factions, always contending; each striving for power and

contending; each striving for power and determined to crush all opposition.

Mr. Pitt, in reply to Mr. Sheridan in the house of Commons last July, said explicitly that the object of the war was the 'extrapation of Jacobinism,' the combined powers certainly might have saved themselves all this trouble and expence; for Jacobinism or club government is rapidly curing itself in France; and if it cannot cure itself foreign nations can never cure it. The truth is, the variety of factions which the present government of France has originated, and which it will continue to originate will be found to produce not only the ordiwill be found to produce not only the ordihary evils of a free government, but despo-tism in every variety of shape. No government can secure freedom one hour, unless its proceedings are conducted by fixed rules and with deliberation: A dono fuch rules can ever be eftablished, until the legislative body is fet totally above the influence of a furrounding populace.— Such a legislative body will not soon be found in France. The populace have been fo long ascufformed to exercife their privilege of hiffing and clapping the speakers in convention, that it will be no eafy matter to filence them. It is very certain at this moment, that the convention are fo much overawed by the populace, that they woul! not dare to bring forward a decree for removing their fessions from Paris.

The Revolution was a glorious thing

and must ultimately prove a bleffing to all Europe. But the government of France is effentially wrong, and it must continue to produce every species of in-ternal confusion and disorder. Severe experience and ftreams of innocent blood will, after a long time, teach the French nation and all the world, that government by clubs, little felf created ariftocracies, and by irregular collections of the populace, is the most tyrahnical despotism ever exercised over men; and that freedom rests alone on the broad basis of a free independent legislature.

PHILADELPHIA.

NOVEMBER 13.

LATEST

Interesting Intelligence, from Papers brought by the Sanfom.

NATIONAL CONVENTION.

11th Fructidor-Aug. 28.

Tallien.—" What is the revolutionary government? I do not understand by the revolutionary government the prolongation of a system of insurrection, but a government which can make itself dreadful to its enemies, at the time it is beloved by the people, must call to the remembrance of this assembly the scenes of horror of which France was the theatre under the tyranny of Robespierre; they were the offspring of a system of terror, a system which must at last be replaced by

justice. I projose that the Convention

rit. That it has Refolved to maintain the

evolutionary government.

2d. That the meeting of the primary flemblies is necessarily destructive of this overnment, and that all good citizens ught to distrust those who desire their con-

3d. That the system of terror is tyran

nical.

4th. That the profecution of authors for publishing their opinions is tyrannical Listot. "Without doubt that philosophy is amiable, which wi hes only for the reign of justice; but those, who wish now that the system of terror should be proscribed, are the same was formerly moved: at terror should be the order of day. They speak of justice—We too with for justice; but justice—is nothing more than the mode of justing of action; and shall we put ah end to those measures of general precastion to which France owes its success; and evea its existence?

"In ancient republics virtuous men were fent into exile; and spial; the French Republic not free itselved those dangerous

fent into exite; and final the French Republic not free itself of those dangerous men who have drunk in with their birth, principles the most hoslide to equality? I move that Tallien's speech be printed; that the errors which it contains may be resulted; but I prove the adjournment of the decree which he proposed.

Thuriot: "I oppose both the printing and the adjournment. The speech of Tallien would have obtained every sufficient would have obtained every sufficient would have obtained every furfit we, had he size corrage to make it fix months ago. We are now far removed from the tyramy of Robelpierre, and the whole convention, in overthrowing that tyram, had no intention of substituting another. All of us who are here are the nother: All of us who are here are the riends of liberty, and our only defire is to proceed in confirming it.

" (The members here all arose up as

actuated with one impulse, and manifested amidfi the loudest applauses of the tri-bunes, that such was its unalterable deter-

mination.)

Without doubt the speech of Tallien proceeds from a good intention, but it reflects no honor on his segacity. "Why, when we have buried to anny in the grave of the triumvirs, should we wish to recall such metancholly remembrances! It is the only means of re-kindling factions; and we are far from approving any such odious plan. Tallien requires from us definitions; they exist in the law, which you have proclaimed. All the world well knows that the revolutionary government does not tend to the converting of France into a grave; but that it is only a more rao a grave; but that it is only a more ra

"When our bartalions are advancing against the enemy, should a soldier wander from his ranks, and retard the general march, he is punified. We are all in the prefence of the enemy, and all those who shall desire to retard the operations of government ought to incur the vengeance of the large.

They tell you of a new tyranny: by what means could it have established itself? Have you not divided authority among the different committees? It is, no longer, the same hand that at the same time governs the sinances, and actuates the civil and military. litary powers: every committee moves in its prescribed circle, and the convention alone exercises the revolutionary govern-ment, I therefore move the order of the

ment, I therefore move the order of the day, both on the question of printing, and on that of the adjournment.

Many members, however, insisted on Tallien's speech being printed; it was at length decreed. The order of the day was then proposed on the plan itself.

Guyomer opposed it.

Goupillean de Fontenay. "What is that Tallien proposes to you, but to affert that you will maintain the revolutionary government? A declaration that is useles." vernment? A declaration that is usele ice you have aheady most folemnly tioned it. Another part of the propo-n is relative to the liberty of the prefs; queftion is already referred to the matters. I therefore support the order

The order of the day was decreed.

The order of the day was decreed. Treillard, in the name of the committee of public fafety, announced, that he that morning received, through the medium of the Telegraphe, the news of the recapture of Valenciennes. [Loud applantes retounded through every part of the hall.] The committee had not yet received the details; he had no doubt, however, but that they would foon arrive by a courier.

CAPITULATION or SLUYS.

The Gen. commanding the fortress of Sluvs, proposes to the General of the French troops to surrender the garrison on the following terms:

Art. I. The garrifon shall march out in 4 hours after the figning of the ca-pitulation, with all the honours of war; with their camp equipage and baggage, and shall take the route they please to the United Provinces. The French General shall furnish the necessary conveyance for the removal of the fick.

Anf. The garrifon shall march out in 48 hours after the capitulation is signed, by Zudport, with the honors of war, by Zudport, with the honors of war, as a tellimony of the gallant defence they have made; they shall lay down their arms after having passed the sluices; shall be conducted, as prisoners of war, and sent to such place as the Republic shall appoint; the officers and soldiers shall retain their baggage.

II. The fick who remain, shall be

maintained and cured at the expence of ed and attended with the known has the state; they shall afterwards be sur-nished with the uccessary passports for the purpose of rejoining their regiments. Commissaries shall be appointed to regulate this article.

Anf. As foon as the fick are cured they shall follow the fate of the garrison.

III. The artillery, magazines, and arsenals shall be surrendered, after the

necessary delay, by commissaries appointed on each fide.

And After the capitulation is figu-ed, commissaries shall enter the place for the purpose of receiving from the commissaries of the garrison, the artillery, military magazines, and every thing belonging to the fortifications.

IV. The inhabitants shall not be mo-

lefted on account of their private opinions, or of the conduct which they have adopted.

Anf. Granted.

V. The French troops shall occupy only one part until the departure of the

Ans. After the capitulation is figu-ed, the Zudporte and the advanced works shall be put in possession of the

VI: The clerks of the magazines, the utlers and fervants who are not foldiers, hall be permitted to retire to their own country. Pailports shall be granted to them. The military servants shall remain with their masters.

Anf. Granted. VII. The commiffaries on each fidshall settle the number of carriages ne-cessary for the removal of the sick and the effects of the garrison?

Anf. Granted. VIII. The fame commiffaries shall alfo fettle the number of furgeons neces fary to be left with the fick who remain at Sluys, and of those who are to accompany the garrison.
Anf. Granted.

IX. The officers who are convalescent shall keep their horses—the general shall also retain with him such officer as

Auf. Granted.

SEPARATE ARTICLE.

The emigrants will not be permitted to capitulate.

I accept the propositions made to

Sluys, August 29.

(Signed)
Major Gen. VAN DER DUIN. Head-quatters at Ardenburgh, 8 Fructidor, 2d year of the

MOREAU, Gen. of the division.

CAPITULATION OF VALEN-CIENNES.

IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH RE-PUBLIC.

Art. I. The garrifon of Valencien nes shall furrender prisoners of war, and march out with all the honours of war: being arrived on the glacis of the gate of Mons, they shall lay down their arms, and in 48 hours after the signing of the present capitulation, they shall be conducted with an escort to the first post of the Imperial and Dutch armies.

11. The garrifon shall give their pa-

role not to ferve against the French army, till the said garrison shall be exchanged with equality of numbers, and e-

Hl. As foon as the present capitulation be figued, the troops of the ke-public shall take possession of the Mons

and Tournay gates, at each of which thall be posted a battalion of grenadiers.

IV. All the effects belonging to the emperor or the carrilon, such as artillery, annunition and provisions, magazines of all kinds, money, papers, memorials, plans, instructions relative to the fortifications and provisions. ortifications and mines, shall be faithful-y delivered and explained to the troops the republic, without the least referve.
V. To that end an officer of engi-

neers, one of artillery, a war commissa-ry, and a staff-officer shall be chosen, to hom the above mentioned articles shall be faithfully delivered.

VI. The whole garrifon shall retain their baggage, and the necessary horses shall be furnished them for transporting

VII. All the emigrants and deferters shall be delivered up to the troops of

the Republic.
VIII. The garrifon of Valenciennes shall be victualled until their arrival at their respective advanced posts.
1X. Till the moment of the department.

ture of the garrison, no one, whether military or burgher, shall be allowed to go out of the fortress, excepting the of-neers employed in making the invento-ries of the articles contained in the for-

X. The fick and wounded of the different corps in the garrifon shall be treat-

nity of the French nation, and as foon as they shall be cured, they shall be conducted to the advanced posts of the armies to which they belong, they conforming themselves to the atticles of capitulation, and waggons shall be furnished for such as can immediately folow their corps.

Head quarters, before Valencies 27th August, the second year of the French Republic, one and indivisible,

ADDITIONAL ARTICLES. I. The magistrates having been o-bliged to accept the posts with which they have been invested fince the old magistrates left the city, and having al-ways conducted themfelves well as to what concerned the public welfare, shall be in no wife molested, no more than the peaceable inhabitants, and they shall be left to the enjoyment of their pro-

Answer. This article, not being of a military competency, shall be referred to the representatives of the people, who will take it into consideration, and will ordain as justice requires.

II. The inhabitants, who for some months have abandoued the town thro ear, shall be at liberty to return within he term of fix months, and in the mean time their goods, furniture, and effects. hall remain under the fafe-guard of the law, and their friends, housekeepers or fervants, who shall have the guard of

Answer. Referred to the decision of the representatives of the people.

111. The guarantee of the quiet polseffion to every one of their property,

noveable and immoveable effects.

IV. The debts contracted by the garrifon shall be paid by his majesty the emperor as soon as possible, conformably to the proclamation to that effect, signed by General Van Cammeller, commander of the garrison, and the war commissary, Lukswal.

The general commanding the army of the French repullic expects that general Van Cammelier shall employ his endeavours to obtain a speedy payment of the faid debts.

Laftly, That the garrifon shall march out of the fortress on Saturday the oth of August, between eight and nine in the morning.

WOUDRICHEM, Sept. 13.

On Thursday a strong French patrole, of about 500 cavalry, and for chaseurs, penetrated as far as Capelle, Walwyk, and Sprang, and forced the Dutch troops posted in those places, consisting of the Hussars of Hekeren, and the cavalry of Beon, to fall back. Part of these retreated to Heusdem, and the rest to Gertruydenberg. The French, after having carried off some horses and effects, returned, and the posts were again occupied by our troops. The Dutch head-quarters are at Raamsdonk.

HAGUE, Sept. 6.

Our horizon feems to clear up a lit-tle. Breda is not befieged, and the French have informed the Duke of York of the repeal of the decree by which no quarter was to be given to the English and Hanoverians.

Sept. 14.
The head-quarters of the troops of Raamsdonk to Gorinchem.

By private letters we learn, that the

head quarters of the French, which were at Oosterhout, have been removed from thence towards the vicinity of

BOIS LE DUC, Sept. 8.

The Hereditary Prince of Orange, the Austrian General Beaulien, and the Duke of York held a conference in this town, relative to the new treaty concluded between the courts of Vienna and London, according to which the Austrian army, now under General Clairfayt, is to act at the pleafure of the maritime powers.

The strength of the French army in

the I ow countries is faid to be as follows:—15,000 men near Breda, 15,000 near Bois-le-Duc, 30, 00 under Gen. Pichegru near Nimeguen, 70,0 c under General Jourdan near Maestricht. The French expect moreover a reinforcement of sc,000 men.

MANHEIM, Sept. 5.

On the 1st instant a grand council of war was held at the house of Baron de Belderbusch, Governor of this city. It was attended by feveral Austrian and Palatine Generals, and is thought to have related to the passage across the Rhine, which is to be immediately effected. For this purpose there are great movements in the Austrian army; and a great number of troops are already

paffing down the Rhine. Several corps had reached the vicinity of this city; at the same time that