



A
S E R M O N,
PREACHED AT CHARLESTOWN,
NOVEMBER 29, 1798,
ON THE
ANNIVERSARY THANKSGIVING
IN
MASSACHUSETTS.

WITH
AN APPENDIX,
Designed to illustrate some parts of the Discourse ; exhibiting
proofs of the early existence, progress, and deleterious
effects of French intrigue and influence in the
UNITED STATES.

——
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✠ The following Discourse was delivered, a part in the morning, and the remainder in the afternoon. The last article, respecting the *Christian Religion*, which constituted the whole of the afternoon sermon, being a *common*, though always *interesting* subject, has been considerably abridged. There have been no other omissions or alterations of importance, other than were necessary for connecting the two Discourses.

The *Appendix* is added for the reasons therein mentioned.

Charlestown, Dec. 4, 1798.

EXODUS, XVIII. 8, 9.

AND Moses told his father-in-law, all that the Lord had done unto Pharaoh and to the Egyptians for Israel's sake, and all the travail that had come upon them by the way, and how the Lord delivered them. And Jethro rejoiced for all the goodness which the Lord had done to Israel.



THE history of the Hebrews, which was penned under the direction of the Holy Ghost, and makes a conspicuous part of the Old Testament Scriptures, was intended for the instruction and admonition of mankind in all future ages. It is, indeed, a history of the dispensations of Divine Providence towards man, in almost all that diversity of circumstances in which nations have existed. || Whatever be our situation as a nation, whether we be at peace or at war ;/in prosperity or adversity ; in harmony or at variance among ourselves ; serious and constant in our worship and service of the true God, or in a state of declension, idolatry, and general licentiousness of principles and manners, we may learn from some part of this history, what is our duty, and what treatment we have to expect from the righteous Governor of the World. The history of Divine Providence proves its consistency and uniformity. What has

has been, will take place again in like circumstances. With God there is no variableness or partiality.

MOSES and Jethro, in the passage before us, have left us an example of our duty this day. By the special interposition of Heaven, and the instrumentality of Moses and Aaron, the Hebrews had been released from their Egyptian bondage, miraculously conducted through the Red Sea, and had triumphed over their enemies the Amalekites, who had declared war against them, and were now encamped at Rephidim. Here Jethro, from Midian, met Moses, his son-in-law, bringing with him his daughter, the wife of Moses, and her two sons. This, doubtless, must have been a joyful meeting; for Jethro was not only respectable as the Prince of Midian, but a wise and pious man, skilled in the science of government, as appears by the excellent judiciary system which he suggested to Moses, and a devout worshipper of the true God. Besides, Moses had lived in his family, in great harmony and friendship, for forty years.

AFTER mutual congratulations, Moses embraced the opportunity of rehearsing to "his father-in-law, all that the Lord had done unto Pharaoh, and to the Egyptians for Israel's sake, and all the travail that had come upon them by the way, and how the Lord delivered them. And Jethro rejoiced for all the goodness which the Lord had done to Israel, whom he had delivered out of the hand of the Egyptians. And Jethro said, "Blessed be the Lord who hath delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians, and out of the hand of Pharaoh, who hath delivered the people from under the hand of the Egyptians. Now I know that the Lord is greater than all gods; for in the thing wherein they dealt proudly, he was
above

above them." And Jethro took burnt-offerings and sacrifices for God ; and Aaron came, and all the elders of Israel, to eat bread with Moses' father-in-law, before God."

WE have here an account of a regular Thanksgiving. Let it serve us for a model on the present occasion. A history of the divine goodness, of signal deliverances particularly, is given : corresponding joy, acknowledgments and gratitude are expressed ; and a convivial feasting before God crowns the whole. In this natural order let us proceed in the celebration of this anniversary Thanksgiving.

THE principal business of the Preacher will be, a rehearsal of those acts of Divine Goodness which, at this time, claim our particular notice and gratitude. And because the proclamation contains a comprehensive and well-arranged summary of these topics, and respect is due to the wisdom and judgment of our civil fathers, I shall pursue the order and train of reflection which they have suggested for our direction.

1. The earth, the past year, under the smiles of Providence, has yielded to industrious husbandmen, a plentiful increase. A partial drought has indeed, in some instances, disappointed their expectations. In general, however, we have a competent supply of all, and an abundance of most, of the necessities and comforts of life.

2. OUR *Fisheries*, which furnish employment, subsistence and wealth, to many of our fellow-citizens, and which are a fruitful nursery for seamen, so much needed for naval defence in the present posture of our public affairs, " have been prospered."

3. OUR *Commerce*, interrupted and embarrassed as it has been by those swarms of pirates, authorized
and

and unauthorized, which have infested the ocean; and captured our property to a large amount, to the ruin of many, the serious inconvenience of multitudes of others, and the incalculable injury of mercantile credit—Our commerce, I say, notwithstanding all these very unpropitious circumstances, “has in many instances been attended with success.” When we consider what has been our defenceless situation, and the disposition and means of our enemies to ruin our trade, we shall find cause to be thankful for *partial* success; and shall admire the goodness of Providence in not suffering our enemies to cut off all our foreign commerce, and to depredate even on our coasting trade. This was evidently within their plan, and must, in a little time, have been accomplished, to the extent of their wishes, had not the defensive measures, under Providence, adopted and vigorously pursued by our government, arrested their progress and defeated their designs. In this view we have to be thankful to God, this day, for our infant NAVY. If commerce be a blessing to our country, a Navy, competent to its protection, in such times as these, must likewise be considered as a blessing. Already its utility appears, in the security which it gives to our trade, and its consequent revival within a few months past. From the prevalence of a Naval Spirit in all our seaports, fair hopes are entertained that these means of national defence will be soon increased to such an extent, as to put an effectual stop to the depredations of violent and unprincipled men on the sea, to protect our independence and liberties, and cause us to be duly respected by all foreign nations. This agreeable prospect, afforded us by the smiles of Divine Providence on the measures

fures of our government, should cause our hearts to rejoice, and praise God this day.

4. IN such tumultuary times as the present, when so great a part of the world is in a state of war, insubordination and anarchy, and torn by bloody intestine divisions, to be permitted to enjoy uninterrupted "order and tranquillity," is a blessing which ought most gratefully to be recognized. This is a blessing with which, under the Divine Protection, we have been favoured. A difference in political and religious opinions, indeed, unhappily exists among us. Party zeal and animosities have, in some instances, marred our happiness. Prejudices have too often blinded the eyes of the mind against the perception of truth. But, God be praised, these differences have not yet been suffered to rise so high as to burst the bonds of society, and rage in civil war and bloodshed. Hitherto it has been a war of words—of words, however, too often calculated to bring on a more serious contest. The heat of the battle, we would hope, is past ; prospects of union brighten, as the knowledge of facts is extended, and we confidently hope for increasing harmony and peace.

5. HEALTH is a blessing at all times inestimable. Its value, if possible, is increased in our estimation in seasons when our neighbours and fellow-citizens are deprived of it, and by thousands fall victims to loathsome and contagious disease. The enjoyment of uncommon health, while mortal pestilence spreads havoc and distress all around, and very near us, demands a tribute of special and unfeigned gratitude. Let us not, this day, forget, my brethren, that this has been our favoured lot in this town ; nor be unmindful of what, in consequence, we owe to HIM, who has di-

rected the destroying angel to pass by so many of our dwellings. While we humbly thank our God for his goodness and forbearance in withholding from us deserved chastisement, let us mourn with our fellow-citizens, who have felt the rod of divine correction, either in their own sickness, the death of relations, or in the loss of the means of subsistence ; and rejoice with them, in that, through the goodness of God, they are now restored to health, to their houses, and various occupations. Let us always remember, that to be sincerely grateful for, and duly to improve, past blessings, are the best methods of securing their continuance.

6. “ THROUGH the goodness of God, we continue to enjoy Constitutions of Civil Government well calculated to secure and maintain our rights, civil and religious.”

IN nothing are we, as a people, more highly distinguished among the nations of the earth, than by the enjoyment of the rare blessing of good government. With the advantage of the theories and experience of all past ages, a selection, by our free choice, of our wisest men, have formed for us, and we have deliberately and peaceably adopted, a Constitution, which is deservedly the admiration of the most enlightened part of mankind. Never, probably, was a government framed by men, better adapted to the situation, opinions, and habits of a nation, or more perfect in theory, more excellent in practice ; whose powers were better defined, and balanced ; which guarded more effectually against the encroachments of despotism on the one hand, and of anarchy on the other, or which required of its subjects a smaller sacrifice of their liberty and property, in order to secure the
protection

protection of the remainder, than the Federal Constitution. A trial of almost ten years, under singular disadvantages, has proved its excellence and strength; and procured for it the affections and the confidence of a large majority of the nation. Amidst convulsions and embarrassments, singular in their kind and extent, it has afforded us great national prosperity, security and respectability. This Constitution may be considered as the great anchor, which, under Providence, has hitherto saved us from shipwreck, amidst the political storm which now rages all over the world, which has overturned, in rapid succession, all the republics of Europe, and has caused us, not without reason, to tremble for our safety, freedom, and independence. Never had a government, in its infancy, to struggle with enemies so numerous, insidious, and formidable, as have assailed ours since its establishment. Never was the integrity and firmness of any administration put to the test, by so many means, both fair and treacherous, as ours has been, for these six years past. Yet, blessed be God, the machinations of our enemies have hitherto been defeated; the councils of our *Abithophels* have been turned into foolishness; and among the blessings which we are called upon gratefully to recognize this day, we may still reckon that of a free and independent government.

To enhance, in our estimation, the value of this blessing, and to increase our vigilance in preserving it, it may be proper, in this place, to point out some of the various ways in which it has been endangered, and the probable consequences of its subversion. I shall not indulge on these fruitful topics in that latitude which they would naturally admit.

I OBSERVE

I OBSERVE, in the first place, that our free Constitution has been endangered by our vices and demoralizing principles. Vice is hostile to freedom. A wicked people cannot long remain a free people. If, as a nation, we progress in impiety, demoralization, and licentiousness, for twenty years to come, as rapidly as we have for twenty years past, this circumstance alone will be sufficient, without the aid of any other cause, to subvert our present form of government. In this case, the people would not bear, quietly, as much freedom as we now enjoy. We know that men yield to the restraints of good government with increased obstinacy, as they advance in wickedness. With difficulty, even now, are the wholesome laws of our country executed on the guilty. Many of our laws, indeed, against vice and immorality, those particularly against profane swearing, debauchery, gaming, and sabbath-breaking, are but a dead letter. There are no attempts made by magistrates, in some places, to enforce them against offenders. If this be the case *now*, what are we to expect when the votaries of vice shall be multiplied, and become even more bold and lawless than at present?

AMONG the vices which have more particularly endangered our government, we may reckon a *selfish spirit*, an insatiable ardor to get rich. This spirit has engendered speculation, fraud, embarrassments, and bankruptcy. These are all unfriendly to freedom, patriotism, order, and good government. An avaricious man will always sacrifice the public good to private interest. If we would preserve our freedom, against the machinations of its enemies, we must all be vigilant and active in our respective spheres, and
liberal

liberal in our contributions, of labour and property, for its support. A man that prefers his own private ease, and his money, to the public good, in these critical times, is no patriot.

FOR the reason already mentioned, that is, because vice is hostile to freedom, our Constitution has been endangered by the spread of *infidel* and *atheistical principles*, in all parts of our country. Truly alarming has been the increase of such principles within a few years past. These are so many tares, sown among us by an *enemy*, which threaten to overtop and root out the wheat. They form a sorrowful proof to us of the truth of that divine maxim, "Evil communications corrupt good manners." Such principles are certain death to morals, freedom, and happiness.—Where they flourish and predominate, there is despotism and slavery of the worst kind, and wickedness and misery in all their most hideous forms. It is to be lamented that the effects of these principles are growing more and more visible among us, in the corruption of morals, and the neglect and contempt of the sacred institutions of religion.

THE increase of *luxury*, *extravagance*, and *dissipation*, among us, have proved not a little detrimental to the interests of freedom and good government. These vices have often proved the bane of republics. The Romans, while they cherished the republican virtues of industry, frugality, and patriotism, prospered, and brought almost the whole world under their subjection. But immediately after their conquests, they suffered themselves to be corrupted by pride and luxury. The inhabitants of the rich Asiatic countries, who had submitted to the Roman yoke, in turn, conquered their conquerors, by their riches and voluptuousness.

ousness. Let us remember, that like causes produce like effects, and learn wisdom from the fatal experience of other nations.

A SPIRIT of *insubordination to civil authority* is another vice which has endangered the existence of our government. Having a Constitution and Rulers of our own choice, and highly deserving our respect and confidence, and laws framed by our own Representatives, there cannot be even a plausible reason alleged to justify disrespect and disobedience. Still, however, our ears have been filled with reproaches against our Rulers ; their characters have been libelled ; every means have been used to bring them into disrepute, and to impair the public confidence in them. The laws of the land have been despised and set at defiance. Faction has been bold and open-mouthed.—The minority have refused to yield quietly to the voice and decisions of the majority, a circumstance indispensable to the existence of “liberty with order.” No community can attain the ends of society, which are peace, security, and happiness, unless government be respected and the laws obeyed. The effects of *despotism* and *tyranny* are extremely calamitous and distressing ; but still more to be dreaded are those of *anarchy*.

THE United States are now making the experiment of a free government under the fairest advantages. Remote from the quarrels of Europe ; educated under forms of government, and institutions, civil, literary, and religious, highly favorable to virtue and freedom ; our rulers all from among ourselves, and in general composed of our wisest and best men ; with a country situated in the *climate* of freedom, between the extremes of heat and cold ;
exposed

exposed neither to the idleness and effeminacy of the South, nor to the severe hardships and scanty subsistence of the North, with a necessity laid upon us of so much labour as is necessary to the existence of freedom—If, under all these peculiar advantages, we cannot support a free, republican form of government, the world must give up the highly-valued and long sought-for blessing as unattainable, as too precious a favour for Heaven to bestow on guilty men.

I would to God, the people of the United States could all be impressed with the high importance of the experiment we are now making for the world, and would unite in a resolution, to reform their vices, to stifle and bury their animosities, to conciliate their differences, and learn to reverence and obey the Constitution, the Rulers, and the Laws of their own creation. Unless something like this shall soon take place, one or other of these consequences may be easily foreseen, either a voluntary increase of the powers of Government, sufficient to preserve order and respect for the Laws, or revolution, anarchy, and military despotism. But,

2. THE blessings of good government have been most imminently and immediately endangered by *foreign intrigue*.* From this source have arisen our greatest perils. This bane of our independence, peace, and prosperity, has been operating in various ways, for more than twenty years past, in insidious efforts to diminish our national limits, importance and resources ; in keeping alive national prejudices ; in attempts to prevent our having an efficient government ; in artful stratagems to diminish and weaken the powers vested in the Executive ; to destroy the “checks and balances,” and to consolidate the distinct

* See Appendix.

and well-defined powers of the three branches established in the Constitution ; in frequent interferences in the management of our national concerns ; in fomenting divisions among us, and in patronizing and circulating publications, calculated to cherish and increase them ; by calumniating our Rulers ; misrepresenting their measures, and exciting murmurs, prejudices, and direct and open opposition against the laws. In all these, and many other ways, too numerous to detail, has foreign intrigue discovered itself among us, and attempted to check our national growth, and to deprive us of the blessings of a free and independent government. It was by intrigues and artifices, like those we have mentioned, that all the Republics of Europe have been prostrated at the feet of France. It was in the same way that the free states of Greece were ruined, and their liberty lost. The French appear to have acted the same part towards their neighbours, and are now acting the same part towards us, which the Persians formerly did towards the Greeks. Let it be remembered, that they are copying successful means—means which will prove as fatal to us as they have to others, if they are not resisted. The following passage, from Rolin's Ancient History, is too remarkable not to be here recited as a solemn warning to us. If we will obstinately refuse to profit by the experience of past ages, or from recent examples, we may read our destiny in the history of the *fourth age* of Greece, and of the more recently ruined Republics of Europe.

“The principal cause of the declension of the Greeks, was *the disunion which rose up among themselves*. The *Persians*, who had found them invincible on the side of arms, as long as their union subsisted, applied their
whole

whole attention and policy, in *sowing the seeds of discord amongst them*. For that purpose, *they employed their gold and silver*, which succeeded much better than their steel and arms had done before. The Greeks, attacked invisibly, in this manner, by bribes secretly conveyed into the hands of those who had the greatest share in their governments, were divided by domestic jealousies, and turned their victorious arms against themselves, which had rendered them superior to their enemies.

“THEIR decline of power, from these causes, gave Phillip and Alexander opportunity to subject them. Those princes, to accustom them to servitude the more agreeably, *covered their design with avenging them on their ancient enemies*. The Greeks gave blindly into that gross snare, which gave the mortal blow to their liberty. *Their avengers became more fatal to them than their enemies*. The yoke, imposed on them by the hands which had conquered the universe, could never be removed ; those little states were no longer in a condition to shake it off. Greece, from time to time, animated by the remembrance of its ancient glory, roused from its lethargy, and made some attempts to reinstate itself in its ancient condition ; but those efforts were ill-concerted and as ill-sustained by its expiring liberty, and tended only to augment its slavery ; because the protectors, whom it called in to its aid, soon made themselves its masters : so that all it did was to change its fetters, and to make them the heavier.” *

THE latter part of this picture strongly resembles the present condition of the once free and happy states of *Holland, Switzerland, and Geneva*. God be praised, this day, it does not resemble that of these American States. Our civil Constitutions, our Independence,

C * Rollin's Anc. Hist. vol. ix. p. 178. and

and Liberties, still remain to us intire and unimpaired; blessings of incalculable worth, in defiance of all their assailants. Our escape hitherto has been effected; under Providence, by means of a wise, firm, and dignified administration of our government, supported by the enlightened and ardent patriotism of the people, seasonably manifested, with great unanimity, from all quarters of the Union, in patriotic addresses, in a voluntary tender of military services, and liberal means for naval defence. These exhibitions of wisdom, energy, union, and patriotism, while they reflect glory on our country, and are pledges of our security, have raised our national character among foreign nations, and have caused America to be looked to, in these convulsive times, with inquietude, as the last resort of persecuted liberty and happiness.

WHEN we reflect on the portentous and threatening aspect of European affairs, the hostile attitude of so many nations, and the storm that has been thickening over our heads, and ready to burst upon us; and when we consider what will be the probable salutary influence of the late unparalleled naval victory in the Mediterranean, on the affairs of our own country, of Europe, and of the world, we ought not, this day, to withhold our gratitude to God, for this event.* When a gigantic, colossal power, which is influenced and restrained by no principles of religion, justice, or humanity, is diminished, and deprived of the means of robbing mankind of their liberty, their property, and their lives, it cannot but rejoice the heart of every good man.

7. AMONG the favors of divine Providence, which
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* THE official account of this victory arrived in Boston the evening before the day of Thanksgiving.

we are called upon, by our civil Fathers, gratefully to remember, is, that “at a very interesting period of our public affairs, the important life and usefulness of the CHIEF MAGISTRATE of the Union have been continued.” Concerning a man, who was born and brought up among you ; who has grown old in his country’s service ; who has risen, under your own eyes, through all the grades of office, to the highest in the gift of his fellow-citizens ; whose moral, religious, and political character are well known, concerning such a character, it is needless for me to say much. Nothing that I can say, I apprehend, will heighten the esteem of his friends or diminish the prejudices of his enemies. For myself, I cannot forbear observing, that I consider it as one of the most prominent evidences of the Divine Goodness to our country, that the “life and usefulness” of this great and good man have been preserved. His talents, his long experience, his profound knowledge of the policy and intrigues of European nations, his unimpeached integrity and intrepid firmness, have been, under God, of infinite service to our country. That bold and decisive policy which he has adopted and pursued, and in which, happily, he has been supported by Congress and the People, has, I verily believe, been the means of saving our Constitution. In the present critical situation of affairs, a man and his office could not be better united, than Mr. ADAMS and the Presidency of the United States.

LIKE Israel, at the period described in our text, we are in the wilderness. Our greatest dangers, we hope, are passed. Still, however, trials and dangers of magnitude await us. Insidious enemies lurk on every side. There are *Balaams*, who, if they are not permitted

permitted to “*curse us*” to our enemies, are artful and wicked enough to suggest expedients to corrupt our morals and our principles, and thus prepare the way for our ruin. Thus situated, and with such prospects before us, let us be thankful that God, in his great goodness, has raised up, and preserved to us, a MOSES to preside in our councils, and a JOSHUA to lead our armies. Will God long preserve to us the benefit of their talents and influence, and continue to direct, support, and comfort them in the duties, and under the cares and anxieties of office, the hatred and malice of *foreign enemies*, and the ingratitude and murmurs of the discontented, and the reproaches and calumnies of the wicked and abandoned part of our own citizens.

IN the catalogue of our blessings, by far the most valuable remains to be mentioned, and that is,

8. AND LASTLY, our holy Religion. “Notwithstanding our past impenitence (says the Proclamation) we are still indulged with the CHRISTIAN RELIGION; a Religion so conducive to the happiness of man, in the present life, whilst it supports the hope of the believer in a happy and glorious state in the world to come.”

THIS blessing is annually recognized in the Proclamation, and always claims our highest notes of praise. But at a time when secret and systematic means have been adopted and pursued, with zeal and activity, by wicked and artful men, in foreign countries,* to undermine the foundations of this Religion,
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* PROFESSOR Robison and the Abbe Barruel have given satisfactory proofs of a regular conspiracy against the christian religion, of which VOLTAIRE was at the head. The Monthly Reviewers, who are not disposed to give more credit than is due to these writers, admit that “the *conspiracy* of the philosophers (it should be *philosophists*) against the
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and to overthrow its Altars, and thus to deprive the world of its benign influence on society, and believers of their solid consolations and animating hopes ; when we know that these impious conspirators and philosophists have completely effected their purposes in a large portion of Europe, and boast of their means of accomplishing their plans in all parts of Christendom, glory in the certainty of their success, and set opposition at defiance ;† when we can mark the progress

the *Altar*," or Christianity, "is *satisfactorily established*, in the first volume" of the Abbe Barruel's work.

ONE method adopted by these antichristian conspirators to advance their designs, has been, to write and publish books, artfully calculated to discredit Christianity, and ascribe them to deceased authors of reputation, and in this way to avail themselves of *their* influence. For instance, a book entitled, "*Systema de la Nature*," or "The System of Nature," an insidious and blasphemous work, was written by some one or more of these conspirators, and published under the name of M. *Mirabaud*, one of the forty members of, and perpetual secretary to, the French Academy. In the Life of this celebrated Academician, the authors of the *Dictionnaire Historique* say, "After the death of this author, a course of Atheism was published in his name, under the title of *Systema de la Nature*. It is superfluous to remark, that this *insolent philippic against God*, (which has been also attributed, but perhaps rashly, to an academician of Berlin), is not the work of Mirabaud." Concerning this book, the authors of the *British Critic* say, "Sincerely and deeply do we regret that views of gain, or designs of a still darker nature, should suggest an attempt to circulate in this country, those poisons, the operation of which has been so truly fatal in the place [France] where they originated. There is but too much reason to apprehend, that these are all but parts of *one great plan, to attack, by all possible means, the principles of truth and religion.*"—Let Americans be on their guard !

‡ M. VOLNEY, a French philosophist, who lately spent several years in America, I am credibly told, when in Boston, in the spring of 1797, expressed himself highly gratified at the progress of the principles, political and religious, of the French revolution. "England, (said he) will be revolutionized ; the same spirit will run through Italy and the German States, and all the enlightened parts of Europe, and then (he added, with the highest exultation,) *Christianity will be put in the back ground. Already has it received its mortal blow.* The revolution (meaning, no doubt, to include its *religious* and *moral*, as well as *political* effects) will go over the whole world. It does not depend on the continuance of power in the present hands at Paris. Its progress is irresistible ; and it will proceed until it has *changed the face of every society on earth.*"—These opinions were uttered in a manner which indicated, that he thought

progress of these enemies of human happiness among ourselves, in the corruption of the principles and morals of our youth ; the contempt thrown on Religion, its ordinances and ministers ; in the increase and boldness of infidelity, and even of Atheism ;
when

thought them neither new nor disputable. The gentlemen who heard this conversation, and gave me this information, are of the first respectability. One of them, much conversant with foreigners of distinction who have visited this country, adds, that he “had been accustomed to hear similar sentiments from almost every Frenchman he had conversed with since the summer of 1792 ;” and that he had “lately been told, that the Directory and their friends in Paris *openly* maintain these opinions, and say, particularly, that if *they* should be cut off, and a million others, by any irregular *movement* of the revolution, it will nevertheless go on, so long as there remains in the world a single society constituted and governed on any *other principles than their own* ;” that is, they mean to wage war upon society in general, till every part is revolutionized, and conformed to their standard. Accordingly we find that France treats as enemies *all* who will not consent to be her dupes, and conform to her detestable revolutionary schemes. Wherever she professes friendship, it is only to gain the opportunity of administering her *poisons*, which are far more destructive than her sword. If we love our holy religion, and our country, and regard the welfare of our posterity, let us shun the *philosophists* of Europe, and their hosts of emissaries in America, and discard and detest their baneful principles.

“What,” says an intelligent American gentleman, in a letter to his friend in Boston, dated at Havre, Nov. 24, 1793, “What do our good folks think of *dethroning* God, *burning the Bible*, and shutting up the churches ? The *decadi* (the new *sabbath*) before I came here, they burnt the Bible in the public square, pulled down the images of Jesus and Mary in the churches, and filled the niches with those of *Reason* and *Liberty*. *Marat* is the god of the day. The most licentious writings daily issue from the press upon former religious subjects.”

* THE probable existence of *Illuminism* in this country was asserted in my Fast Discourse of May last. The following fact, related by a very respectable divine, while it confirms what is above asserted, shews that my apprehensions were not without foundation.

“In the northern parts of this state (Massachusetts) as I am well informed, there has lately appeared, and still exists under a licentious leader, a company of beings who discard the principles of religion, and the obligations of morality, trample on the bonds of matrimony, the separate rights of property, and the laws of civil society, spend the sabbath in labour and diversion, as fancy dictates ; and the nights in riotous excess and promiscuous concubinage, as lust impels. Their number consists of about forty, some of whom are persons of reputable abilities, and once, of decent characters. That a society of this description, which would disgrace the natives of *Cosmopolis*, should be formed in this land

When we reflect, moreover, on our own “impenitence,” our ingratitude for, and abuse of, this greatest of blessings ; when we take into view all these things, our thankfulness to-day for the continuance of the Christian Religion and its ordinances among us, should be *unusually* ardent. The worth of valued blessings is realized and increased, when they have been undeservedly continued, or endangered by the artifices of designing enemies.

THAT we may *realize* how great a blessing we possess in the Christian Religion ; how highly we ought to value this precious treasure ; how vigilantly to guard it, and how resolutely to defend it against every attack, secret or open, indulge me in a few observations on its intrinsic excellence, and its benign effects in promoting human happiness. On a subject so extensive, so fruitful, so universally interesting, and which has been so often, so ably, and so eloquently handled, it is difficult to be concise, and impossible to be original.

THE Christian Religion is the gift of God to man, and is in all respects worthy of its glorious and perfect Author. It exhibits the divine character in a view calculated, at once, to command our highest reverence, love, and confidence. Its doctrines and precepts, the sentiments of devotion which it inspires and cherishes, and the morality which it inculcates, its threatened punishments and promised rewards, are all

land of civilization and Gospel light, is an evidence that the devil is at this time gone forth, having great influence, as well as great wrath.” †

Here is certainly the *fruit* if not the *root*, the *practice* if not the *theory*, the *substance* if not the *form* of *Illuminism*.

† See a Sermon on “the Dangers of the times—especially from a lately discovered CONSPIRACY against RELIGION and GOVERNMENT. By Rev. Joseph Lathrop, D. D. of West Springfield.

all consonant with the perfections of God, and adapted to the nature and condition of man. It “originated in the misery of mankind, which it is the intention of divine grace, by its means, to remove, and for which, as being the contrivance of infinite wisdom, it furnishes a complete and effectual remedy.” It is applicable only to *sinners*. For *innocent* beings, such a Gospel as ours would be neither necessary nor suitable. Sin, of whose origin, nature, effects, and final consequences, our Bible alone gives a satisfactory account, had involved the world in spiritual ignorance, darkness and misery, and concealed from the sinner’s view the path to God and to happiness. Christianity “gives light to them that sit in darkness and the shadow of death, and guides our feet in the way of peace.” It reveals a divine and mighty Saviour, Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who visited this world, to bless mankind with “the knowledge of salvation by the remission of sins” ; who left us a perfect “example that we should follow his steps.” It makes known to us that *crucified* Jesus, who “came to give his life a ransom for many,” and by his death to make expiation for human guilt ; in whom “God is reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them.” It asserts, explains, and substantiates the interesting doctrines of the resurrection of the dead, of future and everlasting rewards and punishments ; of “life and immortality” ; doctrines of incalculable importance to the purity of morals, and the well-being of society. These are some of those truths which are peculiar to Christianity, and which render it infinitely superior to every other system of religion, and a blessing of inestimable value
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to the human race.* All other systems leave mankind in the dark in respect to the true character of God, the nature of sin, the method of pardon, true morality, and a future state. The deductions of the wisest philosophers, unaided by revelation, can yield to the anxious inquirer only a glimmering light on these subjects, and “a tremulous hope founded on probability. The SUN OF RIGHTEOUSNESS alone, illumines the path to life and glory. A single ray from Christ, the great Fountain of spiritual light, is of more use to lead a sinner to God, than all the torches lighted up by the reason or fancy of all the sages of ancient or modern times.”

CHRISTIANITY sheds a most benign and salutary influence on society. It “teacheth us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world.” It prohibits the indulgence of those appetites and desires *only*, which cannot be satisfied without injuring the rights and impairing the happiness of others. It is highly friendly to genuine liberty. The knowledge and practice of the “truth as it is in Jesus,” makes us free indeed. The sublime views which this Religion gives us of the perfections of God, his goodness, his hatred of injustice and tyranny ; the knowledge it affords of the dignity of man, and of the magnitude and glory of his prospects, have a natural tendency to elevate his soul, and inspire him with a love of freedom. It eradicates narrow and selfish feelings and prejudices, and inspires with that

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* To be convinced of the superior excellence of our religion, we need only look to those countries where the Gospel has never been preached, or where it has been contumeliously rejected, and its institutions abolished ; and contrast their situation, in a moral and social view, with that of those nations who enjoy the light, receive the doctrines, and support the ordinances of the Gospel.

“modest pride,” and that “noble humility,” which lead us to expect, and even to demand, the possession of our own rights, and at the same time to be equally zealous in securing the rights of others.

ALL the true interests of mankind indeed, in regard to both worlds, are essentially promoted by Christianity. It is a “religion,” said the celebrated Montequieu, “which, while it seems only to have in view the felicity of the other life, constitutes the happiness of this.”

To describe in detail all the various ways in which Christianity blesses mankind, would very far exceed the limits proper for a single discourse. I will only say, in the comprehensive and eloquent language of a modern divine, that “In proportion as Christianity, in its *peculiar doctrines*, is known and believed, it meliorates the condition of men in this world, and secures to them felicity in the next. It softens and humanizes mankind. It civilizes the barbarian, humbles the proud, meekens the resentful, expands the heart of the selfish, and sanctifies the impure. It smoothes the rugged path of life, by the amiable tempers which it inspires, by the gentle influence of its precepts, and by the heavenly consolations which it pours into the soul ; while it opens to view, those delightful prospects of the divine favour and felicity, which alone can mitigate the gloom of adversity, and cheer the “dark valley of the shadow of death.”—By the faith of the Gospel, the whole soul is subjected to Christ, who triumphs over men to bless them, whose gentle sway is true felicity ; for the conquests which he makes are deliverances from guilt and misery, and the glorious career which he pursues in subduing men “to the obedience of faith,” is every

where marked, not like that of other conquerors, with blood and desolation, but with light and life, with liberty and joy.”*

THESE are fruits peculiar to genuine Christianity. If its professors have not always brought forth these fruits, it is either because they have held the truth in unrighteousness, or have had the form without the power of godliness, or have denied and opposed its essential doctrines ; or because they have degraded it by superstition, corrupted it by errors, or have employed it only for purposes of state. The truth *as it is in Jesus*, is blameless. It would be absurd to charge it with the vices which it condemns, or with the miseries which it is its chief design to alleviate, and remove.

SEEING then we are blessed with such a religion, a religion so well adapted to enlighten a dark world, possessing efficacy to sanctify and comfort the sinner’s heart, and every way suited to the wretched state of fallen man, how thankful should we be this day for its continuance among us ; that we are permitted to enjoy its ordinances without any to molest or make us afraid ! How diligently and zealously should we cherish its principles, defend its doctrines, and obey its precepts, exhibiting their fair fruits in our lives ! How anxious should we be, in this age of bold infidelity, by all means in our power, to multiply the disciples of this excellent religion, and particularly to transmit it, pure and uncorrupt, to our posterity. Can *he* be a friend to his fellow-creatures who hates Christianity, who opposes its progress, who seeks its subversion, ridicules its ordinances, and vilifies its teachers ? Will not every good man, who is acquainted

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* See a Discourse before the Edinburgh Missionary Society, 1796.

quainted with the nature, design, and effects of this religion, wish most ardently that it may be universal and perpetual? You will not fail, my brethren, this day, in concert with the multitude of our fellow-citizens, assembled for the same purpose, to offer unfeigned thanksgiving to God, for this chief of all his blessings, that the Christian Religion, so contemned and hated by some, so slighted and neglected by many, so often abused even by its professors and friends, is, notwithstanding, still continued among us; that its Sabbaths remain unstricken from our calenders, and its ordinances are upheld and attended by respectable numbers; that it still proffers to us its rich treasures of wisdom, strength and comfort for this life, and opens to us the gates of the New Jerusalem above, the city of the living God.

IN view of the various goodness of God which has been set before us in the foregoing Discourse, let us offer to God corresponding gratitude and praise.—For this purpose expressly was this day appointed. To celebrate it to this end is no less our privilege than our duty. To pervert it to licentious feasting, and vain and thoughtless mirth, is as injurious to our own souls, as it is affrontive of the authority of our civil Fathers, and displeasing to God. Let our joy be that of sober, reflecting, thankful Christians, and our feasting be “before God” as in his presence, and with hearts lifted up to him in fervent praise for all his gifts.

THE religion, whose excellencies we have attempted to display, abounds in precepts and encouragement to the duty of almsgiving. It holds up kindness and benevolence to the poor, as one of the brightest ornaments of the Christian. I know, my brethren, your laudable
desire

desire to be clothed with this ornament ; and it is instead of a thousand arguments to prompt you to consider and relieve the poor among you. You need no persuasion to the performance of a duty, which, from long habit, seems to have become natural to you.* I have only to ask, that you take heed to give from suitable motives, and to be clothed with all other Christian virtues ; and God will assuredly bless and prosper you in this life, and at last admit you to his kingdom, so will you ever be with the Lord.

A M E N.

* THERE is annually, on the day of *Thanksgiving*, a collection for the poor ; and the liberality of the inhabitants of this town, on these and other like occasions, is highly exemplary, and forms an amiable trait in their character.

A P P E N D I X.

“*FOREIGN INTRIGUE*, the bane of our independence, peace, and prosperity, has been operating, in this country, in various ways, for more than twenty years past, in insidious efforts to diminish our national limits, importance, and resources,” &c.

Preceding Discourse, p. 15.

It is the object of this Appendix to substantiate, from facts, the truth of that article in the preceding Discourse, of which the above is a part. In doing this, I consider myself as discharging an important duty of my profession. The interests of religion and good government, in the present state of the world, if we may judge from the condition of France, and her conquered countries, Holland, Geneva, and Switzerland, are inseparably interwoven, and must prosper or decay together. Anarchy is fatal to the religion and morals, as well as to the political health and prosperity of a nation ; and so, I believe, for the same reason, is French influence. To develope and oppose it, therefore, is to espouse the cause of the *Church* as well as of the *State*.

The intrigues, and consequent influence of France, in this country, I conceive, have corrupted, to an incalculable extent, all the sources of our true happiness. Our political divisions and embarrassments, and much of that Atheistical infidelity and irreligion, which, during the last twenty years, have made such alarming progress among us, are probably but the poisonous fruits

fruits of our alliance and intimate intercourse with the French nation. Her schemes and views concerning us, through all our vicissitudes, have been uniformly hostile to our dearest rights and interests. In proof of this, I appeal to the facts hereafter related.

AT a time when our holy religion and our government are formidably assailed, by the secret and subtle artifices of foreign enemies, it is incumbent on every friend to Christianity, and to his country, to unite in opposing their insidious and wicked designs. He is unworthy the name of a christian or a patriot, who, in such a crisis as the present, is silent or inactive. Surely the ministers of religion ought not to be considered as deviating from the duties of their profession, while they unveil those political intrigues, which, in their progress and operation, are undermining the foundations, and blasting the fair fruits of that holy religion which they preach, and which they are under the oath of God to vindicate against every species of attack.*

I CONFESS that I have been one of the many thousands of my countrymen, who have felt an honest esteem for, and a sincere gratitude to France, for the aid she afforded us during our war with Great-Britain, and who unfeignedly rejoiced with her at the commencement of her revolution, in the prospect of her enjoying the sweets of freedom, and the blessings of an equal government. But I am not ashamed now to acknowledge, (and thousands have done the same) that this esteem, gratitude, and joy, were the offspring of *ignorance*. A developement of the motives and designs of France, in respect to her alliance and intercourse with us, and of the real nature and object of her revolution, has produced an intire change in my own feelings and opinions. I can no longer consider her government, at any period, either under the monarchy or the republic, as having been truly friendly to the interests of the United States; nor can I be-

* See Note (A).

lieve

lieve that the liberty and happiness of Frenchmen, much less those of other nations, were the real objects of a majority of the authors and promoters of her revolution. The *former* is to be proved in the sequel ; the *latter* is too obvious to require any proof. Judging from the fruits of the French revolution, it must have had an *impure* origin.* Sincere intentions in its authors, generally (that some of them might have had pure views, I do not deny) to ameliorate the condition of the French nation, and their neighbours, could not have plunged them into such extreme wretchedness. Had they really aimed at giving liberty to the world, they would not have become literally the destroyer of nations, and cruelly rivetted the chains of slavery on the millions they have conquered.

THE documents already published by our own and the French government, one would think sufficient to convince all who had read them with an unprejudiced mind, that the policy of France, from the beginning of our connexion with her, has been favourable neither to our respectability nor our prosperity. But as we have yet among us some unbelievers in French intrigue and duplicity ; some who will not renounce their obligations to gratitude for her assistance ; who yet cherish an affection which has hitherto served France as a conductor of poisons baneful to our political constitution, to our religion and morals, I think it my duty to lay before the public some important documents not generally known, and which, I conceive, will justify the opinions I have here expressed. These documents, (and I here give but a *part* of what are in my possession) have rendered necessary many explanatory notes and remarks, and suggested others, by way of inference, which I could not forbear introducing : all together they have swelled this Appendix to a size much beyond my original intention. The reader, however, who has patience at-

* See Note (B).

tentively

tentively to peruse the whole, I hope, will have no reason to regret that his time has been mispent.

CONCERNING the papers which follow, it is proper to observe, that they may be relied on as authentic, having been copied from the *originals*, partly with my own hand, and the remainder by a member of Congress in 1783.

A DOCUMENT which very clearly unveils the views of France respecting America, and which will serve as a clue to a full understanding of the communications of our Commissioners for Peace, (which will be brought into view in their proper place) is Mr. *Marbois*'* *confidential* letter to the Count de *Vergennes*, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. This letter fell into the hands of our Commissioners at Paris, was by them translated, and forwarded to Congress, and is taken from a copy in the hand writing of one of the Commissioners.

[Translation. No. 225.]

“ *Philadelphia, 13th March, 1782.*

“ SIR,

“ SOUTH-CAROLINA again enjoys the benefit of a legislative body. * * * It met in January at Jacksonburgh. * * * Mr. Rutledge, who was then governor, opened the meeting with a speech greatly applauded, wherein he represents, in their full extent, *the important services rendered by the King [of France] to the United States, expressing their just acknowledgments for the same.* This sentiment prevails much, Sir; the different States are eager to declare it in their public acts; and the principal members of government, and the writers employed by them, would *forfeit their popularity, were they to admit any equivocal remarks respecting the alliance.* General Greene affirms, that in no one State is attachment to independency carried to a higher pitch, but that this affection is yet exceeded by the *lured love to England.*

* * * * *

“ MR. MATTHEWS, a delegate lately arrived in Carolina from Congress, has, it is said, been chosen governor in the room of Mr. Rutledge. He has communicated to persons of the most influence

* Mr. Marbois, at the time he wrote this letter, was either Secretary to the French Minister in the United States, or Charge of Affairs, in his absence.

ence in his State, the *ultimatum* of the month of ——— last, who approved of the clauses in general, and particularly *that one which leaves the King master of the terms of the treaty of peace or truce*, excepting independence and treaties of alliance. A delegate from South-Carolina told me, that this ultimatum was equally well known by persons of note in his State, and that it had given intense satisfaction there. It is the same with regard to several other States; and I believe I may assure you, upon the testimony of several delegates, that this measure is approved by a *great majority*.”

[WHAT this *ultimatum* was, which was thus *secretly* handed about among the leading men in the several States, does not appear. The tenor of it may be inferred, however, from a principal clause which is here mentioned; which was, that the United States should *leave the King of France master of the terms of peace or truce*, with two exceptions only. This intrigue was in operation during the winter of 1781 and 1782, and the fruit of it was the *instructions* from Congress to our Commissioners for peace at Paris. What these instructions were, and the disgraceful manner in which they were obtained, will be more fully seen presently.]

“ But Mr. Samuel Adams is using all his endeavours to raise, in the State of Massachusetts, a strong opposition to peace, if the Eastern States are not thereby admitted to the fisheries; and in particular to that of Newfoundland. Mr. Adams delights in trouble and difficulty, and prides himself in forming an opposition against the government whereof he is himself President. His aim and intention are, to render the minority of consequence; and at this very moment, he is attacking the constitution of Massachusetts, although it be in a great measure his own work. But he has disliked it since the people have shewn their uniform attachment to it. It may be expected that with this disposition no measure can meet the approbation of Mr. S. Adams; and if the States should agree relative to the fisheries, and be certain of partaking them, all his manœuvres and intrigues would be directed towards the conquest of Canada and Nova-Scotia; but he could not have used a fitter engine than the fisheries for stirring up the passions of the eastern people, by renewing this question, which had lain dormant during his two years absence from Boston. He has raised the expectations of the people of Massachusetts to an extraordinary pitch. The public prints hold forth the importance of the fisheries. The reigning toast in the East is, “ May the United States

States ever maintain their right to the fisheries." It has been often repeated in the deliberations of the General Court, "No peace without the fisheries." However clear the principle may be in this matter, it would be useless, and even dangerous, to *attempt informing the people through the public papers*. But it appears to me possible to use means for preventing the consequences of success to Mr. S. Adams, and *his party*; and I take the liberty of submitting them to your discernment and indulgence."

[MR. S. ADAMS, who was at this time President of the Senate of Massachusetts, had lately returned from Congress, where he became acquainted with the designs and intrigues of the French minister and his agents, to deprive us of the fisheries. Accordingly, as became a friend to the prosperity of his country, he opposed their designs with all his influence, and we see here the treatment he received from our *good allies*, for his fidelity. Such treatment was not peculiar to Mr. SAMUEL ADAMS; Mr. JOHN ADAMS, Mr. JAY, and indeed every leading character who dared openly to espouse the interests of his own country, in opposition to the views of France, met with similar treatment. This was the case not only in America, but in France. A letter from one of the Commissioners of Peace, dated Paris, Nov. 17, 1782, says, "The least appearance of an independent spirit in any American minister, has been uniformly cause enough to have his character attacked." The same policy has been pursued by France ever since. Every independent American who has dared to advocate the interests of his own country, against her insidious designs upon our prosperity, has been calumniated by her emissaries among us.

It appears that the French agents were formerly in the habit of writing speculations in our public papers, to answer their own views. "It would be useless, (says M. Marbois) and even dangerous, to attempt informing the people *through the public papers*." Is it rash to suppose that many of those virulent and calumnious pieces against our government, its officers
and

and measures, which have appeared in our opposition papers, have been from the pens of the agents and spies of France in this country?]

“ONE of those means would be, for the King to cause it to be intimated to Congress, or the Ministers, “his surprise that the Newfoundland fisheries have been included in the additional instructions; that the United States set forth therein pretensions, without paying regard to the King’s rights, and without considering the impossibility they are under of making conquest, and keeping what belongs to Great-Britain.” His Majesty might at the same time cause a *promise* to be given to Congress, “of his assistance for procuring admission to *the other fisheries*, [What other fisheries?] *declaring, however, that he would not be answerable for the success*, and that he is bound to nothing, as the treaty makes no mention of that article.” This declaration being made before the peace, the hopes of the people could not be supported, nor could it one day hereafter be said that we left them in the dark on this point. It were to be wished indeed, that this declaration could be made whilst New-York, Charleston, and Penobscot are in the enemy’s hands. *Our allies will be less TRACTABLE than ever upon these points, whenever they recover these important posts.*”

[THIS paragraph is instead of a volume, to shew the *real* views of France towards this country.]

“THERE are some *judicious** persons, to whom one may speak of giving up the fisheries and the ——— of the west, for the sake of peace; but there are *enthusiasts*,* who fly out at this idea; and their numbers cannot fail of increasing, when, after the English are expelled this continent, the burthen of the war will scarce be felt. It is already observable, that the advocates for peace are of those who live in the country. The inhabitants of towns, whom commerce enriches; mechanics, who receive a higher pay than before the war, and five or six times more than in Europe, do not wish for it. *But it is a happy circumstance, that this division be nearly equal in Congress, and among the States, since OUR INFLUENCE can incline the beam either for peace or war, which ever we may choose.*”

[Who, after reading this, will deny that *French influence*, to a very alarming extent, once existed in this country,

* The French terms, “*judicious* persons,” and “*enthusiasts*,” rendered according to the American standard, mean, *Dupes to French intrigue*, and the *independent friends* of America who oppose it. Accordingly, this passage should be read thus: “There are some *dupes* to our intrigues, to whom one may speak, &c. But there are other *independent friends* of their country in opposition to us, who fly out,” &c.

country, and even in our legislature. It would be a difficult task to prove, that it has, at any period since, ceased to exist among us, and that to a degree extremely injurious to our tranquillity.]

“ANOTHER means of preserving to France so important a branch of her commerce and navigation, is that proposed to you, Sir, by Mr. ———, viz. the conquest of Cape-Breton. It seems to me, as it does to that minister, the only sure means of containing within bounds, when peace is made, those swarms of smugglers, who, without regard to treaties, will turn all their activity, daring spirit and means towards the fisheries; whose undertakings Congress will not perhaps have the power or the will to repress. If it be apprehended that the peace, which is to put an end to the present war, will prove disagreeable to any of the United States, there appears to me a certain method of *guarding against the effects of this discontent*, of preventing the declarations of some States, and other resources which *turbulent minds* might employ for availing themselves of the present juncture. This would be for his Majesty to cause a memorial to be delivered to Congress, wherein should be stated, the use made by ministers, of the powers intrusted to them, by that Assembly; and the impediment which may have stood in the way of fuller satisfaction on every point. This step would certainly be pleasing to Congress; and should it become necessary to inform the people of this memorial, it could easily be done. They would be *flattered* by it, and it might probably beget the voice and concurrence of the public. I submit these thoughts to you early; and though peace appears yet to be distant, Sir, by reason of the delays and difficulties attending the communications, that period will be *a crisis*, when the *Partisans of France and England* will openly appear; and when that power will employ every means to *diminish our influence* and re-establish her own. *It is true, the INDEPENDENT party will always stand in great want of our support. The fears and jealousies which a remembrance of the former government will always produce, must operate as the safeguard to our alliance, and as a security for the attachment of the Americans to us.* But it is best to be prepared for any discontent, although it should be but temporary.”

[HERE is a most important *text*, on which the measures and intrigues of France, in reference to this country since the peace of 1783, may be considered as the *comment*. “The *independent* party, (meaning, no doubt, “the *Partisans* of France,” of whom he had just spoken,) will *always* stand in great need of our support.”

support." With what propriety he could call this party *independent*, when at the same time he says they will *always need support*, is difficult to conceive ; no epithet was ever more improperly applied, except perhaps in the instance of a newspaper, which has long been devoted to the interests of France, styled, "The *INDEPENDENT Chronicle*." The meaning of this word in both cases seems to be exactly synonymous.

WE have much evidence to believe, that France, "*always faithful to her friends*," has uniformly afforded her "*independent partisans*," in this country, a *generous support*." It is not for us to say in what this "support" consisted, or in what way communicated.—This we know, however, that "Genet brought with him nearly a *million dollars*, in *roleaus* of gold, convenient for distribution ; and that he drew the last from the depositary the day his successor arrived at the seat of government" ; which accounts for Fauchet's complaint of the want of "some thousands of dollars," for his friend *Randolph*, at this time the head of the "*independent party*," and with which "the Republic (of France) could have decided on civil war or peace."

THERE is another branch to this *text* which deserves notice, viz. "The *fears and jealousies* which a remembrance of the former government will always produce, must operate as the *safeguard* to our alliance, and as a *security* for the attachment of the Americans to us." In plain language thus : "In order to fix and preserve our control over the Americans, we must, by all means, cherish their *hatred and jealousies* towards Great-Britain." This *unchristian* policy has been steadily pursued, and with very considerable success, ever since the peace, but particularly since the commencement of the European war ; witness the close of Adet's *famous* note of Nov. 5, 1796. Witness all the opposition papers in the United States. With the French and their partisans in the United States, every *real* friend to his country, who has opposed their degrading

grading views, has been calumniated as devoted to the interests of *Britain*, and have been collectively called, with ADAMS and WASHINGTON at their head, a “British faction.”]

“It is remarked by some, that as England has other fisheries, besides Newfoundland, she may perhaps endeavour that the Americans should partake in that of the Grand Bank, in order to conciliate their affections, or procure them some compensation, or create a subject of jealousy between them and us. But it does not seem likely that she will act so contrary to her true interest; and were she to do so, it will be for the better to have declared, at an early period, to the Americans, that their pretension is not founded, and that his Majesty does not support it.

“I am, &c.

“BARBE DE MARBOIS.”

I now proceed to detail some extracts from the original communications of our Commissioners for negotiating a peace* at Paris, in 1782, with connecting and explanatory remarks.

“*Paris, Nov. 18, 1782.*

“THE instructions from Congress,† which direct us to pay so strict an attention to the French ministry, and to follow their advice, are conceived in terms so universal and unlimited as to give a great deal of anxiety to my mind. There is no man more impressed with the obligation of obedience to instructions; but in ordinary cases, the principal is so near the deputy, as to be able to attend

* These Commissioners were, the Honourable JOHN ADAMS, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, JOHN JAY, and HENRY LAURENS.

† What these embarrassing instructions were, the reader, no doubt, will wish to know, and I will gratify him immediately. They were expressed in the following language, “You are at liberty to secure the interest of the United States, in such manner as circumstances may direct, and as the state of the belligerent, and the disposition of the mediating powers may require. For this purpose, you are to make the most candid and confidential communications, upon *all subjects*, to the *Ministers* of our most gracious ally, the King of France; to undertake *nothing* in the course of the negotiations for peace or truce, *without their knowledge and concurrence*; and *ultimately to govern yourselves by their advice and opinion*; endeavouring, in your whole conduct, to make them sensible how much we rely upon his Majesty’s influence for effectual support in every thing that may be necessary to the present security and future prosperity of the United States of America.” How these humiliating and disgraceful instructions were obtained, remains to be told.

attend to the whole progress of the business, and to be informed of every new fact, and every sudden thought.

“ AMBASSADORS in Europe can send expresses to their courts, and give and receive intelligence from them with the utmost certainty. In such cases there is no room for mistakes, misunderstanding, or surprise. But in our case, it is very different. We are at an immense distance ; dispatches are liable to foul play, and vessels are subject to accident ; new scenes open ; the time presses ; various nations are in suspense, and necessity forces us to act.

“ WHAT can we do if a French minister advises us to cede to Spain the whole river Mississippi, and five hundred miles of territory to the eastward of it, are we bound by our instructions to put our signature to the cession, when the English themselves are willing we should extend to the river, and enjoy our natural right to its navigation ? If we should be counselled to relinquish our right to the fishery on the Grand Bank of Newfoundland, when the British ministry are ready by treaty to acknowledge our right to it, are we obliged to relinquish it ? If we are advised to restore and compensate the Tories, are we to comply ? If we know, or have reason to believe, that things which will have weight upon the minds of the British ministry against us, upon some points, will be communicated to them in some way or other, secret or open, if we communicate them to this court, are we bound to do it ? I cannot think that a construction so literal and severe, was ever intended to be put upon them ; and therefore I see no way of doing my duty to Congress, but to interpret the instructions as we do general precepts and maxims, by such restrictions and limitations as reason, necessity, and the nature of things demand.

“ IT may sometimes be known to a deputy, that an instruction from his principal was given upon false information ; what is he to do ? When he knows that if the truth had been known, his principal would have given a direct contrary advice, is he to follow that which issued from mistake ? When he knows, or has only good ground to believe, that if his principal was upon the spot, and fully informed of the present state of facts, he would give contrary directions, is he bound by such as were given before ?

“ IT cannot be denied, that instructions are binding ; that it is a duty to obey them, and that a departure from them cannot be justified ; but it cannot be denied, I think, on the other hand, that in our peculiar situation, cases may happen, in which it may become our duty to depend upon being excused, or if you will, pardoned, for presuming that if Congress were upon the spot, they would judge as we do.

“ I PRESUME not to dictate ; but I may venture to give my opinion, as I do freely, and with much real concern for the public, that it would be much better if every instruction in being were
totally

totally repealed, which enjoins upon any American minister to follow the advice, or ask the advice, or even to communicate with any French or other minister in Europe ; it is an inextricable embarrassment every where. Advice would not be more seldom asked, nor communication less frequent ; it would be more freely given. A communication of information, or a request of counsel, would then be received as a compliment, and a mark of respect ; it is now considered as a duty and a right. Your ministers would have more weight, and be more respected through the world.

“ CONGRESS cannot do too much to give weight to their ministers, for they may depend upon it, *great and unjustifiable means are used to prevent them from acquiring reputation, and even to prevent an idea taking root, that any thing has been, or can be done by them.* And there is nothing that humbles and depresses, nothing that shackles and confines, in short, nothing that renders totally useless your ministers in Europe, so much as these positive instructions to consult and communicate with French ministers on all occasions, and to follow their advice. And I really think it would be better to constitute the Count de Vergennes our sole minister, and give him full powers to treat and make peace with all Europe, than to continue any of us under the instructions in being, if they are to be understood in the unlimited sense which some persons contend for. I hope nothing indecent has escaped me upon this occasion. If any expressions appear too strong, the great importance of the subject, and the deep impression it has made on my mind and heart, must be my apology.

——*.”

Paris, Nov. 1782.

———“ WHEN I speak of this [French] court, I know not that any other minister is included than that of foreign affairs. *A whole system of policy is now as glaring as the day, which perhaps Congress and the people of America have little suspicion of.* The evidence now results from a large view of all our European negotiations. The same principle and the same system have been uniformly pursued from the beginning of my knowledge in Europe, in April, 1778, to this hour. In substance it has been this : *In assistance afforded us in naval force and in money, to keep us from succumbing, and nothing more : To prevent us from ridding ourselves wholly of our enemies, and from growing rich and powerful : To prevent us from obtaining acknowledgments of our independence by other foreign powers, and from acquiring consideration in Europe, or any advantage in the peace but what is expressly stipulated in the treaties : To deprive us of the Grand Fishery, the Mississippi river, the Western lands, and to saddle us with the Tories.*”

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IN confirmation of this, the writer proceeds to declare, that from all he could collect from Mr. *Dana's* negotiations in Russia, Mr. *Adams's* in Holland, and Mr. *Jay's* in Spain, it was very evident, that the *Marquis de Verac*, the *Count de Montmorin*, and the *Duke de la Vauquion*, the French ministers at these several courts, had all been governed by the same instructions, viz. instead of *favouring*, to *prevent*, if possible, the success of our ministers in getting our independence acknowledged.

FROM the same letter it further appears, that in Holland, the *Duke de la Vauquion* did all in his power to prevent the success of our minister at that court ; and it was the opinion of our minister, that the Duke had instructions from the French Minister so to do. But when the Duke was *firmly* told, that no advice of his, or the Count de Vergennes, nor even a requisition from the King, should restrain him, and was convinced that our minister would succeed, the Duke, in the true style of French policy, fell in with him, in order to give the air of *French influence* to measures, which French influence never could have accomplished ; and which he thought would have been carried even if he had *opposed* it. The letter proceeds :

“ THESE facts may alarm Congress more than they ought. There is nothing to fear but the want of *firmness* in Congress. *French policy is so subtle, so penetrating and encroaching a thing, that the only way to oppose it, is to be steady, patient, and determined.* Poland and Sweden, as well as Corsica and Geneva, exhibit *horrid effects of this policy*, BECAUSE IT WAS YIELDED TO. Whereas Switzerland, who never were *afraid* of France, and were always *free*, has found her an excellent ally for 150 years past.*

“ If we are steadily supported by Congress, we shall go clearly to windward of them ; but if Congress wavers, and gives way, the United States will receive a blow that they will not recover in fifty years.”

* * * * *

“ WE have nothing to fear from this [French] court, but in the particulars above mentioned. The *alliance* is too necessary to them ; we are too essential to them, for them to violate the treaties,

* See Note (C).

treaties, or *finally to disgust and alienate us*. But they have not known, any more than England, the *men with whom they have to do*.

“ WHEN we see the *French intriguing with the English against us*, we have no way to oppose it, but by reasoning with the English, to shew that they are intended to be the dupes.

* ——— * ——— .”

THE reader is requested to bear in mind, that these letters were written in 1782, at a time when that immense *debt of gratitude* to France was accumulating, which she, and her partisans here, have since so often thrown in our teeth, and which they would wish us to pay at no less a price than our *sovereignty and independence*. Is it possible that such *perfidiousness* should have been rewarded with the *esteem and gratitude* of Americans ! What shameless effrontery must it have required in the ministers of France, *who knew all these things*, to style themselves, and their nation, our “*dear friends and allies*” ; to assume to themselves the merit of giving us *independence* !! But the one half has not yet been told.

THE following extracts from, and summaries of, the original correspondence of our Commissioners, in the years 1782 and 1783, and Monf. Gerard’s private memorials to Congress, with the accompanying remarks, were made at Philadelphia, by a member of Congress, a man of much penetration and respectability, in 1783, while the points with France, and the general treaty of peace, were in discussion, and may be depended on as giving a correct view of these subjects.

THE Commissioners, in their *joint* letter, stating the progress of the negotiations for peace, and inclosing the preliminary articles, say, “As we had *reason* to imagine that *the articles respecting the boundaries, the refugees, and the fishery, did not correspond with the feelings of this court* (meaning France) we did not communicate the preliminaries to the minister until after they were signed ; and not even then, the separate article. We hope that these considerations will excuse our having so far departed from the spirit of our instructions.”

ONE of the commissioners, in his letters, says, that the courts of
France

France and Spain" were opposed to us, as to the fishery, the boundaries, the Mississippi, and the refugees, and used every means in their power to deprive us of the three former, and to saddle us with the latter; that the Count de Vergennes, and his confidential secretary, M. Raneval, whom he often employed to speak his sentiments, and carry his points, had repeatedly declared, that they thought the claims of the British, for compensation to the tories, were *just* and *politic*; that every precedent was in their favour; that it would be disgraceful in Britain to relinquish those claims, and that we ought to accede to them.

ANOTHER of the commissioners, in his letters, says, that the Count de Vergennes and Raneval insisted very strongly, that he should treat with Mr. Oswald under his first commission, alleging, that our independence might be secured by treaty; that Dr. F——n was of the same opinion with the Count and his secretary, and wanted to begin the negotiations with Mr. Oswald under the first commission; but that he (the commissioner writing) absolutely refused to do it; that the Count de Vergennes and Raneval denied our having any right to such extent of territory as we had claimed, and also to the fishery on the Banks, and advised him by no means to insist on such claims, alleging, that it was impossible for Britain to accede to them; that they insisted upon his treating with the Count de Aranda (the Spanish minister) without seeing his commission from the court of Spain, or even asking for it, alleging, that he had no right to do this, as Spain had not acknowledged our independence, though Spain was then desirous of treating with him under his commission from the United States, as Independent States, which commission the Count de Aranda had seen, but refused to shew his commission, or to say whether he had any or not; that the Count de Vergennes and Raneval supported the *Spanish* claim, in *opposition to ours*, to a great part of the western and southern territory, and denied our having a right to the use of the Mississippi, insisting upon it, that we ought to give up those claims, or that we must not expect a treaty with Spain, as she certainly could not recede; that *Raneval* had even gone so far as to present him with a *written memorial*,† stating the Spanish right to that territory, and the exclusive navigation of the Mississippi, and denying our having any right to either; that about the same time, Mr. Marbois' letter (already recited) made its appearance, holding up the same ideas as Count de Vergennes and Raneval had been urging, as to our claims to territory, the fisheries, &c.; that Count de Vergennes communicated to Mr. Fitzherbert, the British minister to treat with France on peace, the views of the courts of France and Spain, as to our claims, which
Mr.

* SPAIN, it appears, was intrigued into this opposition by the court of France.

† This memorial was sent to Congress by one of our commissioners.

Mr. Fitzherbert sent to Lord Shelburne, as evidence that there was no necessity for the British court to accede to our claims, they not being supported by those powers ; this prevented their sending Mr. Oswald a new commission to treat with Mr. Jay.* That soon after this, the Count de Vergennes and Count de Aranda, fearing that Mr. Oswald might, by his importunity, prevail on Lord Shelburne to give him a new commission and instructions to close with Mr. Jay's propositions, sent M. Raneval over to London, to state to the British ministry the situation of things, and prevent Mr. Oswald succeeding in his application. Mr. Jay and Mr. Oswald were soon acquainted with the mission of M. Raneval, and the object of it ; they in consequence directly sent off Mr. Vaughan, to state to Lord Shelburne the business of M. Raneval, and the views with which he was sent ; to shew him (Lord Shelburne) that France and Spain wished to prevent Britain and America agreeing on terms, they being *desirous* of continuing the war ; and knowing that America was not bound to continue it on her part after Britain should have acknowledged her independence ; to convince him that it was the interest of Great-Britain to make peace with America on the terms proposed by Mr. Jay ; that the views of France were directly opposed to the interest both of America and Britain ; and that if any attention was paid to the representations of Raneval, France and Spain would probably establish their own interest to the ruin both of Britain and America. Mr. Vaughan was well instructed in every point by Mr. Oswald and Mr. Jay ; his information satisfied Lord Shelburne, and a new commission, with proper instructions, were sent to Mr. Oswald.

In another letter, this same commissioner says, that France intended, if possible, to continue the war, and to keep America involved in it, with a view to reduce and impoverish both Britain and America, as much as possible : that if this could not be effected, then to place America, by the peace, in a situation as dependent upon her as she could : that in order to this, she intended to deprive us of the Bank fishery ; to straiten and narrow our limits ; to saddle us with the refugees ; to place the Spanish close to our borders on one side, and the British on the other. Thus circumstanced, France could easily foment quarrels between America and Great-Britain or Spain. This would often render their aid necessary to America ; and by habituating her to look up to France for support and protection, and being able, in every instance, to stipulate her own terms for the support she might give, the dependence of America upon France would have been certain, or at least probable. THE

* Mr. Jay was, at this time, considered by the writer, as the only *American* commissioner for peace, then at Paris ; as Mr. Adams had not yet arrived from Holland, and Dr. Franklin was so much in the French interest, that he was not consulted on those points, which it was necessary to conceal from Count de Vergennes.

THE compensation to the Tories, and their admission into America, were points which France urged with great zeal and address ; for as the Tories were high Royalists, she expected to attach them to her interest, and play them off against the independent party, agreeably to M. Marbois' ideas : and if, by her influence, the property of the Tories had been by treaty to be restored, this would have given her great weight in their minds, and made them devoted to her views.

FROM these letters it further appears, that if America relied on the love of the French for liberty and republicanism, or their attachment to America, or their disinterested disposition to promote her welfare, she would entirely lean on a broken reed, that would assuredly, one day or other, pierce her side ; witness Geneva, Corsica, &c. ; that Dr. F——n was with the French generally in opinion, and frequently urged the instructions to be governed by the advice of that court in their negotiations, alleging, that it was in consequence their duty to follow such advice.

WHEN Mr. Jay saw clearly the views of the French court as to America, he determined to keep the negotiations a secret, though contrary to instructions, else the interests of America would, in his opinion, have been ruined.

IT appears from one of the commissioners' letters, that M. Ramerval, on his return from England, was much embarrassed when he found that it had been discovered where he had been ; for it was given out that he was gone into the country for a few days ; and that he pretended, after he saw our commissioners were acquainted with his having been there, that he went on purpose to gain for America those very points which he and his principal, Count de Vergennes, had insisted upon being given up, as being without any just ground, and unreasonable for America to claim. He further pretended, that the new commission and instructions to Mr. Oswald were procured by *his solicitations* in favour of America!!!

ONE of the commissioners, in a letter, says, " Mr. Fitzherbert (the British minister) told me, that Count de Vergennes had fifty times reproached him for ceding the fisheries, and said it was ruining both the British and French commerce. Had we not signed the treaty before France, and communicated to the minister that we were ready, he would have said that you must not sign till we sign. This would have been a continuance of the war for another year at least. The peace depended on a day. Parliament had been waiting long ; and once prorogued, the minister was so pressed he could not have met Parliament, and have kept his place, without an agreement upon terms, at least, with America. If we had not signed, the ministry would have been changed, and the coalition come in, and the whole world knows, the coalition would not have made peace on the present terms, and of course not at all this year. *The iron was struck in the few critical moments when it was of a prisoner's heart.*"

A LETTER

A LETTER from one of the commissioners to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, of July 9, 1783, says, "The Duke de la Vauquion and Mr. Brontzen together, last Saturday, said, "if you had not signed when you did, we should not have signed when we did." If they had not signed when they did, D'Estaing would have sailed from Cadiz, and nobody in that case would have signed to this day. It is not possible for men to be in more disagreeable circumstances than we were. We are none of us of principles or dispositions to take pleasure in going against your sentiments, Sir, much less those of Congress; but in this case, if we had not done it, our country would have lost advantages beyond compensation."

July 10.

"THERE is another point now in agitation, in which the French will never give us one good word: on the contrary, they will say every thing they can to persuade the English to deprive us of the trade of their West-India islands. They have, already, by their emissaries, been the chief cause of the change of sentiments in London on this head against us. *In general, they see with pain every appearance of returning real and cordial friendship, such as may be permanent between us and Great-Britain. On the contrary, they see with pleasure every seed of contention between us.* The Tories are an excellent engine of mischief between us and them, and therefore very precious. Exclusion from the West-India islands will be also another. I hold it to be the indispensable duty of my station not to conceal from Congress these truths. *Do not let us be dupes under the idea of being grateful.* Innumerable anecdotes happen daily to shew that these sentiments are general. If therefore we have it in contemplation to avoid a future war with the English, do not let us have too much confidence in the French, that they will favour us in this view."

From another letter:

"To talk of confidence in a general style, in the French court, is to use a general language, which may mean almost any thing, or almost nothing. To a certain degree, and as far as the treaties and engagements extend, I have as much confidence in the French court as Congress has, or even as you, Sir, appear to have. But if by confidence in that court is meant, an opinion that they would advocate our right to the fishery, territory, Mississippi, or the shaking off the refugees, I own I have no such confidence, nor never had. I must, after what I have seen and heard, have been an idiot to have entertained the opinion!"

From another letter:

"NOTHING more is to be expected by the definitive treaty. We can get no farther cessions from the British, without paying more for it than you will get by it. Should the other powers be ready to sign before us, and it is probable they will be, we must adopt the provisional treaty as a definitive one."

"THE

“THE United States must bear up the confederation. If they do not preserve and strengthen the union, we shall be the sport of the European powers. Congress, or some body, must have the power to regulate trade, and of forming a navigation act, or foreigners will run away with our carrying trade, and we shall be a set of cultivators for their benefit.”

THE commissioners in one of their joint letters, say, “We believe the French minister *si sûr son friend as corresponds with his system for promoting the interest and glory of France*. God forbid we should ever sacrifice our faith, &c. ; and may he forbid also, that we should ever be unmindful of our own dignity. *Since we have assumed a place in the political system, let us move like a PRIMARY, and not a SECONDARY planet.*”

DR. FRANKLIN, in one of his letters, says, “I do not see that the French have any reason to complain of our keeping the treaty, and the separate article, from them. Nothing was stipulated to their prejudice ; and some of the stipulations were to have force, but by a subsequent act of their own. The nomination of five persons as negociators seems to mark that Congress had some dependence on our joint judgment, since one alone could have made a treaty by the direction of the French ministry, as well as twenty.”

IN a letter of December 14, Dr. F. says, “We know this court and Spain to be against our claims to the western territory ; and having no reason to think that lines [boundaries] favourable could ever have been obtained, we finally agreed to those described in this article.”

HERE follow the observations of the member of Congress, before mentioned, made at Philadelphia while the points were in discussion. I relate them in his own words and order. Made at the time they were, and under circumstances so advantageous for knowing the truth, and with such authentic and full evidence to support them, his observations cannot fail to have great weight with all candid readers.

MONS. Chevalier de Luxerne memorialized Congress last year (1782) in favour of the Tories, and endeavoured to prepare Congress for the articles which they expected to be able to insert in the treaty of peace, for making compensation to, and admitting them into our country and councils. The conduct of the Chevalier, of Marbois, and the principal French characters in America, was in conformity to this plan, endeavouring to cultivate an acquaintance and friendship between them and the tories. The loyal principles of the tories, their fondness for royalty, their numerous connexions and acquaintance, all these made it an object
of

of importance to provide for and secure those people to the French interest. For this purpose, and to secure other points, the French minister pressed Congress to give the *disgraceful instructions* to our ministers, to be governed ultimately by the French court as to the terms of peace. They feared that at the peace an independent party would arise, which could not easily be managed by them. This appears from Marbois' letter, from the letters of our commissioners, and the declarations of Count de Vergennes at different times. For this reason they wished to strengthen their party, by attaching the tories and their friends to their interest. Could they have secured to the tories their confiscated estates, or a compensation for them, and a permanent residence in America, at a period when the British had given over all hopes of providing in that way for them, and when despair, as to their darling object, had seized the minds of the tories themselves, so that restoration might appear to have been effected by the French solely, and that unmerited, there can be no doubt, but the tories would have become the most devoted tools to France. Count de Vergennes even went so far as to desire Mr. Adams to recommend it to Congress to leave all the European affairs to the court of France, and attend only to the affairs of America at home.

Our commissioners repeatedly say, in different letters, that it was to them very clear, that the Court of France meant to prevent any of the great powers in Europe acknowledging our independence ; and that we should obtain, by the peace, from Britain, nothing beyond the point of naked independence ; and not even that, till the French influence was more firmly established in America. They accordingly endeavoured to break off the negotiations, in order to gain more time and means. Marbois recommended this to count de Vergennes in his letter, intimating that the French influence was not sufficiently weighty to have a general peace. Mr. Jay, in one letter, says, " We have more reason to admire the *patience*, than to be satisfied with the *generosity* of our allies ;" alluding to the great reluctance with which they furnished us with money, and the steadiness with which they pursued their great objects.

The conduct of the French, during the negotiation for peace, appears clearly to have been part of a system, formed as early as 1778, by that court, to prevent our becoming independent of, and unmanageable by, them after a peace. They appear to have apprehended that if our claims as to independence by preliminary, territory, fishery, &c. should be obtained by us, we should soon throw off our dependence on them, and learn to think and act for ourselves. They accordingly began to guard against this evil to them by the terms of the treaty of alliance made in 1778, and by taking proper measures to have our ministers in Europe dependent upon them ; and their instructions such

that the French ministers might have it in their power to determine what points America should insist upon at the treaty for peace ; and of course what the terms of that treaty, as to America, should be. For this purpose, they, by their influence, procured Dr. Franklin to be appointed *sole* minister at the Court of France. This gave them a good chance of his being the sole minister for negotiating peace, which must have as effectually secured to them all their views, as if the count de Vergennes had been the sole negociator.

In proof that the Court of France had long ago determined on the plan they pursued at the negociation, and that they have all along been preparing Congress for their purposes, we need only attend to the memorial of Monsieur Gerard, and his communications from his court, in 1779, as they stand upon the *secret* journals of Congress. He says that "his master was highly pleased with Congress, for having made Dr. Franklin the alone minister to his court, who was a gentleman remarkable for his integrity, his abilities, and disposition to conciliate ; he considered it as a new evidence of the disposition of Congress to oblige the king, and cement the alliance."

He further says, that "the publication of the treaty by Congress was improper and unprecedented ; his master, however, was not angry at it, since it was only discovering to the world how *kind* and *generous* he had been to undertake our defence, *without any regard to his own interest* ; and shewed what a *disinterested* attachment he had to America and the liberties of mankind, and of course the *high obligations he had conferred upon America*." He says also that "Congress should give their minister at the Court of Spain, directions to make the most liberal propositions to her, to induce her to acknowledge our independence, and to mediate for us, if a peace is on the tapis ; and if the war is to continue, to take a part with us. For this purpose, great cessions of territory, &c. were necessary ; that our ministers for negotiating peace should be instructed to insist upon no points, but such as France should advise to ; that no preliminaries should be unconditionally insisted upon, not even independence ; that it might so happen, as that to have it only tacitly acknowledged in the treaty, would be most prudent, according to the circumstances at the time ; that such an acknowledgement would answer every purpose to us, as France would then be a guaranty thereto, as she was to Switzerland, Geneva," &c.

FRANCE foreseeing it might be necessary, from circumstances, to have the American Independence rest upon that ground, (the ground on which Switzerland and Geneva held theirs) the 8th article in the treaty of alliance, eventual and defensive, was formed so as that France might judge herself whether to insist upon a previous and express acknowledgement of our independence,

dence, or only a *tacit* one, * which was undoubtedly intended to put America absolutely in her power. From all this it is clear, that France had determined on the line of policy which she in fact pursued at the negotiation for peace, as long ago as when the treaty of alliance was formed ; and that Mons. Gerard was preparing matters to carry it into effect in 1779. The fact is, *she intended effectually to separate us from Great-Britain, but never meant that America should be entirely independent of herself.*

THE extract from Mr. Gerard's representation, which follows, was obtained after writing the above, and will shew that Congress must have seen the policy of France as long ago as July, 1779, and yet they afterwards gave those famous instructions to our ministers.

AFTER stating to Congress the situation of things in Europe, and the then prospect of obtaining peace through the mediation of Spain, and the necessity of having the American ministers empowered to make peace, he says he had stated these things to Congress, " that they may, if they think proper, take under consideration, if it would not be expedient to give their plenipotentiary† instructions and full powers, founded upon the necessity of circumstances and the treaty of alliance, the express and formal terms of which shall be, that peace shall not be made without an express or *tacit* acknowledgement of the sovereignty, and consequently, *a fortiori*, of the rights inherent in sovereignty, as well as of the independence of the United States, in matters of government and commerce. This substantial alternative in an engagement, which is a mere gratuitous gift, without any compensation or stipulation, ought indeed never to be forgotten in a negotiation for peace. France foresaw the extreme difficulties a formal and explicit acknowledgment might meet with. It was only obtained by Holland tacitly, after a war of thirty years, and explicitly after a resistance of seventy. To this day, Geneva and the Swiss cantons have obtained no renunciation nor acknowledgment, either tacit or formal, from their former sovereigns ; but they enjoy their sovereignty and independence *only* under the *guaranty* of France. His court thought it important that difficulties of this nature, which *reside only in words*, should not delay or prevent America from enjoying *the thing itself*. From these considerations arose the very important and explicit stipulations in the treaty which he had just now related, and which had received the sanction of the United States ; and it remains with the prudence of Congress to examine, whether instructions upon some particular points may not frustrate the *salutary purpose* of the treaty of alliance, relative to a *tacit* acknowledgment which
the

* This article of the treaty runs thus : " They mutually engage not to lay down their arms until the *Independence* of the United States shall have been *formally* or *tacitly* assured," &c.

† Dr. Franklin.

the situation of affairs may require." The *salutary purpose* of that treaty was, beyond all doubt, to separate America from Britain, and to keep her dependent on France for her liberty and existence as a nation.

THE foregoing representation was made, by Mons. Gerard, at a time when Congress were about instructing their ministers as to terms of peace, there being then a prospect of a negociation under the mediation of Spain : and it was evidently intended to prevent Congress from giving any instructions to their ministers which might obstruct the views of France ; to have our independence only tacitly acknowledged by the treaty, and dependent altogether upon the guaranty of France. This would have placed America in a situation so humiliating, so dependent, as to have deprived us of all the great advantages that we now succeed to by the treaty. Congress were so embarrassed by that representation, and the influence of the French over many of the members, that they spent nearly *two years* debating upon, and altering the instructions to their ministers. Motion after motion was made, and amendment after amendment proposed ; month after month, and year after year passed away, till finally, in 1782, the French minister obtained such instructions to the American ministers as he wished, such as he supposed would answer their purpose, and enable the French court to settle the terms for America. But the *virtue* and the *firmness* of Messrs. ADAMS and JAY defeated their views ; and though fettered with one colleague who was devoted to France, and, as far as he could, promoted her interest in opposition to that of America, they, notwithstanding all these embarrassments, gained by the treaty every important point for America ; *and immortal on the pages of our history be their respected names.*

THE instructions finally given to our ministers were agreeable to the foregoing extract,* which was the last amendment made to them, and was proposed by Mons. Gerard to a committee of Congress, appointed to confer with him on the subject, and by them reported to Congress as a necessary amendment ! !

HERE end the remarks of the forementioned member of Congress. Further proof of the existence of French intrigue and influence in this country, is contained in the following extracts of *original* letters from a member of Congress to his friends in the Eastern States, written at Philadelphia, in 1783.

" It seems there are some among you, who openly approve the conduct of France during the negotiations for peace, and condemn the conduct of our ministers. This I expected, or else that they would deny the whole, and rely upon their own effrontery to
carry

* See Note on p. 39.

carry it through. *The French have certainly their partisans among you, and violent ones too.* The divulging their *intrigues*, rendered it necessary for them to adopt one of those lines of conduct. Their *money* and their *flattery*, both which they use, may gain them some active devoted tools ; but if the body of the people suffer themselves to be duped by them, they deserve to be the servant of servants forever.

“ I EXPECT you are not aware that their influence will be exerted to encourage the opposition to the 4th, 5th, and 6th articles of the treaty.† Their object now is to prevent that treaty from taking effect ; to keep Britain and us still at variance ; to promote divisions both here and in England, the more effectually to keep us dependent on themselves. That this is their policy, and that their engines are all at work, I think very evident from a great variety of circumstances ; and an attention to their former conduct will shew, that the same views, the same principles of policy, which induced the former will lead them to the latter. Their partisans here, both in and out of office, are highly pleased at the rising fermentation, at the appearance of general confusion. They are opposed to every measure that would look like an attempt to check the popular tide.

“ I FIND but few people who are sufficiently attentive to, and jealous for, these times and such intriguing spirits. I have suggested my ideas to some, who appeared alarmed, but could not believe that such duplicity could be practised. It is, in their opinion, too deep, too hazardous a game, and too inimical for a *friend* to play. For my part, I look first for the *interest* of a nation ; having found where that lies, I always expect them to pursue it, let the *appearances* be as they may.”

* * * * *

“ IN truth, the French did not intend a peace, but were surprized into it. The count de Vergennes, when he politely consented that the American commissioners should meet Mr. Oswald, relied wholly on the restrictions he conceived them to be under, of recurring to him for advice ; well knowing that in every such recurrence, he would have it in his power to defeat the negociation. He expected too, that sufficient obstructions would necessarily arise on the part of the British, *especially as he himself encouraged them.* He intended to have dragged America through another campaign at least : and instead of leaving her in circumstances from which she would rise and make a figure, he meant that she should be so fettered with embarrassments, that she must have continued in a large degree *dependent on France.* Had this been the case, the political connexion with that nation might have been indissoluble. It is to the Count's mistake of the characters of the American commissioners, that we are in some measure indebted for the present pacification. Had he supposed

† Of 1783.

they

they would have dared to construe their instructions in the liberal manner they have done, he assuredly would never have trusted them with the opportunity. Mr. Oswald, it appears, considered the interest of the two countries in the same light with Mr. Adams and Mr. Jay ; every essay of the French, therefore, to divert him from the purpose, was vain and fruitless. But peace, however grateful it is to the many, causes great chagrin to some in public life. We have a junto here so completely *enlisted in the French service*, and so closely attached to them by some *invisible tie*, that I almost despair of seeing a separation. These men, like those whom they serve, have it now in view to deprive us of those inestimable advantages, which, if we act wisely, must result to us from the peace. Their object is, to prevent our forming any commercial connexion with any European power, other than Spain and Sweden, these courts being entirely under the French management. To this end, they have pressed the recal of Messrs. Dana, Adams, &c. and have urged that instructions should be given to enter into no treaty, nor even conversation, on the subject.—Mr. Dana might have finished a very advantageous treaty long ago, *but for the French minister*, whom he was bound to obey. Every opposition from the same quarter was made to Mr. Adams in Holland ; and it was their policy which so exceedingly embarrassed Mr. Jay at the court of Madrid. In a word, it is clear, by the advices from all our ministers, except Dr. F——n, that they oppose our connexion with any power but themselves. They meant to save us, *but it was to themselves, and FOR THEIR OWN USE.*

“ WE are now told, that they are justly entitled to a monopoly of our tobacco trade ; that it is the smallest compensation we can make for their kindness and their expense in saving us ; and that their farmers have made arrangements, counting on the benefits to arise from this exclusive trade. But shall we give ourselves up in this manner ? Shall we neglect to avail ourselves of the advantages within our reach ? Shall the great Council of America discover less knowledge and less virtue than their servants have done in every line and every character ? Shall they, at this stage of the business, be the first to betray or relinquish the interest of their country ? God forbid ! For the honour of America, I hope it cannot happen. *Our true interest consists in avoiding too close a connexion with any nation, and by a just and pacific policy to derive commercial benefits from all ;* and I trust there is still a majority in Congress who think with me, *and who, preferring the interests of this country to that of any other,* will pursue those measures that promise the advancement of it.

April, 1783.

“ I am told, that at Boston the *settlers* are playing off the refugee article against the commissioners. Thus the French will let no man maintain his ground who stands in their way. It is, however,

ever,

ever, a game I expected they would play ; and yet is the more wicked and unpardonable, when we know that *Vergennes* caused the insertion of that article *himself*, and did it too for the purpose of embarrassing *us* : That this was the motive, cannot be doubted, from the use that is now made of it by his emissaries in this country. Would not the annunciation of this fact guard the public from any further imposition ? Could any evil arise from its being known at this time ? It would be doing the public an essential service, and would rescue some of the best characters from unmerited abuse.

May, 1783.

“ IT is time that Massachusetts changed her policy as to refugees. Several of the States will receive any and every body ; and it will at last be found to be the dictate of sound policy, and a regard to our own interest, to admit all who are not remarkably rancorous and active against us.

“ I HAVE mentioned to you the * * *’s peace establishment, the formation of a navy, and other favourite projects of the FINANCIER, and his followers and adherents ; but these propositions ought to be rejected by Congress, and I think they will, though they will be backed by that influence which I have already described as being far too great. A thorough understanding betwixt the French minister, the Spanish agent, and some of the wealthier citizens of this place, forms a phalanx that attacks with great force ; and when their whole efforts are brought to a point, and their numerous dependants are brought forth to action, they are almost irresistible. It is their practice to *hunt* down every man that cannot be brought over to their views : and so many engines are set at work to depress every individual opposer, that a man must have more than a common share of good fortune to escape them ; so that an independent spirit here is in a constant state of warfare. I find it difficult to *be well* with these people, and at the same time act honestly : but as I am not easily discomposed, I am determined they shall finally respect me in spite of themselves.

July 21, 1783.

“ MASSACHUSETTS appears to be in a great fermentation : parties run very high there, and violent measures are pursuing. The French interest is united with the * * *, and * * * is their leader ; and it is well known to you, that he will be stopped by no principle or consideration. The commutation with the army, and the refugee articles in the treaty, are made use of to inflame the people ; and it must be allowed the instruments are well chosen, as no others could be used with equal success.

“ THE Chevalier de Luzerne had the first notice here of the *new delegation*, and discovers the highest satisfaction with it ; indeed he had no small share in producing it. He found it necessary

fary to remove the men who thwarted his designs. The same parties are united against Mr. J. Adams, and intend to run him down as soon as he arrives [from Europe.] Great efforts are making to render him unpopular, and the peace reprobated. The French have two points in view ; to weaken us by internal dissensions, and to prevent such a conciliation with the British as may be the ground of any future useful connexion with them. In all this, their conduct is natural, and (for the disciples of Machiavel) perfectly right. In pursuing their own interest, they must keep us as dependent as possible."

If the proposition, which the preceding facts tend to establish, viz. that the conduct of the government of France towards this country, ever since the commencement of our connexion with that nation, has been a series of selfish cunning, masked with the *name* of friendship, needed any further confirmation, it might be added, that the thing is, in itself, so very probable, as hardly to require any proof ; and that the opinion which once prevailed in America, that the French had been the faithful protectors of our independence, and generous allies, and therefore entitled to our unceasing gratitude, is so incredible, that nothing but the wonder-working intrigue of the French cabinet could ever have given it currency.

LAYING aside for a moment all the evidence which has been exhibited, let us examine the past state of things, and ask ourselves, whether any other conduct, on the part of France, ought to have been expected by us. In the beginning of our revolutionary war, the *despotic* government of this nation saw their ancient and hated enemy, Britain, torn by domestic dissensions ; her American colonies, which had grown up to formidable strength in a state of dependence on her, now in a state of revolt, struggling to establish an independent *republic*, founded on principles of *civil liberty*. France too, it ought here to be remembered, had for many years possessed colonies in America, and had maintained long, expensive, and bloody wars in their defence, and that too against the very people
whose

whose cause they had now espoused with such high pretensions of friendship. What must necessarily have been the *feelings* and *wishes* of *such* a government, so situated, on contemplating such a scene? Any man, not blinded by prejudice, must at once answer, their *feelings* must have been *joy* at this convulsion and dismemberment of the empire of their habitual and formidable enemy; but *hatred* to both parties, at least no affection for either, and *jealousy* or *contempt* for those *republican principles* advocated by the colonists, and which, in the opinion of Frenchmen themselves, have since proved the bane of their monarchy. Their *wishes* must have been to encourage and aid the Americans to weaken their old enemy, to prolong, widen, and aggravate the breach between Britain and her colonies, and to render a reconciliation impossible. The independence of America, which would deprive Britain of an arm of great and increasing strength, would necessarily be a desirable object. France, proverbial for her ambition and her intrigues, would wish further, if it were possible, to take America to herself; but she well knew it would be impossible to persuade the colonists of England to abandon their idea of independence, their love of liberty, and their former habits, and consent to change allegiance only, and become dependent on a nation whose cruelties and perfidy, in recent wars on their frontiers, many of them had experienced, and most of them must have too well remembered. In such a state of things, what must have been the policy of such a government as the French then had? Undoubtedly to do all they could to aggrandize their own country; to render America *nominally independent*, but *actually dependent* on France; to manage the profitable American trade for their own benefit; and for this purpose, to influence her legislative councils; to curtail the limits and resources of America, and keep her weak, that she might always need France as a protector; to perpetuate

uate the old confederation, which she saw was totally defective in energy to preserve the union of the States; or to combine the national force; to kindle and cherish popular prejudices against wise and faithful rulers, and their measures, and thus to weaken the country by divisions, and its government by the loss of public confidence; to deceive the people, honest and unsuspecting, into gratitude for pretended benefits; and to bind us to France by political ties, which would enable her to make war and peace for us. If these things could be effected, France would then have all the advantages from America, the *name* of empire over her excepted, which a naked change of allegiance from England to herself could have given her. This course, which a discerning politician might have easily predicted from existing circumstances, France has in fact pursued.

DURING the unpromising state of American affairs, in 1776 and 1777, we could obtain no other aid from France than small sums of money, *reluctantly** and *secretly* given, and afterwards formally *denied* to the British minister. As our strength and determination to be independent increased, and when success crowned our arms at Trenton and in the capture of Gen. Burgoyne's army, she began to have some confidence in our success; and in 1778, when independence, under the guiding and protecting hand of Providence which had conducted us thus far, was in our own power, she made a treaty of alliance with the United States; and taking advantage of our unsuspecting confidence, and our peculiar situation, by one article of it, she bound us to guaranty the possessions of France in the West-Indies. The advantage of this to her, as a mere guaranty, could be nothing, as the West-India islands needed a *fleet* for their protection, which she had, and we had not. The true object undoubtedly was, to put it in her power to draw us into all her wars, which was the natural tendency

* See Note (D).

dency of this stipulation, as it was a *general* guaranty, not an engagement for a certain number of ships, men, or supplies, but an *obligation*, to fulfil which, might, and probably would, call forth all our strength and resources in every French war. In return for this, France guarantied to the United States their *independence*, which was already safe, and which the former had the deepest interest in preserving. The 8th article of this treaty was also expressly designed to impair our respectability, and to secure our dependence on France.*

Thus the *friendship*, of which the French partisans have boasted so much, began to unfold itself. When the war was drawing to a close, and peace was to be made, hypocrisy, in every footstep, as we have already seen, disgraces their national character. They intrigued, and, in most instances, with effect, to prevent the acknowledgment of our independence by other nations, in order to have this favour peculiar to themselves, and to keep us dependent on them alone. By intriguing in Congress, and out of doors, they obtained the truly wonderful instructions to our commissioners, that *independent* America should make such a peace *only* as *France* should direct! This generous and unlimited confidence was abused by the French, in exerting to the utmost their diplomatic skill, to deprive us of the fisheries, the western territory, and the Mississippi, lest we should grow rich and powerful, and be induced to throw off their guardianship. They attempted to compel us to agree to the return of the Tories, and to compensate them for their confiscated estates, evidently for purposes hostile to our tranquillity. They obtained an influence in our Congress before the existence of the present government, visible to many of its members, and extremely injurious to our interests.

Thus have we traced, summarily, the line of conduct pursued towards the United States by the French

* See this more fully explained, p. 50 & 51.

monarchy ; and it certainly affords full proof of the *veracity* of the National Convention in one instance, and that is, when, in an *honest* moment, or more probably when *resentment* against the old government got the ascendancy over *political prudence*, they declared that “ *the support afforded by France to the United States, in their struggle for independence, was ONLY THE FRUIT OF A BASE SPECULATION ; that our glory offended their ambitious views ; and that THEIR AMBASSADORS BORE THE CRIMINAL ORDERS OF STOPPING THE CAREER OF OUR PROSPERITY.*”

IN what ways the French ambassadors, during the monarchy, executed their *criminal orders* in “stopping the career of our prosperity,” may be learned in part from the preceding facts and observations. That France appointed able men, who would be faithful to their trust, ought not to be doubted ; and there is as little reason to doubt, that the injurious effects of their efforts among us have been very great. The disunion among the States, which prevailed after the peace, which often wore a threatening aspect on our independence, and even our national existence ; the total loss of public credit ; the imbecility of the confederation ; the prevalence of disorganizing principles, which, in one instance,* generated an alarming insurrection ; the divisions in the old Congress, and the loose, democratic politics of some of its members ; the violent opposition made to the adoption of an efficient government, in the Federal Constitution, by which these evils, which were weakening and ruining us, might be remedied : all these things tended to “*stop the career of our prosperity ;*” and whether they were in any degree excited and cherished by the intrigues and influence of France, or not, were certainly consonant to her policy, gratifying to her wishes, and, if we may credit the National Convention, agreeable to the instructions of her ambassadors.

DOES any ask, whether *regenerated* France, (as that

* Massachusetts.

confusion

confusion of principles, now existing there, has been most *profanely* termed) has not been more friendly? I answer, The revolutionary government, as we have just remarked, has *confessed* to us, in lively colours, the duplicity and baseness of the former policy towards the United States; but *repentance and reformation* have not followed *confession*. On the contrary, they have outdone their predecessors in nothing so much as in their *duplicity** and *fraud*. The “little finger” of the *Republic* has been found “*thicker than the loins*” of the *Monarchy*. This “chastised us with *whips*,” that with “*scorpions*.”

THE American government, of all the nations, first acknowledged the French Republic; and the people, from Maine to Georgia, rejoiced in her victories. We have shut our eyes against her excesses; have apologized for her crimes; and so blinded have we been by our partialities, so unwilling to believe her capable of meditating our injury under the garb of friendship, that evidence of her unfriendly views towards us, which would have produced full conviction in unbiassed minds, barely, for a long time, excited reluctant suspicion in us. We have granted indulgences to her prizes, which our treaty did not warrant; and in doing it, have hazarded a war with Britain; and our embargo act was infringed to preserve her from famine. France, in return for all these acts of *real* friendship, has sent us *Genet* to assume the sovereignty of the United States; to levy troops in its territory to act against a nation with whom we were at peace, and to institute secret, disorganizing clubs,† subversive of the peace and liberties of our country. Upon the complaint of our government against him, he was recalled; and *Fauchet* was sent to bribe and corrupt our public officers; to conduct the *conspiracy* against our government; to prepare and arrange the materials
for

* See Note (E).

† See Note (F).

for a "general explosion." * Him, *Adet* succeeded, who, in obedience to his instructions, has insulted and vilified our government, intrigued in a most important election, and industriously attempted to draw a line of division between the government and the people. Since all this, France has refused to receive Gen. *Pinckney* as our minister, because we would not be duped by her ; and has in *fact*, if not in *form*, demanded the right of nominating a minister for us. She has treated *three* special Envoys with the most insulting neglect and contempt ; has refused to hear their complaints and their proposals for peace, and has had the unblushing impudence to boast of her "*diplomatic skill*," and of "*the means she possessed in this country*," as being "*sufficient to enable her, with her FRENCH PARTY in America, to throw the blame, which might attend the rupture of the negotiations, on the Federalists ;*" and to declare that this should be done.† She has plundered our commerce to an immense amount ;‡ has insulted, imprisoned, and butchered our citizens ; and after all, has demanded that the *amount* of her *aggressions* should be the *measure* of our *tribute* !!!

AMERICANS, though patient to long suffering, have at length risen indignant at such accumulated injuries and outrage. France, perceiving that she has progressed too fast in her work of revolutionizing § our government, and that she has incautiously raised a spirit formidable to her *secret* and insidious designs, has now recourse to her old pretences of *friendship* ; and, with unparalleled effrontery, *cants* of her *wishes* for reconciliation, of *her JUSTICE* and of *our INJURIES*!! If she expects to gain credit with *real* Americans, she must pay our plundered merchants ; respect our flag ;
and

* "The present crisis is indubitably connected with a *general explosion*, for some time preparing in the public mind, but which this local and precipitate eruption (meaning the Western insurrection) will cause to miscarry ; or at least check for a long time." Fauchet's intercepted letter.

† See the Dispatches of our Commissioners.

‡ See Note (G.)

§ See Note (H).

and honour, or at least cease to insult, our government.

UNTIL France shall abandon her project of revolutionizing the United States, our safety depends, under God, on our union, our vigilance, and our valour. With the favour of Heaven, our situation and resources render us invincible. French intrigue alone can conquer by corrupting us. To this source of danger we cannot be too attentive. Happy for these United States, our political connexion with this intriguing nation is dissolved. At length we enjoy the fruit of our revolution, *Independence*. That day, on which we were politically severed from France, forms a glorious epoch in our history, which merits to be celebrated *in perpetuum*, as the day of our *complete* emancipation from foreign domination. Too long, and too intimate, has been our intercourse with this corrupt and corrupting nation; too numerous have been her partisans, and too great her influence, among the people, and in the legislative assemblies of America. “The infection of her society is a greater curse than war or pestilence.” Many years of vigilant, active duty, on the part of the friends of religion and their country, will not retrieve the injury to christian institutions, to morals and patriotism, which has arisen from our too fond attachment to France. But, God be praised, “the snare is now broken, and we are escaped.”

OUR ancient and goodly institutions, corrupted, indeed, in too many instances, by the baneful principles of the new philosophy, are still preserved among us. Our government, strong in the affections and confidence of the people, is yet in the hands of men who respect Christianity and its ordinances; who are convinced that *morality* is necessary to good government, and that *religion* is its only sure basis. Our legislators have not abolished the Christian *Sabbath*, nor interdicted its public observance. They have neither shut up our churches, nor converted them into “Temples

ples of Reason," nor profaned them with the worship of infamous *prostitutes*, enrobed and installed as "tutelary goddesses." * The instructors of our schools do not teach their pupils to despise the BIBLE, nor to "detest God;" nor have we civil rulers, who, as a body, are capable of applauding such impious conduct. † Though the votaries of infidelity and licentiousness are too numerous, they are yet the minority of the nation, and we will hope are now on the decline, both in numbers and influence. The lamentable issue of the great experiment, made in France, of governing a civilized people without the aids of religion, has procured for Christianity many able advocates, and furnished many strong motives to the Christian to cherish his faith. While France, both in a political and religious view, exhibits an awful example for us to shun, we cannot but feel for her present deplorable wretchedness, and the tremendous calamities, which, in all probability, still await this profligate nation. Although the "prejudices of philosophers (philosophists) and *systemists*," have been pronounced "*incorrigible*," we will indulge the hope, that the uncommon afflictions and miseries which the atheistical conspirators against religion and government have brought upon France, and those under her control, will operate conviction and regret in the blindest understanding and the hardest heart; and thus all this "wrath of man" be made ultimately to "praise God." How much sorer we detest the principles and the conduct of the French, we still most sincerely wish them well; that they may speedily enjoy the fruits of true repentance and reformation; the blessings of good government, peace, and pure Christianity. Then we will embrace them as FRIENDS; till then, we ought to hold them as ENEMIES.

* See Note (I).

† See Note (K).



NOTE (A.)

As *political* sermons are much censured at the present day, by a certain description of people, for reasons not difficult to divine ; and as the foregoing discourse *may* happen to fall into the hands of some who may feel disposed to say, with an author of brilliant talents, that “ politics and the pulpit are terms that have little agreement ;” and that “ no sound ought to be heard in the church, but the healing voice of “ christian charity,” it may not be amiss, for the use of such persons, to recite the following complete answer to their objection.

“ THE whole force of this objection seems to rest on the term *politics* being confined, in its sense, to the wrangling debates of modern assemblies ; debates, which far too often turn entirely on the narrow, selfish, and servile views of party. The term has been, and in discourses from the pulpit ought to be, used in a much more extended and more dignified sense ; as comprehending all that long list of duties which every man owes to society in his public capacity. Every man is at least as much concerned to be a good subject, as he is to be a good neighbour ; and so far is a preacher from being chargeable with being guilty of a confusion of duties, or of assuming a character which does not belong to him, that he acts strictly within the line of his profession, when he explains as well as he is able, and enforces on the people committed to his care, their *public* as well as their private duties. Such *politics* are literally *the healing voice of christian charity.*”

BOUCHER'S DISCOURSES.

In December, 1775, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts resolved, that the following letter be addressed to the several ministers of the Gospel within this province—

“ REVEREND SIR,

“ WE cannot but acknowledge the goodness of Heaven, in constantly supplying us with preachers of the Gospel, whose concern has been the temporal and spiritual happiness of this people. In a day like this, when all the friends of civil and religious liberty are exerting themselves to deliver this country from its present calamities, we cannot but place great hopes in an order of men, who have ever distinguished themselves in their country's cause ; and do therefore *recommend* to the ministers of the Gospel, in the several towns and other places in this colony, that they assist us in avoiding that dreadful slavery with which we are now threatened.”

THE reader, after being told, that the most violent opposers of political discourses *were*, were among the most zealous advocates for them in 1775, and some of them members of the Congress who passed the above resolution, is left to make his own reflections.

NOTE (B.)

SEE Robison's Proofs of a Conspiracy, p. 263, to the end. Baruel's Memoirs of Jacobinism, vol. iv. and also the “ Correspondence of the Revolutionary Society in London, with the National Assembly, and with various other societies in France and England,” in the years 1780 to 1792, which clearly discovers that the early views of the *revolutionists* were much more *extensive* than was at that period generally believed. “ Your principles and ours (say the Revolution Society at

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Bristol,

Brest, to their English correspondents, as early as 1791) propagate themselves. This sacred fire, in spite of the obstacles opposed to it, *silently* spreads, and will produce, from pole to pole, *an explosion*, as terrible to tyrants as fatal to them." "If we may trust to our *presentiments* and *wishes*, all Europe will soon become brethren." [Correspondence at the close.] According to the "presentiments" of this society, France has since *fraternized* with Holland, Geneva, Italy, and Switzerland, and appears desirous of making of all the rest of mankind *such kind of brothers*. However *plausible* the *professions* of the revolutionists were at first, their *real* views have been sufficiently well explained by their subsequent *conduct*.

On the 15th of December, 1793, the reporter of the *diplomatic* committee of the National Convention of France thus addresses the Convention.

"THE committees of finance and war ask in the beginning, What is the *object* of the *war* which we have taken in hand? Without all doubt, the object is *the ANNIHILATION OF ALL PRIVILEGES, war with the palaces and peace with the cottages*. These are the principles on which *your declaration of war is founded*." "We must declare ourselves for a revolutionary power in all the countries into which we enter. (Loud applauses.) Nor need we put on the cloak of *humanity*. We disdain *such little arts*." "Abolish from among you the nobles, and every *ecclesiastical* and military incorporation. They are incompatible with equality."

NOTE (C.)

MARK this passage, reader, and bear in mind that it was written at Paris, in 1782, by a gentleman of great discernment and integrity. Experience has verified his description of *French intrigue*. What a long catalogue might our author now add to the list of its *victims*. Alas, poor, deluded Switzerland no longer forms the noble exception here mentioned. This "*subtle, penetrating, and encroaching French policy*" has been weakly "*yielded to*" by the brave Swiss, and their *ruin* is the consequence. Heaven be praised for an ADAMS, who knew the subtle nature of this detestable policy, and has hitherto resisted it!

NOTE (D.)

"WE have more reason to admire the *patience*, than to be satisfied with the *generosity* of our allies." See p. 49.

It ought to be mentioned, however, that in the spring of 1776, the sum of *two hundred thousand* pounds, in money, arms, and ammunition, was raised in France by *subscription*, as a *present* to America. But Mr. *Beaumarchais*, a French merchant, through whose hands the articles subscribed were remitted, had the address, by his agent, Mr. *Francey*, to make Congress *pay for them*. [Gordon's Hist. Rev. vol. iii. p. 219.] A correct account of the manner in which our debt to France was accumulated, would be a useful piece of information. It is believed that this, and every other species of debt, have been *amply* paid.

NOTE (E.)

ONE instance of their duplicity, little known, but well authenticated, ought here to be noticed. Mr. Adet, in his famous official Note to the Secretary

Secretary of State, more commonly and properly styled, his *appeal* to the American people, published Nov. 5, 1796, among other topics, by which he attempts to excite their uneasiness with the government of their country, charges it (the government) with “eluding the *amicable* mediation of the French Republic for breaking the chains of the American prisoners at *Algiers*.” It is a *fact*, I declare it on *unquestionable* authority, that at the very time we were relying on the French for their *promised friendly* aid in making a treaty with the DEY of Algiers, and obtaining the liberation of our unhappy countrymen from the most deplorable slavery, *the French did obstruct our negotiations ; did encourage the DEY to make demands* (already enormous) *too high to be complied with ;* and by *other artifices*, endeavoured to prevent a treaty, and the accomplishment of the *humane objects* of our government. There is good reason to believe that the treaty, now existing, would not have been concluded, if it *had not happened* to have been done *without the agency or privity* of the French Consul, whom our Commissioner was directed to consult.

NOTE (F.)

THE *Jacobin Clubs*, instituted by Genet, were a formidable engine for the accomplishment of the designs of France to subjugate and govern this country. They started into existence, by a kind of magic influence, in all parts of the United States, from Georgia to New-Hampshire ; and being linked together by correspondence, by constitutional ties, and, if I have been correctly informed, by *oaths*, after the manner of the societies of the *Illuminati* in Europe, they acted upon one plan, in concert, and with an ultimate reference to the same grand objects. By means of their dispersion and intimate intercourse, their disorganizing principles and measures were easily disseminated through the country, and the French party organized, marshalled, and instructed how to act against our own government, in favour of France.

THE leading members in these *clubs*, who *possessed the SECRET*, of which Fauchet speaks in his intercepted letter, are known to have been uniformly devoted to the interests of France, and in the confidence of her ministers and agents in this country. And there is reason to believe their intention was, in union with France, to produce a “*general explosion ;*” * or, in other words, a *revolution* in our country, and to put it under the guardianship of France, as Holland, Geneva, and Switzerland have since been, by her partizans in those republics. But our government, vigilant and discerning, discovered their deep designs, and frowned upon and defeated them. These societies have since ceased *openly* to act ; but, like their parent society in Bavaria,† which, when suppressed under one form, was soon revived again under the name of the *German Union*, and pursued with renewed vigour the same objects ; so the *Jacobin Clubs*, finding it unpopular to act under that name, have lately been revived under the title of the *American Society of United Irishmen*, which appears to be formed on similar principles, and for the same purposes.‡

THE similarity in the movements, the principles, and views of the *Illuminati*,

* See Fauchet's intercepted letter, which throws great light on this subject, and ought to be re-perused at this time.

† THE ILLUMINATI.

‡ See note at the end of my Fast Sermon of May 9, 1798, 2d edition.

Illuminati, and the *societies* which we have mentioned, render it highly probable that the latter are the genuine offspring of the former. Their connexion, indeed, can be traced, with the evidence of probability, if not of certainty. Professor Robison asserts, upon credible evidence, that the *Jacobin Club* at Paris was formed by the advice, and under the direction of some German deputies from the society of the *Illuminati*, who, by request of Mirabeau and others, came to Paris in 1788, to illuminate the Great National Lodge of Free Masons in that city. "The first proceeding (says the professor) by the advice of these deputies, was the formation of a political committee in every lodge. This committee corresponded with the distant lodges, and in it were discussed all the political principles which were to be inculcated on the members. The author of the *Neueste Arbeitung* says expressly, that "he was thoroughly instructed in this; that it was given in charge to these committees to frame general rules, and to carry through the *great plan of a general overturning of religion and government*." The principal leaders of the subsequent revolution were members of these committees. Here were the plans laid, and they were transmitted through the kingdom by the corresponding committees. These committees arose from the *Illuminati* in Bavaria, who had by no means given over working; and these committees produced the *Jacobin Club*,[†] which, there is little reason to doubt, in turn, by the instrumentality of Genet, produced the *Jacobin societies* in America, between which, and the mother club at Paris, there was a strong resemblance and a close correspondence.

ANOTHER circumstance which renders it probable, that the leading members and abettors of the *Jacobin societies* acted in concert, and under the direction of the *Illuminati* in Europe, is, that they have been the chief disseminators, in this country, of the demoralizing principles of the *Illuminati*, and the circulators of those publications which are designed to bring into discredit and contempt the Christian Religion.

THE Illuminated French Revolutionists well knew that they could not extensively circulate their principles in America, so long as we retained our reverence for Christianity, its institutions, and its morals. They knew, that, in order to secure our cordial friendship, and co-operation in their impious designs upon the moral and political world, they must make us as impious, as unprincipled, and immoral as themselves. For this purpose they sent over Volney, among other philosophers, to "sap the foundation of *morality*, by establishing *expediency*, as an universal rule of right;" and employed Thomas Paine to "wound religion by the shafts of wit and ridicule."

The philosophers and revolutionists of France appear to have acted upon the maxim of Thomas Paine, that "*an army of principles* will penetrate where an army of soldiers cannot. It is neither the Rhine (he says) the channel, nor *the ocean*, that can arrest its progress. It will march to the horizon of the world, and it will conquer."[‡] In conformity to this maxim, that infamous book, styled the "*Age of Reason*," was written in France, (and, it is said, in the house, and under the patronage of Mr. Moreau), printed there in the *English* language, and a cargo of 15,000 copies, at one time, sent into these United States, and disposed of by sale at a cheap rate, or given away. Besides these imported copies, numerous editions of the same work (same on our country!) have been printed here. The effects produced by the ex-

tensive

[†] Robison's Proofs, &c. p. 294. Phila. Edit.

[‡] Paine's "Agrarian Justice," &c.

tensive circulation of these books, and others of the same cast and tendency, in the evident spread of infidel and atheistical principles, and the consequent deterioration of morals, evince, that these apostles of *Illuminism* have not been unsuccessful in their labours.

NOTE (G.)

MR. MONROE, and after him, the French partisans in this country, have asserted, that the capture of our vessels by the French, was produced by the *British treaty*; and this circumstance has served not a little to inflame opposition to this instrument. But nothing can be more false than this assertion. Not to mention what has often been repeated, that this order involved *all neutrals*, and therefore could not be recrimination for supposed injuries by the *American treaty*, these captures were determined on at Paris *long before the ratification of the treaty was known there*: for it appears from Mr. Monroe's view, that the government of France did not consider the ratification as *completed*, till the House of Representatives had sanctioned it. The evidence of the fact just asserted, results from a conversation which took place in the vicinity of Boston, in the summer of 1796, between an American gentleman of great integrity and respectability, in whose veracity full confidence is to be placed, and a French emigrant of note, a man of amiable manners, and whose situation greatly interested the sympathetic feelings of those who became acquainted with him. The substance of this conversation, as related to me by the American gentleman himself, follows.

EMIGRANT. "As soon as the Emperor of Germany shall be broken down, which may be momentarily expected, the French government will announce to the world its solemn determination to *capture every vessel upon the ocean*, which shall be found to have on board *any article of the growth, product, or manufacture of any of the British dominions*, without any respect to the nation to which *the vessel or the articles* belong, or to the country from, or to which she might be sailing. *This determination* has long since been made at Paris. My information of it came from an *unquestionable* source and authority, and you will certainly see it executed."

AMERICAN. "I do not doubt it, Sir, and should be rejoiced to see it attempted; for I have long been persuaded that France holds the rights of nations and of men in perfect contempt, and will do all they can to destroy those who do not resist her. I wish to see the atrocity of her designs so openly displayed that *all the world* may be compelled to acknowledge it; and no part of it suffer any longer from her delusions, which have hitherto done more than her arms," &c.

EMIGRANT. "There is no other way of *destroying England*, and you Americans are as much interested as the French, in *the destruction of England*, and you ought, therefore, with all other nations professing neutrality, to *acquiesce in this measure*."

THIS extraordinary conversation was repeated at the time to several respectable gentlemen, who now recollect it.

It then the testimony of this respectable emigrant is to be credited, the measure of the government of France, authorising the capture of our vessels, which has been, with so much assurance, ascribed to the *British treaty*, had no connexion with it, and had been determined on *long before* its ratification. Add to this, Mr. Monroe, in his letter of June 12, 1796, suppose, the French *councils* are settled on this interesting topic
(the

(the British treaty) and that he shall hear nothing further from them on it." And on the 28th of June, 1796, M. de la Croix applied to Mr. Monroe by letter, to know if it were true that the House of Representatives had provided for the execution of the treaty ; and this he did, in order that, *if true*, he might call the attention of the Directory to the subject, as interesting in its consequences to the French Republic. On the 7th of July, the first specification of objections to the treaty was made by M. de la Croix to Mr. Monroe ; and it was not till some time in August, that he (Monroe) heard any thing of the orders to capture our vessels (which he then *disbelieved*) ; and it was not till *October* that he had *official* notice of it. And yet this French emigrant, the *summer before*, asserted, to the gentleman above mentioned, at the distance of 3000 miles from Paris, that the system had *then*, for a *long time*, been settled. The British treaty served as a convenient *pretence* for the promulgation of this iniquitous, hostile measure, and was intended, no doubt, to answer the double purpose of justifying this aggression on our neutral rights, and of bringing odium on the treaty.

ANOTHER important reflection occurs, on reading the preceding conversation. It appears that this emigrant, though proscribed and impoverished by his countrymen, was yet possessed, at this distance, of the most *secret designs* of the French government, *long before* they were discovered by diplomatic men even *in Paris*. And hence it is very natural to suspect, that this emigrant was serving the government of France here, in order probably to gain their permission to return, or from some other less honourable views. And is there not good reason to believe, that a very large proportion of the Frenchmen in this country, exiles as well as others, are devoted to France, and serving the tyrants at Paris ? In saying this, I would be far from implicating one honest man among this unfortunate class of people. No one feels for the *honest* sufferers from Europe more than I do, or is more ready to give them relief. But if a man, possessing so many amiable qualities as the emigrant of whom we have been speaking, was capable of acting a double part, it ought to put us on our guard against *all foreigners*.

NOTE (H.)

SOME, perhaps, may be inclined to doubt, or even to deny any design of the rulers of France to effect a *revolution* in this country. If such persons require any further proof of this than is contained in the preceding narrative, and the course of events for six years past, I have to request them to attend to the following information from high diplomatic authority in Europe. The original letters containing it are before me.

“ * * * *, March 31, 1798.

“ * * * ,

“ FRANCE has formed, and is not likely to abandon her project respecting both North and South-America.”

“ * * * * *

“ THE rapidity of system with which one event follows another, in Europe, will soon put France in a situation when she will commence, in earnest, her project respecting America.”

“ * * * * *

“ THE Directory do certainly believe that they have many friends and partisans among us. If they did not give credit to perfidious persons

sons who told them so, their experience, in respect to all other countries into which they have introduced themselves, would lead them to infer the existence of a party in their favour in America ; and this inference would be strengthened by the continuance of our commissioners at Paris, which is accounted for only by the belief that they dare not go home.

“ IF South-America shall be divided into a large number of small republics, and put under the government of those who shall be first initiated and made to feel a due sympathy for France, the *Great Nation* will then be in the situation described by a person lately returned from a *secret mission of the Directory into the United States*, who says, that “ France wants only *un point d'appui* [footing] upon the borders, or within the United States, to make a *fourth of September** at Philadelphia.”

* * * * *

“ I HAVE not the smallest portion of doubt that France expects to revolutionize our country ; and that the attempt will be made when our turn comes.”

“ * * *, April 9, 1798.

“ A LETTER I have this minute received from Paris, confirms my opinion, long since formed, that France had settled, and would not be diverted from her plan respecting America. Is it not incredible that we should any longer hope even, for success from our mission ? After all the humiliation that our envoys have suffered ; after unceasing intrigues to divide them, and thereby to divide us ; after having humbly waited more than six months in the halls and anti-chambers of the Directory, sometimes spoken to by a subordinate clerk, and at others insulted by the gross and offensive proposals of some profligate renegade, retained in the service of the minister, two of them are to be sent away ; and the third will be allowed to stay ; and when the Directory shall have nothing else to do, will be heard in excuse of our errors, and in mitigation of our punishment !!”

* * * * *

“ THE Dutch will receive their new constitution, and thus become one and indivisible. The Romans are waiting for the courier that shall bring theirs ; and in the interim have organized a club, under the permission of the *Great Nation*, called “ *The Rivals of Brutus*.”† They will probably be employed to act in other countries ; and *some of the boldest of them will repair to Philadelphia*.”

“ HELVETIA has been proclaimed, by the French legions, a Republic, and

* THE *fourth* of September was the day of the revolution at Paris, when Barthelemi, Pichegru, and their associates, were banished, without a trial, and Carnot was murdered.

† BRUTUS headed a band of *conspirators*, who assassinated CÆSAR in the Senate chamber. CÆSAR was the friend and benefactor of BRUTUS. By “ *The Rivals of Brutus*,” here mentioned, we must understand, a *club* of ungrateful, desperate *assassins*. “ It cannot be forgotten that, in France, public premiums were proposed, in their legislative assemblies, to stimulate their murderers to act in foreign countries ; and that a corps of desperadoes was to be organized for the purpose. The inconvenience of this avowal of infamy was soon perceived, and from that time they seem to have been content with the practice and the fruits of these crimes, without declaring that they *patronize* them.” The authoress of a *Residence in France*, says, (p. 199) that a motion was made in the National Convention, by one *Garnier*, to procure the assassination of Mr. Pitt.

and by her constitution (likewise preparing at Paris) is to be duly consolidated and simplified.

“EXTRAVAGANT as you may think me, I have some reason to believe that Th. P. (Thomas Paine) and some other renegadoes, have held several meetings in Paris, *to reform the constitution of the United States*; and that the Directory will attempt to effect a fourth of September at Philadelphia, in like manner as they have done in Holland, and very lately in the Cisalpine republic.”

* * * * *

“Do not be deceived by the French. They have settled their plan, and expect we shall become first their *dupes*, and then their *victims*.”

THESE facts may help to explain the probable design of a late *extraordinary* embassy to Paris from the *French party* in this country, and to account for their *secret* military preparations which have been discovered in Philadelphia; for the suspicious association and movements of the society of United Irishmen; and probably for the rising fermentation in several of the southern states, of which some wholesome, but obnoxious acts of Congress, are the *ostensible* cause.

NOTE (I.)

THE ingenious authorefs of a work entitled, “A Residence in France in 1792 to 1795, in a series of letters,” has given a summary account of the abolition of the Christian Sabbath, and the Catholic worship in France, and of the impious and idolatrous rites and ceremonies of what the French philosophers style the “*Religion of Reason*,” substituted in their room.

AFTER the National Convention had effected the deposition of the king, they no longer disguised their hatred of the clerical profession, but began openly to ridicule it. “Some represented it as useless, others as pernicious, and irreconcilable with political freedom; and a discourse* was printed, *under the sanction of the Assembly*, to prove, that the only feasible republic, must be *supported by pure atheism*. Many of the most eminent of the *conforming* prelates and clergy were arrested, and even individuals, who had the reputation of being particularly devout, were marked as objects of persecution. A new calender was devised, which excluded the ancient festivals, and limited public worship to the decade, or tenth day, and all observance of the Sabbath was interdicted.

“WHILE

* THIS discourse was composed by *Anacharsis Cloots*, a Prussian *Illuminatus*, who, with Chaumette, during Robespierre’s reign, was employed to overthrow the altars in France. He says, “our sans-culottes want no other sermon but the rights of man, no other doctrine but the constitutional precepts, nor any other church than where the section or the club hold their meetings. Man, when free, wants no other divinity than himself. This god will not cost us a single farthing, nor a single tear, nor a drop of blood. Reason dethrones both the kings of the earth, and the *kings of Heaven*. No monarchy above, if we wish to preserve our republic below. Volumes have been written to determine whether or not a republic of *atheists* could exist. I maintain that every other republic is a chimera. If you admit the existence of a heavenly Sovereign, you introduce the wooden horse within your walls! What you adore by day will be your destruction at night. The intolerance of truth will one day proscribe the very name of *temple*, &c. We shall instantly see the monarchy of Heaven condemned in its turn by the revolutionary tribunal of victorious reason, &c.” As this discourse was printed and circulated by order of the National Convention, we must believe that the truly shocking sentiments, above recited, were in unison with their own, and such as they were willing publicly to avow, and wished might be diffminated.!

"WHILE this consternation was yet recent, the deputies on mission in the departments shut up the churches entirely ; the refuse of low clubs were paid and encouraged to break the windows and destroy the monuments : and these outrages, which, it was previously concerted, should at first assume the appearance of popular tumult, were soon regulated and directed by the mandatories of the Convention themselves. The churches were again opened ; an atheistic ritual, and licentious homilies, were substituted for the proscribed service ; and an absurd and ludicrous imitation of the Greek mythology was exhibited, under the title of the Religion of Reason. On the principal church of every town was inscribed, "The Temple of Reason : " and a tutelary goddess was installed with a ceremony equally pedantic, ridiculous, and profane. Yet the philosophers did not, on this occasion, disdain those adventitious aids, the use of which they had so much declaimed against while they were the auxiliaries of Christianity.

"PREVIOUS to the tenth day, on which a celebration was to take place, a deputy arrived, accompanied by the female goddesses ; * that is, (if the town itself did not produce one for the purpose) a Roman dress of white satin was hired from the theatre, with which she was invested, her head was covered with a red cap ornamented with oak leaves, one arm was reclined on a plough, the other grasped a spear, and her feet were supported by a globe, and environed by mutilated emblems of feudalism.

"THUS equipped, the divinity and her appendages were borne on the shoulders of Jacobins "*en bonnet rouge*," and escorted by the national guard, mayor, judges, and all the constituted authorities, who, whether diverted or indignant, were obliged to preserve a respectful gravity of exterior. When the whole cavalcade arrived at the place appointed, the goddess was placed on an altar erected for the occasion, from whence she harangued the people, who, in return, proffered their adoration, and sung the *Carmagnole*, and other republican hymns of the same kind. They then proceeded in the same order to the principal church, in the choir of which the same ceremonies were renewed ; a priest was procured to abjure his faith, and avow the whole of Christianity an imposture : and the festival concluded with the burning of prayer books, saints, confessionals, and every thing appropriated to the use of public worship. The greater part of the attendants looked on in silent terror and astonishment ; whilst others, intoxicated, or probably paid to act the scandalous farce, danced round the flames, with an appearance of frantic and savage mirth. It is not to be forgotten that representatives of the people often presided as the high priests of these rites ; and their official dispatches to the Convention, in which these ceremonies were minutely described, were always heard with bursts of applause, and sanctioned by decrees of insertion in the *Bulletin*, a kind of official newspaper, distributed, at the expense of government, in large towns, and posted up in public places."

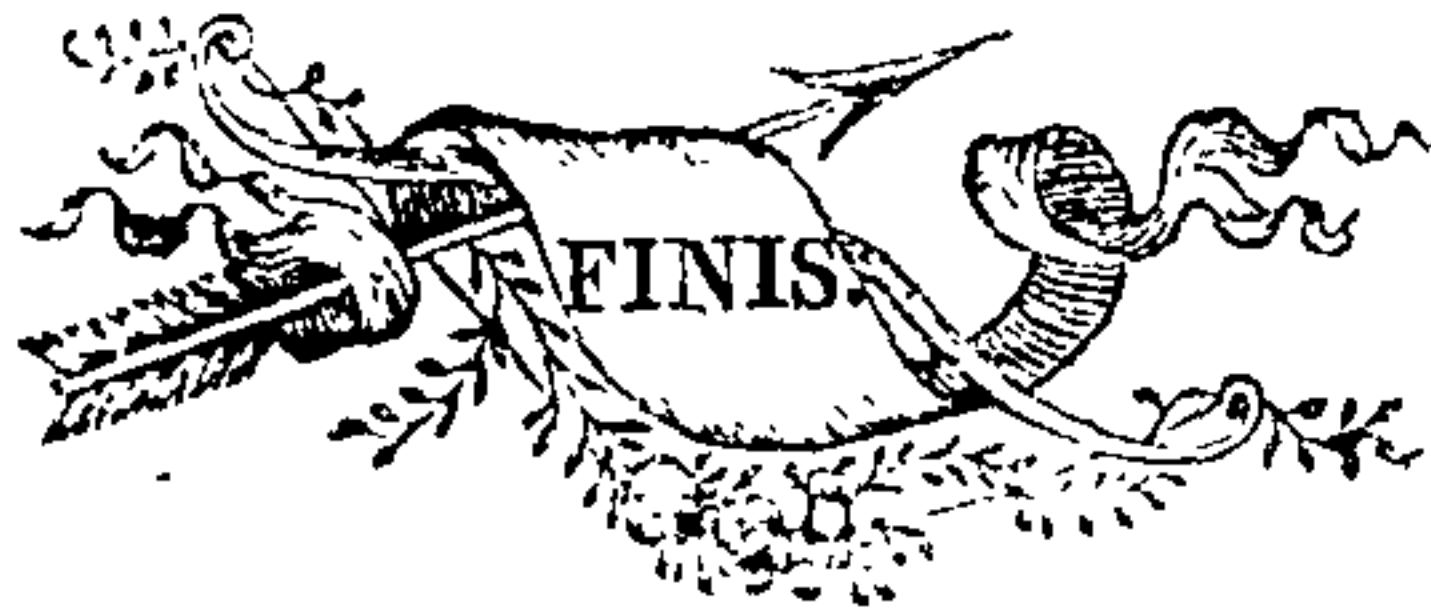
See a Residence in France, p. 270, N. York edition.

* "The females who personated the new divinity were usually selected from amongst those who "might make sectaries of whom they bid but follow," but who were more conspicuous for beauty than any other celestial attribute. The itinerant goddess of the principal towns in the department de la Somme was the mistress of one Taillefer, a republican general, brother to the deputy of the same name. I know not, in this military government, whether the general's service, on the occasion were included in his other appointments. At Amiens he not only provided the deity, but commanded the detachment that secured her a submissive adoration."

NOTE (K.)

“ ON the 30th of November, 1793, the pupils of a new republican school, in France, appeared at the bar of the Convention, when their leader declared,—(I shudder while I commit the horrid blasphemy to paper)—that “*He and his school fellows detested God!*” that instead of learning the Scriptures, they learned the Declaration of Rights, and made the Constitution their catechism.” The President of this Pandemonium expressed *the satisfaction of the Convention* at the declaration they had made. The young demons were *admitted to the honours of the sitting, and received the kiss of fraternity amidst the loudest applauses!!!*”

See Gifford's Letter to Erskine, p. 50.



THE two following Documents were inserted in the Appendix in the second edition of the Rev. Dr. Morse's late Thanksgiving Sermon. They are now printed in this manner for the benefit of purchasers of the first edition, in which they were omitted from inability of obtaining copies in time. Feb. 18, 1799.

NOTE (CC.) for page 44.

(TRANSLATION.)

IDEA, or M. Raneval's memoir, upon the manner of determining and fixing the limits between Spain and the United States, on the side of the Ohio, and towards the Mississippi.

"IT is a question between Spain and the United States of North-America to regulate their respective limits upon the Ohio and Mississippi. The Americans pretend that their domain extends to the Mississippi, and Spain maintains the contrary.

"IT is evident that the Americans can derive the right they pretend to have, to extend their domain to the Mississippi, from the English only. Thus to determine this right, it is proper to examine into what the court of London thought and did respecting it.

"WE know that prior to the treaty of Paris, France possessed Louisiana and Canada ; and that she considered the savages, situated at the east of the Mississippi, either as independent, or not being under her protection.

"THIS pretension never occasioned any contest. England entered into one, only on account of the lands situated near the source of the Ohio, in that part where she had given to that river the name of Alleghany.

"HENCE arose a dispute touching limits, between the courts of Versailles and of London ; but it would be superfluous to enter into the details of it ; it is sufficient to observe, that, in 1755, England proposed the following boundary. She set out from the point where the river of Boeufs falls into the Ohio, at a place called Venango. She ascends that river towards Lake Erie to within 20 leagues of it ; and descending to the said place of Venango, she drew a straight line to the farthest mountains of Virginia, which have their inclination towards the ocean. As to the savage nations, situated between the above described line and the Mississippi, the English ministry considered them as independent. Hence it follows, that, according to the propositions themselves of the court of London, almost the whole course of the Ohio belonged to France ; and that the countries situated at the west of the mountains, were considered as having nothing in common with the colonies.

"DURING the negotiation of the peace in 1761, France offered to cede Canada to England. A question arose respecting the limits of that country, and those of Louisiana. France maintained, that almost the whole course of the Ohio fell within Louisiana ; and the court of London, to prove that this river belonged to Canada, produced many documents for the purpose ; and among others, the chart which Mr. Vaudreuil put into the hands of the English commander when he surrendered
up

up Canada. The ministry of London asserted, at the same time, that one part of the savages, situated at the east of the Mississippi, was independent, and the other, under her protection, and that she had purchased one part of the five Iroquois nations. The misfortunes of France cut short this discussion. The treaty of Paris fixed the Mississippi for the boundary between the possessions of France and those of Great-Britain.*

“LET us see what dispositions the court of London made in consequence of the treaty of Paris.

“IF she had considered the vast territories situated at the east of the Mississippi, as a part of her ancient colonies, she would have said so, and would have made consequential dispositions. Far from this, the king of England, in a proclamation of the month of October, 1763, made known, in a precise and positive manner, that the territories in question were situated *between* the Mississippi and *the ancient English settlements*.

“WE have then the highest evidence that the court of London itself, while it was the sovereign of the thirteen colonies, did not consider the territories above mentioned as constituting a part of the same colonies; hence it follows, in the most demonstrative manner, that *they have, at this day, no right over those territories*; to maintain the contrary, would be to destroy every principle of the law of nature and nations.

“THE principles which we have just established are applicable as well to Spain as to the United States: That power cannot extend her property beyond what she has conquered. Now it is known that she has not passed the Fort of the Natches, situated about 31st degree of north latitude; thus her rights are limited at that degree: What lies beyond, is either independent, or belongs to England; neither Spain, nor the Americans, have any pretensions to it. The future treaty of peace must regulate their respective rights.

“THE consequence of what we have just said, is, that neither Spain nor the United States have any right of sovereignty over the savages in question, and that any transactions of theirs, touching this country, would be without an object.

“BUT time may bring along with it new circumstances; and this reflection induces me to think that it would be useful for the court of Madrid and the United States to make an eventual arrangement.

“THIS arrangement may be made in the following manner. Draw a straight line from the east angle of the Gulph of Mexico, which makes the division between the two Floridas, to Fort Toulouze, situated in the country of the Alibernons; from thence ascend the river Loneishatchi, from the mouth of which draw a straight line to the fort or factory Quenassée; from thence follow the course of the river Euphasée to the place where it falls into that of Cheraques: Follow the course of this last river to the place where it receives that of Polissippi, pursue this river to its source, from whence draw a straight line to the river Cumberland, and follow the course of this river to its mouth in the Ohio. The savages upon the west of this line should be free, under the protection of Spain; those situated on the east of it, should be free, and under the protection of the United States, or otherwise the Americans should arrange matters with them as they could agree, the commerce with both to be always free.

“BY casting our eyes upon the chart, we shall see that Spain would lose almost the whole of the course of the Ohio; and that the establishments which the Americans may have formed upon that river, will remain

* See treaty of Paris, art. 7.

main untouched, and that they would even have a vast extent of territory upon which they might make new ones.

“As to the course and the navigation of the Mississippi, they must be governed by the property; they belong of course to that nation to whom the banks on both sides of the river belong.

“If then, by the future treaty of peace, Spain should keep West-Florida, she would become the sole proprietor of the course of the Mississippi from the 31st degree of latitude to the mouth of the river; whatever should be the lot of what lies above that point to the north, the United States can have no pretensions to, because they are not masters or owners of either bank of that river.

“As to the territories situated to the north of the Ohio, there is room to presume that Spain will make no claim upon them: To whom they shall belong, must be settled with the court of London.”

The above Note of M. Raneval, confidential secretary to count de Vergennes, was communicated to Mr. Jay, 6th Sept. 1782.

THE perusal of this memoir convinced one of our commissioners—

“1. THAT this (French) court would, *at a peace, oppose our extension to the Mississippi.*

“2. THAT they would oppose our claim to the free navigation of that river.

“3. THAT they would *probably* support the *British* claims to all the country above the 31st degree of latitude, and *certainly to all the country north of the Ohio.*

“4. THAT in case we should not agree to divide with Spain, in the manner proposed, that then this court would aid Spain in negotiating with Britain for the *territory she wanted*, and would agree that the residue should remain to *Britain.*”

OUR commissioner believed also, that *the offer and propositions*, contained in this memoir of Raneval's, were not made without the *knowledge and consent* of the Count de Vergennes.

NOTE (CCC.) for page 57.

THE following extract from a memorial of Mons. Turgot's to the late king of France, is taken from a publication (made by order of the National Convention) of the manuscripts found in the cabinet of Lewis the XVI. and discloses more fully and authentically, the early *feelings* and *views* of France, relative to the war between Great-Britain and America, than any other document that has yet come to light. It proves clearly what has often been affirmed by our wise men, but too little credited by people in general, viz. “that a regard to her own interest, and a gratification of her passions, solely directed the subtle politics of *France*, in her conduct towards this country.”

THIS important paper is entitled “Reflections occasioned by a memorial communicated by the count de Vergennes, upon the manner in which France and Spain ought to regard the consequences of the quarrel between Great-Britain and her colonies,” dated April, A. D. 1776.

THE author makes, at the end of this long memorial, an exact recapitulation of his ideas, as follows—1st. In tracing, with the count de Vergennes, the different ways in which the quarrel between Great-Britain and her colonies may be supposed to terminate: “It appears to me that the event, the most desirable for the interest of the two crowns, (France and Spain) would be, that England should overcome the resist-

ance

ance of her colonies, and force them to submit to her yoke—because if the colonies are subjugated only by the ruin of all their resources, England will lose all the advantages hitherto derived from them, in peace, by the increase of her commerce ; in war, by the use she is able to make of their forces. If, on the contrary, the vanquished colonies preserve their wealth, and their population, they will retain the courage, and the desire of independence, and will compel England to employ part of her forces to prevent them from revolting anew.

“THE supposition of an absolute separation of the mother country, from her colonies, appears to me infinitely probable. There will result from it, when the independence of the colonies is entire, and acknowledged by the English themselves, a complete revolution in all the political and commercial relations between Europe and America ; and I firmly believe that all countries, having colonies, will be forced to abandon all authority over them, to leave them an entire freedom of commerce with all nations, and content themselves in partaking with others of this freedom, and in maintaining with their colonies the bonds of friendship and fraternity. If it is an evil, I believe there exists no means to prevent it ; that the only part left us, will be to submit to absolute necessity, thence to derive our consolation.

“I HAVE developed some motives of consolation, from an appreciation of the benefits of colonies to their parent countries, rather lower than is commonly adopted.” [This is the subject of another memorial immediately following the one here translated.]

“I HAVE also observed, that in such case, there would be great danger to those powers, who should obstinately resist the course of events ; that after being ruined by efforts beyond their means, they would behold their colonies equally escape from them, and become their enemies instead of remaining their allies.

“I HAVE dwelt, in particular, upon the importance to Spain that she now fixes her reflections upon the possibility of this event, and familiarizes herself, beforehand, with the idea of a total change of her system, in the administration of her commerce, and in her relations to her colonies.

“*A RECONCILIATION, above all things, and an immediate reconciliation between England and America, appears to me the only event that can threaten the two crowns with any sudden danger.*

“SECONDLY.—In the examination of this danger, I have observed that it is twofold ; that it may come from England, or from Spain.

“ON the part of England, the count de Vergennes appears to me to be satisfied, that the present minister has no hostile views. I think with him.”

“I ALSO think that a new minister would not commence a war, till he had completed a peace with America. From their inability to conclude such a peace, I believe we shall not be disturbed in the course of this year.

“I HAVE reflected on the different seasons in which our sailors, with those of England, are exposed, in their turn, to be surprised by the rival power.

“I HAVE observed, that this regular and annual period would determine the time when England shall intend to commence hostilities, and that it would furnish to us the means of discovering her views, by the precautions she then takes. In relation to Spain, I have said, that there is to be feared, on her part, too great confidence in her own forces, the antipathy against the British power, the just resentment which the Catholic

olic king feels against the proceedings of this power toward him, and the obstacles that these dispositions would interpose to a reconciliation, if any dispute or act of violence should happen between the Spanish and English commanders.

“ I HAVE said, lastly, that it is equally important not to be surprised by England, and not to be hurried away by the ardour of Spain ; and I have insisted upon the necessity of increasing and maintaining, between our two crowns, a confidence without reserve. As to the measures to be taken by the two crowns, to prevent the danger which may threaten them, my manner of thinking is precisely the same as that of the count de Vergennes, on the necessity of rejecting every plan of aggression on our part.

“ IN the first place, by moral reasons, so conformable to the manner of thinking, recognized by the two monarchs.

“ IN the second place, on account of the state in which the king finds his finances, and his land and sea forces, the want of time to regenerate all the branches of his power, and the danger of perpetuating our weakness, by making a premature use of our forces.

“ IN the third place, by the decisive reason, that a war, offensive on our part, would *reconcile the mother country with her colonies*, by giving to the minister a pretence for yielding, and to the colonies a motive to bend to his propositions, that they might gain time to consolidate, and to mature their plan, and multiply their means.

“ I HAVE afterwards discussed the idea, that we might send, without hostile views, land troops and squadrons into our colonies, to put them in a state of defence, and protect them from invasion.

“ I AM bound to prove that this plan ought to be rejected as ruinous, insufficient, and dangerous.

“ As ruinous, because the expense it would occasion, and which must be continued as long as our fears continue, being added to the actual deficiency of the treasury, would render the establishment impossible : because it would become, perhaps, more embarrassing to this department, than even the projects of war : Necessity authorizing, in time of war, the use of extraordinary means, which, in time of peace, would become odious, and would strike the last blow to public credit.

“ As insufficient, because England would not undertake to attack the two crowns in America, without sending there, forces superior to ours ; and this power having in America at least thirty thousand men, which she may, on this supposition, transport to any point of attack she shall choose ; it is impossible that the forces, even much more numerous than those we can send, being divided among all the places threatened, can be, in any one, in a state to resist an army so numerous.

“ As dangerous, because it would force the English minister to send, on his side, into America, squadrons at least equal, and to prepare himself for war in all parts of the British dominions ; because this appearance of war would probably have the same effect as war itself, in bringing the two parties to a reconciliation, and provoking the danger we would avoid ; lastly, because the execution of this plan would increase the confidence of Spain, and expose us to be drawn into the war, in spite of ourselves. I have concluded that we must confine ourselves to precautions less expensive, and less approaching a state of hostility.

“ THESE precautions reduce themselves to the following :

“ 1st. To observe attentively every thing which can avert the approaches of danger ; to observe the coasts of our islands, and the entrance

trance of the gulf of Mexico. This is the object of the cruises spoken of in the letter of the marquis de Grimaldi, and of the orders which will be given, in conformity thereto, to the ships we have sent to those latitudes. To procure frequent information of every thing that passes on the bank of Newfoundland. To observe in England, the state of her troops, of her armaments, the situation of public credit, and that of the minister.

“To endeavour to know every thing that passes in the English colonies; avoiding, however, every thing that may lead to a suspicion that we have there any direct, and characterized agent.

“2dly. To facilitate to the colonies the means of procuring, by the way of commerce, ammunition, and also the money which they want, but without departing from neutrality, and without giving them direct succours.

“3dly. To establish, without noise, our maritime forces; to supply our magazines; to refit our vessels; to put us in a state of arming quickly, whenever there shall be occasion, a squadron at Toulon and one Brest; during which, Spain should arm one at Ferrol.

“In case we should have well-grounded motives to fear a more imminent danger, to arm effectually the squadrons, without suffering them to leave the posts.

“In case every thing should be disposed for an immediate war, to collect numerous troops on the sea coast, and dispose every thing for an expedition into England, to oblige that power to recal her forces; to profit of the moment to send troops and vessels, either into our colonies, if it is judged necessary, or into the Indies, where we should be provided beforehand with the means, either in forming leagues with the natives of the country, or in perfecting the establishment of our isles of France and Bourbon.

“As one part of these precautions would also require expenses, already heavy enough, I believe it essential to precipitate nothing; above all things, as relates to the two last objects, unless we should have reason to believe that this power really intends to attack us.

“I CANNOT terminate this memorial without making one observation, which I think very important, on the manner in which we ought to concert with the court of Spain. No doubt that the interests being common, the confidence ought to be entire, and the measures adopted in concert.

“BUT there is but too much reason to believe that England has, in the councils of Spain, correspondents, who give to her advice of most of their important secrets.

“I KNOW that the hostile project, concerted between the two ministers, if I do not mistake, in the year 1766, in consequence of which Mr. Bucarelli had received orders to drive the English from the Falkland isles, which was not even thought of in Spain, was known to the minister of England. This is a danger against which we should guard in the communications we make to Spain. Certainly the communication of every thing, which, announcing the firm resolution of the two monarchs to maintain peace, indicates the fit means to threaten England directly, cannot injure, even when the British minister shall have knowledge of them.

“BUT every thing which would lead to enterprises on Minorca or Gibraltar, to combined measures for transporting forces into India, can be confided, without danger, only to the king of Spain, and to the marquis of Grimaldi, for him alone.”

